School of Media, Creative Arts, and Social Inquiry

Locating Nation: Interactions between Indonesians and Australians in Two Cultural Heritage Villages

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This thesis is presented for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Curtin University

2020

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Declaration

To the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgement has been made.

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university,

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11 February 2020

Abstract

This thesis seeks to critically engage with the imagining of Indonesia through the interactions between Indonesians and Australian tourists at two cultural heritage villages. Cultural heritage spaces in this instance refer specifically to the imagining of a nation from the local people by representing it through their traditions and performing it for tourists (Mowford & Munt, 1998). The interactions between local people and foreign tourists show how insiders and outsiders can create narratives about a nation based on their experiences in the cultural heritage spaces. This research project explores the constructions of Indonesia through two cultural heritage space in Bali and Yogyakarta by adopting the ethnographic approach. It examines the relationship between locals, tourists, and the media, which do the work of imagining of the nation on a visual, textual, and interactional level (Waterton & Watson, 2010). Primary field research consists of interviews with local people and tourists, and participant observation of the villages' routines to experience and examine how tourist culture is performed and consumed on site. A textual analysis of tourism promotional media was also conducted to examine how cultural heritage performance in tourist villages works in conjunction with the media text to experience a nation and conveys stories.

The study shows that the media, local productions, and tourist consumptions are interconnected in ways to imagine Indonesia through three specific findings. Those are about space, people, and connections to Australians. Through the media, the current study shows the dual role of tourism media as the place to promise and promote the constructed commodity of a nation, on the one hand, and its continued role of providing and describing the expected sense of places and 'authentic' experience to the tourists, on the other. The thesis mapped at least four similar characteristics and discourses, which construct the productions of cultural heritage villages. Those are the ways local actors: (1) understand, negotiate, and interpret their local spaces for the purposes of heritage, everyday life, and tourism activities; (2) move within the realm of existing organizations shaped by the nations and show the loyalty within this national rules, standards, and values; (3) implement the widely distributed nation brand values as the anchor of their movements, and (4) keep their past memories through stories and buildings as part of the village identities. Appropriately, this study able to capture the media of tourism, specific market of Australian tourists, identities of locals, and how they intersect, interact, and interconnect in the contemporary village of Indonesia

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Glossary of Terms and Abbreviations

[Adat]	[Customs]
[Angkul-angkul]	[Entrance gate made of bamboo]
[Awig-awig]	[Local consensus and rules regarding the livelihood in the Balinese village]
[Antara]	[Represents the idea of body, where the activities of the public are usually located, including preparation ceremonies, residential houses and meeting areas]
[Arisan]	[The collection of money for small lotteries for members]
[Bale Saka Enem]	[The traditional pavilion for preparing ceremonies]
[Balai Banjar]	[In Indonesia, it is known as *Balai Desa*. The term is taken from the word Balai or a place for meeting or gathering; and *Desa* or village, in Bali, *Desa* is *Banjar*. *Balai Banjar* exists in many villages in Bali as a community meeting house]
[Badan Pengelola Desa Wisata (BPDW)]	[Village tourism local organizer]
[Bhinneka Tunggal Ika]	[The Indonesian national principle translated as: unity in diversity]
[BUMDes]	[A label given by the government for Village-Owned Enterprise organisation]
[Balai Desa]	[The community meeting hall in the village]
[Canang Sari]	[The plate, which is usually used for offerings in Hindu Balinese rituals]

[Desa]	[Refer to villages or rural places or countryside]
[Desa Wisata]	[Term used officially by Indonesian government to label registered rural villages which are openly available for tourism purposes]
[GAP (Gunung Api Purba)]	[A brand created to refer to the ancient mountain located in Nglanggeran, *Gunung Api Purba* can be translated as the ancient volcano]
[Garuda]	[Iconic symbol of Indonesia as the bird of Garuda]
[Gotong royong]	[Working together as a community]
[Hulu]	[This means the upper course or the head; usually refers to the north of where the mountain is located or the east, which is the holy direction in Hindu Balinese. This is where the Balinese place their temples]
[Joglo]	[An extension of a regular Javanese house with a trapezoidal longitudinal section, five roof ridges, and a large veranda around the front side, which serves as a welcoming space]
[Juru Kunci]	[The assigned person to keep contact and guard sacred places in Javanese believe system. The places are sacred buildings, mountains, or beaches]
[Karang Taruna]	[Nationwide youth civic organisation at the local level]
[Kejawen]	[Javanese ancient beliefs]
[Krama]	[Member of society in Balinese]
[Lembaga Pengelola Desa Wisata]	[Local management agency for tourism in the villages]
[Limasan]	[A pavilion set in the front part of a residential complex that functions as the public space used to receive guests, create social venues, and host cultural performances]
[Madya]	[The place for daily activities, social interactions, and preparations for rituals]

[Mbaurekso]	[The guardian of something refer to extra-terrestrial being]
[Nawacita]	[Nine national vision during Joko Widodo Presidential administration]
[Negara]	[Refer to nation-state, earlier terms from Geertz refer to city and/or towns to symbolise the representation of nation-state]
[Nista]	[The place for activities related to dirty things or activities, such as the kitchen, toilets, and places for animals]
[Pancasila]	[Five pillars of Indonesia's fundamental principles of a nation]
[PAD]	[An abbreviation from *Pendapatan Asli Daerah* or the Regional Income]
[Pembinaan]	[Training]
[Perlombaan]	[Competition]
[PKK]	[*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*] or family welfare movement office
[Pesona Indonesia]	[The nation brand of Indonesia translated as Wonderful Indonesia]
[Pokdarwis]	[An abbreviation of *Kelompok Sadar Wisata* or Tourism Awareness Group]
[Saput Poleng]	[Black and white cloths, which is considered a sacred symbol of the battle between good and evil in Hindu Bali. The cloth is usually draped over trees, statues, and wooden pillars, which believed have spirits, and worn by people in ceremonies or events]
[Sekkaa]	[Refer to group in small community consists of several interests or by demography such as *Sekka Gong* (the musical organisation), *Sekka Baris* (dancing for rituals), *Sekka Pratangan* (cooking), or *Sekka Teruna* (the youth organisation)]

[Subak] [Balinese terrace management system]

[Sapta Pesona] [The brand value of Seven Wonders of Indonesia tourist destination such as Clean, Green, Cool, Secure, Order, Memorable, Beautiful]

[Sultan] [Refer to King of Yogyakarta]

[Tri Hita Kirana] [This is a concept of maintaining a relationship with god, humans, and the environment in Hindu Balinese]

[Tri Angga] [The concept in which landscape is considered as a human body. The concept is related to the building placements and village landscape constructions, and should be related to the position of mountains, with the north side and the east side as the holy directions. *Tri Angga* consists of *Hulu, Antara, and Teben*]

[Tri Mandala] [A concept that explains the macrocosms and the microcosms, especially related to household and residential houses. Similar to the human body that can be divided into three parts: *Utama, Madya, and Nista*]

[Teben] [Downstream or in the opposite direction to the upstream or the legs. This is where the parking area, the place to slaughter animals, forest, and cemeteries are located]

[The place where sacred activities are located such as

[Utama] family temples]

[Puppet show]

[Wayang] [Small shops]

[Warung] [Refer to *The People* in relations to nation or ordinary

[Wong cilik] people who has no powerful position]

[Rasulan]   [Harvesting rituals and ceremony derived from Javanese ancient customs and beliefs]

[RT/RW]   [The gathering of family units that also have meetings every month adopted from *Tonarigumi* system from Japanese occupancy]

[Tahyul/Tahayul]   [Mystical stories and objects and/or *adat* that support such a belief system]

List of Publications

International Conferences

Murti, DCW. (2019). What can an old village tell us about a nation? A Comparative Study on Local Spaces, Identities, and Nation Branding of Contemporary Model of *Penglipuran* and *Nglanggeran*. *World Indonesianist Congress 2019.* Yogyakarta State University and The Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic Indonesia.

Murti, DCW. (2019). How Australians consume villages? Questioning place consumption, authenticity, and otherness. *Australian New Zealand Communication Association 2019.* University of Canberra, Australia.

Murti, DCW. (2019). The exotic others: Media depictions on landscape, people, and consumption of rural tourism of Indonesia. *Asean Media and Information Center (AMIC 2019).* University of Chulalongkorn, Thailand.

Murti, DCW. (2018). Media, Local Production, and Tourist Consumption: What is at stake for a heritage village to represent a nation in tourism? *Direction and Destination.* Curtin University, Australia

Murti, DCW. (2018). Cultural and Language Learning in Tourism: An Ethnographic Study about Interactions between Tourists and Local Hosts in Rural Heritage Villages. *Asean Culture and Language Learning.* Kobe Arts Center, Japan.

Murti, DCW. (2018). Relations between Nation and Rural Heritage: Landscape Design, Local Tourism Management, and Preservation of Memory in Tsumago, Nagano, Japan and Penglipuran Village, Bali, Indonesia. *International Conference of Bussiness, Management, and Governance.* University of Western Australia, Australia.

Datasets

Murti, D. (2018). Ethnographic research interview transcripts and photographs of two cultural heritage village of Indonesia. Curtin University. DOI: http://ddfe.curtin.edu.au/5AF3D9B88F520/

Acknowledgements

First, I would gratefully acknowledge organizations, which supported me throughout my PhD journey. (1) Thank you to Curtin University for accepting me to pursue my study and providing me with all facilities, utilities, supervisors, and training. (2) Thank you to Universitas Atma Jaya Yogyakarta as the place where I work to pursue my future career as academia. Thank you UAJY for giving me opportunity, funding, and assistant during the four years process of my PhD. (3) Thank you deeply to LPDP or Indonesian Endowment Fund for Education from the Ministry of Education of Indonesia for your generous scholarship, research funding, trainings, and incentives. I will be forever proud to be the alumni of LPDP Scholarship, PK 37. (4) Thank you to the Sumitomo Foundation Japan Research Grant for providing me enrichment opportunity in Japan to publish a comparative study between my dissertation case study and Japanese case study. (5) Thank you to AIPSSA Curtin, AIPSSA, LPDP Curtin Members, Selendang Sutera, and of course MUISA. Thank you for all the livelihood support, artistic involvement, academic information, and friendship that these organizations have provided. I am proud to be the members of the Indonesian students' organizations in Perth.

Second, I would like to acknowledge the academic contribution from individuals who have supported me during my PhD process. (1) For the most part, thank you to my supervisors, Shaphan Cox, Elaine Tay, and Susan Leong for providing me great insights, amazing understanding throughout the years, incredible emotional and academic supports, enjoyable moments during our hundreds of meetings, and of course, your highly intellectual and insightful feedback, suggestions, and comments. I will be forever thankful that I can enjoy my PhD journey with all of you. (2) My academic discussions friends in Perth Australia: Mas Aditya, Mbak Nimas, Mbak Kiki, Mbak Bertha, Mbak Hera, Chen Guo, and all HUB 208 members. Thank you all for being so helpful and kind during my journey. (3) Special thanks to IGAK Satrya Wibawa and his wonderful family (Mbak Reti, Diva, and Echa) who have been supporting me during my last year in Australia. I will be forever grateful for your help and to know your beautiful

Dedication

This thesis and degree are dedicated to my family: Gilang Ahmad Fauzi, David Aditya Gemadikara, and Dimitri Widiasta Gemadikara, thank you for being amazing man and boys who supported me during my PhD journey.

Equally important, this thesis and degree is dedicated for my beloved father (+) Bernardus Widiyanto and my lovely mother Catharina Murwani Rahayu, thank you for always there for me with your unconditional love.

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PART ONE: BACKGROUND

The aim of part one is to explain the background of the research project. Part one is structured as follows. Chapter One is the introduction chapter which identifies the key contexts and setting of the dissertation. Next, the chapter on the theoretical framework discusses the academic conventions on the main keywords of the research project. Finally, the chapter on methodology explores more detail on the design of the data collection conceptually and technically. Understanding the background of the research project is important to place the dissertation in particular settings to specifically address the research questions and objectives.

Chapter 1. Introduction on locating nation in the cultural heritage village setting

1. 1. Locating nation

The term "locating nation" has become popular in academic discussions in relation to the position of a nation settings and classifications. The term "locate" expresses the view of the nation as neither static nor singular in meaning (Lindquist, 2006). On the contrary, the nation is a dynamic notion. As Massey has argued in relation to place, nations can also be regarded as open, contested, and always in process (2005). Thus, locating nation is one of the ways to position a nation (Goodrum, 2005), determine a place, establish a site from which to look (Hashim, 2014), and seek out the location of discussions around nation (Wise, 2004) with all its complexity in identity, culture, locality, performance, and many more.

Using the approach of "locating nation," I explore the tensions of space, place, and interactions between tourists and local people in contemporary Indonesia. This multidisciplinary project articulates the connections of local production and tourism consumption to the continuing process of the constructions of nation engaged by diverse agents, experiences, and expectations. Indonesia's continuing initiatives toward developing rural places and becoming a competitive nation in tourism have facilitated not only the constructions of nation but also the meaning of new spaces, places, and new forms of spatial practice. For example, Indonesia implements decentralization projects to give more power for regencies/municipalities to share economic profits to more rural locations (Fitrani et al, 2005; Ito, 2011); establishes local capacity to village government through special funding dedicated for rural villages; and, the *desa wisata* project or opening villages with strong cultural identity for tourism (Allerton, 2003). The current research project incorporates theoretical inquiries in media studies, cultural studies, and human geography. Using two sites in Indonesia, *Penglipuran* in Bali and *Nglanggeran* in Yogyakarta, the study draws on the results of the empirical research in order to locate the contemporary Indonesia in relation to tourism, culture, local community, and people to people interactions.

Accordingly, this chapter aims to contextualise the importance of conducting a

research project about nation in the cultural heritage village setting. Briefly, I discuss the justification for studying the cultural heritage villages of Indonesia and the significance of examining the interactions between Indonesians and Australians. I then outline the research aims and questions. Finally, I discuss the significance of the project and provide a summary map of the thesis.

1. 2. Studying the cultural heritage villages of Indonesia

Cultural heritage village spaces have created a continued debate among academics. The village models have been criticised for commodifying rural places by sentimentalising the past (Ducros, 2016), exploiting rural places for the purposes of the national agenda (Adams, 2004), and producing inauthentic performances of rural life for socio-economic purposes (Smith, 2006). The notion of the "untouched" village experience promotes desire and fantasy, an imagination of "real" and "authentic" primitiveness in the interest of preserving the culture and the present (Smith, 2006). On the other hand, there are studies that argue for the positive impacts of cultural heritage villages. For example, the cultural heritage village functions to increase the community's participation through community based tourism (Syafi'I & Suwandono, 2015), ecotourism (Haryanto, 2013), development of art and culture for the purpose of tourism in the village (Hermawan, 2016); advancement of infrastructure and education of local people (Wihasta & Prakoso, 2012); and, preservation of spatial structures and indigenous settlements (Wulandari, 2010). Cultural heritage villages present an alternative: finding a creative form of conservation that includes the local wisdom and/or customs or *adat* or the belief system associated with sacred ecology (Yudantini & Jones, 2015; Dorn, 2012). Such debates bring the academic conversations surrounding cultural heritage villages into a complex interconnection.

The term "cultural heritage villages" in this research refers to rural villages in Indonesia with strong local identity and mobility which have been converted into tourist sites to conserve their cultural heritage materials (Boonzaaier & Wels, 2018). The cultural materials include nature, cultural buildings, and intangible heritage aggregated in the spaces of villages, countryside, or pastoral land (Rye, 2006; Roberts, Hall, & Morag, 2017). Historically, preserving rural villages for tourism purposes became popular in Europe in the 1970s with the concept of tourism in the rural space

or *"tourism en espace rural (TER)"* (Ciolac et al., 2017), especially in France, Austria, and Switzerland (Ciolac, 2016). Not only a means of promoting rural places for tourism, constructing cultural heritage villages is also one of the ways for local people and tourists to experience the nation's unique identities (Mowforth & Munt, 1998; Anholt, 2007). Specifically, this research project chooses cultural heritage spaces because major stakeholders, including guides, transportation agents, outbound and inbound tour operators, government, and media, gather to perform important roles in such settings (Butler & Hinch, 2007; Urry, 2002; Yamashita, 2003).

These competing interests raise important questions about how and why the cultural heritage villages can contribute to the representation of nation in different cultural settings. The notion of heritage embodies acts of remembrance and commemoration of a nation's past, which involve visiting, managing, interpreting, and conserving cultural materials (Smith, 2006). Heritage promotes a version of the nation's history from the perspective of powerful elites or institutions to control current cultural and social tensions (McCoy, 2011). Hence, cultural heritage sites are not static objects for understanding nation, but rather a dynamic process of negotiation to rework the past for the cultural, social, and political interests of the present (Smith, 2006).

To understand the workings of cultural heritage villages in terms of constructing nation, Indonesia was selected as the focus of the study for three main reasons: demographic, historical, and contemporary challenges.

First, Indonesia and its demographics offer a rich field for studying the tensions that exist in the imagining of a nation in the cultural heritage village setting. Based on the research of the Indonesian Central Agency of Statistics, there are more than 1331 tribes and 320 ethnic groups in Indonesia (BPS, 2013). With a total population of more than 230 million, 54% of the people of these tribes and ethnic groups live in cities and 46% in rural areas (World Bank, 2015). Additionally, economic challenges and gaps divide the nation in terms of identity. Given that 14% of people in villages and 7.8% of people in cities live under the poverty line, these gaps also suggest a segregation of lifestyles and socio-economic tasks among Indonesian people (BPS, 2013). The challenges of population, diversity, financial status, and the mobility of people motivate Indonesian authorities to support the economic growth of individuals and groups through many programs, including cultural heritage tourism. These

characteristics of Indonesia provide a diverse background against which to understand the long-standing tensions in the relationship between nation and village (Antlöv, Wetterberg, & Dharmawan, 2016).

Second, from a historical perspective, as a nation, Indonesia has been challenged by the tensions of diversity. Brown (2003) explains how problematic it was to attach a social meaning to the word "Indonesia" and to motivate the populations of the archipelago to identify themselves collectively as "Indonesians." Brown states: "Certainly, before the twentieth century, none of the inhabitants of the archipelago would have seen themselves in this collective term" (2003, p. 3). Up to the present day, Indonesia is still dealing with these tensions. Even though the nation's motto of "*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*" ("Unity in Diversity") is used to accommodate the differences, disintegration efforts and conflicts in some regions persist. Hence, the imagining of Indonesia is constantly challenged by the diversity of the population and the tensions of sharing the collective meaning of Indonesia, and it will continue to be re-negotiated and addressed in the future.

Third, to construct the nation's identity, Indonesia has developed strategic and engaging ways to share the imagining of a nation, called *desa wisata* or cultural heritage village as national project. In response, I am studying the contemporary challenges associated with those methods. Since 2011, there has been significant growth in the tourism sector, which has generated income for Indonesians. As other resources decline, tourism is growing, contributing approximately USD 12 billion with 10 million foreign visitors per year (Kompas, 2015). The government predicts that in five years after 2019, if conditions remain steady, tourism can be the number one source of income for the country (Figure 1.1). The Tourism Minister has predicted that if the number of foreign visitors could reach 20 million, it can equate to a contribution to the Indonesian income of approximately USD 24 billion or 15% of Indonesia's Gross Domestic Product (Kompas, 2015). With these projections in mind, the government of Indonesia has sought to prioritise three types of tourism as a product portfolio. These are: nature tourism (35%); cultural tourism (60%); and recreational tourism (5%) (Alamsjah, 2016). Regarding cultural tourism, this includes developing tourism in the cities and cultural heritage villages (*desa wisata).*
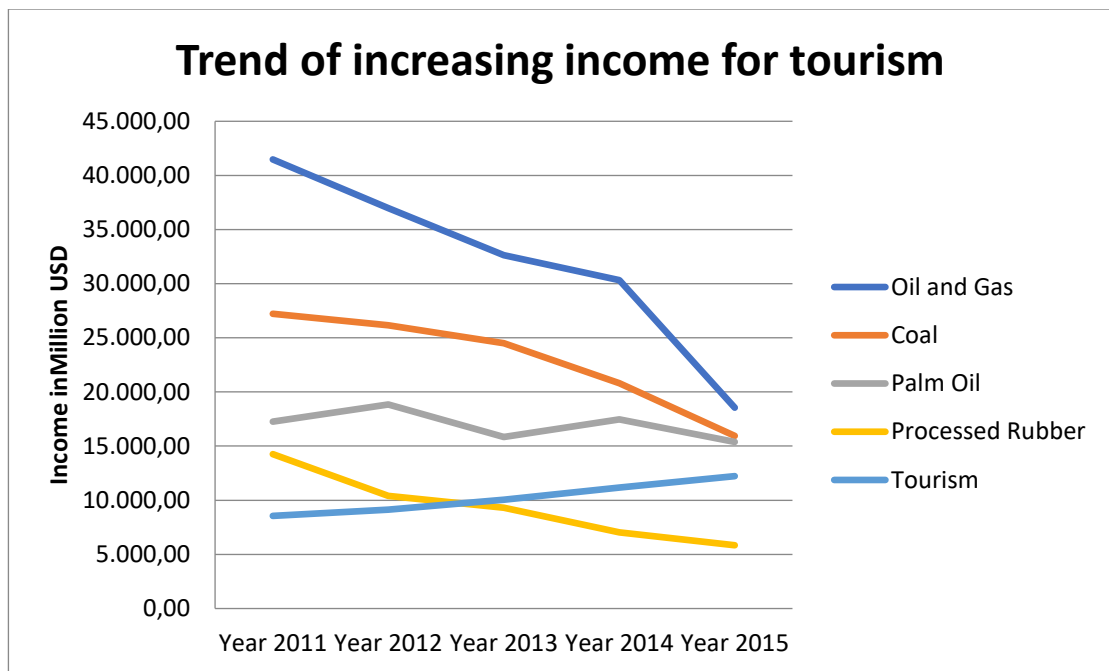
Figure 1.1. Income resources of Indonesia from 2011-2015
(Source: Figure by Author, 2017, from the data of Central Bureau of Statistics Indonesia, 2016)

Consequently, opening villages to tourists through the exhibition of housing, natural landscape, cultural activities, and commercialisation is being played out largely in many *desa wisata/*cultural heritage villages across Indonesia. Specifically, this research project explores the discussion of *Penglipuran* and *Nglanggeran* village for tourists. Not only do *Penglipuran* and *Nglanggeran* villages encompass the tensions between the nation and people in rural areas (Pickel-Chevalier & Ketut, 2016), and challenges in the local socio-political system (Ernawati, Dowling, & Sanders, 2015), but the culture, customs, and practices of tourism also differ based on the identities of postcolonial nation, ethnic diversity, and history (Mitchell, 1994). In addition to this, these villages offer cross-cultural interactions between local people and Australian tourists to help us understand the negotiation of identity by the local people and the re-articulation of culture in the imagining of Indonesia (Butler & Hinch, 2007; Mowforth & Munt, 1998).

To date, only a limited number of studies have explored the dynamics of cultural heritage study with a focus on the interconnection to nation, space, and people to people interactions. Most research projects are more concerned with the dynamics

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among local people and the development of small medium enterprises in such settings (Adams, 2006; Ernawati, Dowling, & Sanders, 2015; Sumaco & Richardson, 2011). Accordingly, this research seeks to investigate the process of imagining a nation that is shared by the local insiders, and their interactions with foreign tourists, who, from the outside, are seeking to experience and consume their own constructed imaginings of Indonesia.

1. 3. Investigating interactions between Indonesians and Australians

According to the Australia Bureau of Statistics (ABS), Indonesia overtook New Zealand as the most popular tourism destination for Australians travelling abroad, with more than one million Australians visiting Indonesia between April 2015 and April 2016 (Australia Bureau Statistics, 2016). Indonesian government also has developed a world class tourism landscape, increasing infrastructure and facilities for tourists, accompanied by affordable airfares, and picture postcard images of a natural landscape and unique cultural performances (Duff, 2014).

However, as *a stranger next door*, the relationship between Indonesia and Australia has been in full of dynamics (Payne, 2012, p. 1; Lindsey & MacRae, 2018). These dynamics are not only related to the representation of Bali as *the Australians' backyard*, but also with "Beaches, Bodies, Borders, and Boats" (Perera, 2009, p. 1). According to some researchers, the island of Bali and the nation of Indonesia have been depicted in Australian mass media in terms of a rather exploitative and unequal relationship (Ratuva, 2008; Allon, 2004). The imaginings of Bali, for Australians, often position it as a separate island to Indonesia, while the rest of the nation remains unknown and mysterious. Meanwhile, beyond the specific island of Bali, Java, which appears as the centre of power in the construction of Indonesia, is often shaped through negative perceptions of it as a Muslim-dominated area with a corrupt government and a high population (Payne, 2012). Yogyakarta, specifically, becomes the centre of Javanese culture and tradition (Salazar, 2007). Yet Yogyakarta still represents more of the "unknown" Indonesia for Australian tourists, and thus, more educational exchanges, youth mobility, arts and cultural involvement (Mitchell & Teychenne, 2018), language teaching and learning (Hill, 1994), and small business developments

have been implemented to introduce Yogyakarta to Australians.

In fact, with an "up and down" relationship (Hanson, 2010) and "a mixture of like and dislike," the fact that many of Indonesia's cultural characteristics are viewed as opposite to Australia's is one of the reasons why the two countries have had diplomatic, political, and even people-to-people problems. Reisinger and Turner (1997) classify the opposing characteristics of Indonesian and Australian culture. Indonesians, for example, are collectivists, emphasising togetherness, social and age hierarchy, indirect expressions of opinion, risk avoidance, and flexibility with time. By contrast, Australians are regarded as individualists, emphasising independence, egalitarianism, direct expression, risk-taking, and a concern with punctuality (Reisinger & Turner, 1997).

Even though these cultural classifications are highly contested, they are still influential due to many researchers who have built upon, replicated, and confirmed those distinctions (Reisinger & Turner, 1997; Cameron et al. 2005; Novera, 2004). These characteristics still magnify the cultural differences between Indonesians and Australians and will potentially demonstrate how a nation is imagined through the cross-cultural interactions between local people and Australian tourists.

However, critics challenge this account of a cultural binary between Indonesians and Australians by arguing that they assume essentialism and homogeneity within the two countries (Reisinger & Turner, 2002). For example, as nations of diversity, neither Indonesia nor Australia can be regarded as homogeneous. Both are multicultural nations. They consist of many ethnic units with their own uniqueness, while the cultural characteristics attributed to each nation tend to ignore communities and their influences (Reisinger & Turner, 1997). The developments of media technology, international migration, political influences, and globalisation have also changed the cultural characteristics of both Indonesians and Australians (Novera, 2004). Another critique argues that urban and rural conditions also influence the characteristics of individualism and collectivism in both countries (Reisinger & Turner, 2002; Resosudarmo & Suryadarma, 2014; Flight et al., 2003).

1. 4. Research objectives

This research project aims to understand how the people of a nation (Indonesia), with their complex cultural identities, conform to and contest the cultural demands and expectations of Indonesia for Australian tourists in the setting of cultural heritage villages. This research project also seeks to examine the ways in which Indonesia, as a nation, is marketed and packaged for Australian tourists and how the imagining of this nation is negotiated from the inside, the outside, and the space in between through the interactions of local people and Australian tourists in the particular setting of cultural heritage villages.

Accordingly, the research objectives are to:

RO 1: Explore the imagining and expectations of Indonesia by Australian tourists of these cultural heritage villages.

RO 2: Understand the imagining of Indonesia by locals who work in the cultural heritage villages.

RO 3: Investigate how the interactions between Indonesians and Australians in the cultural heritage villages affect the imagining of Indonesia.

To address the first research objective, I explore tourism media promotion. I demonstrate significant findings that answer the questions of "what to imagine" and "what to expect" by analysing media texts about Indonesia for Australian tourists surrounding the cultural heritage village discourses. In order to further investigate the ways Australians, imagine, expect, and experience, I also reveal, through ethnographic interviews, the ways in which Australian tourists consume the cultural heritage villages. Next, to address the second research objective, I investigate local narratives surrounding the constructions of cultural heritage villages, by adopting an ethnographic approach onsite. Finally, I investigate the implications of the interactions between Indonesians and Australians in the cultural heritage villages by comparing the media data and the fieldwork findings of the case studies.

1. 5. Significance of the research

This research project is significant for three reasons. First, it addresses a contested approach in the current scholarship relating to the theoretical notion of nation branding as a tool for observing the imagining of a nation (Anholt, 2006) through the interaction between Indonesian local people and Australian tourists. This project explores and extends this concept by identifying the social relations that inform space and opening an opportunity for multiple voices about that space (Massey, 2005, p. 9). Space, like the nation, is an unfinished process (p. 59); therefore, it needs to be read visually and textually and to be imagined as part of the "cartography of power" (Massey, 2005, p. 85) between Australians and Indonesians. The investigations of the interactions between insiders and outsiders in creating narratives about a nation will also contribute to the discipline of media and cultural studies. The project will explore new approaches to these disciplines by looking at the ways of imagining a nation in order to enrich the study of mutual interactions between Indonesia and Australia in a different context (Fraser, Aldridge, & Adolphe, 2010; Novera, 2004; Reisinger & Turner, 1997).

Second, this research project will uncover tensions in the construction of nation by seeking to understand the role of cultural heritage villages in Indonesia. Cultural heritage village are mostly underrepresented in discussions of the imagining of nations. Previous research, however, includes only limited discussion of the locals' sense of space as a means of interpreting the presence of national authority in the realm of the cultural heritage village (Rusyiana & Sujarwoto, 2017; Tolkach & King, 2015). Additionally, since the 1990s, multidisciplinary academics have demanded more study to understand the practice of rural heritage for nation branding in diverse communities in a non-Western setting (Smith, 2006). In many rural heritage places in a non-Western context, these performances are generated within subaltern communities such as indigenous or tribal groups, postcolonial communities, and/or locally based interpretations and movements (Smith, 2006). In response to this demand, a range of communities with different geographical locations has been examined to explore how these communities forge the local legitimacy of collective identity, and the social, political, and cultural experiences of their heritage places (Smith, 2006).

Third, this research will contribute to the developing literature on the ethnography of material culture by providing an example of a complex country (Indonesia) that maintains a peripheral space in scholarly research despite its deep and rich resources (Adams, 2006; Anderson, 1991; Brown, 2003). As an archipelago with the fourth biggest population in the world (more than 230 million people), many geographical divisions (more than 13,000 islands), and numerous ethnic groups (more than 300 groups), religious groups (Muslims, Buddhists, Catholics, Protestants, and Hindu-Balinese), local languages (more than 700 ethnolinguistic groups), and cultures, Indonesia encounters the task of building a collective national understanding incorporating the complexity of a diverse nation (Adams, 2006; Anderson, 1991; Brown, 2003). This will open a dialogue between scholars in media and cultural studies on the imagining of a nation within cultural heritage spaces.

1. 6. A map of the thesis

This thesis has three parts and ten chapters. *Part One* consists of three chapters dealing with the preliminary understanding of the thesis. *Part Two* discusses the findings of the media data and research fieldwork in two case studies. Finally, *Part Three* compares the case studies, interconnecting them with the media findings, and discussing the implications of the findings for future research and its academic contribution.

Part One examines the background of the current research project by providing a theoretical and methodological framework for the research. The chapters interrogate the importance of the current research and provide a literature review and details of the methodological approach. **Chapter One** contextualises the research objectives to study the cultural heritage villages in Indonesia with an intersecting perspective on the interactions between locals and Australians tourists. **Chapter Two** examines the academic conversation surrounding the main theme of thesis. The theoretical framework of the thesis is based on the connections between several key concepts: Anderson's notion of the imagined community, which informs an understanding of the construction of cultural heritage villages from the inside; the dynamics of the concept of nation branding, which highlights the performances of locals, nations, and media; and the framework of the consumption of nation through the literature around

heritage spaces, power, and media. **Chapter Three** discusses the methodological approach of the research project. The chapter aims to explain the "how to" of the research process, including media analysis, research field work using ethnography, and data analysis using discourse analysis.

Part Two consists of five chapters and examines how the findings of the research project relate to the main idea of the thesis, which is to locate the nation through interactions between Indonesian local people and Australian tourists in the cultural heritage villages. These chapters are intended to interrogate the patterns evident in the media as they relate to the expectations and imaginings of a nation, and both cases studies demonstrate the production and consumption of space, place, and performances. **Chapter Four**, as the beginning of *Part Two*, aims to investigate the depictions of Indonesia in the tourism mass media for Australian audiences (Research Objective 1). The focus then moves to the results of the research fieldwork in Bali and Yogyakarta, and the case studies are separated into the production and consumption processes. **Chapter Five** investigates the production process of a cultural heritage village in a Balinese case study: *Penglipuran* village. It explains the process of building the village's heritage, executing decision-making at the village level, and setting up the imagining of a nation for the purposes of tourist consumption (Research Objective 2). This chapter also explores the local Hindu and Balinese interpretations of the imaginings of the diverse nation of Indonesia. **Chapter Six** discusses the consumption of *Penglipuran* village as a Balinese cultural heritage village and the narratives surrounding Bali and Indonesia as a tourist destination for Australian tourists (Research Objective 1). This chapter encapsulates the discourses behind the experiences of the tourists, online discourses, and the connection between in-situ narratives and Australians' reflective experiences at home. The chapter then investigates the Yogyakarta case study: *Nglanggeran* cultural heritage village. **Chapter Seven**, as the beginning of the Yogyakarta case study, aims to understand how the production of *Nglanggeran*, as a community with a Javanese tribe and a Muslim majority, produces the imaginings of Indonesia as a nation (Research Objective 2). **Chapter Eight** discusses the consumption of *Nglanggeran* as a heritage setting and unfolds the cultural materials, landscape, and activities that support the imaginings of Indonesia and Java. This chapter analyses online commentaries, discussions, and debates related to the imagining of Indonesia as an agricultural nation

(Research Objective 1).

Finally, *Part Three* consists of two chapters. **Chapter Nine** discusses the comparisons of the two case studies and intertwines the findings with the media analysis. The chapter aims to investigate the implications of the interactions between Indonesians and Australians in the cultural heritage village settings (Research Objective 3). As a conclusion, **Chapter Ten** outlines the contribution of the thesis, such as for the applications of future research. This chapter also explores the potential of ethnography as a learning tool for understanding the complex and diverse context of the nation (Research Objective 3). Finally, it also discusses the limitations of this thesis and what other researchers might do differently in the future.

Chapter 2. Theoretical review: nation, branding, and space consumption in cultural heritage villages

2. 1. Theoretical map

Three bodies of theory are brought together in this research project to develop the concept of locating a nation through interactions between Indonesians and Australians at the cultural heritage villages, including: the work pioneered by Anderson (1991) around the imagining of a nation; the framework of nation branding advanced by Anholt (2006); and the literature around heritage spaces, power, and media (Giaccardi, 2012; Malpas, 2008).

In order to achieve this, the research project will pick up the voices that construct a cultural heritage space. Drawing on media, local people, and Australian tourists, the project will disentangle the discourses that surround the construction of cultural heritage spaces to understand the imagining of Indonesia. Hence, interviews with the local people have been chosen to reflect the critical scholarly perspective that asks that local voices be heard to make sense of complex situations and events (Butler & Hinch, 2007; Yamashita, 2013). All these strategies are efforts to investigate the tensions behind imagining Indonesia in the cultural heritage villages. The figure below summarises the intersections between the three main bodies of theory in the research project (Figure 2.1).
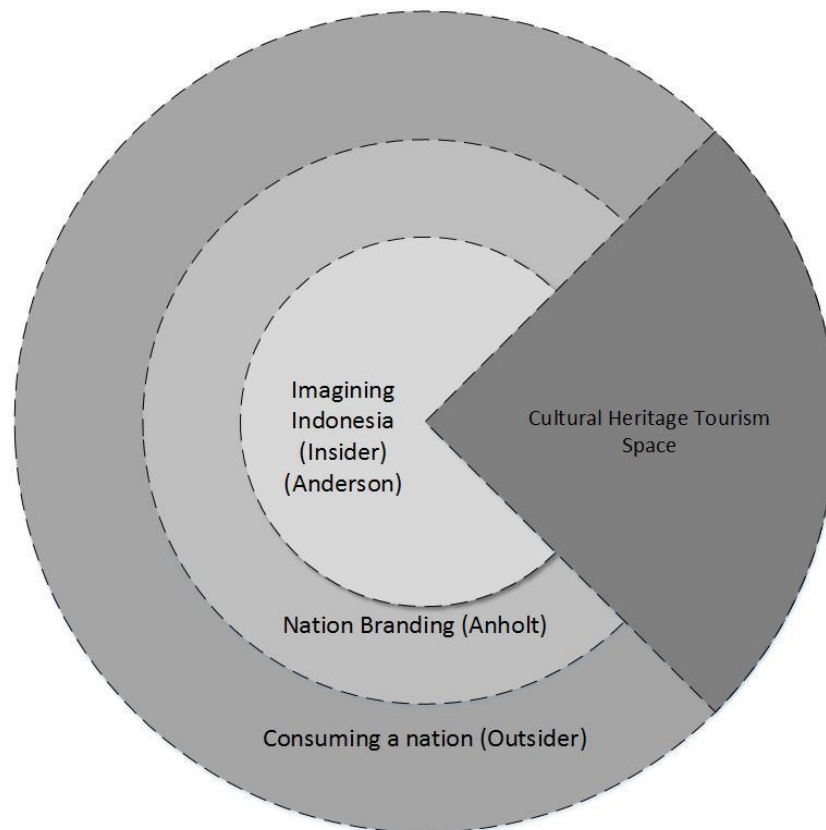
Figure 2.1. Intersections between the three main bodies of theory
(Source: Figure by Author, 2018)

2. 2. Imagining a nation

Anderson described a nation as "an imagined political community" (1991, p. 6). In doing so, Anderson (1991, p. 4) regards nationality, nationalism, and "nation-ness" as cultural objects that are "imagined" because members of the community share the commonalities of their togetherness, even without seeing or meeting each other. Through media as a powerful tool of print capitalism, the consciousness of nationalism among population is generated (1991). Even though there may be differences, mistreatment, discrimination, or hatred among the members of a nation, as imagined communities, Anderson contends that they have a profound sense of solidarity, identity, and unity facilitated by the media (1991). In this sense, the media facilitate the fluidity and contested identity by identifying the boundary and unity of nation and people. Furthermore, members of a nation often experience solidarity with their fellow citizens even though not many similarities connect them except the similar political

goals and interests expressed through examples of cultural unity, such as anthems, monuments, rituals, the national celebration, or symbols (Gellner & Breuilly, 1983). As Anderson suggests, this is pertinent to the case of Indonesia, where cultural identity connects the Indonesians, despite the differences, disintegration efforts, and tensions in the regions, religious groups, ethnic groups, and national identities.

The concept of imagined community is widely employed by many scholars as a framework for understanding nation; however, it is also highly contested and criticised by many others. For example, Chatterjee (1991), in his article "Whose imagined community?," argues that there are two domains in anti-colonial nationalism: the outer domain which shows the superiority of the West and includes dimensions as such as economy, statecraft, science and technology; and the spiritual or inner domain, in which cultural identity is an integral part of it. The essential element of rejection to colonialism and the increasing of nationalism especially in the region of Afrika and Asia is a spirit to maintain the material domain and protect the uniqueness of their divine spiritual domain through culture and identity. Therefore, the postcolonial nations should still struggle to shape, develop, and reach the outer domain from the recognition of western views; at the same time, they need to show, construct, and explore the distinctness of their spiritual culture apart from the colonising nation. Chatterjee argues:

> "Europe and the Americas, the only true subjects of history, have thought out on our behalf not only the script of colonial enlightenment and exploitation, but also that of our anti-colonial resistance and post-colonial misery. Even our imaginations must remain forever colonialized" (1991, p. 521).

In the context of Indonesia as a postcolonial nation, Chatterjee's argument may be applied to the process of building Indonesia by developing the material domain of nation and forming the spiritual domain as its cultural identity. Geertz (1980) argues that it is pertinent to investigate the classical concept of *negara* (a word derived from Sanskrit which originally means city, town, capital, or palace) in order to understand the pattern of the outer domain and the cultural politics of this nation. The ancient formation of *negara* or ancient royal kingdoms, such as *Mataram, Shailendra, Shrivijaya, Singasari, Majapahit, Demak, Mataram,* etc, constructed the dynamic shape of *negara* within *negara* or kingdoms within a nation. Each royal kingdom

shows not only the material domain of economy, statecraft, science and technology in different ways, but also the spiritual domain of cultural identity. Therefore, the diversity is key to understanding the legacy of older forms of *negara,* within Indonesia as a nation. Sukarno, the founding father, used Indonesia's main principle of "*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*" ("Unity in Diversity"), as one of the ways to accommodate the differences within the nation, to protect the autonomy of the regions and to maintain the mix form of nation building between the western model or outter domain and to strengthen the unique identity of Indonesia as inner domain.

2. 2. 1. Imagining a nation through village

Geertz (1980) argues that the development of civilisations is concentrated heavily in the *negara* or cities and towns of Indonesia, as opposed to the *desa* or villages. In his analysis, it is the concept of *Negara* that identifies the centralised power as the source of order and neglect or even the exploitation of the *desa* or village. Geertz argues: "The *negara* was a foreign import and an external irritant, always attempting to absorb the village but never succeeding in more than oppressing it" (1980, p. 45). However, he also analyses how villagers sought to change, but were prevented by the *negara* to maintain the romanticised version of the village. Not only did the state create the village but also the villages' aspirations in turn create statecraft, the palace, and the nation (Geertz, 1980). Geertz argues that, from the villages, the *negara* replicates its symbolic power and structures. Geertz argues that *negara* follow the structures of the village: "The dramas of the theatre state, mimetic of themselves, were, in the end, neither illusions nor lies, neither sleight of hand nor make-believe" (p. 136). From his analysis of the political anatomy of the village, Geertz can discuss the larger scale of the *negara* as a symbol of power and a theatre state.

In a broad sense, the village or *desa* is to be seen as the countryside, the rural settlement, the "people," and tends to be neglected by the development of "civilization" in building the shared imagining of Indonesia as a nation. The benefit of this is that *desa* can save or record what a *negara* was before the development occurred. As Geertz puts it: "They were what there was" (p. 136). As Geertz argues, tracing back the ideas of *negara* or state or the civilisations through the villages is an approach that sees historical change as a process of simultaneous change in the social, cultural, and political aspects that opens opportunities for finding patterns of alteration

(1980). In this sense, villages offer an atmosphere that reflects the realities of communal activities in socio cultural perspectives, customary rules and regulations, residential housing or communal building, and the use of spaces in the region based on local values, and then reflects these in the larger frame of the nation (Yamashita, 2003). Hence, it is important to look at how a nation is imagined through the setting of villages, especially in the context of Indonesia.

The "*desa wisata*" as a national project, then, fits with Geertz's arguments on understanding *Negara* through the village, especially in terms of the concept of invented tradition. The people's love for a nation is celebrated through representations of the collective memory which are manifested in various cultural objects such as *desa wisata* (Anderson, 1991; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983). These objects bind the people to the imagining of their history and their future together. In other words, nations seek to invent traditions by (re)collecting cultural objects from the past with "a new form of language" to sustain the history and envision the future (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983, p. 6). The *desa wisata* is a setting where the nation is enacted through cultural heritage spaces because it is here that the practice of sustaining history by performing invented traditions takes place.

2. 2. 2. Cultural heritage village or *Desa Wisata* as an invented tradition

A debate related to the invented tradition in the cultural heritage village is emerging to question how tradition and heritage are negotiated with the current local and/or national political interest. One example of work in this area is the research of Adams (2004) in the village of *Ket'e Kesu, Tanah Toraja*. Adams, referring to the work of Picard (1990) and Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), argues:

> Tourism does not simply impose disjuncture between the "authentic past" and the "invented past", as earlier researchers suggested, but rather blur these artificial lines, creating new politically charged arenas in which competing ideas about heritage, ritual, and tradition are symbolically enacted. (Adams, 2004, p. 93)

The result of Adams' research suggests that *Ket'e Kesu* illustrates how the heritage village site is a complex exchange process of competitions and collaborations between

local people, national interests, and international organizations or visitors. Actors in this location–insiders, outsiders, politicians, and visitors–rethink, rearticulate, recreate and contest the space. Adams contends:

> *Ket'e Kesu* is the product of a long interplay between the local, the national, and the global. Likewise, *Ket'e Kesuers* are reshaping and rethinking their notions about heritage, as they encounter multiple forces from within, around, and beyond the nation (2004, p. 103).

Similarly, Acciaoli (1985) suggested that small communities, which are then transformed into tourism areas, are forced to adjust their belief systems, cultures, and custom or *adat* to the Indonesian political philosophy of *Pancasila* and the recognised civic religions. Many of these communities believe in *adat* and local animism beliefs that cannot be classified in terms of recognised religions in Indonesia (at that time these were Islam, Buddhism, Hindu, Catholicism, and Christian Protestantism). Acciaoli argues:

> To maintain the appearance of respect for all these differing forms of *adat,* it has not sought to eradicate diversity, but to emasculate it. Regional diversity is valued, honoured, even apotheosized, but only as long as it remains at the level of display, not belief, performance, not enactment" (1985, p. 161).

Another debate relates to the process of staged authenticity, whereby culture is changed into a commodity by re-inventing the traditions of cultural heritage villages. The idea of cultural tourism is also closely related to the impact of tourism the villages with the brand *untouched*. The remodelling of regular villages into tourism villages makes authentic issues play a central part (Allerton, 2003). A study by Allerton in the *Waerebo* village of *Manggarai, East Nusa Tenggara* Province (2003) suggests similar arguments regarding the pattern of the remodelling process. Allerton argues that the development of "*Desa Wisata*" is linked to the old style of centralised development of the New Order, or *Soeharto* era, where the central government (Indonesia/Jakarta and Mayor of *Manggarai*) is the key actor in the re-invention of the model of the village, from constructing the promotion of the villages, talking to or guiding the tourists, and educating the local people to adopt English as their language (2003). Similar findings also emerged in the study of the *Sade* village in *Lombok* island (Bras, 2000). As a heritage site, the village developed an open-air museum presenting the traditional

elements of local cultures. However, in the process of authorisation, the village was required to follow the regional tourism planning and development process, which was then determined according to the Javanese standard (Bras, 2000).

On the other hand, there are studies that argue for the positive impacts of cultural heritage villages. It is an alternative to find a creative form of conservation that includes the local wisdom and/or customs or *adat* or the belief system associated with sacred ecology (Yudantini & Jones, 2015; Dorn, 2010). Another strength of the remodelling of these villages is the potential revenue and economic growth of the village and the individuals who are actively involved in the tourism sector (Haryanto, 2013; Hermawan, 2016; Yamashita, 2003) or through the development of village-based enterprises using local resources (Blowfield, Boa, & Chandrashekara, 1996) or Small-Medium Enterprises conducted by craftsmen.

Among the research projects conducted within the realm of cultural heritage villages, very limited attention has still been paid to the interactions between tourists and local people which influences the positioning of the nation in the village setting. Yamashita (2003) suggests that the negotiation of inward identity and the delicate balance in the bargaining process with the outside world is still problematic in cultural heritage villages such as *Penglipuran* (one of the case studies for this dissertation). Yamashita (2003) and Adams (2004) recognise the gap in the study of the interactions between tourists and local people. Questions such as to what extent tourists are interested in village life as they feel uncertain about intruding in the lives of the villagers, how far the involvement of a guide from elsewhere defines the world of the villages, and how people ultimately must negotiate the dynamics of the macro system surrounding their own villages in the name of development, appear in their call for further research and discussions (Yamashita, 2003; Adams, 2014). This project, in exploring the imagining of Indonesia from Yamashita (2003) and Adams (2014), extends upon these earlier studies and addresses the areas of further research identified by them.

Thus, examining how "others" experience a nation through interactions with local people in this setting is important in locating nation (Mayer & Palmowski, 2004). In this project, the imagining of Indonesia from Australian tourists' standpoints will be examined to locate the distinct narratives of Indonesia.

This research project recognises that both insiders and outsiders generate narratives about the nation. The interaction and recognition from other nations are equally important to how nations are constructed internally (Mayer & Palmowski, 2004). Other countries recognise the value of a nation's culture by accepting it as knowledge (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983). National cultures, in turn, create and re-create symbols that represent the nation (Cameron, 1999). These symbols comprise mainly language (Anderson, 1991; Cameron, 1999), inherited traditions (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983), political systems, and culture (Zielonka & Mair, 2002). Since a nation and its symbols are socially constructed, they can be deconstructed. This is where Anholt's work on nation branding can interrogate further the relationships of social control between those who produce meanings of a nation, and those who consume the meanings of a nation.

2. 3. Locating nation from inside and outside through nation branding

This project extends from and adapts Anholt's concept of nation branding to understand the position of a nation from the outsiders' and locals' points of view. If tourism is considered a form of consumption, then the "brand" of a nation is essential as a commodity (Anholt, 2005). Hence, an examination of the concept of nation branding, from the perspectives of both the creators and the consumers of the brand as an economic accumulation through cultural utilisation, is necessary to understand the imagining of a nation.

Nation branding is a concept, which remains highly contested. Its critics see the nation-branding concept yet another perpetuation of the nation's recognisable stereotypes (Kotler & Gertner, 2002). In addition, others argue that a nation involves too many stakeholders with complex relationships (Buhalis, 2000; O'Shaughnessy & O'Shaughnessy, 2000), and to relate it to a brand is to oversimplify the complexity of what makes a nation (Morgan, Pritchard, & Pride, 2002).

Despite these criticisms, the study of nation branding has developed various models and case studies to address the complexities of the nation. Researchers have used these concepts and models to explore nations as varied as the United States of America

(Anholt & Hildreth, 2011), Singapore (Song, 2011), and New Zealand (Morgan, Pritchard, & Piggott, 2002). Furthermore, many researchers have also related their case studies to the main cities to understand how the nation is portrayed and imagined through urban development (Anholt, 2006; Song, 2011). Some of these research projects also explore the role of cultural heritage tourism in the construction of nation branding (Kavoura, 2012; Newland & Taylor, 2010; Ryan & Silvanto, 2009). To understand the complexities of Indonesia, this project highlights four elements, suggested by Anholt (2007), that are key to understanding what and/or who should be addressed to investigate a nation, namely, nation brand image, identity, purposes, and equity.

2. 3. 1. Elements of nation branding

To locate a nation from the outside, nation brand images can be a way to understand the expectations of outsiders about a nation. The concept of nation brand image explores how people from outside associate with, expect, feel, and remember a nation (Anholt, 2007). Furthermore, Kavoura (2012) adds that tourists' experience of the visual landscape, rituals, buildings, and culture in the context of cultural heritage tourism can open opportunities for creating or changing perceptions (Kavoura, 2012; Newland & Taylor, 2010; Ryan & Silvanto, 2009). Even so, Kotler and Gertner (2002) argue that many people may resist changing their prior perceptions or stereotypes of a nation and prefer to adjust what they see to confirm their expectations. Therefore, nation brand image may be difficult to change (Kotler & Gertner, 2002; Anholt, 2007). Hence, the research project will investigate how Australian tourists expect and experience the cultural heritage spaces to understand the process on how the outsiders imagine Indonesia.

To locate a nation from the inside, investigating the nation's identities, purposes, and equity is important. These elements lead to further interrogation of the media and local people's points of view as sources of information in the research project. On the issue of media, Anholt suggests that a nation distinctively expresses its identities through logos, slogans, landmarks, and national monumental symbols in the cultural heritage sites (Anholt, 2007; Holt, 2004; Sumaco & Richardson, 2011). Therefore, to understand these nations' identities, Anderson argues that media functions as a tool to broadcast the symbolic identities of a nation (Anderson, 1991). Hence, the media

artefacts that expose the symbolic identities of Indonesia for both Indonesians and Australians can illustrate the imagining of nation identity and purpose.

On the issue of local people, Anderson (1991) argues that the nation's purpose is to uphold the official principles of the nation, including values and local traditions that are formed to create its identities and its dreams. Additionally, in cultural heritage spaces, local people decide which culture they would like to perform to best represent the shared uniqueness of their nations (Newland & Taylor, 2010; Waterton & Watson, 2010). As can be expected, local people are also an important resource for understanding the shared values of nations' identities and purposes.

Finally, the nation brand equity is a positive and powerful positioning of a brand, or the asset value of a nation's reputation (Anholt, 2007; Holt, 2004; Song, 2011). The positioning of the Indonesian nation, then, is an accumulation of the perceptions, understandings, and interpretations of local people, media, and Australians. These notions of equity are important considerations within the dimensions of nation branding and imagined community. By investigating all those elements, this project aims to establish the key concept of how the interactions between Indonesians and Australians in the cultural heritage villages affect the imagining of Indonesia. Therefore, for this project, the elements proposed by Anholt will inform the research questions and the investigation of the imagining of Indonesia that takes place at cultural heritage villages.

2. 3. 2. Discussion on nation branding

In the context of Indonesia, the examination of nation branding is still very limited. Some projects do address the question of how foreigners perceive and present the nation branding of Indonesia. An example of this is research conducted by Sumaco and Richardson (2011), who studied international tourists' perceptions of Indonesia as a destination and nation branding. Using 342 completed useable surveys returned and distributed to the three major international airports, the findings suggest that the awareness of the '*Wonderful Indonesia*' brand was small, with only 13.7% of the respondents stating that they have been exposed to the campaign and very few stated that the brand had a substantial impact on their choice to visit Indonesia. Sumaco and Richardson (2011) suggest for future studies the focus can be directed to particular

market segments to understand the demand and perceptions of these segments. This disertation addresses this identified gap by examining the consumption of place in cultural heritage villages of Australian tourists as international market in specific setting. Another study by Pamungkas (2015) evaluates the implication of the tagline "Wonderful Indonesia" for the perceptions of foreigners and public diplomacy. As a nation that has some negative images associated with it, such as, corruption, bad government, and political instability, the research suggests that Indonesia needs to strengthen its positive attributes in public diplomacy using a nation brand that emphasises tradition, culture, and nature. To answer this gap, it is important to understand connection of nation branding to the perceptual process and experiences in the setting of cultural heritage villages.

Meanwhile, most research projects on cultural heritage villages are concerned with the internal problems of these villages. Some internal problems that have been identified include lack of public facilities and innovation strategies, lack of management processes and marketing tools to promote the area, and lack of human resources and government funding (Risanto & Yulianti, 2016). Some potentials are also identified such as the quality and uniqueness of the local products, local wisdom, and traditional values that should be maintained (Satya & Kuraesin, 2016). Tourism plays a role in these narratives, both as driver to development and way of preserving culture.

However, in the examination of the internal characteristics of cultural heritage villages, a critique of structural power relations is rarely conducted, which reduces the possibility of an evaluation of power relations within the community. Furthermore, research on nation branding and tourism is dominated by the study of cities and iconic places of Indonesia (Hurriyati, 2015), investment in tourism (Irwansyah, 2014), and competition among popular regions in the nation (Pasande & Suhendra, 2017). Research projects specifically concerned with the cultural heritage village and how it connects to the nation brand in Indonesia are still very limited, despite the importance of the village as the nation's iconic space and *desa wisata* as a national project for tourism. Therefore, the research questions will interogate these questions further by locating nation in such specific settings.

2. 4. Studies of cultural heritage space

Heritage studies draw the attention of multidisciplinary scholars because they offer access to an array of material culture, from visual to textual and interactional. Material culture refers to any physical resources that identify the culture of a group and perform the meaning of cultural heritage, including houses, buildings, temples, landscapes, rituals, and traditional performances (Waterton & Watson, 2010). Yet, as a cultural process, heritage is not only a demonstration of the national legacy; it is also a constant battle over ownership to define which materials need to be preserved and whose national heritage is constructed (Lanfant, Allcock, & Bruner, 1995; Waterton & Watson, 2010). Thus, cultural heritage constructs the state of national ownership by representing the concept of "our," such as "our land" and "our culture" (Baranowski & Furlough, 2001, p. 9).

Cultural heritage villages or any other cultural heritage village spaces are best conceptualised as spaces in which to identify (some) trajectories of social relations (Harvey, 2015). Massey's work (2005) is relevant to an examination of the construction of a tourist village as a space of social interactions. Massey proposes an understanding of space as a product of interrelations, which can therefore only be understood by exploring the social relations in operation and creating opportunities for multiple stories, not only a single story (Massey, 2005). The space of heritage is also an area of possibilities for multiplicity, where various trajectories and heterogenic narratives exist to negotiate the meanings of the space (Harvey, 2015). As an open, unfinished process, and always becoming, a heritage space also reconnects with the ownership of space (Mowforth & Munt, 1998). Yet, as a cultural process, heritage is not only a demonstration of the national legacy; it is also a constant battle over ownership to define which materials need to be preserved as a heritage space for tourist consumption (Lanfant, Allcock, & Bruner, 1995; Waterton & Watson, 2010).

2. 4. 1. Consumption of space

In the ongoing process of representation and performance of cultural heritage, the interpretation of tourist demand is one of the ways of identifying which things should be preserved. When tourists appreciate a place as unique, nostalgic, exotic, or aesthetic, the cultural material can potentially be commoditised and commercialised

(Kavoura, 2012; Labadi, 2007; Ryan & Silvanto, 2009; Waterton & Watson, 2010). On the flip side, tourists also understand the attractiveness of a cultural heritage through the process of constructing the representation of a place and knowledge about a place (Baranowski & Furlough, 2001). Moreover, performing culture in the cultural heritage space is constructed in order to be recognised by others, such as international institutions or mass media, and is eventually offered to foreign investors and tourists (Labadi, 2007; Ryan & Silvanto, 2009; Yamashita, 2013). On the positive side, heritage tourism can benefit the locals through financial profit, preserving and conserving the nature and culture, and giving sense of pride to the community (Hall, 2007; Labadi, 2007; Ryan & Silvanto, 2009).

In the discussion around heritage and voices, Nuryanti (1996) argues that, in postmodern society, heritage spaces create a complex process of production activities where consumers from different nations and regions meet in a segment of identity. Heritage spaces become a space where people gather because of motives of consumption where fantasy and reality are interwoven in a virtual reality (Nuryanti, 1996). In this context, heritage functions as a place where people gather with the past to confirm, and not necessarily to disprove, historical facts (Nuryanti, 1996; Lowenthal, 1988; Sushartami & Ristiawan, 2018). With heterogeneous markets, heritage space can fulfil the needs of visitors such as educational group, students, working class individuals, families, and nostalgia explorers.

Urry (2002) discusses further the ways in which people consume space and place. Firstly, Urry describes the nature of space and time in the realm of the consumption of places. The concept of consuming places incorporates four basic ideas: (1) place is the centre of consumption, (2) place is visually consumed, (3) place can be consumed, for example through buildings, industrial places, etc., and (4) place is sometimes consumed as one identity (Urry, 2002). Secondly, Urry (2002) discusses how tourism, which is primarily concerned with a physical place that can be consumed visually, is based on the tourist's hope to view and experience (Tiberghien & Xie 2017; Zhu, 2012). However, in this process, tourism may lead to the demolition of the very authenticity it seeks to know through constructed narration (Tiberghien & Xie 2018), selective historical views (Sushartami & Ristiawan, 2018), and management cycle (Xie & Lane, 2006; Tiberghien & Xie, 2018). This discussion

can be related to the characteristics of contemporary tourists who now seek a more authentic experience rather than merely a recreation (Cohen, 2004). Thirdly, Urry, also discusses the negative connotation of the concept of tourism, via the tourist gaze, when he argues that tourism is constructed as inauthentic and a product of power relations (2002; Sushartami & Ristiawan, 2018). Similar to Urry, MacCannell (1999) asserts that tourists attempt to discover and reconstruct their social identity through the sites they visit, which are both similar to and also dissimilar from everyday life. Also, tourists participate as "sightseers," who construct their own meanings to find their own indulgence in being "elsewhere" (MacCannell, 1999). Fourth, Urry argues that, as consumer goods, tourism and vacations develop their commodities and integrate them with advertising and marketing strategies in the mass media. Baranowski and Furlough (2001) add to this discussion by elucidating the creation of consumer culture and modernity through media and tourism. They explain: "At the same time, tourism also came increasingly to rely upon the institutions of the broader consumer culture, for example advertising and later market research, to promote tourist destinations" (2001, p. 6). The media, then, shape and re-shape the market of spaces and place by identifying consumers, commodities, and ways to consume them.

2. 4. 2. Power and media representation

Many researchers investigate the way in which the media system of artefacts and communication devices creates discourses that (re) contextualise (reproduce identically) and (re)entextualise (reproduce with an altered form) the definition of a cultural heritage space. These discourses provide meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, and statements about a cultural heritage space (Burr, 1998). The discourses do not necessarily tell a single story; on the contrary, they enrich the stories of the cultural heritage (Foster, 2002). Additionally, various media also act to define what is to be delivered and to provide the "stock of knowledge" about the commodities of places, the consumers and how to consume spaces (Baranowski & Furlough, 2001, p. 132) that generates tourist motivation. The media provide the place to grow the discourses of expectations, memories, stories, and experiences in a cultural heritage space that can be expressed and shared within the segments of tourists (Kotler & Gertner, 2002).

However, in order to express and share certain discourses, the media also place more

authority and responsibilities for the narrative of a cultural heritage space in the hands of those who have access to the media and the viewers (Kalay, Kvan, Affleck, 2007). Consequently, a gradation of power exists ranging from those who have access to the mass media, language, and technology to those who live in the more remote areas and have less access to information, technology, language, and education to define the cultural heritage space (Butler & Hinch, 2007). The constructions of tourism spaces are commoditised and commercialised based on the demands of the tourists and/or those who have power in capital and media ownership instead of what is meaningful for the local people around the cultural heritage spaces (Butler & Hinch, 2007, p. 190).

As Cohen (2004) points out, power relations always confer privilege on some people, organisations, classes, and gender in their battle to define, construct, and claim ownership of a place (Tan & Bakar, 2016; Cheong & Miller, 2000). Waterton and Watson (2010) describe those who have the power to create the image and representation of a cultural heritage space as "the elite social group" (p. 10); Anderson calls them "the intelligentsia" (1991, p. 140). These groups have the power to set the agenda of the "ideological discursive formation" of a nation and a cultural heritage space through the expression of aesthetic symbols portrayed at the sites of remembrance (Waterton & Watson, 2010, p. 10; Tan & Bakar, 2016; Cheong & Miller, 2000).

Consequently, the construction of cultural heritage spaces is produced through unequal power-relations, meaning that some groups have greater power to promote and authorise cultural heritage places than others (Hall, 2007). This process involves the participation of local people, business entities, and media in the generation of text, images, and discourses for the promotional media, which have the power to influence how the nation is imagined (Foster, 2002; Postill, 2006; Urry, 2002).

2. 5. Conclusion

The research project addresses the gaps in existing academic discussions and debates using three main bodies of theories. Firstly, the theory in imagining a nation (Anderson, 2001) can interrogate the voices of the local people by examining the ways local express their outter and inner domain in conjuction with their identity as a post colonial nation (Chatterjee, 1991), the possibilities to locate a *negara* or nation from

the *desa (Geertz,1980),* the practices of everyday heritage in the *desa wisata* or cultural heritage villages as an invented tradition (Hobsbawm & Rangers, 1983) and the space of interactions between local people and Australian tourists. Using the surrounding theories and concepts on imagining nation, the dissertations can investigate the insiders point of view focusing on the voices of the local people and the production of heritage,

Secondly, nation branding (Anholt, 2005) is chosen to investigate both the insiders and outsiders by examining locals, media, and the pre and post departure perceptions of Australian tourists in the cultural heritage villages. Using the elements of nation branding such as nation brand image, identity, purposes, and equity (Anhotl, 2007), the dissertation aims to examine in detail the implementation of nation branding on the site of cultural heritage villages. This is an impotant way to extend the discussions on nation brand, especially on how villages can be the representation of the nation. Villages can be the potential setting in which the nation brand associations are expected and experienced by Australians from the connections with the media, the local people, and the comparative process.

Thirdly, using the literature surrounding the cultural heritage, place consumption, and the power relations involve in the cultural heritage sites, the dissertation attempt to understand the outsiders focusing on the media and Australian tourists. Specifically, Barwanowski and Furlough explain:

> Further work might also interrogate the relationship between, on one hand, the representation of tourism and vacations as a time apart, conducive to trying out new personal behaviors, marking social distinctions, "knowing one's country," and (re)discovering the self, and, on the other, the forging of consumerism's culture of distraction, fantasy, desire, and "lifestyle" (2001, p. 20).

These statements are related closely to the tenacious journey of experience of self and pleasure for the self in search of consumption, fantasy, desire, and the fulfilment of lifestyle. These expressions are integrated with the understanding of the enlightened "self," authenticity, identity, group belonging, nationalism, and the participation of "other" cultures or with one's "own" culture.

Accordingly, cultural heritage villages can be the laboratories for looking for answers

in locating a nation from different sets of space and place settings, with the complication of social relations and identities. The next chapter answer further elaboration on how to investigate the complexities of social and cultural phenomena using three selective methods from media analysis, ethnography, and discourse analysis.

Chapter 3. Methodology: perspectives on multiple methods

3. 1. The map of data collection

The practice of using multiple methods to understand heritage has attracted scholars as a means of strategically encountering the complexity of social phenomena. This chapter aims to explain the methodological approaches used in the present research project to investigate the complexity of locating nation in the setting of cultural heritage villages. I begin by outlining the ways in which a map of the data collection can answer the research questions. Next, I describe the selections of the fieldwork sites. I then discuss three methods that I have chosen in the research project by explaining the theoretical underpinnings and practicality of the approaches. Those methods are media data analysis, ethnography, and discourse analysis. Finally, I argue that the methods complement each other and work with other strategic tools to answer the research questions.

Accordingly, I utilised three main strategies for obtaining data. The first was media data collection from both online and offline promotional tools referring to Indonesia, the regions (Bali and/or Yogyakarta), and the cultural heritage villages (*Penglipuran* and/or *Nglanggeran*). The examination of the media highlighted the narrative of the nation through the question of "what to expect?" (Anholt, 2005). Media analysis can be a way to understand the depiction of a nation in terms of the expectations of the tourists and representations in the media as a way to connect and re-connect to the spaces and place by identifying the market, consumers, commodities and ways to consume them.

Second, expectation is not the only question involved in investigating the imagining of a nation. It is also about "how we experience the nation." An understanding of heritage through the experiences of the people who manage the heritage and the tourists needs a different approach. This enquiry uses a qualitative approach to explore diverse meanings, opinions, interpretations, and processes of interactions within the

heritage village (Atkinson, 2007). Therefore, I used an ethnographic approach to the study of heritage as a tool to untangle the socio-cultural situation of heritage. An ethnographic study can reveal the relationship between symbols in the media, perceptions, experiences, and interactions between local people who develop the heritage and manage the tourists. I employed in-depth ethnographic interviews with local people who live in/work for/connect to the heritage tourist villages and Australian tourists who visit the sites. I also utilised participant observation by joining tours for tourists, rituals, and activities within the villages.

Third, data from both resources (media collection and ethnography) need to be analysed through a critical lens to uncover the dynamics of social practice in cultural heritage villages. I chose to analyse the data through the critical lens of discourse analysis using a model offered by Fairclough (2000). Heritage practice is discursively constructed. Thus, a rigorous and practical strategy to comprehend the concept of discourse and its roles in social practice needs to be conducted. Discourse analysis offers a critical standpoint for investigating the consequences of discourse especially about the complexity of heritage (as abstractly represented in the mass media) and how to manage heritage (practically in the everyday life of cultural heritage villages) (Waterton et al., 2006). To understand the complexity of heritage, discourse analysis provides alternative approaches; as Waterton et al. state:

> It provides a method that allows the analyst to perform an interlocutory role in the dialogues between texts and social interactions in its oscillations between the close and detailed inspection of texts and an engagement with broader social issues (Waterton et al., 2006, p. 342).

Fairclough (2000) adds that analysis of the text needs to be connected with theoretical questions about discourse and how it was constructed, and, at the same time, the social effect of the discourse needs to be understood by talking closely to the people who talk, write, and produce the discourse in their everyday life.

The table below matches the research questions with the research methods described above and the form of data collected (Table 3.1).

Table 3. 1. Mapping of data collection

Research Questions	Theory	Method	Data Collection	Analysis
RQ1: What and how do the imagining and expectations of Indonesia by Australian tourists of these cultural heritage villages?	Nation branding and Place consumption	Media data analysis	Text including images such as through videos and photos	Using Discourse Analysis to answer the research objectives: to explore the imagining and expectations of Indonesia by Australian tourists of these cultural heritage villages
RQ2: How do the locals who work in the cultural heritage villages imagine their nation? RQ1: How do Australian tourists imagine and expect Indonesia through these cultural heritage villages?	Imagined community Imagined Community, Nation branding, and Place consumption	Ethnography	Ethno-Interview (Field notes including images such as through videos and photos) Participant observation (Field notes including images such as through videos and photos)	Using Discourse Analysis to answer the research objectives: to understand the imagining of Indonesia by locals who work in the cultural heritage villages; and, to investigate how the interactions between Indonesians and Australians in the cultural heritage villages affect the imagining of Indonesia (RQ3).

(Source: Table by Author, 2018)

The mixed methods of these research strategies can be useful to understand the detail insight of the complex social and cultural phenomena in the cultural heritage village settings. Additionally, multiple research strategies could counter the dominant point of view evident in the representation of the nation through heritage in the mass media.

This multi-method offers a holistic understanding and a critical point of view of the processes of consumption and production of cultural heritage villages.

By employing a multi-method approach, the study uses a range of theoretical and methodological principles. Qualitative approaches in media data, such as ethnographic interviews and participant observation, reveal various meanings and diverse viewpoints of social phenomena. At the same time, using discourse analysis as an analytical tool enables an exploration of critical, dialectical, and contested processes. This combination of methods embeds rich voices of individual experiences and personal interpretations (yu Park, 2010) into the research.

However, as knowledge is developed based on ongoing social and political constructs, researchers need to critically engage with the specificities of the field to involve deeper understanding and explanation (yu Park, 2010). Indeed, the results of this research project are necessarily partial, situated, relative, contested, and discursive at the same time, because they were subjected to different interpretations and analytical processes (Wetherell, Taylor, & Yates, 2001).

3. 2. Sites of fieldwork

In this section, I locate and present a historical overview and context for the two case study sites *Penglipuran* village in Bali and *Nglanggeran* village in Yogyakarta.

The main attraction of *Penglipuran* village is centralised on the life of the local people and the configuration of their residential houses. Tourists can visit the village for 1-2 hours. The dominant process of the visit in *Penglipuran* is to include the village as one of the full-day tour package. Thus, the length of the tourists who stay in *Penglipuran* village are in a very short visit. The trips are mostly managed by private tours.

Meanwhile, the main attraction of *Nglanggeran* is the ancient mountain while the life of the people in the village are secondary and conducted by-demand visits. Thus, tourists are likely to spend more time in the village to interact with locals. There are tourists who only want to visit the ancient mountain for 1-2 hours. However, the management of visits to the villages always includes half-day or full-day package. This is done by tour operators and agencies to encourage their tourists to interact with

locals and try other attractions such as educational tours of making chocolate and other agricultural experiences for half or full-day trip.

The comparisons between length of stay and pull factors between the case study sites shape the findings of the research project. However, the decision to compare the two villages are based on take three important considerations. (1) Both villages are comparable since their activities are centralised in the villages as referred to the definition of cultural heritage villages as mentioned earlier. (2) Both villages have been the winning villages for the best *desa wisata* at the national level. This means the model of the villages are replicated and shared by many other cultural heritage villages in the nation demonstrating how both villages display idyllic imaginings of rurality and villages of Indonesia. (3) There are Australian tourists, trips, and special tours in these villages. The Australians tourists in both villages also allow me to interview and observe their activities.

3. 2. 1. *Penglipuran* village, Bali

Penglipuran village is administratively a part of *Kabupaten Bangli*, a regency in Bali Province in the Western part of Bali, 500-600 metres above sea level (Figure 3.1). Initially, this village was established as an inheritance for the loyal soldiers of the Kingdom of Bangli in 1800 (Vickers, 2013) until the Dutch occupation around 1908. Originally, the ancestors of the people of *Penglipuran* were from *Bayung Gede*, a village 30 kilometres away from the Kingdom of Bangli (now the Regency), but the Kingdom granted land for the soldiers to rest upon and eventually to inhabit. Currently, according to the nomenclature of Indonesian structures, *Penglipuran* become a "village" equal in size and density to a subdistrict. For almost two decades, *Penglipuran* was one of the three early tourist villages in Bali (and Indonesia), along with the ancient village of *Tengenan*, and *Jati Luwih*, which at that time was identified in the World Heritage list as the place to view the Balinese paddy terrace or *Subak* (Yamashita, 2003; Yudantini & Jones, 2015). *Penglipuran* was preserved and redecorated in early 1990 by the residents to preserve their houses. University students from Udayana University and the head of the regency of *Bangli* then joined the effort in 1991; at the same time Bali was preparing for the visit of Indonesian's second president, Soeharto, in several locations including *Penglipuran*, even though the visit was ultimately cancelled. Since then, preservation efforts have continued, and

Penglipuran has stood as a collection of cohesive traditional architectural housings, streets for pedestrian, bamboo forest preservation, and commercial activities such as

MAP OF PENGLIPURAN VILLAGE
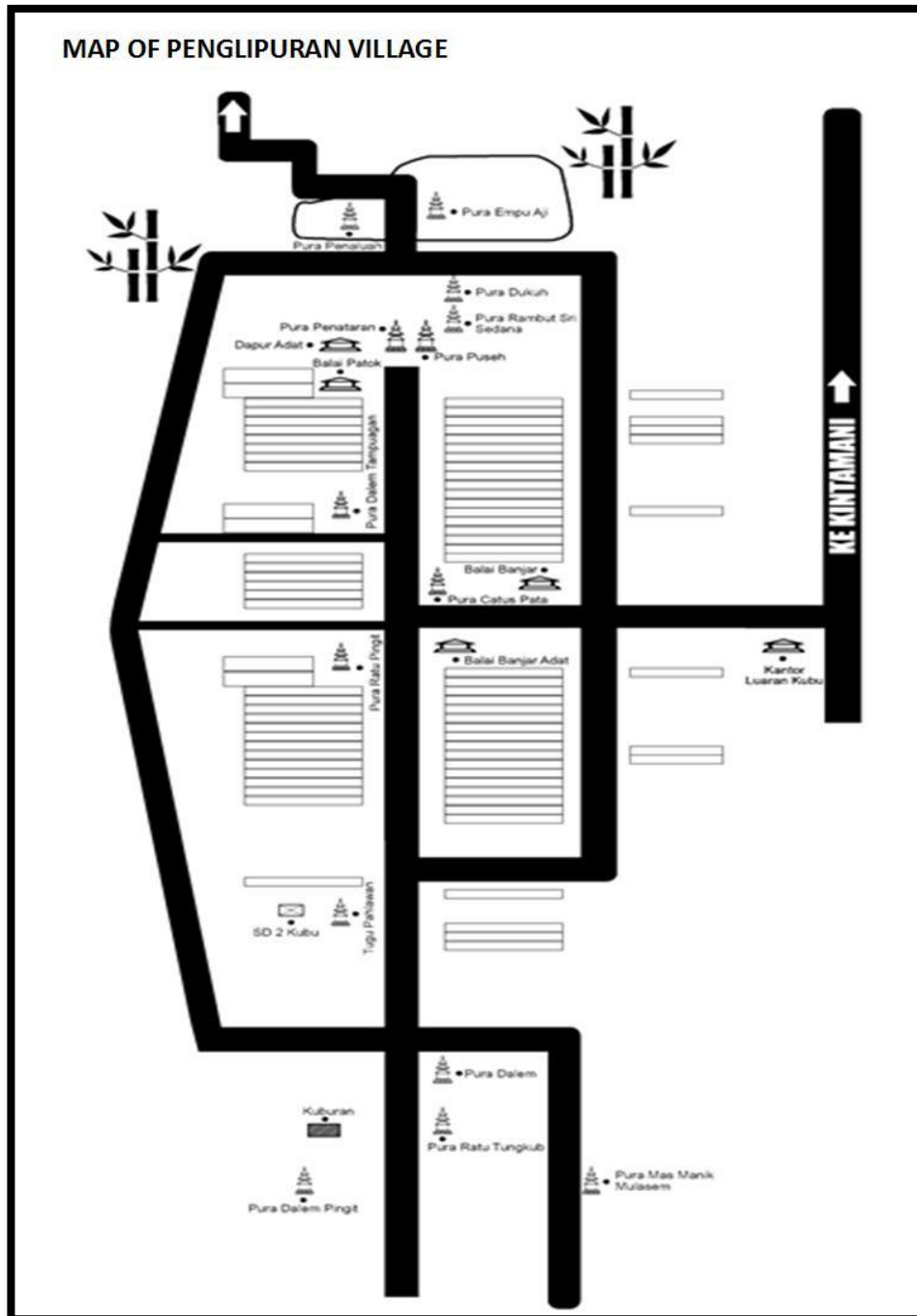
homestays, restaurants, small shops, and coffee shops for visitors.

Figure 3.1. Map of *Penglipuran* Village, in Bangli, Bali
(Source: Adapted from Dorn, 2010 from *Penglipuran* documentation)

Tourism activities continued in this fashion until, in 2012, the concept of *desa wisata,* or villages for tourism purposes, was formulated by the central government. *Penglipuran*'s model is replicated across hundreds of Indonesian villages as an

example of "the best Indonesian tourist village" and the exhibition of the everyday life of local people to imagine "Bali in the past." The tension in preserving the past and the everyday life of the local ethnic/tribe community by opening their villages to tourists through the exhibition of housing, landscape surroundings, cultural activities, and commercialisation is today performed by many *desa wisata* across Indonesia. Since 2012, more than 928 villages throughout Indonesia, local community artefacts have been collected, displayed, and constructed in an effort to preserve the "agricultural" and "cultural diversity" of the nation (Kompas, 2012), after receiving village grants.

Penglipuran village established a local tourism organisation to deal with 25,702 foreign visitors and more than 82,512 domestic visitors on average every year, according to data in the guest book of *Penglipuran* in 2017. These visitors support the income of the regional government, the livelihood of the local people, and preservation efforts on behalf of the buildings, houses, and landscapes around the village. The village tourism organisation plans tours, packages, security, parking, and village community rituals. These rituals focus heavily on the Hindu Bali religion and system. The routine for tourism activities mixed with community and personal life occurs within the space of the *Penglipuran* village. This everyday life becomes the performance of local heritage.

Penglipuran village is an intriguing research site in this project because the village preserves the memory of the early model of national interactions with local diversity, although not only because of the preservation effort in relation to architecture. As the cultural identity of the community in Bali is Hindu, the village appears to represent how Indonesia embraces the diversity of culture that becomes a crucial dimension of the nation's identity. *Penglipuran* is also an exemplar of the implementation of a nation brand at the village level as a contemporary approach to the development of rural areas in Indonesia. The villagers also exhibit civic practices in a cohesive setting, and at the same time, the villages can negotiate their visions of the national standard to build a tourism brand.

3. 2. 2. *Nglanggeran* village, Yogyakarta

Nglanggeran village is, administratively, a part of *Kabupaten Gunung Kidul,* a

regency in the *Special Region of Yogyakarta Province*, located in between 200-700 metres above sea level near the ancient mountains of *Nglanggeran* (Figure 3.2).
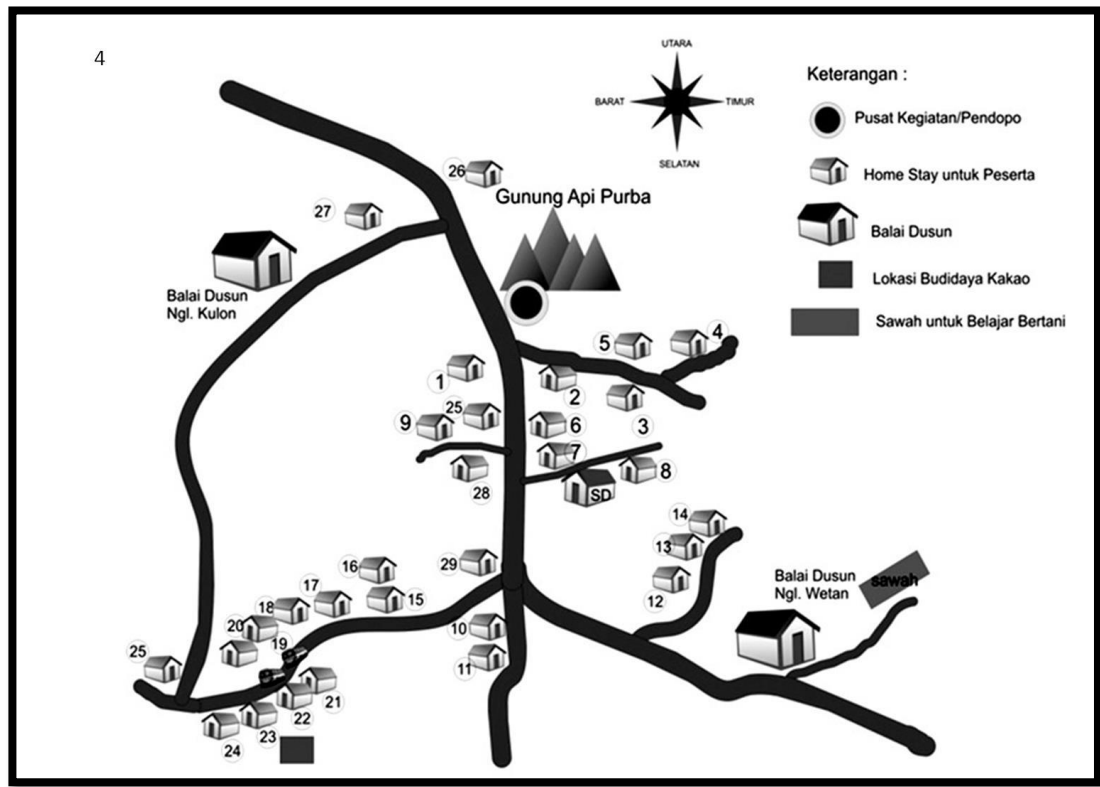
Figure 3.2. Map of *Nglanggeran* Village in Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta Province, Java Island
(Source: Adapted from map of the tourism locations of *Nglanggeran)*

After an earthquake hit Java Island, especially Yogyakarta province, in 2006, the community in *Nglanggeran* village began developing a tourism business for their impoverished village. Even though the ancient mountain of *Nglanggeran* had previously existed as a tourist site, the local people had not developed any other attractions or commercial activity to support this destination. From the young people's group initiative (Pratiwi, 2017), the local people started to romanticise their village using local resources, such as their agricultural landscapes and rural activities (Hermawan, 2016; Amalia, 2017).

The village of *Nglanggeran,* also suffers high levels of poverty. *Nglanggeran* is a reflection of thousands of other similar villages across the nation. Specifically, on Java Island, including *Nglanggeran*, there has been a significant decline of *Sawah*, or wetlands, for agriculture. People have converted the wetlands into residential areas or

developed them for other purposes, due to the small incomes to be derived from agriculture. For example, since 2014, 612,000 farmers on Java island have sold their land because of economic conditions (66%) and/or because they could not afford to cultivate their land any more due to their children or grandchildren no longer being willing to work as farmers (Astuti, 2016). The challenges of population growth, diversity, finance, and the mobility of people encourage tourism policymakers to support the economic growth of individuals and groups through programs like the *Desa Wisata* project, or village for tourism purposes, across the nation. The decline of agriculture due to modernisation and urbanisation also makes it a rational choice for the government to invent the imagery of an agricultural nation by preserving villages as Indonesia's agricultural heritage through the *Desa wisata* project.

The aims of such projects are to maintain agricultural activities as a tourism commodity and to increase the pride of farmers in performing their activities for urban or foreign visitors. Hence, *Nglanggeran* has stood as a collection of agricultural landscapes, Javanese cultural activities, and experiences. In 2012, the village embraced the concept of *Desa wisata,* which was introduced by the central government of Indonesia through funding, competition, training, and guidelines. *Nglanggeran* appeared as the champion in the 2012 competition, using community participation and youth mobility as two of its strengths (Wahyuni, 2018). The model of *Nglanggeran* village is replicated across hundreds of Indonesian villages, which have similar resources such as agricultural landscape, natural resources as tourism attractions, and active participation of a village youth organisation.

Given the resulting dynamic between national projects and local initiatives, this project attempts to investigate the imagining of an agricultural nation in a Javanese context by using *Nglanggeran* village as a case for investigation. As well, the population of *Nglanggeran* is comprised of major local identity groups such as Javanese tribes and a Muslim population. *Nglanggeran* and its landscape can also allow an investigation into the dynamics of agricultural romanticism in the nation of diversity.

3. 3. Methods

3. 3. 1. Media analysis in theory

Media is one of the principal means by which travellers familiarise themselves with a foreign place. The media helps them to imagine their expectations and the experiences they will encounter. Media functions to represent an image of a heritage, create expectations for the audience (Anholt, 2007), provide a stock of knowledge (Urry, 2002), and offer a place to deliver the collective memories of a nation (Giaccardi, 2012).

Against the positive functions of media in developing heritage, some critics argue that media, both online and offline, increase the commodification and commercialisation of heritage. Promoting heritage through media forms and contexts that are directed towards tourism and travel perpetuates the risk of commercialisation, appeals to mass tourism in heritage, and poses the risk of the loss of the duty of preservation (Chhabra, 2009). Although it is a part of the rational business of heritage to gain economic benefits for the place and the people, the representation of images and expectations in the media may create the risk that the management of heritage will become dominated by visitor-based decisions, capitalistic management, and a short-term focus (Chhabra, 2009). Consequently, the people who work in the heritage sites could follow the demands of the media by creating experiences that fit the expectations of tourists (Chhabra, 2009). This is where the circular process of the production and consumption of heritage takes place.

Pritchard and Morgan (1998) use the notion of "sightseeing" to exemplify the eminence of imagery and visualisation in tourism. The process of sightseeing does not start when a tourist or visitor arrives at the location; it occurs even before that, starting with the tourist's experience of relevant media prior to the tourist's departure. Unsurprisingly, there are many researchers studying the representation of heritage in media imagery such as brochures, advertisements, and other promotional tools (Crouch, Jackson, & Thompson, 2005). The images and texts in the media appear as the dominant discourse and perspective. Yet this is not to be taken as natural, because it comes from privilege and from a limited sense of cultural experience shared in the discourse of heritage in mass media by those who have the power to access paid media

or online media. Therefore, understanding the imaginings of nation in the media is important to locating a nation. As Pritchard and Morgan (2000) argue, images or text in brochures or other marketing tools are created, mediated, designed, and constructed based on specific cultural and ideological requests.

Bali

The village of
Penglipuran

Media on
the cultural
heritage
village area
(Imagining
Indonesia as
Insiders)

The village of
Nglanggeran

The Nation:
Indonesia

Java,
Yogyakarta

Regional Depictions and
Representatives around the
provinces
(Nation branding)

Media Prior the departure
(Consuming a nation as outsiders)
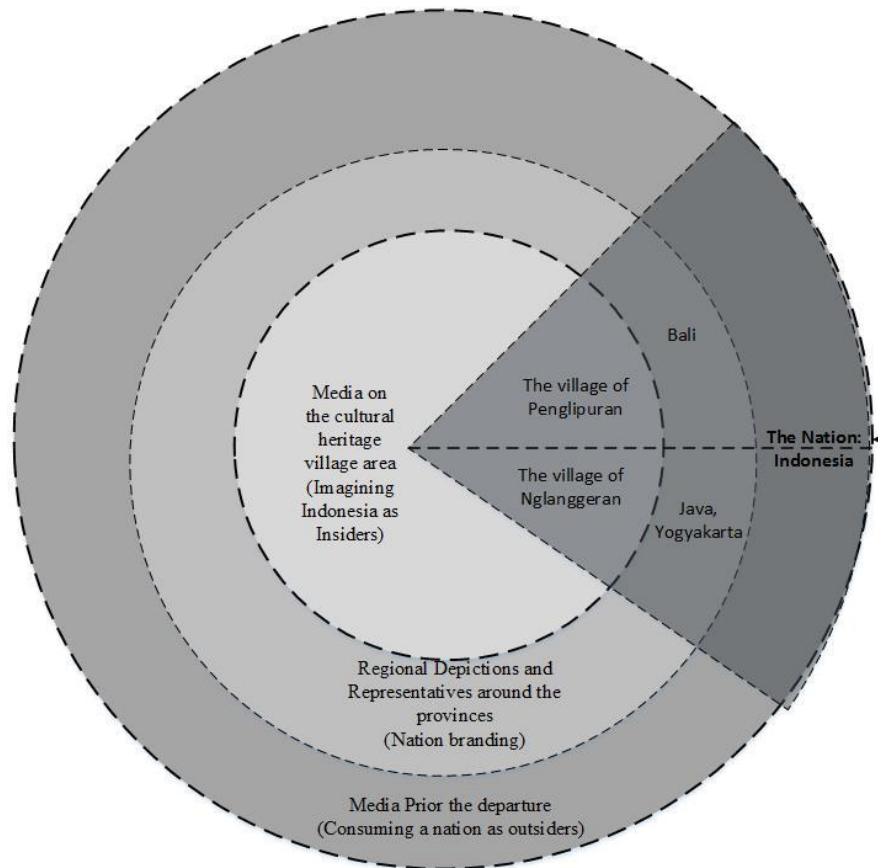
Figure 3.3. The Map of media data analysis
(Source: Figure by Author, 2018)

Based on these understandings, I based my choice of media data analysis on the theoretical model outlined in Chapter Two (Figure 3.3). The choice of the media data draws on Anderson's theoretical framework of imagining nation to locate the nation from the inside. In this case, I used the media data produced in heritage places or cultural heritage villages, such as *Penglipuran* and *Nglanggeran*, as the field of study. Secondly, I used the concept of nation branding developed by Anholt, in which the nation is represented based on the dominant imaginings of some regional (in this case, Bali and Java or Yogyakarta) depictions and representatives. Finally, I developed an understanding of the consuming nation as outsider by looking at the media data, about the nation, available prior to the tourist's departure.

3. 3. 2. Media analysis in practice

Accordingly, I divided the media into several categories: (1) media that will provide the stock of knowledge about a place prior to the departure of the tourist; (2) media that will direct the tourist during their trip; and (3) media at the tourism spot. The table below briefly describes the media data selection (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2. Media data collection list

Media Distribution	Quantity	Content	Creators
Media prior departure			
Travel Agents: • Interviews • Brochures	1 Person 1 Ad	Bundled destinations	Tourism agency
Books: *Lonely Planet* (Edition of Indonesia, Bali & Lombok, Java)	3 Books	Bundled destinations	Tourism related media
Magazines: • **Australian Women's Weekly** • **Australian Fit** • **Bali Advertisers**	1 Ad 1 Ad Magazine covers 2016-2018	Single Destination Single Destination Bundled destinations	Ad Agency
Interaction Online Media: • **TripAdvisor** • **Lonely Planet Online**	3 Topics 3 Webs	Reviews and Discussions Bundled destinations	Tourism related Media
Specific depiction of heritage village: • *Penglipuran* village: Bali Hai Cycling Tour, Villondo, Trip Advisor, Bali Surf Advisor, Bali Star Island, Viator, Lonely Planet, and Gusti Bali. • *Nglanggeran* village: websites from two	8 Websites 4 Websites	Single Destination Promotion Single Destination Promotion	Tourism related Media University, Agency, and Tourism related Media

universities, the Australian consortium, and Expedia.			
Media during the trip			
Airlines Media: • Jetstar • Qantas	2 Mags 1 Mag	Bundled destinations	Airlines Media
• Advertising in the airport • Brochures in the hotel • Outdoor advertising	5 Ads 3 Brochures 6 Ads	Single Destination Bundled destinations	Tourism Agency
Media at the heritage spot			
• Promotional and informational media on the spot • Tracing back from the information that I gained from Australian tourists	6 Outdoors 4 Brochures 6 References	Single Destinations Bundled destinations	Local Agency Tourism media, university, and tourism agency

(Source: Table by Author, 2016)

As Szerszynski and Urry point out, the media will provide information and build tourist motivation (2006), but experiences at the site will also provide strong narratives and memories about "being elsewhere" (Baranowski & Furlough, 2001). Using both media and ethnographic approaches, I investigated the imagining of nation in order to understand both media representations and on-site experiences.

3. 3. 3. Ethnography in theory

"A mile is not long enough! Go live in the person's community, play together, work together, eat meals together, and yes, wear the shoes, hopefully you'll have something meaningful or useful to say about it anyway"- An old aphorism in the article of Rachelle Annechino and Heather Ford (2011, p. 1, para. 3)

Understanding culture as an insider and outsider is the purpose of adopting an ethnographic approach. I decided to take an ethnographic approach for this project because I wanted to find the rhythms, consistency, and irregularities in the interactions

between Australian tourists and Indonesian local people in the everyday life of heritage tourist villages (Ladner, 2012). As a consequence, I explored through not only the details of the information but also the context, meanings, and explanations of "why" the details exist in the larger arrays of social life (Ladner, 2012; Gobo, 2008). The process for arriving at those explanations is to use the standpoint of research participants and observe their everyday life to comprehend their language, impressions, judgments, thoughts, expectations, and values (Gobo, 2008).

Specifically, in this project, I applied the concept of nation branding and positioning Australian tourists and local people in the heritage village as consumers and producers of meaning about Indonesia. Subsequently, I explored the consumer's standpoint and to define products, services, and messages according to that standpoint (Ladner, 2012). During this process, I encountered participants who were unwilling to join the research project in the field because they were in the mood for a holiday or in a rush, following the itinerary of a tour. From them, I still could also grasp the depth of the interactions between different types of tourists based on the length of time they spend in the heritage village. Consumers may perceive products as meaningful or meaningless depending on how they value themselves, the space they travel to, the time they spend, and their cultural contexts (Ladner, 2012). Using ethnography, I produced significant stories, quotations, images, and non-verbal expressions from real people, especially about how their identities shape their interpretations of Indonesia (Gobo, 2008; Ladner, 2012). Ultimately, this method helped me to interpret the "taken for granted" events of everyday life from Australian tourists and local people in the heritage tourist villages.

The ethnography method is used in an attempt to understand thematic concepts including the space of heritage, the products of memory from the past, the narrative of a nation in heritage, the act of consumption, and global-local interactions (Atkinson, 2007). To understand these concepts and the ways in which they are manifested in cultural practices, ethnographic studies allow the researcher to use ethnographic interviews to obtain data (Atkinson, 2007) and to conduct participant observation by taking field notes (including taking photographs or recording video).

3. 3. 3. 1. Insiders, outsiders, and subjectivity

The theories recognise that insiders and outsiders are both necessary in the construction and imagining of a nation. Accordingly, by adopting the work of Anderson and Anholt, this dissertation will specifically interrogate the narratives from both inside and outside the nation. The dichotomy of insiders and outsiders is conceptually contested, in this project; the terms will be used to refer to Indonesian local people involved in the cultural heritage villages and Australian tourists respectively. Such common ground functions to differentiate people who share citizenship, ethnic, linguistic, and cultural identity, and geographical residence. Admittedly, an insider or an outsider is an unsolidified identity and penetrable to social location (Ergun & Erdemir, 2010). People will negotiate and re-negotiate their identities as insiders or outsiders based on the distinctions which are culturally and socially constructed (Ergun & Erdemir, 2010). Acknowledging that people shift between the categories of insider and outsider, the research project recognises the fluid identities embodied and performed by the Indonesian local people and Australian tourists in the imagining of Indonesia.

This research methodology has some limitations. For example, one limitation of participant observation and interviews is related to the subjectivity of the researcher (Ladner, 2012). As an Indonesian citizen, I am aware that I have an advantage in obtaining data through my use of language, skills, and knowledge of the regions. Hence, I was continually aware of my subjectivity in the process of data collection. I maintained careful attention to my personal identity and professionalism throughout the implementation of my research method, research steps, and analysis. Accordingly, I employed a strategy of note taking to differentiate the descriptions or reports of my observations and interviews from what I have observed and interviewed. To do this, I provided "What I see/hear" descriptions, and then with another note I interpreted the result with "How I see/hear it" explanations (Wiles et al., 2005).

Another weakness of participant observation is the possibility that my identity as a researcher will disturb the setting of the object of observation (Ladner, 2012). To mitigate this issue, I tried not to stand out, or to affect the flow of the activity, by engaging in the villagers' regular activities or rituals, wearing clothing similar to that of my targeted participants, maintaining appropriate body language and tones of voice,

and adjusting my use of language to theirs.

I was also aware that my identity as an Indonesian, a Javanese female, and a student from an Australian university. These intersections of identity might influence the power relations of my position during the fieldwork in the community (Ladner, 2012). My position shifted from insider and outsider in certain contexts during the data collection. With locals, I was an outsider but with Australians I was an insider. Therefore, to mitigate my dominant privilege, I employed Goal's possible research roles (1985 in Wiles et al., 2005). I used in-depth interviews with participants who observe the village daily, I observed myself using my novelty as a newcomer, and I immersed myself as a participant by staying in the village (Goal, 1985 in Wiles et al. 2005). Additionally, my other identity as a non-Australian tourist, a non-Balinese, and a female who grew up in urban Java also gave me an outsider's point of view. Using this, I was able to find the mid-point between the perspectives of insider and outsider in this participant observation method.

3. 3. 4. Ethnography in practice

To conduct interviews with Australian tourists and Indonesian local people, I conducted careful planning and detailed preparation. I worked strategically with the preliminary background theory to formulate the questions effectively to answer my research questions. These interviews are useful to address the gap in knowledge resulting from the participant observations and media data collection (Dunn, 2000). Interviews allowed me to investigate complex motivations and behaviours, and diversity of experience, meaning, and opinion (Dunn, 2000).

To achieve these goals, I set descriptive type questions, story-telling type questions, and investigative type of questions to understand the respondents' opinions and structures of thought (Dunn, 2000). During the interviews, I developed the questions into contrasting types of questions and elaborated the respondents' opinions by challenging their answers with some data that contradict or differ from their statements (Dunn, 2000).

I employed semi-structured interviews by creating an interview guide for each target group. I then followed the relevant trajectories during conversations with participants

who may have developed or strayed from the guide, as long as they feel comfortable with this.

To choose my research participants, especially the local people in the heritage sites, I adopted Davis' idea of the turbine development model of the museum, which was based on community participation (2011). Davis argues that museums should be interconnected with the community and the environment in the innermost circle (2011). Three key features of museums that should be investigated together are participation of the community, the preservation of the *in-situ* place, and development of local sites, the combination of which is circulated like a turbine (Davis, 2011).

I applied this understanding to 'cultural heritage villages' because museums and cultural heritage villages have major similarities such as community-based preservation, environmentally preserved areas and landscapes, and a role as a memorial of particular cultural purposes. A similar process was conducted by Liu and Lee (2015) in their study of three different eco museum at Houtong Coal Mine, Daxi Wood and Togo to investigate numerous mechanisms of the growth of eco museums in Taiwan. I applied the turbine model to heritage sites to inform my choices of research participants based on their participation and roles in developing the cultural heritage village (Figure 3.4).

First step: establishing cultural and natural heritage by the founders and early establishment actors.
Second step: collecting local resident opinions conducted by the early establishment actors

Third step: planning management with participation of local population for example from the management group or agency in the village.
Fourth step: improving regional environment, setting up exhibiting facilities and tourist service center for example: local management agency, administrator, decorative crew, cleaning crew, and front office.

Fifth step: operational stage, commercial collaboration from public-private entities, legal definition of cultural landscape, and initiate the tourism community for example: commercial groups, people who involve with administration and government, leaders/members of tourism awareness group.
Six step: integrating issues of regional development for example with people who involve with regional government.

Figure 3.4. Turbine Model of Community Heritage Development Participation
(Source: Adapted from Liu & Lee, 2015)

From this turbine model, I then assessed the complexity of the heritage village, the different roles and participation of local people, and the imaginings of the nation in the cultural heritage sites from the beginning of the establishment process to the current stage of development. The model was useful to understand the key persons to talk to and interview about the major stages of development of the cultural heritage villages (Figure 3.4).
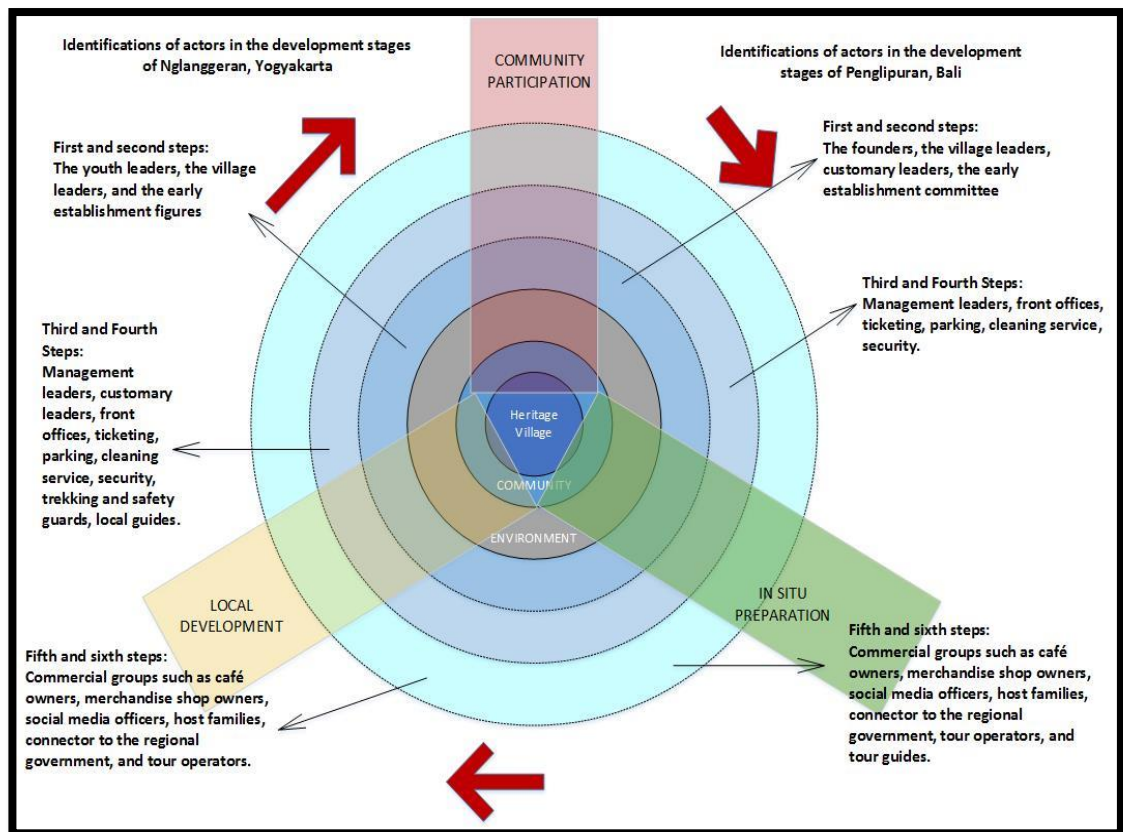
Figure 3.5. Identifications of actors in the development process of *Penglipuran* village and *Nglanggeran* village
(Source: Adapted from Liu & Lee, 2015)

Using the model above, I attempted to open up discussions and interviews not only with key figures and actors in the village but also with other figures (even if they have only small roles) to investigate the imaginings of the nation in the cultural heritage villages. These choices of participants are referring to the research question regarding "the local who works in the cultural heritage village," to ensure that the complete range of stories and voices is heard in the interviews.

3. 3. 4. 1. Fieldwork data in *Penglipuran* village

I conducted research fieldwork on June-July in 2017. I interviewed 24 local people, including the customary leaders, the management team behind the tourism activities in the village, the administrative leaders, host families, sellers, workers (ticketing officers, gardeners, and cleaning service providers), and guides. I spent between 60 and 150 minutes interviewing each participant. I used the turbine model to determine the participation, roles, and profiles of the local people whom I should interview and

observe in *Penglipuran* village.

As supplementary data to understand the context of the interviews, I also investigated local and national documents, such as those related to *Pedoman Pokdarwis* (Tourism Awareness Group guidelines) and the Brand and Design Application Guidelines of *Wonderful Indonesia* that influence Bali at large to comprehend the rationale behind the decision to preserve *Penglipuran* village for local, regional, and national purposes.

For the interviews with Australian visitors, I also participated in three tour packages (a biking tour, a rental car tour, and a photographic tour) for 30 hours to understand how tourists experience the village through a commercial tour agent. During this process, I interviewed 6 Australian tourists along our trip for 8-10 hours in a conversational way. After joining the tour package, I interviewed 12 Australians on their visits to *Penglipuran* village for about 20-40 minutes per interview.

Since the main attraction of *Penglipuran* village is focused on the life of the local people and the configuration of their residential houses, tourists are able to visit the village for 1-2 hours. The main itineraryof visits in *Penglipuran* is to include the village as one of the full-day tour package (8-10 hours trip). Thus, the length of the typical tourist stay in *Penglipuran* village is a very short visit as they must divide their time between places across the day. The trips are mostly managed by private tours.

3. 3. 4. 2. Fieldwork data in *Nglanggeran* village

I conducted the research fieldwork on September-October in 2017. I interviewed 21 local people, including the customary elderly, the head of the village, the management team behind the tourism activities in the village, the youth leaders, female leaders, host families, sellers, workers (ticketing officers, parking attendants, and cleaning service providers), and trekking guides. I spent between 45 and 90 minutes interviewing each participant. I used the turbine model to determine the participation, roles, and profiles of the local people whom I should interview and observe in *Nglangeran* village.

I also investigated local and national documents, such as those related to *Pedoman Pokdarwis* (Tourism Awareness Group guidelines), the Brand and Design Application Guidelines of *Wonderful Indonesia,* and Guidelines for BUMDes (*Guidelines for*

Village-Owned Enterprise) that influence *Nglanggeran* at large to comprehend the rationale of the locals to preserve the village.

Using an ethnographic approach in *Nglanggeran*, I also interviewed 14 Australians consisting of: six Australians interviewed several days after their visit to *Nglanggeran* for 60 to 120 minutes, four Australians interviewed during their visit to the village involving a discussion group and personal talks for 8 hours or full day tours, and four Australians interviewed via emails or face to face meetings several months or years after their visit in the village. I also investigated online, and offline documents related to the testimonials of Australian tourists, such as those from the guest books available in the host families' homes or online reviews, as another sources of data. These choices of participants refer to the research question regarding "the Australians tourists who visit the cultural heritage village," to ensure that the complete stories and voices are heard in the interviews.

Since the main attraction of *Nglanggeran* is the ancient mountain and the life of the people in the village is often considered secondary, tourists tend to spend more time in the village in order to interact with locals. There are tourists who only want to visit the ancient mountain for 1-2 hours. However, the management of the villages always offer half-day/full-day package in *Nglanggeran* for tour operators and agencies to make their tourists able to interact with locals and try other attractions such as educational tours of making chocolate and other agricultural experiences for 4-8 hours trip.

3. 3. 4. 3. Observation data

To understand the construction of the everyday life in the heritage villages, I observed the heritage villages from both outside and inside; for example, by joining a group of tourists who came to the village, staying in the village, and acting like the local people. I interacted with Australian tourists and the local people within their everyday setting while collecting information. With this process, I was able to investigate the rich, complex, problematic, and diverse experiences of the everyday life of heritage tourist villages.

Next, specifically for my observation data, I adopted the phenomenology for heritage studies proposed by Martin Selby (2010, in Waterton & Watson, 2010), which

encompasses six components: visualising, representing, performing, perceiving, knowing, and acting. These components form a basis for sensing the heritage village and surrounding context, which can be interrogated further using the ethnographic approach. The table below shows the relationship of each component to the research. Through descriptions and table from Selby (2010), I then described the operational implementation on the site (Table 3.3).

Table 3.3. Six components of sensing the heritage

Component	Relationship to the research	Operational implementation on the site
Visualising	Landscape is a textual code that constructs and conveys meaning and discourse. It consists of a set of representations about a community.	I collected videos and photographic documentations related the landscape. I also explored the landscape through various means such as walking, and using a motorbike, a bicycle, and a car. I also investigated how the landscape is being used, how it should be used, the symbolic representation of a landscape, and the functions of the landscape and spaces.
Representing	An interpretative approach that relies on content, simulator, statement, and signifier, such as myth making.	After visiting the landscape, I gathered and collected a list of important and meaningful landscapes for further investigation. This list of spaces included the materials that I hunted further for explanations, stories, and meaning making from local people or tourists.
Performing	A way to sense a space through engaging with performance in the heritage setting.	I documented, watched, and collected various sources of information related to the performance of heritage such as rituals, ceremonies, and preparation before opening and closing the heritage village.
Perceiving	An embodiment in which individual observers, such as visitors or tourists, try to focus on the gazes and positions of their bodies.	I observed the conversations, gazes, and positions of tourists and local people in the heritage village. I made lists related to information regarding the everyday observations and perceptions related to those sources.
Knowing	A process of consuming heritage through media and mediated experiences in order to stock one's	I collected information related to the presentation of heritage such as brochures, posters, and other advertisements or campaigns. I also documented the media exposure of the heritage site prior to

	knowledge about heritage, as visitors do who search for information about destinations before they visit them to decide what to see there.	departure. Finally, I checked the information, images, and texts on site, especially with regard to how it was presented on site.
Acting	A way of looking at heritage by following the "recipe" of the tourism industry, such as taking photos, following the tour guide or operator, or joining pre-packaged events. These actions are aimed at the reproduction of meaning, the decisions made in consumption, and creating the screen of imagination of a space.	I joined tour packages, which involve Australians coming to the heritage site. I also followed tour guides and asked questions regarding the presentation of heritage. Finally, I observed the reproduction of stories and meanings, and the process of consuming heritage.

(Source: Adapted from Selby (2010 in Waterton and Watson, 2010, pp. 39-55).

Drawing on Selby's concept, I built the lists of objects that I needed to observe in my research project. From these theoretical steps, I developed operational steps to explain how the ethnographic interviews and participant observations were to be implemented. The operational steps also considered time limits, the condition of tourism spots, and routes of tourism destinations.

3. 3. 3. Discourse analysis

As an analytical tool to understand the imagining of a nation, I used discourse analysis (DA) in this dissertation. DA is not just a way to analyse the data; it is also a method that incorporates philosophical principles related to the use of language, the representation of power, the construction of theoretical perspective, and methodological guidelines to approach social practice in heritage as a domain of my research (Phillips & Hardy, 2002).

In this research project, instead of using the framework of DA as a methodological way of collecting data, I only used DA as an analytical tool to complement the fieldwork and data collection from the media and the ethnographic approach. Discourse analysis offers a way to disentangle the complexity of invented tradition in

the contested process of nation and heritage. DA helps the process of analysis to explore deeply the production of power in the construct of social phenomena in mass media and the nuance in the dynamic relations between people, interactions, and representations. In this section, I provided a brief explanation of DA and how I applied the technique to my analysis.

The main reason for combining the data that I gained from the media and the ethnographic approach through DA was to build a method that comprehended the thickness of data to be critically analysed. Many scholars combine their exhaustive data into discourse analysis because it offers an enriching and informative insight into the construction of social practices (Hannam & Knox, 2005; Murti, 2019; Santos et al., 2008; Van Dijk, 2001). DA offers a way to understand a rich amount of inter-textual and cross-referenced data from a critical standpoint. DA relates to the dialectical relations between discourses and other factors such as situations, objects, moments, and other discourses (Van Dijk, 2001). However, DA is limited by the ability of the researcher to conceive the interpretations of media texts. Hence, Schroder (2007) suggests that data from an ethnographic point of view, which reveals how persons or communities encounter the texts, will help to strengthen the understanding of the social practice of discourse in the society.

As an analytical tool, DA functions in several ways that will provide an in-depth understanding of imagining nation through heritage. First, DA is presumed to address social problems in such a way as to ground its practical relevance to the social, cultural, political and economic contexts of the media and heritage sites (Van Dijk, 1997). Second, it reveals how power relations are exercised and negotiated through discourses in the media and heritage sites. Although DA is not as centrally focus upon ideological investigation, power dominations, inequality, and social injustice as much as a specific method such as Critical Discourse Analysis, in general DA is still able to show the dynamics of power using the dominant patterns of discursive materials (Van Dijk, 1997). Third, DA accounts for the constitution of society and culture using language as a tool to reproduce, transform, and invent tradition (Van Dijk 1997). How texts are interpreted and received, and what social effects they have can be considered through the combination of data in ethnography, media, and DA. Finally, historical

terms can also be revealed by mediating the link between text and society through the interpretive and explanatory approach of DA (Scollon, 2001).

In practice, DA is operationalised, as an analytical framework, into three dimensions. These are: intertextuality as a relationship between texts; interdiscursivity as the combination of genres and discourse in a text; and the dominant ideology of culture and politics in a society (Fairclough, 2000). Through these dimensions, Fairclough (2000) categorises the components of analysis into description, interpretation, and explanation. Through a step-by-step investigation in DA, a researcher can understand how texts, language, social interactions, practices, and events work to produce dominant discourse. In the textual analysis, DA will function to explore different processes and types of verbs in the interactions. I applied this to understand the social relations between participants in the interactions, the mood (statements, questions, or declarations), and modality (the degree of mode that exists, and is experienced and expressed) (Rogers, et al. 2005). Through analysing text, DA also includes an investigation on of how language is produced, interpreted, distributed, and consumed through inter-discursive analysis. This relates to how people interpret, reproduce, and transform the texts (Rogers et al., 2005). Finally, social analysis of the framework refers to issues of power, which construct the discourse and create inter-discursivity. This includes how discourse functions in various areas of social practice. DA then analyses the language structures produced in discursive events by examining the production, consumption, and reproduction of texts related to nation and heritage (Table 3.4).

Table 3.4. Table step-by-step discourse analysis

Identify the purpose, questions, and corpus of texts.	Intertextual analysis	Media data analysis which produces depictions and representation of the nation
Identify traces of other texts that refer to specific themes, patterns, levels of intertextuality, and techniques of delivery.		
Observe and interpret by considering the references in relation to the context using		Ethnographic data, which shows the

		imaginings/expectations and production/consumption of locals and Australian tourists.
information from those who produce and consume the text (ethnographic data).	Interdiscursive analysis	
Look for more subtle clues for analytical purposes		
Develop conclusion or dimension of discourses by tracing back how the patterns applied in the ethnographic data or social practice (situational, institutional, and societal level)	Social Practice	The experiences of the local people and Australians, which appear as the social practice of cultural heritage villages

(Source: Table by Author, 2017 adapted from Van Dijk 1997)

The purpose of adopting analysing texts through discourse is that it will offer multiple points from which to enter the analysis of the data derived from the media and the ethnographic approach. The interconnections that the analysis will offer can show patterns, connections, and irregularities in the imagining of a nation through heritage that can be described, interpreted, and explained.

3. 4. Conclusion

In this section, I argue that imagining a nation through cultural heritage villages should be observed holistically using multiple methods. Due to the limitations of individual methods, scholars have extended their research methodologies and use multiple methods to understand heritage. It opens an opportunity to mitigate these weaknesses by combining methods.

Using media data selection, I examine how tourists build a stock of knowledge and expectations prior and during their experience of the heritage site. Media can show the positioning of a nation through the depictions and representation of images, texts, and discourse. As the concept of a nation is highly contested, so are the depictions and representations of a nation in the media. In this research project, my focus is on examining the media that relates closely to the nation, region, and heritage tourist villages, as a way to clearly see the narrative of a nation through the media surrounding the cultural heritage villages.

The ethnographic approach, as I argue above, gave me hands-on experiences of the interactions between Australian tourists and Indonesian local people in the heritage villages. The ethnographic approach helped me in sensing the heritage and in locating Indonesia as a nation. I was actively involved in the interactions, production of narratives, and discourses. I then articulated my findings in the dissertation using a critical lens and engagement by understanding the interdiscursive analysis between those who produce and those who consume the heritage.

Using discourse analysis, the critical interpretation becomes an analytical instrument of a trans-disciplinary research methodology. Conducting DA not only describes but also evaluates social practice regarding certain values that relate to the standards of society. It is also explanatory because it seeks to provide explanations of the effects of certain structures, mechanisms, and forces that build and rebuild the realm of cultural heritage villages. Therefore, the multiple methods will answer the questions about the expectations and experiences of tourists and local people, and the social constructions beyond the cultural heritage tourist villages. Next chapters discuss the second part of the dissertation where the results of the research project are discussed.

PART TWO: FINDINGS

The aim of part two is to explain the findings of the research project. Part two is structured as follows. Chapter Four analyses the persuasive discourses and narratives that shape imaginings and expectations of Indonesia for Australians specifically in the tourism promotional media. Chapter Five and Six present the findings of my fieldwork and explore the production and consumption of a cultural heritage village in the Balinese setting. Chapter Seven and Eight explore the cultural heritage village in Yogyakarta.

Chapter 4. The Imaginings and Expectations about Indonesia in the Tourism Promotional Media for Australians

4. 1. Introduction

Tourism promotional media has long been a tool for researchers to investigate how a nation is imagined. Various research projects using brochures (Edelheim, 2007), tourist guidebooks (Bender et al., 2013), outdoor images (Martin, 2004), photographic images (Hunter, 2008), online reviews (Marchiori & Cantoni, 2011), and other advertising texts have been conducted as ways to investigate the imaginings of nation and the expectations tourists have of their on-site experiences. Other research projects emphasise the representations (Hunter, 2008; Raento, 2009) and depictions in tourism images and texts (Forsey & Low, 2014) as ways to understand the positions and stereotypes of other people in a nation. Although some have observed the relationships between tourism media, representations, and nation, scholars still call for more projects emphasising the study of tourism promotional media texts available for specific targets of neighbouring nations (Yan & Santos, 2009; Aitchison, 2001), especially focusing on the case of west *seeing* east in different settings. The exploration of west *seeing* east is pertinent to further interrogate the production of the *othering* of nation and the undercurrents of power relations in the representations of nation in tourism media.

Specifically, in the case of Australians seeing Indonesians, many research projects have been conducted emphasising Bali as the representative location for tourism (Sobocinska, 2011) and Java as the centre of 'Indonesian' national affairs. Research projects in relation to representations of Bali after the Bali bombings (West, 2008), position Bali as the *backyard* of Australia. The conflicts between the Australia and Indonesia (Monfries, 2006) have consistently demonstrated the unequal power relations in voicing the representation of Indonesia and illustrate the cultural logics of the tourism consumption of Australians (Cole, 2007). Java, on the other hand, for many Australians and Australian researchers, remains the place that has inherited the power of the *Soeharto* era, which exploited Bali for the purpose of the nation

(Kusumohamidjojo, 1986; Picard, 2008) and brought about the domination of the Muslim majority (Fealy & White, 2008; Monfries, 2006). The depictions of 'Indonesia' that encompass both regions from a tourism perspective are an important for understanding the complexity of a nation and the complexity of locating Indonesia through cultural heritage villages. This chapter responds to those calls for research by investigating the ways in which the west can be regarded as "seeing" the east, and in particular, the ways in which Australians "see" Indonesia' in the media, specifically the dominant places of tourism in Indonesia, Java and Bali.

Accordingly, the imaginings and expectations of Indonesia for Australians in the tourism promotional media are constructed in the framework of representations of space, place, and people. In this chapter I examine the offline media (magazines and newspapers) distributed in Australia or for Australians, online platform discussions/images for Australians, media found around airports and on aeroplanes, and brochures/posters I collected at the cultural heritage villages during my fieldwork across 2016 to 2018. The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the constructed expectations that Australian tourists might carry with them and provide a point of comparison and contrast for an exploration of the "experiences" that are presented in subsequent chapters. The outcome of this analysis highlights how the media often renders the imagining of Indonesia through a tranquil fantasy of rice fields, depicting locals as exotic, and focusing on the Australians' bodily experiences. In this way, the depiction of Indonesia in the tourism promotional media express the dynamics of visual fantasy, staged performances, and tourists' privileges.

4. 2. Objective of the chapter

The aim of this chapter is to understand the identification of the imaginings and expectations of Indonesia for Australians in the tourism promotional media. The research objective, as stated in Chapter One, is to explore the imaginings and expectations of Indonesia by Australian tourists of these cultural heritage villages.

Further questions arising from the main research objective are: (1) what are the imaginings of Indonesia constructed in the media for an Australian audience? (2) How do the media representations create expectations for Australians? (3) What are the approaches commonly used to depict Indonesia in terms of touristic narratives?

4. 3. Findings

Results show the processes of (1) commodification of the natural landscape through the expectations of the tranquil rice field, (2) imaginings of the traditionalism of a nation especially through the performances of local people and spaces constructed in terms of the demand for and staging of the authentic, and (3) how Australians are bodily connected to the space in Indonesia. Using the theoretical frameworks and references defined in Chapter One, I interpret these thematic clusters to produce an understanding of how the media depict Indonesia in order to create the imaginings and expectations for Australians. I conclude by contending that the imaginings of Indonesia as a nation reveal the persistence of cultural stereotypes about the neighbour's unequal relationships.

4. 3. 1. Tranquil landscape of the rice field

The first reading of the media depictions of Indonesia focuses on the representation of the natural landscape. The trope or motif of a natural/tranquil landscape occurs repeatedly in many media examples I observed in this research. The images that appear of iconic landscapes and heritages include the wetland/rice field or *sawah,* beaches, mountains, and villages. As the research focuses specifically on the cultural heritage village, I took as an example the image of the rice field as one of the instances of an inviting and attractive landscape.

The tourism promotional media for Australian audiences represent the rice field using approaches such as employing a tranquil representation while discussing the onsite experiences of the rice field in the touristic setting. Consequently, the fantasy of a tranquil space is constructed and moves the audiences away from actual experiences of the spaces.

4. 3. 1. 1. Tranquil representation in images and texts of rice field

The rice field images appeared in various media in this research project, such as in an advertisement for Australian Fit, a cover image of *Lonely Planet* entitled "Bali and Lombok" (2016 edition), a background image in the testimony of author Ryan Ver Berkmoes in the *Lonely Planet* edition of 2017 (p. 5), a ¼ page image in *Qantas*

Holiday (2015-2016 edition), and outdoor advertisements in *Ngurah Rai*, Bali and *Adisucipto*, Yogyakarta airports. Specifically, the rice field is often imagined through the landscape of rice terraces.

As a tropical and rice eating country, rice terraces are commonly found across Indonesia. People enjoy the everyday panoramic view of rice fields and terraces in many locations across the nation (Figure 4.1). These places have become popular destinations because the nature of tourism is to seek natural, authentic, unspoiled, and untouched land (MacCannell, 2001; Hall, 2007).

One of the common approaches for depicting the landscape and the destination of Indonesia is to display tranquil spaces. In the case of the rice field, visual strategies are employed including light, colours, decorative features, and artistic design, as represented in the image from *Qantas Holiday* (Figure 4.1). With half blue sky, white cloud, and the green scenery of a terraced rice field, the photograph invites the audience to gaze at the harmony of the natural landscape and composition. The aims are to produce a peaceful state of mind and a tranquil ambience. This provides a contrast to the power of consumption for Western and urban tourists with a fast-paced life, who might be looking for a way of escaping their normal routine (Cohen, 2004).

The perspective of the photograph also directs the angle of the tourist's gaze at the decks and small farmers' houses in the foreground. As MacCannell (2001) argues, the emphasis in such images of the tourist gaze makes the location appear particularly attractive. The angle of the photo becomes an important sign of the significance of the gazing location. This perspective gives the tourist the power to look and to colonialize the rural scenery of the third world iconic landscape through consumptive perception (MacCannell, 2001; McRae, 2003).

Figure 4. 1. Image of Rice Field in Indonesia
(Source: Qantas Holiday, 2015-2016)

Accordingly, humans and living animals are often absent or not very visible in many landscape images of Indonesia. Some farmers' may appear to be resting in their houses made of wood or bamboo in some images, but often the farmers are obscured or imagined. The absence of humans and animals creates an empty landscape without living and mobile objects. This presents the natural landscape in a static manner for a selected market and sets up an expectation that is likely to be at odds with the everyday rhythms and movements in such spaces. The immobility or frozen style of the images also creates a contrast between an imagined rural ideal and the highly mobile or high-speed everyday life of the urban audience (Zhou, 2014). This approach is highly significant in seducing a target audience of tourists looking for diversity, an escape from routine, and an opportunity for contemplating space, but it also sets up a rural/urban divide where the rural (or village) assumes a more 'untouched' and therefore authentic possibility of experiencing the nation.

Static or immobile objects of vegetation such as paddies, palm trees, bamboo, and bushes also dominate many touristic images. Common colours used in images to depict the rice field are blue sky, white clouds, yellow paddy fields, and the gradation of green plants, trees, and levels of terrace. With this static approach, the rice fields are denied dynamism or the permission to progress, change, and grow in maintaining the fantasy for tourist consumption (Lacy and Douglass, 2002). When the place is constructed in a static mode, it is ready for the consumption of Western audience to enjoy the imaginings of place, sentimental perceptions, and bizarre past; the tourists expect an unaltered place (Lacy and Douglass, 2002).

Textual descriptions also represent the rice field in the tourism promotional media for Australians (Figure 4.2). These descriptions use two main approaches: cognitive description as the imagining narrative, and affective description as expectation narrative (Echtner & Ritchie, 1993; Zhou, 2014). Some of the media use cognitive description to explain ecological information, cultural and historical stories, agricultural lifestyle, and local distinctions (Echtner & Ritchie, 1993; Zhou, 2014). There are some examples as found in some brochures below:

> Exploring one of the traditional villages on the edge of the tropical rainforest in northern Bali, formerly one of the centers of Dutch colonialism, sees a stretch of rice paddies in natural and traditional processes, which we know as "SUBAK" through local plantation areas. **(ex. Med 1)**

> Rice terraces in the river gorge north of Tegallalang village in central Bali are generally considered to offer travelers the best photo opportunity. **(ex. Med 2)**

Other media examples illustrate the affective feel of the space by romanticising the space through the descriptions of peace, harmony, and remoteness:

> Enjoy a respite with a fresh young coconut break in an organic veggie garden where you can enjoy sweeping vistas of fields. **(ex. Med 3)**

> Discover the hidden gems in the rice fields outside Ubud, where the rice culture has sustained the Balinese in a balance rhythm of working the fields and artmaking. **(ex. Med 4)**
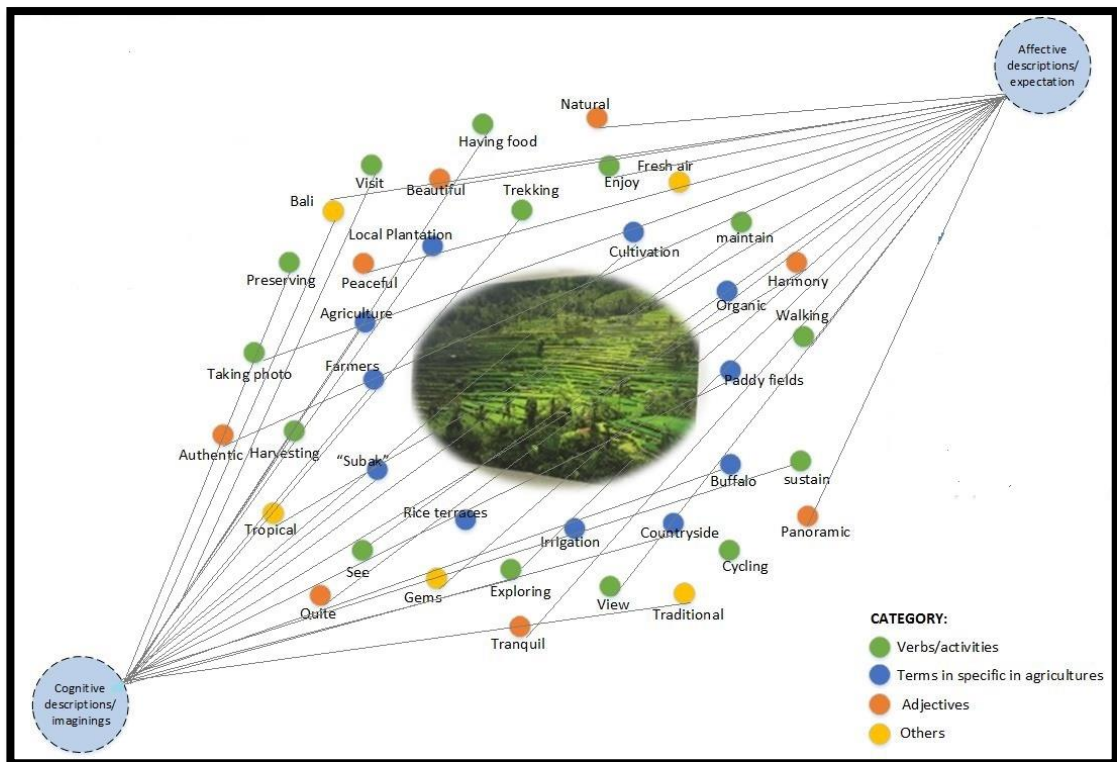
Figure 4. 2. Thematic Descriptions of Indonesian Rice Field
(Source: Figure by Author, 2018)

The Indonesian landscape is often depicted in the fantasy of the tranquil landscape using the paradigms of authentic nature through cognitive description and nostalgic nature through affective description (Echtner & Ritchie, 1993; Zhou, 2014). As presented in the examples above (Figure 4.2), the cognitive description values the tranquil image of the rice field as a cultural landscape, which shows the uniqueness of the "other" through the narratives of ecology, culture, history, and local lifestyle, while the affective description familiarises the rice field with the emotional connections of the past, the rural idyllic, and the security and/or sanctuary of nature. These paradigms become powerful currencies in imagining the nation (McRae, 2003) and shape the meanings and memories of Indonesian natural landscape and icons.

The rice field as an Indonesian natural landscape icon, indeed, is not just a taken-for-granted narrative. It is the result of a long process profoundly controlled by prevalent and authoritative bodies in culture (McRae, 2003). It is also the result of the tourism industry's commercialisation of these places through many practices involving business, local people, and tourists (McRae, 2003).

To compare tourism promotional media from those who sell products and services related to the rice field, I also investigate current trends in tourism media emerging from online platforms including grassroots discussions, reviews, and testimonials from those who have experienced the place (Zhou, 2014). This type of tourism promotional media, which comes from grassroots discourse, is important since many tourists now consume this media as a source for their anticipation and stock of knowledge about a tourist destination.

4. 3. 1. 2. Discussing the space of the rice field in online platforms

To discuss what is beyond the rice field image and experience the common descriptions of this panoramic view in Indonesia, I gathered promotional and marketing material from two English-speaking tours which mainly covered Penglipuran. Both tour packages included *Tegallalang* rice terrace as one of the destinations before arriving in *Penglipuran*. *Tegallalang* rice terrace is one way/one package to *Penglipuran* village, *Ubud*, and the *Kintamani* area, making it easy and efficient for many tour agents to include this destination in their packages.

Tegallalang rice terrace has become a contested space in terms of the expectation of the fantasy of the tranquil rice field and the satisfaction of consuming place. Multiple meanings of this place may exist simultaneously (McRae, 2003). This is where the complexity of tourism can be found in the circuit of commodity and exchange values in tourism experiences (Frow, 1997). In this context, around 1729 reviews on *Tripadvisor* Australia rated the place as average (15%), poor (4%), or terrible (2%), with issues related to commercialisation, the "touristy" nature of the place, the crowded areas, and unenjoyably experiences of the rice field landscape. I investigated the thematic categories evident in the reviews of the *Tegallalang* experience (Figure 4.3).
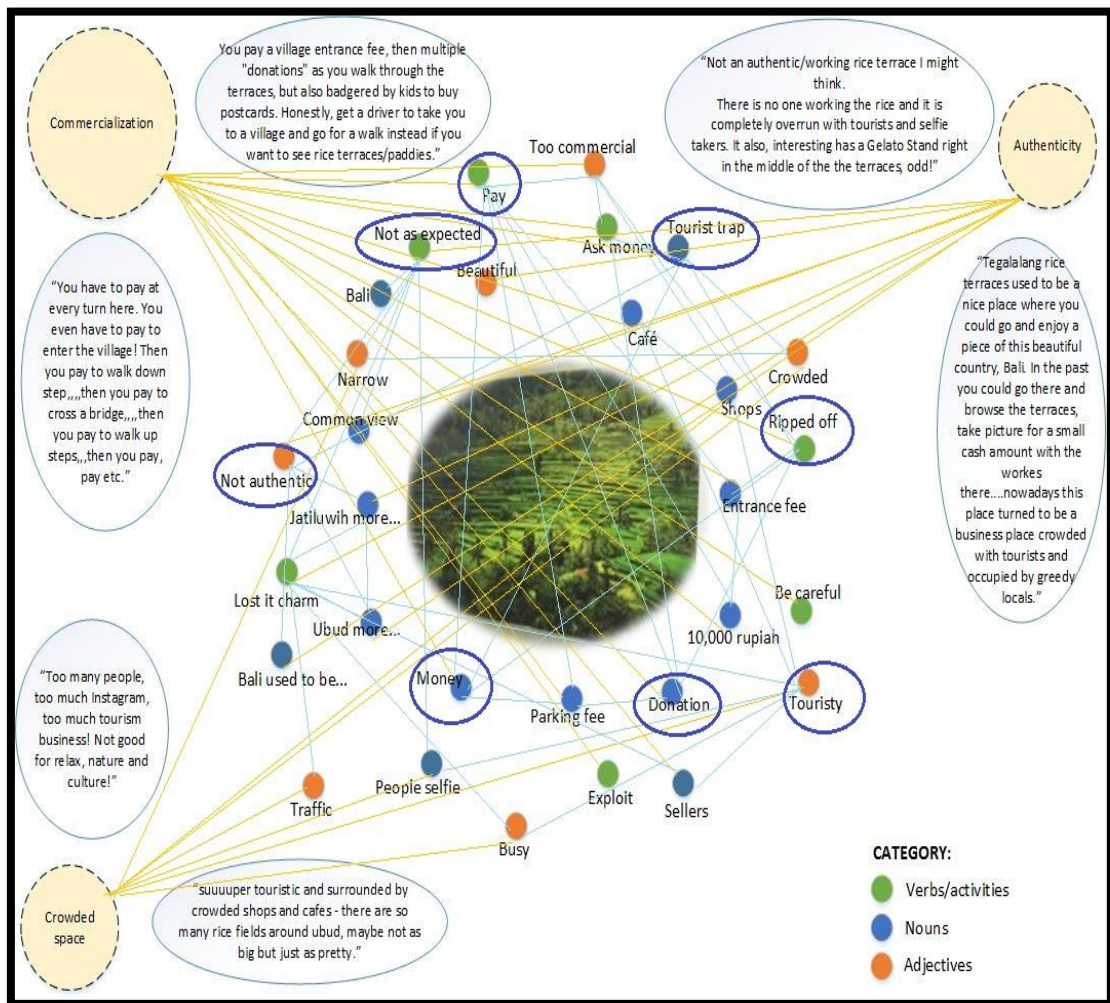
Figure 4.3. Themes in the Review Section of TripAdvisor about Tegallalang
(Source: Figure by Author, 2018 from the reviews on Tripadvisor 2016-2018)

The discussions above contest the space of the rice field. Here, the idyllic tranquil rice field imaginings are competing with the onsite experiences of commercialised space. *Tegallalang* is performed through the staging of authenticity, due to the desire of tourists that the pureness of the land of the other be conserved. The discussions related to the disappointment of tourists paralyse the possibilities of *Tegallalang* as a space to change, grow, and develop into an urban area or touristic area. They convey imperialist ideas of pureness and traditional imaginings and expectations of the other within the framework of the consumer gaze (McRae, 2003).

With the connection to the freezing image style of rice field images, which predominantly occupy pre-departure expectations, the tourist space of the rice field is

expected to keep a distance from commercialisation. The farmers' involvement with tourism on the same terms as tourists is not to be tolerated. The tourists may change, grow, and transcend, but the farmers who own the land are expected to remain sealed and bound by their limitations, their poverty, and the purity of the land (McRae, 2003). When the farmers try to achieve additional income in a way they know based on their limited exposure to the tourism industry and expectations, they are labelled with such terms as "pay every turn," "multiple donations," and "greedy local" in *Tripadvisor* reviews.

Meanwhile, as I search through the comments, there is no comment that uses *Tripadvisor* as a space for resistance; for example, to answer, to provide understanding, and to create dialogue upon the crowdedness and messiness of *Tegallalang* or other rice field spots. Neither did the two guides with whom I came explain the life struggle of the farmers or provide an understanding of why someone is expected to pay to enter the rice field. The focus of guides and many tourism agencies is primarily on the tourism gaze, providing a satisfactory tourist experience, and gaining profit rather than on providing an understanding of poverty and the life struggle of others.

Reflection of the struggle of others in the tourism space may eliminate the "pure" fantasy of the tranquil rice field. However, it activates an understanding that generates insight into tourism ideology and redefines tourism discourses. It is also important, in making sense of the stage of *Tegallalang*, to understand the roles of different actors in order to open more vibrant perspectives from which to reconfigure the relationship between tourists, farmers, and tour operators. An evaluation of the role of space and its relationship of the people is needed to provide a critical awareness of the geographical formation of power structures.

4. 3. 2. Exotic locals

The second reading of the media depictions of Indonesia for Australian audiences considers the common representation of the locals, who are mostly shown through images of Indonesians, local spaces, and activities. I argue that, through the representation of Indonesians, spaces, and activities, local values are depicted as exotic. In this context, the depiction of exotic locals operates to represent Indonesians

both contextually and stereotypically, in such a way as to prolong the postcolonial aspect of tourism. The discourse of exotic locals appears clearly in the tourism promotional media I observed in this research. The tourism promotional media for Australian audiences represents the exotic locals using techniques such as: depicting local faces and performances and gazing toward local spaces and activities, which commonly display traditional performances, a low income class of society, and individuals who are involved in the circuit of commodities in tourism. I connect the exotic locals with the values of locality, gazing, and orientalism in representations of the people, space, and everyday life.

4. 3. 2. 1. Depicting the traditional performance

Depictions of Indonesians engaged in traditional performance are found in many examples of tourism promotional media. Indonesians are portrayed as both traditional and modest. I use an example from the cover of the magazine of Jetstar Airways (Figure 4.4) to demonstrate the depiction of the traditional face and an image from *Bali Advertisers* (Figure 4.5) to demonstrate the depiction of the modest face.

To understand the depiction of local people, there are two questions I employ during the research. Those questions are: how do the media portray the individual? and how does the portrayal of these individuals represent Indonesia? The image from the cover of *Jetstar Magazine* is one of the most common types of image in tourism promotional media, used to attract international audiences. A Balinese woman, wearing a traditional outfit, carries a very high, heavy, and colourful *Canang Sari* in her head as offerings in Balinese Hindu to pray or conduct rituals in the temple (Figure 4.4). Similar depictions of Indonesians in the tourism promotional media emphasising traditionalism show traditional outfits, dance costumes, thick make up, and activities that relate to their traditionalism. The portrayal of this individual represents Indonesia from the perspective of a staged authenticity and tourism performance.

Figure 4. 4. The Cover of Jetstar Airways Magazine for August 2017
(Source: Jetstar, August 2017)

Traditional costumes and outfits for local people provide a strong symbolic identity and distinctive materials for international markets (Meethan, 2001, in Waterton &Watson, 2010, Urry, 2002). As Meethan argues:

> In turn, these representations or narratives of people and place assume an exchange value as the objects of consumption, becoming commodities to be traded and consumed the same way as the material goods and services, which are associated with them. (in Waterton & Watson, 2010, p. 8)

The exchange of people and place as objects of consumption in the image above (Figure 4.4) is reinforced by the accompanying title "Discover the flavours of Bali". The image also reconnects the audience by romanticising the traditional legacy of what Indonesians' life in the past was like. For example, such costumes and traditional outfits are no longer worn as daily clothing, but are only used for occasion such as rituals, festivals, celebrations, and ceremonies. This is a process of reinventing the meaning of traditional performance by local people (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983).

However, for the tourism promotional media, the traditional outfits can be understood as a commodity and constructing expectations of the tourist. A traditional outfit becomes a commercialised good and service provided by local people to western tourists (Light & Prentice in Waterton & Watson, 2010). This creates a strong tie between tourism and the media industry in terms of the construction of heritage as the legacy of the past for the present through tradition (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983) and in problematises the cultural identity of a nation (Waterton & Watson, 2010).

4. 3. 2. 2. Depicting the low-income society

Subsequently, in tourism-related media, Indonesians are depicted engaged in similar performances and in a homogenous way. The media depicts Indonesians in regular outfits, and of different ages, but still with modest faces, typically low-income individuals (not wearing luxurious jewellery or makeup) or those from the poorest classes of society who have a hard life struggle (Figure 4.5).
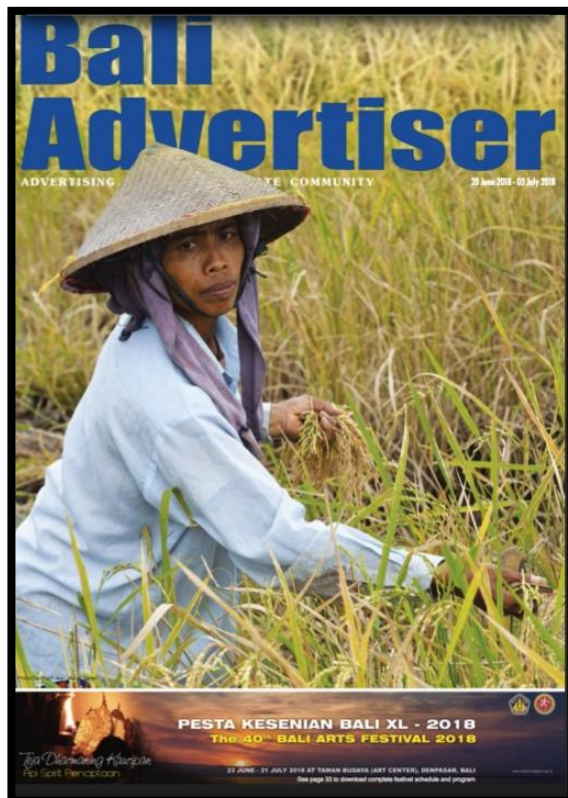
Figure 4. 5. The Image on the Cover of Bali Advertiser
(Source: Bali Advertiser, 20 June 2018**)**

The image from the *Bali Advertiser* above is an example of a common type of image, representing the modest face of Indonesians. In these depictions, the modest face is generally represented by female/male elderly people, children, or middle age women/men who work as low-income individuals. Some occupations of Indonesians also dominate the modest images in tourism media for Australians, such as farmers (Figure 4.5), street vendors who sell or cooks street food, sellers of crafts or clothing in the market, fishermen, and local artists (*Batik* painters and traditional weapon makers). The portrayals of Indonesians as modest and sometimes poor represent the nation as an object of "pity" and exotic at the same time.

Using the modest face of low-income individuals in Indonesia to represent the tourism face of the nation engages the process of visual consumption. Urry argues that visual consumption is not a simple and straightforward process, but rather a collection of signs that indicate the presumed identity of a place or nation (1992). The image of the modest Indonesian, which appears many times in the tourism promotional media for Australians, becomes a sign of identity to be gazed upon. The object of modest faces also creates a contrast to the Western market characterised by materialistic lifestyles and identities (Crossley, 2012).

As Crossley (2012) suggests, the face of modesty and even poverty of locals in tourism media marketed at Australians negotiates the meaning of tourism for the western audience. For example, when the locals are understood as modest or poor, spending money to visit tourism places may become a source of moral redemption for the tourist. It produces the perception that, by visiting these places, tourists can contribute to a better life for a humble, modest, and friendly individual, whose image they consumed in the tourism media. As well, gazing at a collection of modest local images allows poverty and everyday financial struggle to become subsumed into a seductive construction of locals as 'poor but happy.' In other words, it gives an image of an everyday tourism service provided by the locals to the tourists (Crossley, 2012).

The discourse of tourism demands that the other remain other, the traditional remain traditional, and the poor remain poor to preserve the authenticity of locality (McRae, 2003). The reproduction of these meaning create expectations that reduce the complexities of the identities of locals and pressure host communities, local people, and individuals who work in the circuit of income in tourism to shield and hide any

characteristics and practices that do not necessarily conform to the image (McRae, 2003).

From this perspective, the orientalist look strengthens the western expectation of the exotic other, the non-white nation, or the East, by representing the exotic as underdeveloped, traditional, modest, but strangely happy locals with their poverty (Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Said, 1995). This contrasting and conflicting image of poor but happy locals legitimates Australians to travel, interact, and share a worldview with the modest other in Indonesia (McCannell, 2001).

The depictions of low-income individuals, elderly, and children as the others also reinforce the power of Western tourists to consume the poor third world nation (MacCannell, 2001). The depictions enable the Western gaze to consume the normality of poverty dominating the tourism discourse, sustain the dominant and subordinate relationship, and maintain power through inequality (MacCannell, 2001).

Although tourism is sometimes praised as helping local capital and strengthening cultural identity, in this context, the debate positions the consumption ideology as problematic. The process of consumption through the media and on-site experience limits the tourists' capacity to think reflexively upon the struggle of others and social justice. Using images of poor locals with big smiles, the media comforts tourists, enacting the meaning of tourism as a welcoming and happy experience for others. Hiding the narratives of injustice, unfair trade, and poverty behind the services. Tourism also generates a set of activities defining what should be done and what activities are appropriate to consume the space strategically. This process makes it possible to conceive the consumption of otherness as secure, safe, and normal.

4. 3. 2. 3. Gazing towards the local spaces and activities

In the constant process of representation and performance of cultural heritage, the interpretation of tourist demand is one of the ways in which decisions over what materials and structures should be preserved. There are two kinds of buildings that represent the iconic local spaces of Indonesia: temples and houses. I discuss below how the media reinforces particular depictions of these local spaces as exotic and therefore what type of temple or house is to be expected for tourist consumption.

First, the most found images related to temples as the local spaces in Indonesia are the temple in Bali and the statue of Buddha from the temple of Borobudur in Central Java. Both appear as icons of the nation in terms of cultural heritage tourism in Indonesia. The composition of buildings most found is that they are empty, with no animal or human inhabitants, and in combination with nature such as the sky, a lake, a cliff, or trees. The value of heritage is framed through the visual approaches of the wonders from the architectural and archaeological information. The tourists also understand the attractiveness of cultural heritage through the process of constructing the representation of a place and knowledge about a place (Baranowski & Furlough, 2001). The archaeological and architectural approaches invite the audience. Unique, nostalgic, exotic, or aesthetic cultural material can potentially be commoditised and commercialised (Waterton & Watson, 2010). Thus, the constant depictions of Java and Bali in terms of cultural heritage buildings dominate the representations that define Indonesia for tourists.

Second, the knowledge of Indonesia is also shaped by the traditional houses, which may be imaged as the charms of the nation. Traditional houses function as local spaces where the local people can represent their ethnic groups and illustrate the nostalgia of local everyday life (Jones, 2013). Even though, nowadays, many Indonesians live in regular modern houses and only a small minority of ethnic groups live in their traditional houses, the tourist promotional media draw primarily on the image of traditional houses to transfer this local space as a commodity and identity.

The traditional houses represent the cultures of specific provinces and ethnic/tribal groups to suggest the meaning of cultural diversity in the form of the configuration of living space. An example of this is the image of Java from the website of Lonely Planet (Figure 4.6). The image shows three little boys from a village playing a traditional game of *Balap Karung* or sack race. The cheerful, playful, and expressive moment in the lives of these brown skins coloured boys represent the happiness of a modest and simple game. Behind the boys there are some materials commonly found in the village such as bamboo trees and a rustic traditional style house. The wall is made of wood and unfinished concrete while the roof and fences are made of bamboo. The text in the middle entitled "Java" has the tagline "is the heart of Indonesia." This is an important move to connect the land of Java with Indonesia. Identifying spaces such as

iconic temples, traditional houses, and the local people, demonstrates the relationships between ethnicity, tribes, and local identities (Jones, 2013).

Ethnicity and locality in Indonesia are important indicators of the diversity of the nation. Space and people are interconnected with the elements that construct a space. The local space in Bali is different from the local space in Java.

Figure 4. 6. The Homepage Image of the Website of Lonely Planet
(Source: Website of Lonely Planet on Java accessed 7 September 2018)

The texts in promotional media, which represent the exotic locals and gazing towards space, are also equipped with several key answers to the dominant questions of "What is the name of the place" and "How to enjoy it?/What to do?" The diagram below describes the thematic clusters observed in the representations of space and exotic locals, which work to build the imaginings of place and what to expect from the spaces (Figure 4.7). The diagram suggests that texts avoid controversial stories or descriptions and only reveal the positive aspects of a place, while the complexity of the places is hidden as people seek the idyllic exotic experience of being elsewhere.
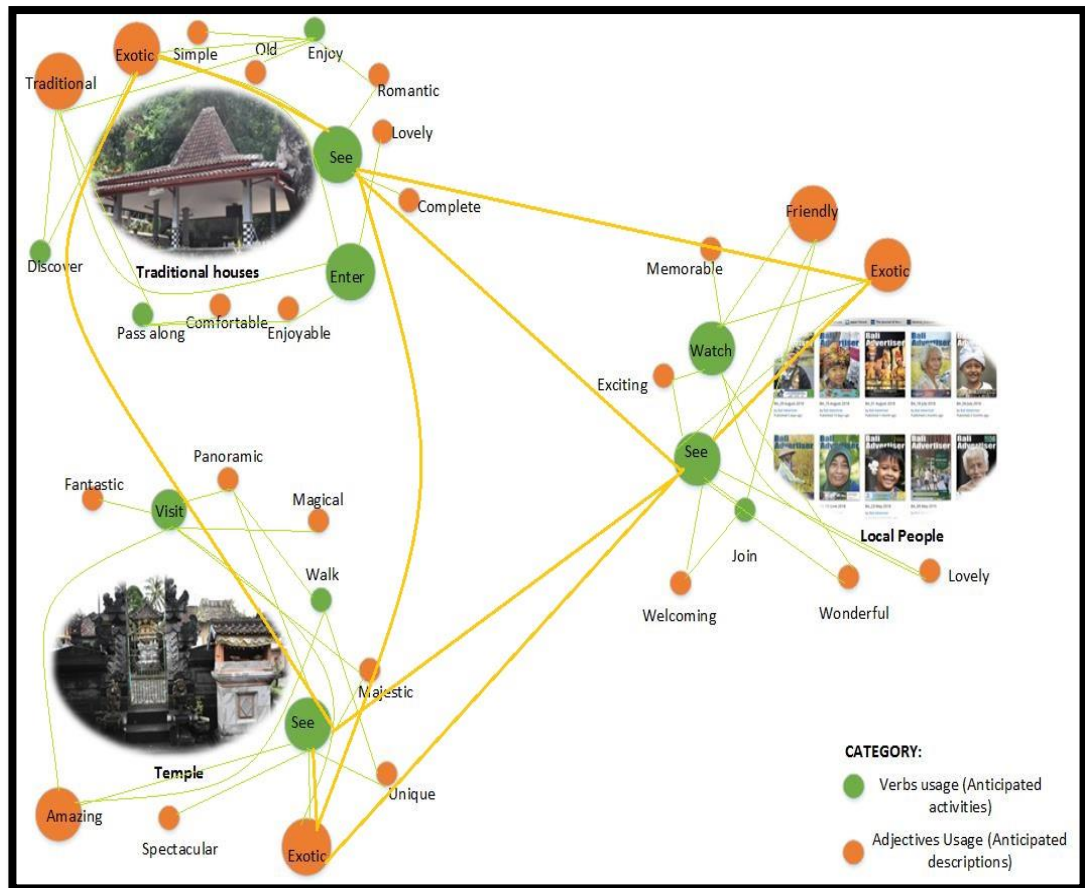
Figure 4. 7. Texts Identifying the Local Space
(Source: Photo by Author, 2018)

The diagram above shows how touristic experiences are defined in terms of limited activities, which help the tourists to achieve undisturbed experiences. This approach of consumption is known as *scenography*, where the tourists can enjoy the space and time without chaotic elements such as poverty, social inequality, and unfair trade affecting the vulnerable class of the elderly, children, women, and low-income occupations (Edensor, 2001). These disturbances can be ignored when the process of gazing and consuming is limited through the activities and anticipated perceptions. All the actors in the tourism process, including the locals, guides, tour operators, media, and tourists, work together to create seemingly secure and politically safe places for consuming the tourism of a nation. This confirms the inequalities between nations and social classes without forcing the consumers to swallow the hardship of others.

As Urry puts it, the media's involvement in the dynamics of place consumption constructs an image for the gaze and anticipation of consumers (2002). As Figure 4.7 above shows, the words used to describe the exotic local space emphasise not only a

cognitive approach – "what is the description of place?" – but also "how" the texts can create the expectation of enjoyment of the space, defining the spots and objects through the use of verbs that create an anticipation of activities for the consumers. These texts also define what should be delivered by a space of tourism and provide the stock of knowledge which not only generates the motive to consume (Baranowski & Furlough, 2001, p. 132) but also limits the focus of tourists to enjoy a space.

However, in contrast to the argument of Foster (2002) that media can enrich stories of the space, the texts analysed in this research, which define a place as a 'what' and a 'how' location, strengthen the single story and fixity of the spaces they create. This limits the possibilities for different ways and perspectives to consume a place because the activities for the tourists have been commoditised and constructed. Given the limited time of a tour package, the word 'explore' is only a perceptual word, and exploration is limited by certain activities. Therefore, commercial activities can be produced predominantly around those activities found in the brochures instead of exploring different possibilities and other means of consumption. The narratives of space alienate the space by limiting the possibilities of exploration by constructing the focus of tourists into a 'what to do' experience, and isolate the space by growing the discourses of expectations, memories, stories, and experiences in a local space.

4. 3. 1. Bodily experiences of Australians

The third reading of the media depictions of Indonesia focuses on the existence of Australian tourists on site or the Australian's bodily experiences in the space. To understand how representations of Australians' bodily experiences depict the tourists as the consumers of place, I use an image from an *Australian Fit* advertisement, which provides a trip to Bali as a prize (Figure 4.8). The image illustrates some tourists enjoying bike rides around a place that typically can be found in rural Bali and around the beach with the symbols of banana trees, a small asphalt road, some palm trees and a sandy road.

Figure 4. 8. An Advertisement of a Cycling Trip Prize in *Australian Fit* (Source: *Australian Fit*, August 2017)

The texts show how Australians consume the space that the magazine offers as a prize. For example, as a result of the combination of 'what to do and where' narratives, the readers can imagine the adventure that the trip will afford them. Examples of such narratives in that magazine page are: "hit the road in Ubud," "wind your way south,"

"taking in lush green fields," "smoldering volcanoes; family-run *warungs* (small shops), community projects, caves, temples, and tiny villages," "chilled-out beaches of *Lovina* and *Sanur*," "hike up Mount *Batur*." Many tour agents and promotions commonly use these types of activities and approaches. The (presumably) Australian tourists are depicted as participating in the activities with big smiles, surrounded backgrounds that represent one of the services or products being offered by the tour agents.

Further, some appealing words are found in text to show the invitational experiences offered to Australians. For example, "spend the day getting to know the real Bali," "picturesque rural landscape," "sleepy villages," and "see locals perform their daily chores, working in the fields or taking care of children." The interesting part of this text is the assumption of "the real Bali," which associates it with villages and rural areas. Paralleled to the idealistic view of Indonesia found in the discussion of exotic locals, the visual portrayals of "the real Bali" presents rural places in the village. The rural world is portrayed in the narratives of daily lives, which provide views of local and low-income occupation activities, illustrating that these activities are attractive for tourist consumption by showing Australians in the photographs. The commercialisation of regular Balinese activities – such as "watch local women carry fruits and flowers as an offering to the gods" – is also consistent with the popular imaginings of Bali in the media.

The images of Australians as consumers show similarities across many media. Australians are depicted as the white Caucasian tourists, wearing specific clothing that matches the activities and locations, and bearing the expression of enjoying the places and activities. The representation here also reinforces the stereotype of Australian as white. The photographic testimonials of the Australians or international tourists legitimate the activities for the international market rather than for the domestic market. From many similar images I have investigated, the happy tourists seem to be individuals or groups who want to try different things and are curious about local life. In this way, Indonesia is represented as a playground for tourists. Australians are portrayed in such media materials as active participants, not only watching or gazing but trying and participating in Indonesian activities. The images whereby Indonesia becomes a playground for Australian tourists is problematic for producing superifical

expecations and desires of tourists that have the potential to influence how they interact with local people.

4. 4. Discussion

The findings in this chapter demonstrate the imaginings and expectations of Indonesia by Australian tourists of these cultural heritage villages through three dominant media representations. The tranquil landscape, exotic locals, and Australians' bodily experiences reveal the connections between media, space, place, and expected consumptions. These results demonstrate the observations of the west seeing the east through the setting of tourism promotional media about Indonesia for Australians (Yan & Santos, 2009; Aitchison, 2001). The research findings represent the salient frame of *othering* through the ways in which they connect with and continue the previous research findings.

First, in regard to the tranquil landscape, the research findings highlight the connections between place representations in photographic images (Scarles, 2009), a multidimensional approach (Ecthner & Ritchie, 1993; Zhou, 2014), and time-space constraints (Massey, 2005). In the promotional materials collected in this research, photographic images clearly occupy the space of mediation by representing the landscape in a highly selective way to the Australian audience (Scarles, 2009). The photographers of various images in the media for Australians employ photographic techniques, knowledge, and artistic experience to create tranquil feelings of peace, quiet and contemplative moods, capturing consumers' attention by encouraging imaginative invitation to and fantasy of a place (Scarles, 2009; Crawshaw & Urry, 2002).

The media, then, create a process to stimulate motivation and demand for Australian tourists to visit the place by creating a cognitive and affective approach (Ecthner & Ritchie, 1993; Zhou, 2014). This finding supports the argument that the images of rice fields in Indonesia function in multidimensional ways, as evaluations to a place cognitively and affectively (San Martin and Del Bosque, 2008). A multidimensional evaluation can also be applied to in-situ experiences occurring during a trip (San Martin & Del Bosque, 2008). According to the negative reviews discussed above, the cognitive and affective evaluations also appear as a contrast to the representations of

rice fields in the media. When the expected performance and gaze are unable to be achieved, the tourists then experience disappointment, anger, and many negative impressions of the space. As the process of a static legacy is reproduced through photographs and paintings, dynamic changes in the everyday life of modernity, commercialisation, tourism, and the urban shift are unavoidable. The image of the rice field to represent Indonesia is static in the use of natural materials, settings, and design features, but dynamic in the process of multiplicity and the current development of place in touristic culture and performance. Along with the ideological closure in the case of the rice field, the dislocation of space completes the representation of the imaginings of the nation. The dislocation of space happens because of the crisis of spatiality, which disturbs the possibility of representation, such as the mixing and confusion of time, moment, and event (Massey, 2005). The images of tranquil rice fields, as discussed in this chapter, show quiet-crowded, peaceful-busy, past-present, natural-touristic, and nature-commercial narratives, creating narratives and trajectories for Australians to negotiate the contested meaning of the Indonesia rice field.

Second, local people, as part of the heritage locus, maintain a conducive atmosphere for tourism because the production process of tourism also helps to restructure the social economy of local people. This process is not only related to representation but is also about the social and economic benefits produced by the cycle of tourism culture. Local people are dragged into the performance culture where the media has created a demand for a staged authenticity to produce the traditional charms the tourists are looking for. Local values including landscapes, cultural and historical sites, and practical events are also related to local society and people's lives.

However, the romantic, nostalgic, and staged authenticity of a cultural heritage tourism destination is constructed by selecting marketable localities that present a local idyll, which is the essence of nation imaginaries, Indonesian local people with their traditionalism and modesty. Consequently, cultural heritage destinations are represented by both actual and idyllic characteristics, together with a pragmatic but imaginative tourism culture. These representations reveal an intertwined and paired locality that is unchanged and changed, poor but happy, exotic but struggling.

Third, the bodily experiences of Australians are related to the third space, which enables locals to perform on the stage and the tourists to consume the products or services in the name of trying different and new things from the lives of others (Bhabha, 2004). Although there are tourists who experience locality in deeply reflexive ways, the media representation still produces a superficial and constraining set of activities that many tourists (due to time and money) are likely to move beyond. This is problematic because it reproduces unequal power relations between the tourists and local people and opens local people up to exploitation and a flattening out of the complexities of their social and economic worlds.

4. 5. Conclusion

The analysis above demonstrates the framing, gazing, and creation of a stock of knowledge about Indonesia for Australians, which remains salient in contemporary media and tourism culture. The representation of the Indonesian landscape and local people in the media is a salient frame for both Indonesians and Australians. The control of international capital and the hegemony of media reproductions in text and image make the practice of the frugal life of others appear exotic and able to be legitimately gazed upon through tourism. Frow (1997) argues, "it is precisely the lack of development which makes an area attractive as a tourist goal" (p. 101).

The examination of depictions of the nation in tourism media shows that they work to maintain the otherness of other cultures –- exotic in poverty, unique in traditional and frugal life – and produce an enduring tourist privilege in contemporary media settings, both offline and online. It is important for researchers to continue to point that out when the broader voices of media and tourism predominantly embrace the positive opportunities of the online media review-based platform. Indeed, the changes to media platforms in tourism can engage more local voices, and their significance should not be ignored. Yet, we also must recognise the significance of dominant discourses that result from the proliferation of media in tourism, iconic representatives, and national narratives, by looking at the constant reproductions of unequal power relations in the context of west seeing east.

Further, the analysis in this chapter offers alternative points of view from predominantly industry-led priorities (Franklin & Crang, 2001). The investigation in

this chapter is intended to be more reflexive with socially just interpretation of the depictions of nations, local people, and Australian tourists in the mainstream media and online discussions. The aim is to understand the deeper implications of depicting nations and identities in tourism in terms of othering by mapping some key texts, which frequently appear in the media, and understanding their meanings. Alternative approaches, which might render the tourist experience as more reflexive, responsible, and aware of the struggle of others, is often deprioritised and ignored in the dominant tourism ideologies and practices. Meanwhile, with the proliferation of the media landscape, there is potential, for both tourists and local people to prevail about the development of place in the present.

Understanding the multiple voices and perspectives behind the containment of local people and nation culture enables dialogues and critics to have a place in the temporality of tourism, media, and narratives of nation. The narratives that create the frequent framing of Indonesia in tourism are situated in the regular and everyday practices of media, local space, and meanings. Investigating those narratives activates a deeper understanding of injustice, constructions of spaces and places, and connections between people. Further, the second part addresses how the local people construct the space and place as the ways the imagine a nation through the cultural heritage village setting and the consumption of Australians in such settings which demonstrate the ways nation is imagined from the outside.

Chapter 5. Imagining Nation in the Cultural Heritage Village: Local Voices in *Penglipuran,* Bali

5. 1. Introduction

This chapter aims to explore the imagining of Indonesia by locals who work in the cultural heritage villages. In mentioning "the locals," I refer to the people who are from the village of *Penglipuran* and live in *Penglipuran* village as residents of the village. This identification is important in terms of the dichotomy of insiders and outsiders. Although the concept is contested, the common grounds of identification function to differentiate people who are Indonesians and/or Balinese but do not live in the village. Those people are, for example, the guides and the local administrators who work in Bali but do not live in the heritage site. The positions of insider and outsider are unsolidified identities, culturally constructed, and penetrable to social locations (Ergun & Erdemir, 2010), but the research project needs to differentiate the roles and involvement of individuals in the everyday life of heritage in order to answer the research questions.

5. 2. Objective of the chapter

The objective of the chapter is to identify the production of heritage through the space of the villages, local voices, cultural artefacts, and narratives. What, for instance, are the cultural materials produced from local interpretations of heritage, local, and national identity? Or how do locals who work in the cultural heritage village of *Penglipuran* interpret the relationship between the nation and their village? This chapter aims to explore the second research objective, which is to understand the imagining of the nation from the perspective of the locals who work in the cultural heritage villages.

5. 3. Findings

Based on the approach in which landscape, symbolic materials, and stories are considered as texts, this chapter argues that *Penglipuran* functions for local people as a place to remember and imagine their local identity, implement nation's spirit, and

perform their interpretations toward their heritage identity. Thus, as an imagined community, the people of *Penglipuran* imagine Indonesia in four ways: they design the landscape to support social membership, create spaces available for civic practice, implement nation brand in the village through symbols and organisations, and keep the memory of colonialism. In this chapter, I used LP or Local People, in Bali or B, followed by numbers of the participants as the code for the interview results.

5. 3. 1. Designing landscape for social membership

The local people of *Penglipuran* village imagine the nation in cultural heritage by designing their landscape to support their concept of social membership. Briefly, the landscape supports three important concepts: the principle of religion, communal membership, and local struggle.

First, the zoning system in the village and the housing complex is based on Hindu Bali spiritual and philosophical values, mythology, and beliefs. These values are then represented through icons, experiences, symbols, and stories, and the local peoples' philosophy of space is represented in the design of the houses.

Figure 5.1. *Penglipuran* Village, in *Bangli* regency, Bali
(Source: Photograph by Author, 2017)

The village stretches along 113 hectares, but the residential area only comprises around 9 hectares, with 2.2 kilometres of street stretching around the village (Figure 5.1). A former village leader who initiated the preservation of the village in 1991 explained the spiritual values of their landscape design:

> The landscape was built based on the principle of *Tri Angga*, or "like a body," with *Hulu* (the Head) consisting of the sacred temple, the *Antara* (Body) consisting of a residential area, common facilities, and the preserved forest, and, lastly, *Teben* (Feet), which consist of cemeteries and forest. Within the 5.6 hectares of the residential areas, there are 76-unit houses, each of which consists of families in a customary social position called *Krama* (which means "people" or "members of society"). **(LP_B_01)**

Other than the residential area, most of the areas comprise preserved bamboo forests (about 45 hectares on the hillsides) that provide scenic backdrops for the heritage buildings; compared with the forest, the settlement areas and the street seemed densely populated. Of the 76 houses within the residential areas, all have been substantially repaired and preserved using the *Tri Mandala* three zoning system.

> This concept divides the housing space into the family sacred zone (*sanggah*) as the main zone, the living zone or *pawongan* as the middle zone, and the *Nista* are for the toilet, garbage, and small farm cages. The preserved buildings have an *angkul-angkul* [traditional entrance with a bamboo roof], a traditional kitchen, and *Bale Saka Enem* [a small gazebo with six pillars to prepare the ritual] (Figure 5.2.1, Figure 5.2.3, Figure 5.2.3). **(LP_B_02)**

Figure 5.2.1. The preserved buildings of each house: Traditional Kitchen
(Source: Photo by Author, 2017)

Figure 5.2.2. The preserved buildings of each house: *Bale Saka Enem* **(the traditional pavilion for preparing ceremonies)**
(Source: Photo by Author, 2017)

Figure 5.2.3. The preserved buildings of each house*: Angkul-angkul* (the entrance gate with bamboo roof)
(Source: Photo by Author, 2017)

The meanings and experiences are reproduced through social associations such as religions and customs. They are accumulated through perceived local symbols that should be preserved (Pitana, 2010), such as the *Tri Mandala* and *Tri Angga* concepts. The sense of space in *Penglipuran*, based upon their notion of *Tri Mandala,* produces widespread community knowledge about how to develop their residential areas, distributes images and texts to explain this sense of space as a form of heritage knowledge, and reproduces collective imagination, not only to the local people but also to visitors and media (Hobsbawm & Rangers, 1983). The values underlying the *Tri Mandala* and *Tri Angga* concepts become a cultural expression to imagine the practice of religious values in everyday life, to represent the identity of the village, and to be preserved for commercialisation and/or conservation of heritage efforts (Hobsbawm & Rangers, 1983).

Second, membership in the society is also a tool to construct the preservation and tourism effort in the village. The head of the customary village (*kepala desa adat)* explains the organisation of membership in the village, which involves compulsory participation by the members of the village:

The village traditional system divides the *Krama* into *Krama Pengarep* (head of the family, chosen through a discussion with the family), who represents the family in the village meeting, praying, working together as a community (*gotong royong*), and paying collective fees. The next one is *Krama Pengerob*, the other members of the family, who must work together and must join at least one of the village organisations, or *Sekka*, such as *Sekka Gong* (the musical organisation), *Sekka Baris* (dancing for rituals), *Sekka Pratangan* (cooking), or *Sekka Teruna* (the youth organisation) **(LP_B_05)**.

Such membership appears to concretise the value of involvement to shape how the community should function as a cultural support to the nation's standards and provides communal qualities and cultural characteristics for individuals in the community (Steger, 2008). These imaginings of an ideal village community are recreated through reconstructions of membership, social space, and repetitive performance through generations and time. It is important to note that the notion of "We", to which Steger (2008) refers, needs to be comprehended as not only a stable social structure but also a process that demands contestation and reconfiguration through images, narratives, and practices of membership.

Our communal membership within the customary community is also built through strong relations between neighbours. To create a harmonious community, we need to create harmonious neighbours. All the houses here have small doors to their left and right neighbours. The connector doors can help us to reach our closest neighbours if we need something for daily needs and we don't have time to buy in the market. Neighbours are like closest family in happiness and sadness. **(LP_B_06).**

The participation of individuals who work together within the village organisational membership and close relationships with neighbours become a basis for the communal assessment of individual and communal achievement. One of the youth leaders, who also became a member of *Pecalang* or the security guard for village ritual and community safety, stated:

Frankly, I have to say that the attendance of any village organisation is more than 95% every meeting. Even if someone is busy for example, studying or working, they will always attend the meetings or activities in the village. **(LP_B_07)**

Another woman who became a host family also explained her activities in the village. She gave the following statement while preparing her offerings (usually flowers, plants, small amounts of rice or other foods) for everyday rituals:

> If we want to live here, we must follow the values and community rule. It is also a part of our religious beliefs that supporting community is one of our good deeds, which is included in the central beliefs of *Tri Hita Kirana* [in Hindu Bali, this is a concept of maintaining a relationship with god, humans, and the environment], especially the relationships with humans. (**LP_B_08)**

Another explanation related to land ownership is given by a seller in the village who also works in social media marketing:

> We don't own the land. This land is a gift and belongs to the customary village. We can't sell it, nor do we have the land certificate. We only have the right to build a house on top of the land given from our ancestors. Therefore, we need to respect this privilege by volunteering to work in the village organisation. **(LP_B_09)**.

Understanding the landscape of *Penglipuran* village cannot be separated from the strong beliefs in communal membership, which support the construction of the village. This supports Massey's (2005) argument that power relations in space also reconnect with the ownership of space. In this context, membership, community participation, and the village's structural system give individuals the "right" to own a space in the village of *Penglipuran*. With this "right," the local people then construct their visual and bodily experiences in their use of the space, decide their livelihood within the space, and at the same time preserve and negotiate their values regarding the "ownership" of their spaces in terms of social membership and current changes in their everyday heritage performances.

Third, local struggles around daily tourism activities, population growth, and their everyday life become reasons to negotiate some changes in regard to the landscape design principles. For example, some extended family members have converted houses in the *Nista* area (the bottom part of human body which is usually associate with backstage or "dirty stuff") into new residential homes in which to live or to have rooms for homestay (Dwijayasastra, 2013). This is an example wherein the cultural

heritage village space also includes invented materials, which become a subject of constant change, shifting, and contestation.

Pragmatically, since the residents cannot add additional floors to their houses, they use the backyard land to build more rooms and houses to live in or use as homestays. Indeed, this drives preservation into a capital interest by changing the rules and converting the *Nista* into residential houses, although, the head of the customary village explains that the decision to change the *Nista* area is an adjustment to the increasing population and number of families in the villages and is based on a consensus regarding their village rules.

> Extending houses is a consequence of having larger families who choose to live in this village, because we must maintain the *Hulu Apad* system, in the housing system and our village system. *Hulu* means the top and *Apad* means to circulate. This system works within the 76 houses, and represents the seniority in the villages, the level of family, ages, and social status in this village. This number can be changed and circulated if their last kids get married, then she/he will not be the representative of their family as *prajuru desa* [family representatives]. Therefore, village representatives must remain as the 76 memberships. This is a system since *Majapahit.* We still preserve it, but we also accept the current government system from Indonesia. **(LP_B_03)**

> Our village is included as ancient village, Bali Aga tribe. In Bali, we have three dominant Balinese group, Bali Mula, Aga, and Majapahit. As a Bali Aga community, we are older than the Majapahit group. We came from the teaching of Rsi Markandia. Before 8th century, we have been in Bali. *Ulu Apad* is a system we adopted from the Balinese Majapahit, but we do not adopt caste system. We all consider it as "color" or caste-based profession, their roles and *karma*, not by birth like Majapahit. **(LP_B_04)**

In terms of local struggles to maintain the communal identity and national identity, Rubinstein and Connor (1999) argue that what is at stake is not identity per se in any constructive sense. People in Bali are used to working with many intersections of identity, such as being Balinese, Hindu, young people, Indonesian, women, students, and workers in different situations and complex combinations. It is the mobilisation of the struggle over resources such as the land, environment, political rights, religious

tolerance, infrastructure, and capital that creates a further discourse of identity. Rubinstein and Connor argue that the practice of everyday life is the main discourse in defining which identity is problematic (1999).

In the case of *Penglipuran*, maintaining its identity as a community that constructs the landscape to support social membership is also problematic in terms of the everyday disourses of capital income and increasing population. The resources to build houses for extended family who still want to live in the preservation area are limited by the *awig-awig* rules, land ownership, and preservation efforts. Therefore, the people negotiate to convert the *Nista* area (the bottom of the body of a human being) into houses or homestays to fulfill the needs of extended family and capital income. The negotiation of everyday problems, local identity, and preservation efforts is at stake, because within couple of years, when the population grows bigger and produces more extended family members, or the demand for homestay sincreases, the people in the village will be forced negotiate over the resources available in *Penglipuran.* Consequently, they may need to maintain the landscape values and identity and convert areas or land for the purpose of everyday problems and capital.

5. 3. 2. Creating spaces for civic practice

In this section, the current research demonstrates how the people of *Penglipuran* village construct their local space for civic practices through three important cultural materials centralised in the area of *Balai Banjar*, a large open spaced pavilion used as a village community centre. The local people imagine the nation by preserving the intersections of memory about the village order and national ideals, performing the people's obedience to structural power, and personalising the negotiation between the local village and the nation. This process creates a rhetorical construction of the loyalty of the village to the nation.

First, the locals create spaces for civic practice by preserving the memory of village order and national ideals. The cultural materials for the preservation of this public memory are located in the *Balai Banjar* (known more broadly in Indonesia as *Balai Desa*), which consists of village offices such as the community health centre (*Posyandu*), the PKK *(Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga)* or family welfare movement office, and many other functional rooms depending on the needs of the

village. This place generally functions as a meeting space for the community to implement the national civic movement spirit known as *gotong royong* or voluntary work for the community (mutual assistance). The *Balai Banjar* in *Penglipuran* emphasises the historic role of the village community as the place for people's movement, civic participation in *gotong royong*, and village structural membership over several centuries. The tourism coordinator explains his memory of the early perseveration effort in 1991:

> We worked until 11 o'clock at night every day; you know *gotong royong* [working together voluntarily and collectively]. That is our commitment to fix at least the front part of our village or the *angkul-angkul*. Some of our friends decide to ask some other people in the village to take a turn to feed those who work physically for the preservation process. We were determined to finish until our target is accomplished at a certain date. **(LP_B_03)**.

The connection between the preservation movement and the early spirit of independence derived from the agricultural and collective aspects of the nation, *gotong royong*, cast the origin of *Penglipuran*'s preservation into an imagined community. The *gotong royong* is a widespread term, which underlines an element of Indonesian culture, which was addressed by President Soekarno on 1 July 1945, to describe in Indonesian terms the native characteristics of Indonesian people (Bowen, 1986). Vice President Mohammad Hatta also mentioned it on 23 January 1946, in terms of a social revolution spirit that would revive the people based on social justice and *gotong royong* (Bowen, 1986). Bowen (1986) describes *gotong royong* as a mobilisation of working/labouring as a direct exchange, generally reciprocal, used to achieve a political status in the community. Today, however, *gotong royong* is a term that is mostly familiarised and territorialised in the village setting. Yet during the President Soeharto era, the term was used to exploit labour in village communities. For example, the term was used in the Soeharto era in the policy of *Inpres Desa Tertinggal*, or Presidential Order Concerning the Underdeveloped Village, to provide a fixed grant for developing infrastructure or increasing farming products for national food security in exchange for free labour. This notion assumed that people in the villages would work based on the voluntary spirit of *gotong royong* and thus prolong the pre-colonial culture of free work or unpaid willing work (*ikhlas*), spontaneity (*spontanitas*), and awareness (*kesadaran*) as elements of *gotong royong* (Bowen, 1986).

The existence of *Balai Desa* or *Balai Banjar* in almost all villages across Indonesia is very much the result of imagining the architecture of Indonesian politics and economics in rural areas *or desa*. It creates a collage of similar and shared experiences across villages in Indonesia with regard to how villages should function in relation to the state (Jameson, 2004). It also produces a specific reality about village structures that are similar in many different types of villages even though they have different ethnic groups and religious practices. This constitutes a significant element of the power relationship between the village and the nation (Bowen, 1986).

Second, the locals perform the people's obedience to structural power using documents, symbols, and signs around the *Balai Banjar*. The village of *Penglipuran* has two *Balai Banjar*; one is used for small meetings, and the other is a big pavilion for large meetings, music and dance performances, welcoming large groups of guests, and a place to display village's structure of power. In the big *Balai Banjar*, local people often conduct customary village meetings consisting of the 76 families representing their 76 houses. The meetings are conducted to discuss village issues, especially issues that should be regulated in the *awig-awig*, or written rules of the village. This *awig-awig* also details the job descriptions of village organisations and the responsibilities of individuals based on their gender and age.

> I will ask the people to meet at *Balai Banjar* and to decide first in the *awig-awig*, which direction will we bring this village? I don't have the authority to decide or to make the villagers do some cleaning jobs for example. The people decide and they must obey the decision we made and write in the *awig-awig*. So, after the people decide, I have the power to organise the people to do their decisions. *(LP_B_02)*

A similar method to the way in which the Soeharto era implemented the spirit of *gotong royong* was also applied by the Indonesian Department of Education and Culture in 1983 to push and mobilise *gotong royong* and *swadaya desa* or self-sufficient villages. They produced guidebooks about *gotong royong* and held competitions amongst villages, which included the spirit of *gotong royong* and local participation as one of the winning elements. In 1993, after *Penglipuran* village fixed up its streets, redecorated its gardens, and fixed the *angkul-angkul*, it joined the competitions and won some of them.

> We got a Decision Letter (Surat Keputusan or SK) 115/2003 from the head of the district to make our village a tourism object. With the SK, consequently, the profit from the entrance ticket and parker retribution will be divided, 60% for the regional government and claimed as the income of Pendapatan Asli Daerah (PAD) or locally generated revenue of Bangli District and 40% for the village. **(LP_B_03)**

Preservation has continued since then. Before 2012, the organising committee for tourism activity was the youth organisation, or *Sekaa Terune,* which was under the coordination of the customary village or *Desa Adat*.

> We then built a village tourism management agency or Lembaga Pengelola *Desa wisata* under the structure of customary village. Using a proposal, we managed to gain the funding of 150 million rupiahs or 15 000 AUD$. The commercial activities started to grow with tools and infrastructures support from the funding as well as the local agency. **(LP_B_09)**

Tourism and commercial activities spread out along the village; however, coordination, meeting, and power relations activities between the nation and local people centred in the *Balai Banjar* (Figure 5.3). The *Balai Banjar*, widely known as *Balai Desa*, is not just a village office but also a recognition of the presence of the state. Soeharto structured the village by using bureaucratic positions such as the village head (Acciaoli, 1985) and by authorising local social arrangements as to the security of the village. In Javanese villages, security may be presented by *satpam* or *hansip*, but in Bali, they have additional groups of *Pecalang*, or security organisation, formed to protect rituals, and to protect the territory from threats. Herriman (2008) finds ambiguity in the function of *Balai Desa.* It is a place to exert control through meetings, state control through the existence of security organisations or other national organisations, and also as a place to assert local sovereignty, where local people can negotiate their power in their territory and at the same time interpret the national standard, rules and policies (Herriman 2008).

Figure 5.3. *Balai Banjar* in *Penglipuran* Village
(Source: Photograph by Author, 2017)

Another tangible sign in the *Balai Banjar* are the symbols of the state and remembrance; local people display pictures of the Indonesian President, Vice President, and *Garuda Indonesia* as national symbols. They also display the 10 Programs of *Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*, or PKK, a program initiated by the central government of Indonesia for villages or *kampung*/urban neighbourhood communities.

> The 10 programs are like a mission to achieve an Indonesian "standard" of good governance community. Those are the understandings and practices of Pancasila, *gotong royong*, taking care of food, clothing, housing and housekeeping, education and skills, health, developing a cooperative life, environmental sustainability, and health planning. **(LP_B_10)**

The imagined community in the cultural heritage villages determines the community's sense of justice, through *gotong royong*, land ownership, the division of village income between the local community and the central government, and how the village agreed to participate in the standardised characteristics of a good governance community, are determined by the central government. The sense of membership creates a framework to protect local culture, such as through *awig-awig,* as a

customary rule that will negotiate what kind of tourism community the village wants to create.

Third, the locals personalise the negotiation between the local village and the nation using some decorative symbols, performativity, and mitigation of tensions. For example, the name *Balai Banjar* uses the Balinese language of *Banjar* instead of *Desa*. In addition, *Penglipuran* exhibits Balinese architecture and Balinese stage carvings as the centre of attention in the *Balai Banjar*. There is a *Saput Poleng* or black and white cloth (considered to be a sacred symbol of the contestation between good and bad choices and spirits in everyday life battles) draped over trees*,* statues, and wooden pillars and worn by people in ceremonies or events in the *Balai Banjar*. These are personalised symbols, which exist along with the national and civic spirit and indicate the ownership, internalisation, and space of local interpretation and identity within nation imaginings.

In relation to tourism performances, the functions of the *Balai Banjar* are extended to the circulation of everyday tourism activities. For example, the texts and the symbols around the *Balai Banjar* could be read as cultural materials showing the performance of heritage, for example to show welcoming dances and to conduct workshops for tour packages. *Balai Banjar* also demonstrates the values of *gotong royong*, the division of village income between the local community and the central government, and participation in the standardised characteristics of a good governance community as a heritage performance which is used as the central attraction in many competitions and training activities (*perlombaan dan pelatihan*). *Awig-awig* has also become an intangible heritage commodity demonstrating community participation to distinguish *Penglipuran* from other *Desa wisata* across the nation.

Lastly, the locals personalise the negotiation between village and nation through mitigating the tension related to income distribution from tourism activities around the *Balai Banjar*. For example, a sense of both pride and being exploited by the regional and national government still re-appears in the many of the interviews conducted. Since *Penglipuran* receives a high number of visitors, the village must contribute around 60% of its ticket income and parking remuneration to the regional government, which then contributes to the *PAD* or *Pendapatan Asli Daerah* (Regional Income) of Bangli, Bali as a province, and is then included in the income of Indonesia. In the

tension between local efforts, free labour in *gotong royong*, and the everyday need of rituals, village operational revenues also enforce the discourses of exploitation of the village. Currently, the village leaders still try to renegotiate the village's share of capital with the regional government.

> We have contributed a lot to the regency of Bangli. Our profit is the biggest income for Bangli. But we feel a bit hard if the division of profit is 60% for the government, and the village only receive 40% of the profit because we have many necessities such as rituals and preservation efforts. We think it is a bit unfair. We want to negotiate further to reduce the contribution to PAD. Can you imagine, just the middle of this year (2017), we have contributed until 2 million rupiah for Bangli. **(LP_B_03)**

This tension between the feelings of pride at contributing to the government and the perception of exploitation due to the percentage of the profit sharing was raised in several interviews. Loyalty to authority can also put heritage at stake because the space then becomes an arena of exploitation of free labour or volunteerism, symbols of loyalty, and profit making. As Adam (2014) argues in her research about Toraja heritage in Sulawesi Island in Indonesia, in terms of income distribution and sharing, heritage is politically contested. Local authorities decide how much income will be taken to subsidise other locations in the same region. However, as a complex exchange, the infusion of local politics in heritage, especially in relation to profit sharing, creates two forms of discourse, positioning the profit sharing process either as a symbol of achievement or as exploitation (Adams, 2014; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Picard, 1990).

5. 3. 3. Implementing nation brand in the village

In this section, the findings of the research show how the locals have implemented the nation brand in the village by means of two important moves. These are establishing a tourism awareness group to ensure the implementation of Indonesia's brand values and exhibiting symbols and signs to show their loyalty to the nation.

The first reading of the implementation of nation branding relates to the information provided by the village tourism management agency or *Pokdarwis*. The preservation movement was formally institutionalised in a village organisation in 2012, along with

an Indonesian government program under Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's administration called *Pokdarwis* or *Kelompok Sadar Wisata* (The tourism awareness group). According to the guidebook of the tourism awareness group (*Pedoman Pokdarwis*) published by the Director General of Tourism Destination Development in 2012, *Pokdarwis* is the embodiment of cooperation between government, private sectors, and local communities. It functions to support a ground-up process in tourism and empower the community to be ready to develop tourism based on national standards. In this guidebook, *Pokdarwis* is designed to be the "driving element" in communities where tourism destinations are established.

> Members of *Pokdarwis* are expected to be the figures in the local community who can motivate, communicate, and move. The main job of *Pokdarwis* is to be the agents of change for the community to create a tourist-friendly atmosphere according to the national guidelines of *Sapta Pesona* or Seven Wonders. **(LP_B_13)**

The seven wonders are "Security, Order, Cleanliness, Freshness, Beauty, Friendliness, and Memories." These Seven Wonders are defined in the national brand of Indonesia known as "Wonderful Indonesia." The *Pokdarwis* is then institutionalised through the village organisations; the membership is recorded and formalised in the documents at the village, sub-district, district, and provincial levels.

In the case of *Penglipuran*, the local people institutionalised the *Pokdarwis* into a village tourism management agency, or *Lembaga Pengelola Desa wisata*, under the administration of both customary and formal village leaders. Even though membership of the *Pokdarwis* is voluntary, the village gets to profit from any tourism project, tour package, and/or demand for speakers to speak on behalf of the village tourism efforts. The members may also receive a small incentive.

> Once the membership of *Pokdarwis* is formalised, they may receive *pembinaan* (training) from the authority starting the ministry, provincial, district, and subdistrict. They may also represent the village to join *perlombaan* (competition) among villages as an assessment and evaluation how well the *Pokdarwis* move the local people to fulfill Seven Wonders principle. **(LP_B_14)**

Training and competition are two of many efforts by the national and regional government to develop tourism since the Soeharto era (Picard, 1990). In *Penglipuran* village, the members of the *Pokdarwis* work to emphasise the relatively technical aspects of preservation and village decoration, producing tour packages, events, and publications for the village, and communicating with village leaders. The members are the driving force behind the preservation and tourism movement.

> The members of *Pokdarwis* in *Penglipuran* village ensure the definition of what should be preserved according to *awig-awig* and the implementation of *Sapta Pesona* values in the village. **(LP_B_03)**

As they envision preservation and tourism, at the same time, the members of *Pokdarwis* in *Penglipuran* expand the view of existing cultural assets and objects by joining local, regional, national, and international competitions or training activities along with other tourist villages across Indonesia. One member of *Pokdarwis* explains with pride:

> We just want to implement the Seven Wonders as best as we can in our villages. We joined the competition to motivate us and to see how far we can go and what can we improve. We won the National Cipta Award in 2013. In 2014, we won runner-up for Indonesia's best tourist village, and in 2015, we won the best homestay in ASEAN. While in 2016, we won the Community Based Tourism Competition in Singapore nominated together with only three other villages, Dieng and Nglanggeran. We are proud we represent Indonesia and Bali. **(LP_B_15)**.

A police officer, who is a member of *Pokdarwis,* and a member of a village organisation called *Sekka Pratangan* (cooking), shows another kind of pride. His pride is related to how the village is famous across the nation and how national figures come to visit the village:

> Who are we? We are just a small village in Bali. But we feel special because we have many national figures come to visit us, such as three ministers, the former head of House of Representatives, the First Lady, and even the head of the Indonesian Police. They come to help further the development of the villages or just to confirm the success story of the village. If we never take the path we chose to have long ago, such as preserving *angkul-angkul* and preserving the central

street by paving and restricting it to pedestrians, perhaps nobody would even know us or would be curious to visit our village. **(LP_B_16)**

In this narrative, the Indonesian government creates a local agent, which functions as the local intelligentsia to imagine the community of Indonesia at the village level through Seven Wonders and the brand "Wonderful Indonesia." Therefore, *Pokdarwis* has three roles in echoing the voices of authority.

First, the *Pokdarwis* serves as the bridge between the local people and the government outside the village to negotiate the romanticisation of national values and purposes. Second, the *Pokdarwis* is the agent of the nation to homogenise the standard and fixity of the heritage tourist village program, through the implementation of Seven Wonders or other technical aspects in the training or competition materials. Third, opposition and reluctance from the local people may exist, but the *Pokdarwis* is the agent that needs to deal with them. For example, the *Pokdarwis* would resolve an argument between local people over whether to create asphalt or pave the main street with decorative stone. The *Pokdarwis* convinces the residents of the benefits of the plan to pave the street with decorative stone and prohibits motorcycles from entering the main street. As an example, the former head of the village discussed these tensions with me:

> Before the central government in Jakarta initiate the *Pokdarwis*, we have the embryo in our community. People who care about the beauty of the village, not for anyone else but for our own sake in 1991. We discussed in the village meeting whether we want to pave the main street or to change it to asphalt and let the motorcycle to enter the street. Some people give their understanding about preservation and the beauty of paving. Now, same people also give their views about the preservation of the village such as how to maintain the cleanliness of the village, how to organise parking, etc. These are *Pokdarwis* too who help give point of views and also involve the tourism activities. **(LP_B_17)**

The second reading of the implementation of nation branding is from the display of information through symbols and signs. For example, in the office of the *Pokdarwis*, the locals display a signboard saying "*Padamu Bangli, kami mengabdi*" or "To you Bangli, we serve," as a tagline to show the loyalty of the village to the region of Bangli, where *Penglipuran* village is administratively located (Figure 5.5). There is also a

photograph of President *Joko Widodo* and Vice President *Jusuf Kalla,* with a *Garuda Pancasila* photograph in the middle of the small meeting office (Figure 5.5).

Figure 5.4. The Signs Created by *Pokdarwis* of *Penglipuran* about their visions and missions and the nation symbols (Garuda Indonesia, President, and Vice President)
(Source: Photograph by Author, 2017)

Figure 5. 5. The Sign of 'To You Bangli, We Serve"
(Source: Photograph by Author, 2017)

These official signs and symbolic materials indicate how the nation expresses identities through logos, slogans, national monuments, or official symbols in the cultural heritage sites (Anholt, 2007; Holt, 2004; Sumaco & Richardson, 2011). These are media, which function as tools to broadcast the symbolic identities of a nation and disseminate nation brand values and principles. From another perspective, the presence of the signs shows the loyalty of a community to the nation. Through the existence of *Pokdarwis,* the nation's purpose and identities are constructed and transmitted to connect the imagined community. Local people also decide how and which culture they would like to perform to represent their shared imagining of the nation (Newland & Taylor, 2010; Waterton & Watson, 2010).

5. 3. 4. Keeping the memory of colonialism

The fourth expression of *Penglipuran* to imagine the nation rests on two important cultural materials. Those are the meaning of name of *Penglipuran* and the hero monument, which both commemorate the contributions of their ancestors to the nation during the colonial period.

First, *Penglipuran* means *Pengeling* (remember) and *Pura* (temple) or the remembrance of temple or ancestors. It can also mean *Penglipur*, or a place to entertain or make people happy. Rich with character, the name has associations with the kingdom of Bali in the premodern past, gifts, traditions, and beauty. For nearly two decades, the name *Penglipuran* was used to describe land gifted from the kingdom as a remembrance, a reward, and a sign of the happiness of the king with the loyal soldiers and their families.

The history of *Penglipuran* is encapsulated in the construction of the village. To strengthen the remembrances of their ancestors and/or *Pura* (temple), the village demonstrates an older style of house entrances with bamboo roofs, has built 14 public temples, and 76 family temples, one in each residential house. The local people follow the rules and plans because they are possessing ownership status of the land as customary land. Those who do not want to follow the local customary rules and agreement may have to build their houses outside the preservation area.

> Our ancestor is a loyal soldier. This village and land we live in is a gift from the
> king and for us, the great grandchildren. Therefore, we must preserve our

ancestors' legacy. But for those who want to build a house or to live differently, they can live outside the preservation area or in another village nearby. **(LP_B_12).**

The houses resemble each other in a line along the street. These features represent a nostalgic and romantic view of Old Bali. The architecture stands a world apart from the everyday, and, while the stone steps look treacherous in the mist, the lights of the guest houses promise security and an old-style hospitality.

Figure 5.6. *Penglipuran* streetscape as a remembrance to the past
(Source: Photograph by Author, 2017)

The second reading is related to the hero monument, built in 1959 to commemorate the Revolution war in the Regency of *Bangli*. This hero monument is dedicated to the leader of the war, Captain *Anak Agung Anom Muditha*. It is located on the south side of *Penglipuran* village or the end of the main preservation street (Figure 5.6). A farmer who works as a part time cleaner at the hero monument eloquently explains:

> The area of the monument is 1.5 hectares with a Balinese style entrance, a temple, a meeting space for rituals named the *Cura Yudha* building, the statue of *Anak Agung*, and small monuments to commemorate his followers. The heroes died

when they faced the NICA (Netherlands-Indies Civil Administration) soldiers in the revolution era, on November 20, 1947. **(LP_B_18).**

According to the leaders of the village, the hero monument in the village of *Penglipuran* is an important space to show the commitment of the village to support *Anak Agung Anom Maditha* and the fight against NICA in Bali. The story of this battle also involves religious values, mythology, and the loyalty of the local people involved in the battle.

> The villagers helped make a bamboo weapon for the hero (*Bambu Runcing*) that was believed to have magical powers endowed upon it by the prayer of the village shaman. *Anak Agung Anom Maditha*, pleased to see the loyalty of the people in the village and their dedication to the Republic of Indonesia and Bali, then stated that he could not pay back the people, except by using the weapon in their defence, and he declared himself a member of the village, which was then called *Medesa* or *MeBanjar*. **(LP_B_03)**

The former head of village further explains the sacrifice of the villagers for the hero, which then entitled the village to own the memorial of the hero, located in their village:

> On the way from *Tegalsana* village to *Penglipuran*, Anak Agung Anom Mudita was trapped by NICA's troops, and he died as a hero on November 20, 1947 at around 08.00 am. At the same time, some local people of *Penglipuran* were tortured by NICA and several others were arrested, including *I Wayan Suryak* (*Nang Mabet*), who, at that time, served as *Klian Banjar*, or head of the village. **(LP_B_01)**

In the case of *Penglipuran* village, the ownership of the hero monument is an honour because it helps the local people to construct stronger and more compelling narratives regarding their local identity. For a community that believes in Hindu Bali and the Bali Aga tribe, the existence of the hero monument (Figure 5.7.1), which relates to the story of fighting colonialism (NICA), demonstrates a direct contribution of local people to Bali and Indonesia as a post-colonial nation (Figure 5.7.2).

The cultural heritage community also imagines the state of national ownership by representing concepts of "our," such as "our land" and "our culture" (Baranowski &

Furlough, 2001, p. 9) and by defining the hero monument as the head of the customary village:

> This hero monument is our ancestor legacy, our contribution to the Indonesian independency, and the story also motivate us to preserve our bamboo forest as a reminder of the weapon of local people "bambu runcing" (sharpened bamboo). **(LP_B_03)**

Figure 5.7.1. The Hero Monument in *Penglipuran:* The entrance of the monument
(Source: Photograph by Author, 2017)

Figure 5.7.2. The Hero Monument in *Penglipuran:* The statue of *Anak Agung Anom Maditha*
(Source: Photograph by Author, 2017)

Furthermore, to show their loyalty to the nation, the local people also designed the temple to reflect the date of 17 August 1945 to celebrate the Independence Day of Indonesia (Figure 5.8). The former village leader explained the hidden symbols in the construction of the hero monument:

> For example, there is one also does it have a 7 metre base to represent 17, the eight bases of the temple contains the meaning of August, and one temple has a nine metre roof level, with four doors, and five door stands, containing the meaning of the year 1945. **(LP_B_18)**

Figure 5. 8. A temple that symbolises the nation's Independence Day
(Source: Photograph by Author, 2019)

The local people also designed the gazebo inside the monument area to represent 20 November 1947 or the day Anak Agung Anom Muditha died.

> There is 20 metres in length between *Balai Mas* to *Balai Kukul* [small gazebo] to symbolise the date of 20, there are 11 bases under the statue of Brahma containing the meaning of November, and one temple, with a roof level of nine metres, four doors, and seven meters high main monument, containing the meaning of the year 1947. **(LP_B_19)**

In addition, the people in the village placed statues from Hindu mythology within the monument. There is a *Brahma* statue (god of creation) because Anak Agung often used the name Brahma as a cover; the god *Kuwera* (god of wealth); the god *Indra* (god of rain, regent of the heavens, and guardian of the east); Guru *Drona* (a master of advanced military arts); and *Yama* (god of death). The construction of the monument was finished in 1960, which is celebrated every 6 months. The village holds a ceremony to respect the hero in the monument (Figure 5.9). As a minority, the cultural approach of redefining the national identity through symbols and cultural materials helped the Balinese to shape their cultural doctrine to differentiate their regional and local identity, intended for themselves and for achieving national goals (Picard, 1990).

Figure 5. 9. One of the gazebos which symbolise the date on which the hero died
(Source: Photograph by Author, 2017)

However, cultural heritage villages are not without their weaknesses. As Cohen points out, power relations always connect with the privilege of some people or organisations in their battle to define, construct, imagine and claim ownership of a place (Cohen, 2004). One example is the process by which the village of *Penglipuran* and the hero monument were preserved, which is not mentioned in the brochures or in the outdoor displays. If a visitor comes to the village for the regular one- or two-hour tour, they will not be able to get information about the history of the village or the monument, even from the guide. This type of information regarding the village, the monument, and other artefacts is found on the website of *Penglipuran* in the Indonesian language or in unpublished documents owned by the village leaders. To date, the village has not developed an information board, guidebook, local guide, or other information for visitors (local or international) regarding the complete history of the preservation process or the history of the monument.

Consequently, the hero monument currently functions as a space of memory for local people. For example, it is a reminder of their own contribution to the nation, the spirit of heroism through rituals and ceremonies on the site, and the construction of local identity. The hero monument does not strongly function as a message and a space of remembrance for foreign or domestic tourists, due to the lack of available information

or stories related to the monument at the site (Figure 5.10.1 and Figure 5.10.2). When I explored the hero monument area with three different guides, they only explained that the area is a hero monument without information about who the hero is, details of the battle, or the symbolic meanings of the monuments and temples.

The absence of explanation in either English or Indonesian places the hero monument of *Penglipuran* only has significance in a very specific sense to the local people. Dickinson et al. (2006) argue that the absence of certain cultural materials and/or stories is not without meaning. It shows a lack of desire on the part of the locals to demonstrate the full true meaning of memorials. In *Penglipuran* village, the lack of information and explanation also means the local people put less priority to the importance of documenting and archiving historical narratives as cultural heritage assets. When I questioned the local people regarding the lack of information for tourists at the hero monument site, interestingly, many of the local people could explain the detailed story of the monument. Yet they were unaware that displaying such narratives would be an asset for local identity and heritage construction. The coordinator of the tourist agency in the village acknowledged that they rely on the information provided by the guides, with the expectation that the guides will have the knowledge to articulate the story of the hero monument to the tourists. Therefore, the guide has the power of information selectivity in the production of the heritage narratives.

> We have put the complete information and story of the hero monument on the website. We have not developed more information for the site. Perhaps, we are just unaware that displaying such a story is important to valuing our heritage assets and can be an important message for the people who visit this site. We rely heavily on the guide to explain the hero monument site. Maybe next time, we can try to put more information. **(LP_B_03)**

Figure 5. 10.1. The sign board at the hero monument site
(Source: Photograph by Author, 2017)

Figure 5. 10.2. The signature board at the hero monument as an official recognition
(Source: Photograph by Author, 2017)

The name of *Penglipuran,* the hero monument and the symbols in it are specific artefacts related to the imaginings of the post-colonial nation at the village level. According to Chatterjee (1991), these imaginings become a new language form for local intellectuals to influence local culture and identity and direct it to the national imaginings. Keeping the memory of colonialism through the hero monument also shows the construction of *Kebalian or Balineseness* in the mist of national history, including the colonial period. Picard (2008) argues that the emergence of *Balineseness* during the colonial period provides a historical framework for the growth of the identity struggle in Bali. This struggle for identity can be found in contemporary culture which involves figurative and mystified symbols associated with the narrative of war (Wiener, 1999), similar to the readings of the hero monument in Penglipuran.

5. 4. Discussion

The imagined community relates to the idea of sustaining historical values and identity by performing invented tradition. For the people in *Penglipuran*, the social system, membership, and landscape philosophy should be maintained based on the local values by which they choose to live. For them, the ideal cultural life is to preserve the values of the past and negotiate new values, changes, and challenges based on the village representatives' agreement. They imagine that the way to achieve their ideals is through the form of customary rules, structures, and the philosophy of space linked to the preservation effort. They also express the way they think of the world, the body, religion, functionality, the practicality of life and capital through the concept and design of their houses. In the context of *Penglipuran*,cultural material exists as ideal imagery in four important cultural artefacts: building landscape design, functioning community space for practising civic loyalty, implementing nation branding through tourism local organisations, and establishing public memorials to the local contribution during colonialism.

Firstly, grounded in Hindu Bali and the Bali Aga tribe, the locals perform their heritage by making it possible, necessary, and desirable to preserve the concept of the landscape as a body, social membership, and negotiation of local struggle. In this case, the *Penglipuran* community shapes its own cultural concept of the idea of membership in that being part of the group is compulsory as an individual of the villages.

The construction of social membership reflects Geertz's argument (1959) which indicates that the village in Bali is constructed to coordinate all aspects of the communal life. Examples in *Penglipuran* which still similarly reflect Geertz findings include land ownership, a sharing obligation to worship at the temple as the central point, commonalities for ascribing social status such as through *Ulu Apad* systems and 76 preservation houses, common membership in voluntary village organisations such as in the *Krama* principles and the *Sekaa* organisation and through the local principles of the body of the landscape from the *Tri Mandala* and *Tri Angga* systems (Geertz, 1959).

Another similar finding from Mitchell (1994) that describe a process from villages in Bali that employ a form of local government based on local cooperation from the membership of village organisations. The neighbors and the *Sekaa* system in *Penglipuran* suggest the important values of membership in village organisations as a part of claiming ownership of the land. Mitchell also discusses the importance of consensus through village meetings of local representatives (1994). *Penglipuran* village demonstrates this concept in the *Ulu Apad* members' meeting, and in balance, such as in the principles of *Tri Hita*. Still according to Mitchell (1994), following these aspects will create a strong foundation to sustain the development initiative and reduce the clash between western values and local values, whether development is for tourism or other economic growth.

Second, sustaining history and envisioning the national spirit and imaginings rely heavily on the existence of community spaces for civic practice, or *Balai Banjar.* *Penglipuran*, which became a national example of a successful village for tourism purposes, was able to negotiate its local values and nation spirit to perform its "ideal" civic practice at the village level. Specifically, a closer look at the language modes and the genre of symbols in the area of the *Balai Banjar* indicates the formal and regulatory approach, which affirms the existence and recognition of the nation state, the obedience of the civic membership to authority, and regulating local behaviour in the public space. The *Balai Banjar* becomes a community space to show the people's obedience to structural power in the village, and a space to display the negotiations of imaginings of the nation and village. To associate the preservation of *Penglipuran* with the spirit of *gotong royong* and national identity, however, is to draw a rhetorical

connection between the tangible space and work done on the ground by local citizens toward the preservation and restoration of their village, and the institutionalisation of the central government's standards, formulae and missions. The existence of *Balai Banjar* offered a rare opportunity for discussion and readings that shaped the connection between the local heritage tourism village and the national imagining as an institutional and ideological origin-point of the preservation direction and movement. The readings of the *Balai Banjar* provide a useful perspective on the constructions of village space and everyday heritage that are taken for granted.

Thirdly, *Penglipuran* village also implements the nation brand symbols in the village. The *Pokdarwis* as a village organisation functions to maintain the operation and production of touristic culture and activities in the village. *Pokdarwis* also functions as the organisation that confers power on local elites to construct the village. Reuter (1999) argues that, due to the domination of elites in controlling Balinese arts, some highlands communities challenge their backwardness and poverty by creating alternative representations of "authentic" Balinese culture. The resilience of local communities captured by Reuter's (1999) argument can also be observed in *Penglipuran* village. The preservation efforts are also a part of representing the values of authenticity, although obviously the definition of authenticity will always be contested in the academic discussion and by the local people through the *Pokdarwis* elites. At the same time, the national identity is expressed mostly through formal administrative symbols that are not recognised by tourists as they appear intangible and/or not as consumable objects for tourists, such as the signs of the Seven Wonders of "Security, Order, Cleanliness, Freshness, Beauty, Friendliness, and Memories" constructed by the local people in the tourism space.

Fourthly, the hero monument becomes a public memorial for the local people to preserve their ancestors' legacy to the nation. As Hindu Balinese, the local people often conduct rituals and ceremonies to pray for their ancestors and heroes who died in battles during the colonial era. Continuing activities to develop their own local identity and preserve loyalty to Bali and Indonesia also become representations that move within a perceptual world of community and constantly compete to perform and adjust over space and time. Important to this is the context of everyday cultural performances and how individuals in the community change, or attempt to reproduce

and rework the meaning of heritage

5. 5. Conclusion

Penglipuran village has become a space for a local and underrepresented cultural community–in this case, the local tribe of Bali Aga–to perform the diversity of the nation in their home. At the same time, the village fuses local symbols and cultural materials with the Indonesian government's values and identities. The fusion of local symbols and national imaginings can be observed in some of these key texts, including practices such as (1) fulfilling the romanticism of "Wonderful Indonesia" through the existence of *Pokdarwis* as agents who mediate between regional and national purposes and local cultures; (2) following the homogeneity and fixity of the national standard for village tourism development across Indonesia through the Seven Wonders goals; (3) obeying state control over symbols in the village; and (4) displaying the preservation of imperative symbols of the nation, the region, and the village's history. These tools help the village to imagine their membership within Indonesia but, at the same time, to negotiate their own cultural performances as a village and as Balinese people.

As a relatively successful heritage village, *Penglipuran* shows the ways in which the national culture is strategically constructed (for example, through competitions, training, and representing the nation or region at an international level) for consumption. For example, locals take pride in winning awards that position the village with a brand of "the cleanest village" in the world, representing Indonesia and Bali as a whole. The local people not only imagine ways in which they can contribute to the nation with their own unique identities and cultures using their everyday heritage life but also how the village can be a showcase of comsuming the rural idyllic example of Indonesia. The story of *Penglipuran* provides a way of looking at the continuity of a community that has retained a sense of place to share ideas and experiences. This story can be consumed in the tourism industrial cycle. Next chapter explore deeply on how the place consumption in *Penglipuran* from the Australian tourists can demonstrate the ways to locate a nation.

Chapter 6. Consuming Village: Interactions of Australian Tourists and Local People at *Penglipuran, Bali*

6. 1. Introduction

In the previous chapter (Chapter Five), I argue that through the lens of local people, *Penglipuran* produces a contested space between Indonesia as a nation and the village. Through this understanding, the tensions in the imaginings of a nation from the 'inside' are revealed. The previous chapter contends that locating a nation in theoretical and practical terms needs an investigation from the perspectives of the insiders and outsiders of the nation.

Accordingly, the next step is to understand the imaginings of the nation from the point of view of the 'outsiders.' As I define Australian tourists as the 'outsiders' (Chapter One), I investigate the consumption process of *Penglipuran* village from the point of view of the Australians, revealed in online reviews and onsite interviews. This study functions to magnify the differences between the perceptions of Australian tourists and those of local people and also to identify the tension that occurs in cultural heritage space. Thus, this chapter will address the research objective to understand the imaginings and expectations of Indonesia by Australian tourists of these cultural heritage villages.

To achieve the objective, I begin by analysing the visitors' experiences of the landscape. I explore the stories of Australians in the heritage villages through online reviews and on-site interactions. I also interpret the documents I have collected during my research. Finally, I cluster this data into a specific/thematic framework and analyse it using theoretical work in the areas of consuming space (Urry, 2002; Massey, 2005), tourist experiences in village/countryside/rural heritage (Bell, 2006), and nation branding (Anholt, 2005).

6. 2. Objective of the Chapter

This chapter aims to investigate (1) to what extent tourists engage in constructing expectations of the nation as a result of tourism experiences, and (2) what kind of nation imaginings are perceived by Australian tourists in a heritage tourist village. The interactions offer a contemporary example of the representations of the tourism lifestyle, demands, and space. The interplay in this study may be regarded as a response to academic calls for enquiry into different aspects of place consumption (McIntosh, 2004; Urry, 2002).

6. 3. Findings

The outcome of this research shows that tourists consume the imaginings of the idyllic village of Indonesia in two ways. First, the meaning of traditionalism, commerce, and the dynamic of private/social space in the process of tourist interactions with cultural heritage villages inflect the discourses about space. Second, the brand association of Indonesia and *Penglipuran* connects the nation brand and the village. To study this, I collect previous research data from other researchers and combine them with word associations gathered from the Australian tourists. The resulting diagram, which maps the representation of the local space to the nation, demonstrates dominant imaginings of Indonesia.

6. 3. 1. Discourses about Space

The first reading relates to the connections between people and space. The discourses about space clearly appear in various conversations and discussions observed during the research fieldwork. In relation to the discourses about space, the study shows that (1) the cultural heritage village is positioned as a consumption space for traditional narratives, (2) the Australians depict the people of the villages with associations of commercial activities and poverty during their visits, and (3) they problematise the dynamics of private and social space in their roles as tourists.

6.3.1.1. The Consumption of Traditional Narratives

Traditional life has been a commodity, which represents escape from the pressures of urban living (Lane & Kastenholz, 2015). The cultural significance of cultural heritage villages is the ability of these spaces to provide a setting for peaceful, harmonious, natural, and humble experiences for the tourists (Roberts & Hall, 2004). In the pursuit of traditional life, groups of Australians gaze at and have expectations of materials, activities, and spaces under the framework of the tourists' idyll. In this part, I argue that the Australian tourists' consumption of the cultural heritage village of *Penglipuran* deploys a collection of discourses related to traditional narratives and then define the way (or how) to consume this commodity.

The data collected from the in-depth interviews, participant observations, and online reviews reveals a range of discursive materials perceived as traditional. These materials indicate how the tourism consumption of traditionalism is derived from the social relations of Australian tourists with the space, the local people, and opposition to the urban/modern setting found in Bali or the tourists' homeland (Urry, 1990). These interpretations redefine what are valuable materials in the construction of a traditional space in the countryside, rural settings, and villages (Hopkins, 1998). These tangible characteristics and qualities shape the meaning of traditionalism. They shape consumer behaviours (Sharpley, 2018) and create patterns of consumption of activities, settings, and human elements, which focus on their traditional meanings.

> I think this village is traditional. The people here seem happy and yeah… like a big family but in one village (**AT_B_01**)
>
> I like the house here. Very traditional, everything looks very well preserved from a long time ago. Like the kitchen… the appliances are still traditional compared to what we have at home. (**AT_B_02**)

From the interview data, as shown in the examples above, the Australians refer to the traditional notion, such as: the people 'live in harmony and are peaceful,' the houses are 'well preserved,' and the kitchen 'appliances are still traditional.' They also connect their interpretations of the traditional with their own experiences at home: 'like a big family' and 'compared to what we have at home.' From this data, I determined the cultural materials perceived as traditional. The outcome is the mapping

of traditional narrative materials as illustrated below (Figure 6.1). The map shows the dominant materials, which the Australians refer to, and point to as traditional icons in the village.
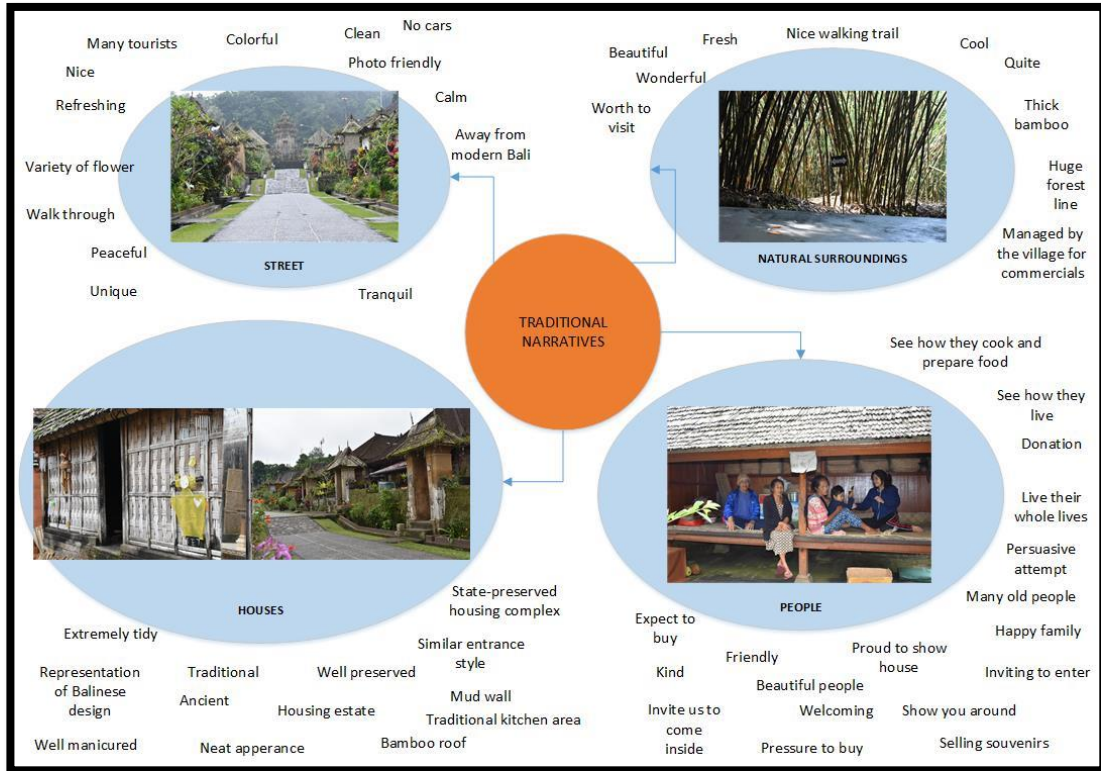
Figure 6.1. The Mapping of Traditional Narratives Materials from Australian Tourists
(Source: Figure by Author, 2018)

Penglipuran cultural heritage village represents a contested, negotiated, and consumed tourist space (Roberts & Hall, 2004). In this space, the notion of traditional/traditionalism is commercialised, constructed, and consumed as part of rural/countryside/village imaginings. This process involves four discursive cultural materials: houses, natural surroundings, streets, and local people. In relation to these four discursive materials, the Australians define the traditional narratives through adjectives and nouns that help explain the meaning of the traditional, ready for tourists (staging) (McIntosh & Ryan, 2007), and it connects to the urban/homeland setting. Meanwhile, the verbs used define the way to (or how to) consume the place.

Houses are related to words like 'traditional,' 'ancient,' 'style,' 'well preserved,' 'Balinese design,' to connect with traditional narratives. The words 'neat,' 'tidy,' and

'complex' are related to the negotiation of local staging which indicates the readiness of the people to accept tourists.

The street is related to words like 'peaceful,' 'nice,' 'refreshing,' 'tranquil,' 'calm,' 'colourful,' and 'unique' to connect with the traditional imaginings. Words such as 'many tourists,' 'photo friendly,' 'unique,' and 'clean' are related to the readiness for the presence of tourists, or staging elements. Words such as 'no cars' and 'away from modern Bali,' are used to emphasise the opposition between the traditional values of the village and the urban settings of Bali or their own homeland.

Natural surroundings relate to words such as 'wonderful,' 'beautiful,' 'nice,' 'cool,' 'quiet,' 'thick bamboo,' and 'huge forest.' They are related closely to traditional narratives. Expressions such as 'worth a visit' are commonly found to indicate the tourists' judgment of a tourist-ready place.

Finally, in relation to people, words such as 'kind,' 'friendly,' 'welcoming,' 'happy,' 'many old people,' and 'beautiful people' indicate the nostalgic features of people in the countryside/village/rural space in tourism. These words also strengthen the narratives and meanings of the traditional as well as the readiness of the space for tourism consumption.

In the conceptualisation of rural/countryside imaginings, the four discursive cultural materials shown in Figure 6.1 can be analysed using the *trialectic* approach to rural space performance. This approach involves the relationships between ideas, locality, and human practice (Frisvoll, 2012, Roberts & Hall, 2003). For example, (1) in terms of the representation of ideas, the design of housing complex, the preservation of bamboo roof entrances, and kitchen areas are part of the perceived experiences and memories for Australian tourists. (2) The representation of locality and nature, such as the bamboo forest and the street, as the iconic symbols of the local space. (3) Finally, the human practice aspect, such as the life of the local people in the village, their interactions with the tourists, and the ongoing commercialisation of the space, represents the form of rural life for tourism consumption in *Penglipuran* village (Frisvoll, 2012, Roberts & Hall, 2003). These are products of conscious staging and deliberate design on the part of the locals, tourism authority, and the reproduction of the expectations of tourist experiences (Bell, 2006).

The outcomes of the study, as shown by Figure 6.1 above, demonstrate that the rural/countryside/village imaginings produce a coherent image that is readily accepted by tourists in their consumption of the space. In this sense, the tourist gaze is directed towards the interpretation of traditional life at the destination positioned as a 'village' (Roberts & Hall, 2003). The village is staged and designed in order to meet tourists' expectations of an idyllic traditional rural village, for example through the words 'peaceful, tranquil, traditional' (Bell, 2006). Similarly, the dominant imaginings of the idyllic village also appear and are constructed in the mass media, as shown in Chapter Three.

The Australians perceive traditional materials in the village by identifying things they can do or consume (how to). I identify these cultural materials by collecting discourses of activities using verbs such as 'see, enter, walk, relax, recommend, enjoy, and visit.' Powerful imaginings are also evident in the discursive materials associated with 'people.' Phrases such as 'see how they live,' 'show you around,' 'see how they cook and prepare food,' and 'inviting to enter,' demonstrate the legitimation of gazing at and consuming 'others.' In this sense, the positioning of the 'village for tourism purposes,' or *Desa wisata*, legitimates the collective gaze and consumption of space for Australians, which may not be possible in a regular village that does not have the emblematic label of *Desa wisata*. It also demonstrates the availability of a space where tourists can act and participate as consumers and learners of others in the staging mode of modesty, the traditional, and mundane life as constructed in the mass media.

Critically, the tourists can employ the colonial gaze, by enjoying the 'see how they live' or the struggle of others' lives. Tourists can be powerful individuals with the advantage of earning higher capital and exchange rates compared to the poor and modest lives of others (McRae, 2003). Finally, the tourism cycle produces unequal power relations between tourists and local hosts. The colonial gaze, seeing others 'staging' traditional life for consumption, is sustained in the space of the cultural heritage village of *Penglipuran*.

6.3.1.2. Perceptions of tourists regarding to local commerce

Tourism can be a powerful tool for the nation, the region, and the community to empower themselves economically and control their own destiny (Butler & Hinch,

2007). Tourism as an economic activity also can give benefits to local destinations as it opens a possibility for business and commerce development, albeit on a small scale. In that sense, commercial activities can pose both negative and positive challenges, including perceptual meanings conferred by tourists on the commercial system in a community. Thus, planning and developing the economic activities in a tourism destination should be carefully considered to hinder the possibilities of reducing human dignity through begging, and to avoid the exploitation of the locals by external agencies (Butler & Hinch, 2007).

In this study, I argue that tourists' perceptions of commercial activities in *Penglipuran* village are contested. The Australian tourists perceive the commercial activities in terms of the discourse of authenticity and discourse of poverty. Despite the positive perception of the community's efforts to empower itself economically through commercial activities, some negative perceptions still exist. The cause of this is a lack of understanding and awareness of the ongoing process of commerce.

In the discourse of authenticity, the perceptions of some Australians relate to the 'touristy' atmosphere in the place that is 'too good to be true.' Some Australians I interviewed and some others who posted reviews argue that *Penglipuran* village is 'inauthentic' because the place has been well 'decorated,' 'polished' and 'manicured' in a way that will satisfy tourists who visit. The Australians argue that the place is 'exceedingly well cared for tourists,' and manages for the purpose of 'travel brochure stuff.'

> We were told after paying a small admission fee $30,000Rp = $3 Aust. that this is one of the truly authentic Balinese experiences, no plastic, TV, just original basic living. Well, when entering the compound grounds a few things didn't ring true, no plastic, they were selling plastic bottles of drink, plus a lot of plants in plastic pots. TVs were everywhere and every house had a sales section to the house entrance with the usual sarongs, trinkets, etc. (**AT_B_03**)
> Exceedingly well cared for, immaculate gardens, and very clean–we have Balinese friends, and with no disrespect to them and their village compounds; this is travel brochure stuff. (**AT_B_04**)

Penglipuran village and another similar tourism site are indeed transforming their places into an area for consumption (Richards, 1996) by utilising resources available

in their local spaces. The influx of people who consume the place pushes the locals to fix their surroundings so that they can support the idyllic village imaginings. The negative perceptions in relation to the 'polishing' effort and commodification are examples of conflicting perceptions commonly found in similar studies (Farstad and Rye, 2013; Kaltenborn et al., 2008).

Many tourists who visit the village perceive *Penglipuran* as a 'touristy' example of a Balinese village, despite the fact that there are Balinese who live in this village in everyday life. The commercial activities of the village are another reason that the village is perceived as 'touristy' because visitors feel 'the pressure to buy' and encounter 'persuasive attempts to buy' rather than sincere interactions in which the history and story of a place are explained.

> Enjoyed the walk through the state-preserved traditional housing complexes; although honestly would have much preferred to learn more about the people and traditions rather than being bombarded with persuasive attempts at selling souvenirs every time you step into one of those houses. This is probably how most of those families make their living. (**AT_B_05**)

Interestingly, a comparison to the kind of 'authentic' village they perceived and looked for is the mundane village around Ubud and/or the villages that are not identified as tourist destinations. Some Australians pointed to the villages in Lombok Island, which have fewer tourists, and where the people still live in traditional houses and use traditional tools.

> In this place, TVs were everywhere, and every house had a sales section to the house entrance with the usual sarongs, trinkets, etc. Lombok one is different; they are really traditional, just live in a basic living, no electronic devices, and with the traditional houses. (**AT_B_06**)

The consumption of the cultural heritage village has a significant visual dimension. The act of seeing a place or gazing also involves collective expectations, not only about how tourists interpret things they see, but also about things they do not see (Urry, 2002; Abram, 2003). In the process of gazing, the anticipation of what to expect, to see, and to encounter in the village exists along with the imaginings of the idyllic place and nostalgia (Abram, 2003). In this sense, the gazing process of those Australian

tourists is influenced by their idyllic imaginings of the rural village, for example, the explanation of 'the basic living' and 'no electric devices' as their definition of traditional life in the village. The village idyll is a cultural construction, which demands purity of life as the opposite of the city imaginings. This idyll must be groomed with the staging of no electrical devices, and the expectation of a certain level of poverty to keep notion of the traditional pure Bali intact (Bell, 2006). This imagining does not exist in a vacuum; it comes from what a village has been about and what a village should be about (Abram, 2003). Accordingly, some Australian tourists also describe their expectations of the village as a way to escape temporarily from the modern Bali.

> A visit to this traditional village is a unique experience and a chance to get away from the 'modern' Bali - although it's never really too far away! (**AT_B_07**)

The village imaginings and expectations relate to a construction of the urban. As Bell argues, "The country cannot exist without the city to be its 'not-a'" (2006, p.150). Therefore, the construction of the village idyll comes from how the city and modern life of Bali are constructed. The village idyll is translated and interpreted by the tourists into village imaginings, practice, and lifestyle. As a place to escape, the *Penglipuran* village is expected to occupy a position as the object of desire of tourists who demand an idyll that is the opposite of modern or urban Bali (Bell, 2006).

Another perception is related to the issues of commercialisation and poverty. It appears because of some of the activities and attitudes of the local people that the Australians have encountered. Some Australian tourists highlight the 'donation' aspect as one of the reasons they perceive the locals as poor. Another example is the persuasive attempts of the local people to invite the tourists to come into their houses, which are seen as 'begging attempts,' inducing tourists not only to see houses but also to buy their merchandise. Some of the Australian tourists then feel an obligation to take some reciprocal action for the locals allowing them to enter the house by buying some products, which they describe as 'pressure to buy.'

> We felt pressured to go into people's houses–they sat outside beckoning us in, and then wanted us to see their shop, again, pressure to buy and to donate for the privilege of looking at their houses. (**AT_B_08**)

The cultural heritage village allows the tourists an opportunity to immerse themselves in consuming the space and interacting with local people. This is also influenced by the repertoire of nostalgic messages in the media connecting the village with humbleness, happiness in simplicity, and traditional lifestyles (Woods, 2010). A wide range of business and commercial efforts follow the direction of this message by employing the idyllic notion of a tropical village through holiday packages, tourism practices, and performances (Bell, 2006), not to mention asserting the quality and 'authentic' features of a village with a nostalgic ambience as a means of constructing a rural theatrical consumption (Woods, 2010). However, some consequences of these commercial activities are the desire of local people to earn more than their usual income. The hope that tourists will buy their products in their houses is one of the reasons why the 'persuasive attempts' happen, although this attempt may contradict the nostalgic image of a simple life in the village (Perkins, 2006).

The more positive perceptions of the commercial activities are related to the cheap prices, the kindness of locals in showing the tourists around their houses, and the efforts of the community to reduce the poverty from the managing the bamboo forest through selling bamboo souvenirs and bamboo fertilizers. Some expressions such as: 'With a couple of dollars you get to see how the average Balinese family/ community live' or 'I bought a beautiful sarong for only a few dollars off one lady and she took me on a complete tour of her house' are commonly found as positive appreciations of the commercial activities in the village.

Another form of appreciation is related to the management of the village as a tourist destination and a way to help reduce the poverty of the locals. For example, some Australian tourists who get enough information from guides or tour operators can give detailed explanations of landscaping regulations known as *awig-awig* and also the ability of the village to do waste management from bamboo and sell the bamboo to many locations in Bali for commercial purposes.

> *Penglipuran* is unique in that it has managed to retain much of its traditional charm. It's also spotlessly clean, thanks to waste management and landscaping regulations known as *awig-awig*. Adjacent to the village is a bamboo forest which is managed by the village owners and supplies bamboo to many parts of Bali on a commercial basis. (**AT_B_09**)

The new commodities mean that some aspects of village life have the potential to become part of commercial ventures of various kinds of business and/or performance of tourism. The significance of bamboo as a commodity (i.e. a commercial product) is eclipsed by its significance as a cultural signifier or *angkul-angkul*. It was also the symbol of the grassroots struggle during the colonial era, when rebels fought with bamboo weapon. Bamboo then became a central aspect of village imageries and characteristics, a dominant icon of the village that speaks a dominant icon and signifier of *Penglipuran* village. Bamboo is then both something that is actually a part of the space, and a symbolic product with a range of cultural meanings of the site.

6.3.1.3. Dynamics of private and commercial spaces

The dynamics of private space and social space have always been an issue in places that have a similar model to *Penglipuran* village. Tourists expect that one of the distinct experiences of their visit will be to see the life of the local people. However, many cultural heritage villages offer have an experiential mode, which lasts only about 1-2 hours per visit. This provides only enough time to explore the peripheral area of the village through short interactions. Thus, the experiences attained by the tourists are mostly general, superficial, iconic, and stereotypical (McIntosh & Ryan, 2007 in Butler & Hinch, 2007).

The structural dimension of tourism space construction can be divided into front and back regions. MacCannell's (1999) idea of staged authenticity explains how culture is staged and performed to attract an audience. It has been prepared, organised, and managed to provide touristic experiences. Further, MacCannell argues that the back region is also saleable in the tourist industry. People want to know what is happening 'behind the stage,' and the brand of 'authentic' or 'real life' information is attached to certain types of tourism. In the case of *Penglipuran* village, the cultural heritage construction similarly demonstrates the brand of the 'backstage' of Balinese life. Apart from the glamorous hotels, commercialised beaches and streets, and/or performative ceremonies and dances, tourists are attracted to know the 'real life' of Balinese people. The people of *Penglipuran* village offer this experience by welcoming tourists into their houses and letting them explore the private/social space of the house. However, as I observed the villages, the front and back spaces are the product of perceptual

construction negotiated between tourists and local people. This staging includes time and space settings.

6. 3. 1. 3. 1. Time as an imaginary line

Time can be seen as an imaginary line that connects the life in *Penglipuran* village before (front) and after (back) the tourists' presence. Based on participant observations and interviews with the ticketing officers, I reconstruct the time setting of the front and back stages as indicated in Figure 6.2, which shows the activity of international tourists. In several days of my observation, I found that in the hours in which the international tourists are fewer, domestic tourists (Indonesian groups) will come, creating peak hours for domestic tourists (Figure 6.2).

Before and after the village working hours (9 am to 5 pm), home sellers and staff do not operate their businesses. Beyond the operating hours, villagers spend their time with their families, watching TV at home, attending village organisational meetings, or–in the case of the young people–practising dancing. This is when the streets of *Penglipuran* look mesmerising and quiet, and professional photographers, pre-wedding photo shoots, and regular tourists who love photography take their opportunity to take pictures of the village.

At 7 o' clock in the morning, the cleaning team of the *Penglipuran* tourism agency starts their job of wiping and cleaning the public areas from the bamboo forest to the hero monument. The local people (female) also customarily clean their houses and gardens in the morning along with their Morning Prayer and offering. Starting at 8-9, some international tourists come to *Penglipuran*. The itinerary of a full or half day tour may include *Penglipuran* as the first destination. Usually, the tourists stay in Ubud, as it is located only one hour from this village. At the same hour, locals start to open their shops.

As time goes by, some patterns in terms of peak hours can be seen clearly. For example at 11 and 12 o'clock, the international tourists come with full or half day tours that have *Penglipuran* as their destination for lunch. These tourists will eat at the local restaurant and enjoy one or two hours exploring the villages and houses. Then, at 2 p.m, groups from cycling tours and other tours will come to visit. This is where the full day tours set their time to come to *Penglipuran* after having lunch somewhere else

(mostly at Kintamani). Finally, at 4 pm and 5 pm, come the last groups who pick *Penglipuran* as the final destination of their full day tour. After visiting this village, the tourists then go back to their hotels.

According to the guides I interviewed, they collect the itineraries and schedules to come to *Penglipuran* based on 'the location of their guess' 'hotel where the tourists stay,' 'the schedule that follows the route,' 'evaluation' and 'demand from the tourists.' These touring hours create several peak hours in *Penglipuran* regarding the visits of international and domestic tourists. This timeline creates a mechanism, as the tour agents and guides started to notice the situation and obtained more information and evaluation from tourists and local people from *Penglipuran*. They create their itinerary based on years of experience, and when they receive positive feedback, the itinerary then becomes a template for more groups and other types of tours, which involve *Penglipuran* village.

Figure 6.2. Time Setting of the Tourists' Peak Hours in the Street
(Source: Figure by Author, 2017)

Massey discusses the function of time in relation to space. Referring to Bergson, Massey argues that time can prevent everything to be given at once' (2005, p. 56). In this study, time provides an opportunity for different groups of tourists to consume a place in different settings, itineraries, and functions. The time sets up *Penglipuran* as a consumption space not to be given at once. Time provides different products from mesmerising quiet morning, busy lunchtime, and a fresh breeze in the evening for cycling. Time works by making the power of space instrumental. *Penglipuran*

becomes an instrumental space that can organise itself in accordance with the desire of tourists for consumption. Here lies the design of a consumption place and the commodification of a tourist destination seen through the framework of time. The notion of time raises an important question as to how power is used and organised, and works through spaces (Massey, 2005). Massey argues: "The argument here concerns the mutual necessity of space and time. It is on both of them, necessarily together, that rests the liveliness of the world" (2005, p. 56).

6. 3. 1. 3. 2. Space as an imaginary line

Social spaces in the houses are also divided between the "front" and "back" regions. The architectural arrangements divide areas. Different perceptions of the private and social/commercial spaces exist between the Australians and local people. These different perceptions are described as follows:

> Tourists: "I actually feel uncomfortable. Is it ok to enter someone house [pointing at the gate] without their permission?" (**AT_B_10**)
> Tourists: "My kids are just literally standing up over there [pointing at the gate], because they think it is impolite to enter someone's house just to look at it." (**AT_B_11**)
> Local People: "For us, it is ok, people just enter the gate and see our house. It happens every day. We are happy to have guests and we get used to that. But the tourists will not enter the main house [residential pavilions] or our bedroom [bedroom pavilions], only the outside interior and garden. It is ok" (**LP_B_13**)

The difference perceptions as seen from the statements above can be summarised from the figure below (Figure 6.3). The Australian tourists consider that the street and the shop inside the house as the social space. Meanwhile, the local people perceive that the social/commercial spaces are from the main street to their backyard, excluding the residential pavilion and bedroom. The locals' private spaces are only in these bedroom and resident pavilions.
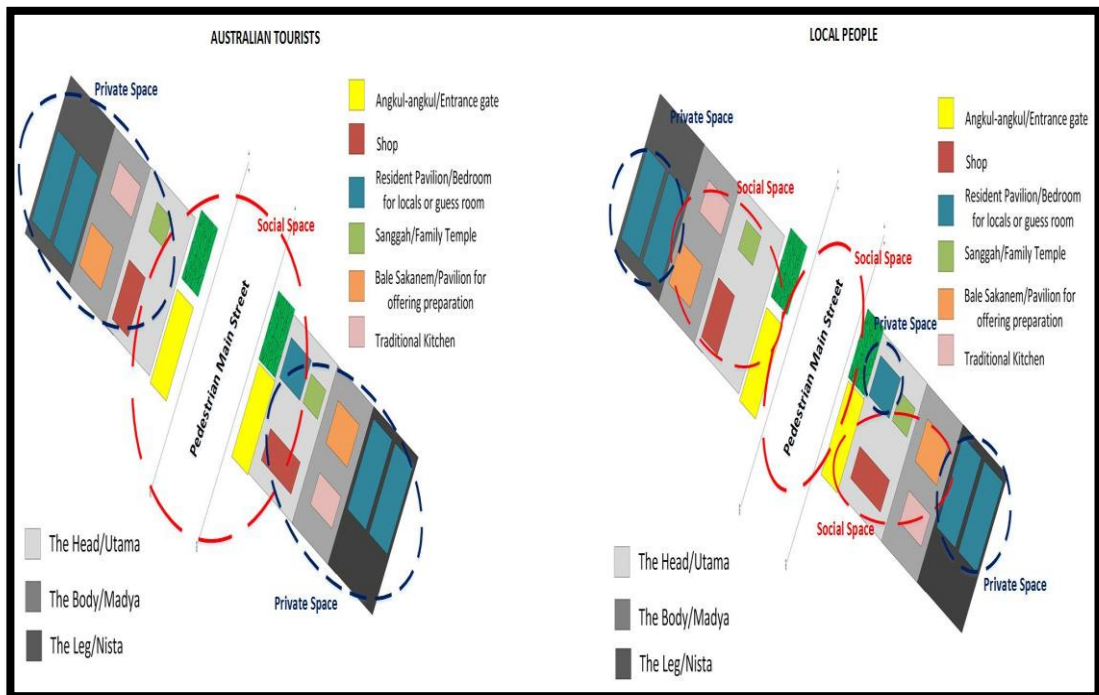
Figure 6.3. Different Perceptions about Space

(Source: Figure by Author, 2018)

The tourists and local people have different perceptions regarding the social/commercial space. The tourists consider that entering the front gate (*angkul-angkul)* is crossing the line of privacy and property ownership. Many tourists I met did not want to enter the house or at least showed reluctance when their guide asked them to enter the house. The tourists perceived that the entrance to the back region of the local people is the front gate. On the other hand, the local people, since they live in the heritage area, perceive that their private and personal space, or the 'backstage,' is limited to the main house and bedrooms.

Figure 6.4. The Garden area after the entrance gate (or *Angkul-angkul)* in *Penglipuran*

(Source: Photo by Author, 2017)

The perception that privacy is to be valued influences the way the social space is imagined for the staging of authenticity. The local people consider that privacy is limited to their bedroom since after the entrance gate usually they have garden area in which they do not consider it as a private space (Figure 6.4). Additionally, toilets are also separate for guests and homeowners. Guests are provided with separate western style sit toilets and showers, while locals use squat toilets and a bucket of water for bathing. The kitchen can sometimes be back or front, depending on the condition of the kitchen. If the host family has a good kitchen, they let the guests enter, but if not, they will prefer that the guests stay outside the kitchen. The imaginary line exists in the perceptual and cognitive landscapes relating to the identification of the "other," between the local people and the tourists.

The main street of *Penglipuran* functions as the main exhibition and spectacle of the village. The main street is the centre for the tourist gaze. The tourists walk down the street and follow the guide (most guides are not from the village) who explains about

Penglipuran village. Meanwhile, social interactions between tourists and local people are limited to occasions when the local people greet the tourists and invite them to enter their houses, to look around, and/or to purchase souvenirs. The landscape and everyday processes of heritage construction exist foremost in the main street, identifying the 'others' in the space.

Furthermore, the guides operate as everyday partners as well as outsiders for local people in constructing heritage. The disparity in explanatory skills, language acquisition, and knowledge between the local people and the guides shows the power relations and positions the local people as 'the object' of the story. This everyday interaction creates a perception of inferiority in terms of the locals' representation as *Penglipuran* residents. Meanwhile, for the tourists, the guide is considered as local Balinese. They appreciate the knowledge of the guide as the genuine 'local' Balinese. This, combined with language ability, means that the guide can support the tourists to understand the 'perceived' knowledge about the village.

This everyday process creates a social distance between local people, guides, and tourists. Local people become the passive audience who are unable to represent themselves and explain their own lives and identities. The irony is that these power relations exist in the territory of the local people. The ownership of space, especially in relation to the power to communicate and access interactions, is contested and challenged.

Similar to MacCannell (1999), this study found that tourists imagine they enter the back regions of *Penglipuran* because it gives them a sense of intimate interactions with local people and experience of the authentic life of Balinese people. In the tourist setting, the arrangements that produce these imaginings and expectations sometimes emerge from different interpretations and perceptions of the value of privacy. In the struggle of the local people, sometimes less privacy means more income. In these touristic settings, special spaces are designed to accommodate tourists' curiosity about Balinese life and houses, for example, a traditional kitchen which may be rarely used but is there for the purpose of exhibition. These places also support the belief of tourists in the authenticity of their experiences (MacCannell, 1999). Locals, however, would argue that their place is authentic because they stay there and live there, unlike many other nostalgic exhibitions or museums.

6. 3. 2. Brand Association: Locating Indonesia through *Penglipuran*

To explore the discourse of brand association, I used one of the interview tools to understand the perceptual words, which connect the Australian tourists with places such as Indonesia and *Penglipuran* village. I asked my research participants to write down or mention five words they associated with the categories of 'Indonesia' and '*Penglipuran* village.'

To analyse these associations, I used the diagram presented in Chapter One, which then explains the circular model of the diagram (Figure 6.5). To categorise these word associations, I used the hexagonal model of nation branding (Anholt, 2006a) and city branding (Anholt, 2006b). I did not use all of the hexagonal categories, such as Pulse, Pre-requisite, or Investment/immigration, because there were no word associations related to those categories. Thus, I only employ categories, which appeared in the word associations found during the interview process.

I argue that the word associations assemble each description of the categories and create a diverse identity. The nation and village connect and disconnect in the minds of Australian tourists, demonstrating that Indonesia is a nation of diversity as well as a nation that struggles with poverty. As a result, a contested imagining of the nation is reproduced in the process of interactions between Indonesian local people and Australian tourists.

6.3.2.1. Brand Association of Indonesia

Data related to discourses in the nation brand of Indonesia are gathered from the interview process and confirmed by several earlier research projects. For example in terms of places for tourism, Indonesia is often represented with the imaginings of big cities such as Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya, Yogyakarta, and Denpasar (McCarthy & Tyler, 2016). In addition, Bali is depicted as the entrance to Indonesian tourism, along with some depictions related to Indonesia, such as rural areas with various unequal power relations (Ratuva, 2008), beaches (Perera, 2009), paddy fields and villages (Timothy, 2017), hot tropical places and islands (Perera, 2009). In terms of potential goods and exports, the brand of Indonesia is represented with words such as spices (Jolliffe, 2014), wood/carving (Posthuma, 2004), clothes and textiles (Hassler, 2003),

and various kinds of food (Fischer, 2012). In the category of people, Indonesia is represented with discourses such as Muslim population (Fischer, 2012), friendliness, laid back community (Kusumohamidjojo, 1986), poverty (Olins, 2002), collective society (Kusumohamidjojo, 1986), services, and diversity (Brown, 2003). In the category of culture and heritage, Indonesia is represented with discourses surrounding cultural performance such as *wayang,* dance, temples, traditional houses, clothes, and folk stories (Sumaco & Richardson, 2011). Finally, in the category of governance, the discourses surround Pancasila (Schwarz, 2018), investment (Fischer, 2012), developing country, corruption (Gellert, 2012), and issues of security in a democratic country (Kusumohamidjojo, 1986).

6.3.2.2. Brand Association of *Penglipuran*

Data relating to discourses of the place brand of rural heritage of *Penglipuran* are also gathered from this research project. The place of *Penglipuran* functions to commemorate diversity and to exhibit a space of cultural and religious community as demonstrated in some discourses. For example, aside from the depiction of Indonesia as having a Muslim population, discourses around *Penglipuran* emphasise the strong identity of Hindu Bali, community, and cultural diversity through a range of cultural materials such as traditional houses, festivals and ceremonies in Hindu, temples and rituals. With this rural heritage performance, *Penglipuran* functions to demonstrate an example of diversity in Indonesia as it was depicted in the nation brand. Statements below from an interview with the leader of the village show how representing the diversity of culture in Indonesia can increase local pride and identity (Figure 6.5).
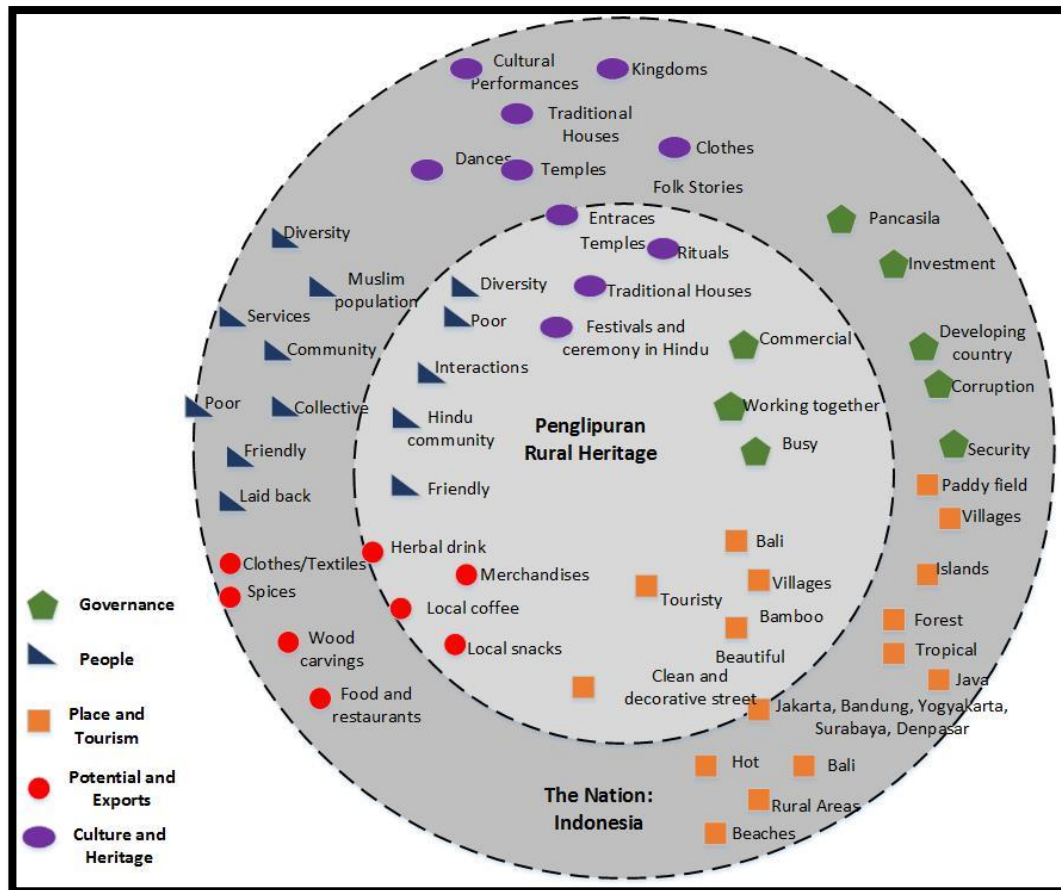
Figure 6.5. Mapping of Brand Association of Indonesia and *Penglipuran*
(Source: Figure by Author , 2017)

Additionally, some of discourses collected fulfil the dominant expectations of the imaginings of Indonesia. Figure 6.5 shows some similarities of discourses in the depiction of Indonesia and *Penglipuran*, such as village, paddy field, traditional, culture, houses, community, friendliness, and diversity, However, some negative depictions also appear in discourses of rural heritage such as 'poor/poverty' and 'touristy area,' which are then related to the condition of rural areas of Indonesia (Ratuva, 2008; Allon, 2004).

6. 4. Discussion

The consumption of a cultural heritage village can be expressed in many forms such as trekking in the tranquil landscape of the farm field, nature and fresh air, wildlife, and mountain biking. However, the main attribute lies in the association of village, countryside, nature, and rurality. These commodities become the capital of the cultural heritage village, circulating in the production and consumption process (Woods, 2011

& Perkins, 2006). The flow of this capital is similar to any form of stock and flow context (Garrod, 2003). There is a mechanism that produces the stock of capital, manages the flows, assembles these assets, and sells them to the tourist with all sorts of packages and activities (Perkins, 2006). The selections of the objects for consumption are related to the cultural and social representation of the cultural heritage village. The capital is transformed into local specialties and various symbols of heritage (Crouch et al., 2005) including abstract components such as scenic views, tranquil forests, and fresh air (Woods, 2011). This commodification and consumption process is a complex set of aspects deriving from interactions, representations, cultural symbols, materiality, and localised elements (Woods, 2011). Finally, to be attractive, the cultural heritage village must also resemble tourist expectations.

In the case of *Penglipuran* village, I argue that the consumption process creates a dimensional and geographical pattern by answering two questions. Those are the extent to which tourists engage in constructing expectations through tourism activities and what kind of nation imaginings are perceived by Australian tourists in a heritage tourist village.

Similar to McIntosh's findings (2004) in a study of tourists' expectations, motivations, perceptions, and experiences of Maori culture in New Zealand, my research found parallel patterns in relation to Australian tourists. The Australian tourists reportedly engage in constructing expectation in *Penglipuran* village through gazing, learning, interacting, and connecting to their lifestyle. These dimensions, then, shape the nation imaginings perceived by Australians through immobility, space, place, and the types of activities demanded by tourists as the ways they preferred to experience the space.

In the gazing process, the Australian tourists 'gaze' produce traditional narratives as shown in Figure 6.1. The location for this activity is primarily the main street of *Penglipuran* and some houses they enter to consume the life of 'others.' Expressions captured in the research included 'see how they live,' 'enjoy the beautiful street,' 'walking through the housing complex,' and 'enjoy the scenery of the village.' Although the desire to gaze at others through the activity of "seeing" is a fairly superficial, easy to consume experience/fact, this process still requires curiosity from the tourists and willingness to explore space and people (McIntosh, 2004). Some express their curiosity and their willingness to interact in terms such as 'I want to know

how average Balinese live,' 'Their house is very unique, it is interesting to see the inside,' 'I just enter the house, buy a cup of coffee, and talk with the lady,' and 'Our guide helps us to talk with the people so we can get explanation about their housing complex.' This gazing is also reflected in the brand associations related to 'Indonesia' and '*Penglipuran*,' with words that describe the sightseeing activities such as 'beautiful,' 'village,' 'paddy field' and 'clean.'

In the learning process, the Australian tourists learn about local culture and their everyday activities as a new skill. For example, as explained in Chapter Five and confirmed by Chapter Six, in the *Balai Banjar*, the Australians learn how to make the *Canang* or offerings for the rituals, make *Janur* or decorations from coconut leaves for celebration, and cook some traditional local snacks. This in-depth learning can be obtained through a special tour package, which is usually ordered from the village. The learning process can also be reflected in the word associations (Figure 6.5) related to the understanding of local/nation values or product such as 'herbal drinks,' 'local coffee,' and '*Pancasila.*'

The interaction process exists more within the housing complex of the local people. Some expressions related to the interaction process depict them as peripheral discussions, such as: 'talk for a while,' 'We don't talk much,' 'People here are shy,' and 'just say hello! How are you?' Although in this case, tourists desire a more genuine and less commercial encounter than the existing system, they still accept a certain degree of staging in the performance of the local people in the village. Words that are associated with interactions also appear in the circular diagram (Figure 6.5), such as 'friendly,' 'working together,' and 'laid back.'

The connection of the space with the tourists' lifestyle is related to the eagerness of the tourists to explore the village and outside the village. For example, the tourists explore the non-preservation area behind the village where all the motorcycles and cars pass by, or the bamboo forests and the bamboo fertilizer fabric, the primary school nearby, and the forest and houses outside the complex of *Penglipuran*. Some Australian tourists express their desire to explore outside the preservation area of the village: 'we go around the back of the village,' 'we explore the ordinary village behind,' and 'we took a picture with the children in the school.' The tourist lifestyle can relate to the brand association related to specific words referring to the rural places

of the nation and village such as 'forest,' 'bamboo,' 'island,' and the names of places.

Nation imaginings perceived by Australian tourists in a heritage tourist village can be explained through the concept of space and mobility. Massey argues that space is related to complex representation and spatialisation (2005). In this case, the temporal mobility of tourists in certain durations represents the way they consume place. Space consists of multiple trajectories of tourists from many places, where the possibility of changes is available (Massey, 2005). *Penglipuran*, as the product of the social relations in a certain type of consumption, may be altered in the future for the continuing process of local production. The tourists are part of the constant making of the space (Massey, 2005). For example, some shops, which sell merchandise and snacks, open outside the village preservation area, as a response to the tourists who like to explore outside the village. As another example, some local young people are planning to set up a walking tour for tourists to go outside the village to explore the forest and other villages nearby. In my interviews, some locals also wished to place their shops closer to the gate so they can be 'seen' by the tourists as the gazing activities mainly focus on the street. The tourists' movement is not just mobility across space but also across trajectories, where stories, representations, and chains of opportunities are in the making.

6. 5. Conclusion

Research on the consumers of cultural heritage villages is complex and enduring. Consumers of a particular type of cultural heritage village cover multiple segments, types of consumption, and lifestyles. It is unlikely that consumers, such as Australian tourists, would fit all of the limitless variations. Instead, calls have been made to conceptualise the pattern and form of consumption in the cultural heritage village space. This is a way to understand market demand in order to achieve commercial success and mitigate intrusion effects (McIntosh & Ryan, 2007), although it may only investigate a predominant type of consumer of cultural heritage villages and cannot be generalised to other types of consumer or space (Cohen, 2004). Thus, this research may able to capture the specific market of Australian tourists and how this market consumes a specific space.

The investigation results may bring an impetus to deconstruct the notion of the

consumption process. My analysis of qualitative data from the case of *Penglipuran* cultural heritage village is able to characterise a complex picture of traditional narratives which are exposed to Australian tourists as multidimensional cultural materials, the diverse perceptions of local commerce, the dynamic points of view on private and social space, representations of space and types of consumption, and the word associations in relations to the positioning of the nation and the village for Australian tourists.

The theoretical framework for the case study was employed to transfuse the material of the villages into the product materials of tourism. It highlighted the tourists' perspectives as a reflection of the 'village idyll,' which informs the imaginings and expectations of the villages and countryside of Indonesia and, especially, Bali. Moreover, the theoretical framework indicates that what is consumed by Australians follows this set of 'village idyll' representations or tourists' gaze. Some elements of the village support the idyll and some undermine the narratives of the Indonesian and Balinese village, such as commercialisation, decorative gardens, and modern tools in locals' lives.

As a comparative investigation, the next chapter discuss the findings in the cultural heritage of Java, *Nglanggeran.* Similar to Chapter Five and Six, the case in Nglanggeran will also be delivered using explanation regarding to the voices of local people and then the consumptions of Australian tourists consecutively. The purpose is to look at both cases side by side and thoroughly using similar framework of investigation.

Chapter 7. Articulating Agricultural Imaginings: Voices of Local People in *Nglanggeran* Village, Yogyakarta

7. 1. Introduction

This chapter aims to understand the productions of cultural heritage in *Nglanggeran* village, Java Island. It explains the ways in which a dominant Javanese tribe and a Muslim religious group performing in the heritage space and producing the imagining of a nation. Although the main attraction in Nglanggeran is in the ancient mountain, which which would qualify it more as a natural heritage village, the central activities and positioning of the space are still predominantly about the culture and intangible heritage of the village, countryside, and pastoral land of Java (Rye, 2006; Roberts, Hall, & Morag, 2017). Using an ethnographic approach, I analyse the village, which become a role model for the nationwide project of *Desa wisata*. As a result, the village represents an example of the relationships between the nation-state and the village community in Indonesia, which are characterised by several paradoxes. Firstly, the space offers a sense of exploitation, and at the same time pride, by producing commodities that represent the nation's history and characteristics achievements for the nation; secondly, it embodies both the memory of the past and the challenges of the future, such as choices between cultural appreciation and religious puritanism; and it represents a search for locality as a globally recognised heritage asset.

Briefly, on Java Island, there has been a significant decline of *Sawah*, or wetlands, for agriculture. People have converted the wetlands into residential areas or other things due to the small incomes derived from agriculture. For example, of 612,000 farmers who sold their land, most did so because of economic conditions (66%) and/or because they could not afford to cultivate their land anymore due to the children or grandchildren no longer being willing to work as farmers (Astuti, 2016). The decline of agriculture due to modernisation and urbanisation makes it a rational choice for the government to invent the imagery of an agricultural nation by preserving villages as Indonesia's agricultural heritage through *Desa wisata*. The aims of such projects are to maintain agricultural activities as a tourism commodity and to increase the pride of farmers in performing their activities for urban or foreign visitors. This is, however,

an "invented tradition" influenced by western images and stories since Dutch colonialism, retold by well-known anthropologists, and encouraged through government strategies that fulfil and confirm the experiences offered in the stories and media about Indonesia as an agricultural nation (Vickers, 2012).

Some national projects have been established based on the agenda of presenting Indonesia as an agricultural nation, including developing village owned enterprises, or BUMDs. Their aims are to increase the income of the villages, to encourage entrepreneurship, to cycle village funding, or *dana desa*, by building infrastructure, and to reduce *pungli (pungutan liar)*, or illegal charges, at the village level. Some *desa wisata* projects across Indonesia are included in the village-owned enterprise program, although this program has been accused of capitalising on rural areas by taking money and receiving credit from the *gotong royong*, or voluntary work, of local villagers (Ramadana, 2013). Given the resulting dynamic between national projects and local initiatives, this chapter attempts to investigate the imagining of an agricultural nation in a Javanese context by using *Nglanggeran* village as a case for investigation. The agricultural activities in Nglanggeran are surrounded in the wetland areas and the hills. The activities staged for tourists include planting rice in the fields, cocoa and fruits plantation in the hills, and raising goats.

7. 2. Objective of the Chapter

The aim of this chapter is to identify the production of heritage at the local level and to understand its implications. The questions addressed in this chapter include: What are the cultural materials produced by the local people to imagine their nation? How do the local people present their village to demonstrate their enactment of the national spirit? What does it mean to be Indonesian in the cultural heritage village? To answer these questions, I begin by reading the performance of landscape, exploring the stories of local people, and interpreting the cultural materials and documents I have collected during my research fieldwork.

Using these materials, I argue that *Nglanggeran* village works as a mythological landscape where the local people re-create stories and local identity to imagine their ownership of the space, in particular by activating the youth movement, immersing the national brand as a reminder for local people, and recollecting local artefacts. *Desa*

wisata Nglanggeran offers a contemporary example of articulation towards agricultural imaginings, for both local people and foreign tourists. By changing their ordinary village into a cultural heritage village and incorporating their lifestyle into tourism and commercialisation, the local people, landscape, stories, and everyday life experience constant changes and put their identity and community at stake.

7. 3. Findings

To obtain the results used in this analysis, I investigate the materials I have collected during the fieldwork, including recordings, transcripts, photographs, and videos. From this material emerge clusters of narratives, which provide an answer to the question in the second objectives on: How do the locals who work in the cultural heritage villages imagine their nation?

7. 3. 1. Producing a mythological landscape

The first reading of the landscape of *Nglanggeran* involves the inescapable historical atmosphere that welcomes visitors, and which derives from the impression of the ancient mountain that acts as the backdrop of everyday tourism performance in the village (Figure 7.1). Once a visitor arrives at the main gate, the historical values of the mountains stand out as the central focus of attention.

Understanding the first reading of the *Nglanggeran* village within the cultural context of Javanese life, I address the production of narratives surrounding mythological landscapes as dominant socio-cultural discourses. In Javanese tradition, an ancient object will often be understood via mythological narratives about the origin of a natural object and the first settlements around the area. I argue that the mythological narratives in the *Nglanggeran* site act as a substitute for scientific and geological information about the ancient mountain for tourists, and function to attach a Javanese cultural identity to the natural landscape, and to claim ownership of the early settlements. This approach, consequently, constructs the cultural heritage performance of the *Nglanggeran* ancient mountain and the *Nglanggeran* village in an interdependent process in which the mountain created the village and the villagers have recreated the mountain.

Figure 7.1. The centre of attraction in *Nglanggeran*
(Source: Photograph by Author, 2017)

Scientific and geological information about the mountain are not given precedence in account directed to tourists. The ancient mountain of *Nglanggeran* is in the southern zone of the *Baturagung* range between east and central Java Island. It is between 0.6-0.7 million years old, comprising old andesite formations and various pre-historic sediments (Mulyaningsih, 2016). The ancient mountain of *Nglanggeran* is typical of the southern mountains of Yogyakarta; the ancient mountain of *Nglanggeran* is a circular formation with rough reliefs (Mulyaningsih, 2016).

Scientific and geological information about the mountain exists in some outdoor boards located only in three places: near the main gate of the *Nglanggeran* ancient mountain, after the *Kalisong Joglo* house, and near the gate of *Embung Nglanggeran* or the artificial lake for agricultural irrigation. The information boards provide limited resources and stories regarding the origin of the mountain, the historical and geological values of the rocks and formations of *Nglanggeran* Mountain, and the plantations or early vegetation present in the area for both Indonesian and English-speaking visitors.

When I came to the village with three different guides, we spent very limited time reading the information boards, especially if the other visitors on the tours did not have a personal desire to learn about the geological formations and history of the mountain through the information on the board (Figure 7.2). The guides also spent only a little time explaining the origin of the mountain from geological, scientific, or historical perspectives. More specific information from such perspectives can be found in the work of some Indonesian researchers who discuss about the ancient mountain in several journals.

However, from a tourism performance perspective, guides, local people stories, and/or tourism information media as the dominant narratives do not choose such approaches and information. Instead, the local people, guides, and the available information media prefer to explain the mountain's significance by means of socio-cultural stories such as the community participation aspects, mythological values, and cultural values.

Figure 7.2. Information board about the origin of *Nglanggeran*
(Source: Photograph by Author, 2017)

The lack of performance constructing the natural landscape of *Nglanggeran* through geological and scientific narratives is due to the limited relative lack of information, research, and local understanding of the specific terms and knowledge. The local

leaders and local guides who prefer to use cultural approach to define the construction of *Nglanggeran* acknowledge this limitation*:*

> We have to acknowledge that our difficulties to present about the village and the mountain are to explain about the geological information, history, and maybe plantation around the area. It is not easy for us to find experts that can re-explain to us using easier terms or language to be understood by our people and the guides. We know that this area is full of potential resources for knowledge regarding the formation of nature in the past and we know several unique spots. But, we don't have the knowledge about what kind of rocks or sediments that can form such spots. **(LP_Y_01)**

A similar explanation is presented by the leader of the village tourism organisation, who had several experiences of visiting other countries and worked in South Korea for several years. He explained that the choice to draw on mainly socio-cultural narratives to construct the stories of the village as the result of the assumption that tourists and organised national competitions between tourist-related locations and facilities appreciate this approach more:

> We are not an expert of explaining in a more detail way upon the origin of village, for example about the kind of rocks, sediments, plants, and geological formation. However, as the people who originally come from here, we have our own stories from Javanese point of views about the stories around the mountain and villages. This story sometimes is more intriguing for tourists and we are more comfortable to tell our own story because we are familiar with that. People also like to hear our success stories about building this village using the community participation and how we change from a poor village to be relatively "successful" *desa wisata* in some competitions. **(LP_Y_03)**

In this case, the local people understand their natural landscape as a cultural object that is "imagined" because the members of the community share communal stories that are believed and reproduced as tourism assets. Additionally, defining 'success' in their story also part of the trop to nation building according to the vision of the nation to a village.

The mountain of *Nglanggeran* is, then, not reinvented through a scientific narrative approach, which is seen as a foreign and unfamiliar influence as a result of the level

of education and understanding of local people (Kotler & Gertner, 2002). Rather, the local elites choose to present "our own stories from Javanese point view" to emphasise local knowledge, expertise, and ownership regarding the natural landscape. Their understanding of the "outsider" does not merely refer to people but also to influences and knowledges, which are considered difficult for local, people to implement and understand (Mayer & Palmowski, 2004). Therefore, the ancient volcano in *Nglanggeran* is reinvented as a cultural object rather than reproduced as a scientific object. It manifests the imagining of the history and future of the local people to construct the "brand" of the village that is used for tourism performances and competitions.

It is easier to find repetitive stories regarding the mountain and the village via cultural narratives. Local people, guides, information media such as websites, brochures, and even some boards in some spots on the way up to the mountain have more stories in the cultural and mythological mode of representation. Examples begin with the name of *Nglanggeran* was previously *Planggeran*, which, in Indonesian, means *Pelanggaran* or violation of a rule:

> This earlier name implies, you can say as "the myth" or elderly story surrounding the mountain as a place where a young man violated a rule against fighting during a puppet show, lost the battle, then ran away and disappeared into the mountains. **(LP_Y_02)**

Since then, the name *Planggeran* has been used to commemorate the myth and as a reminder to follow the rules, otherwise the guardian of the mountain, *Mbaurekso,* will punish the violator (Sugiarto & Palupiningsih, 2019). This mythological story is common in Javanese tradition, influenced by previous Hinduism in Java and then continued by the belief system in *Islam Abangan* (Indonesian is known to have believers in Islam who still commemorate local tradition derived from previous beliefs). Sears describes this as the Islamic voices in "Hindu-Javanese" tales (Sears, 1996, p. 75).

> Some people still believe that the mountain has a guard. Let say some spirit. People here are afraid to break rules especially in the mountain like saying bad words, stealing, because some people encounter bizarre situations after that. Maybe some cases of stealing still rarely happened but people outside the village do it. **(LP_Y_05)**

It is unclear why Sutodipo, a village leader, then changed the name to *Nglanggeran* in the early 1900s, when the settlements were increasing. However, the meaning of the name is unchanged and still a reminder of the word: *nglanggar* or violate rule. The myth also conveys the story of the ancient mountain of *Nglanggeran*, which was named after the figure from the Javanese puppet show and is called *the Wayang* Mountain.

> We have *Punakawan Cluster* [smaller sized mountains named after a group of puppet comedians such as *Semar, Gareng, Petruk, and Bagong*], *Ongko Wijoyo* cluster [smaller sizes of mountain named after the son of *Arjuna*, one of the great five warriors in a Hindu mythology of Mahabharata, namely *Abimanyu*, which in Javanese is *Ongko Wijoyo*], puppet tools clusters [smaller hills such as *Blencong* hill, named after the lamp for puppet show that burns coconut oil], and *Kelir* hill [named after the screen for puppet shows]. **(LP_Y_06)**

The name of the formations of the mountain was also created through local interpretation of the shape of the mountain. Since the most familiar shows and popular stories in the past were puppet shows, commonly known as Javanese *wayang,* the shape of the mountain is seen as depicting the collective memory of figures and tools surrounding the puppet show.

> Long time ago, *wayang* was the most popular entertainment. Now we have TV, radio, or Internet that young people have, not me. We were always waiting for the *wayang* because people can gather and watch together. We remember the *Punakawan* because they are the regular people like us the farmers here. They make *gerrrr* [funny] part and their shapes are unique just like some parts of the mountain. **(LP_Y_08)**

A guide gave us an example of how the local people name the shape of the mountain based on their local knowledge and understanding of the Javanese puppet show (Figure 7.3).

> This is *Bagong* Mountain; we name this as *Bagong,* because in the Javanese puppet show his shape is big, with dark skin [refers to the rocks of the mountain], a bit shorter than his brothers [other mountain formations], and fat, just like *Bagong*. (Figure VII.4) **(LP_Y_08)**

> We are not smart people. Old people in the past, only see something and name them based on their familiarities and understanding at that time. **(LP_Y_04)**

Figure 7. 3. Cluster of *Bagong,* one of the *Punakawan* clusters
(Source: Photograph by author, 2017)

The example above shows how a Javanese cultural identity is attached to the natural landscape in the village of *Nglanggeran*. The local people understand the ancient mountain by enacting their identity and limited knowledge in the heritage space because it helps them to sustain the history of their identity (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983). The landscape of the ancient volcano in *Nglanggeran* may be unchanged but the symbolic meanings are reinvented through naming and interpreting the formation of mountain using cultural identity. This process is similar to the argument of Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) that the social and political dynamics and challenges in a particular time and context can construct a heritage.

As an example of heritage arising from cultural context, the *wayang* or puppet show functioned to propagate some social and political issues during President Soeharto era; for example, obedience to the government, transmigration, and political education (Downes, 2012). Sears also argues that in the 1960s, the *wayang* aimed to propagate rather Marxist*,* nationalist, and Islamic messages (1996). The *Punakawan* story in the Javanese puppet show also contextualise the jargon of *ketahanan negara* or national defence by involving many discourses at the village level such as *gotong royong, desa*

swa sembada or self-sufficient village*,* and the model idyllic village as ways for villages to support the nation (Basuki, 2006).

Pausacker (2004) explains that agricultural terminologies were created and disseminated through the *Javanese* puppet show, especially in the *Punakawan* scenes, to spread an imagining of the nation that enhanced the success of the villages in order to maintain the position of elite groups within the nation (Basuki, 2006). *Wayang* as an entertainment is also a reward for the Javanese village communities if they are considered successful and are awarded the title of "*desa teladan"* or model village (Basuki, 2006). As LP_Y_08 explains above, "We were always waiting for the *wayang,"* not only as a form of entertainment but also as a collective reward where people can come both as invited guests or uninvited *wong cilik* (poor people) and which "people can gather and watch together" (Sears, 1996). Therefore, *wayang* encourages local officials to make some effort to meet the standards of the model village (Figure 7.4). Within the story of *Punakawan,* the familiarity of the narratives, discourses, and stories about "the regular people" or the ordinary local and agricultural context of an idyllic village according to the nation is reflected in the interviews.

Figure 7. 4. A Javanese puppet show in *Nglanggeran* Village
(Source: Photographic documentation by *Nglanggeran* Village, 2017)

Javanese puppet shows and folk stories are means of broadcasting the symbolic identity of a Javanese agricultural community, which becomes a predominant group in the nation (Anderson, 1991). At the same time, the local mythology not only gives cultural meaning to an object but also becomes a cultural material that can potentially be commoditised and commercialised as local stories to present the heritage of the village (Kavoura, 2012; Labadi, 2007; Ryan & Silvanto, 2009; Waterton & Watson, 2010). According to the local elites, tourists also understand the attractiveness of local cultural heritage through the process of constructing the representation of a place and a cultural knowledge through Javanese mythology (Baranowski & Furlough, 2001).

The next reading of the mythological landscape concerns the function of the narrative in claiming ownership of the early settlements of the local people and the construction of the *desa wisata* concept as historical identity. In an area of 762,099 hectares, the village comprises five sub-villages (*Karangsari, Doga*, West *Nglanggeran*, East *Nglanggeran*, and *Gunung Butak*), agricultural lands, plantations, farms, yards, forests, and 48 hectares of mountain area. Initially, this village was an area where some fighters hid among the stones in the mountains during Dutch colonial rule around

1800, including the descendant of *Ranggawarsita* (a famous Javanese poet and fighter).

> Originally, the ancestors of the people in *Nglanggeran* were from many places in Java, especially Yogyakarta, seeking protection from Dutch and Japanese colonialism. **(LP_Y_03)**

The origin of the early settlement of the village is important because in Javanese tradition, a mountain is a significant cultural space and symbol. The cult of the mountain in *Kejawen* (Javanese tradition, beliefs, and mythology) comprehends that mountains and volcanoes are powerful landscapes to protect the people. As Katkova (n.d) argues, since the 18th century, when the islamisation process was almost completed, the Javanese believe is that the mountain is represented by the number 8 in their 8-year cycle (*windu*). The cult of the mountain includes sacred topography, ancient numerical myths, and astronomy an understanding which also supports the possibility of hiding in the mountain to seek protection, search for inspiration, meditation, and give gratitude to god or the elderly (Katkova, n.d; Frolova, 2017). An elderly lady, whom I met in her house, explains the early condition of the settlements around the mountain:

> My father was the *juru kunci* (caretaker) of the mountain long time ago. He used to go up to the mountain to meditate and ask for *wangsit* (revelation or inspiration). I remember when I was a child, my father brings me to this mountain. He told me, the Japanese bring guns and we were afraid. So, we must hide behind the mountain. The mountain and the spirit here will protect us. **(LP_Y_18)**

The cult of the mountain consists of a belief that the mountain can protect the local people. In Javanese tradition, especially around mountain areas, the village will usually have two cultural leaders. Those are the Sultan of Yogyakarta and the mountain key holder in the area or the *juru kunci*. The job of the *juru kunci* is to communicate with the spirit, gain trust about the safety of life in the village, and carry out annual offerings to the volcano, a centuries-old tradition (Triyoga, 1991).

> The job of caretaker of the mountain is to be the servant of many people. For example, in Javanese tradition, I must lead a *rasulan* (harvesting) ceremony. The event is in *Kalisong* [the Javanese building under the mountain] and it has to be with *tayuban* [traditional folk dance]. Long time ago, *juru kunci* was still powerful. Whatever we

said, people will follow. But now, many people have different interests and beliefs. It is harder to ask people to do something. In my language, believing in something unseen. **(LP_Y_10)**

In this statement, the roles of *juru kunci* are still important. However, the speaker also acknowledges that some people in the village are less appreciative of his cultural power.

The people around the village also respect the *Sultan* not only as the government leader but also as the owner of the land. The mountain area of *Nglanggeran* is known as the *Sultan's Ground;* therefore, the local people or individuals cannot own the land in the mountain. They can, however, own the land and villages around the ancient mountain. There should be a permission letter from *Sultan's Palace* of Yogyakarta, or *Kekancingan*, to build certain buildings for individual purposes on the land:

> The land of the mountain is owned by the *Sultan,* it is not owned by a person. Long ago, some young people asked me if they can build a mosque nearby the mountain. I said it's ok. But the subdistrict leader did not allow us. He said that we must obtain the permission from *Sultan*. But he did not think that the building is for common goods. After 1990 and the subdistrict leader is replaced, we then can build *Kalisong Joglo* and little *Mushala,* using our money, grants, or donations from people. **(LP_Y_10)**

To build something for the common good, the rule is less strict because it depends on the community leader in the area, with the proviso that, if the *Sultan* wants to take the land back, then the building must be destroyed. The preservation process has continued ever since. A young leader explained about the historical process of their transition from a regular village to a cultural heritage village:

> The people around this location have developed two types of tourism, ecotourism pre-historic mountains (since 1999) and heritage tourism in the village to develop agriculture and education about farming, Javanese culture, and customs (since 2012). **(LP_Y_02)**

The preservation effort has continued around the mountain and village area, with its strength in commercial outdoor activities such as camping, trekking, homestay, eating in small restaurants, and workshops about agriculture. There are 79 homestays

available in the residential areas. All of them have been substantially repaired and renovated, especially their toilets.

> In 2012, we received grants to fix their houses for homestay purposes. Each house received five million rupiah (equal to 500 USD) to build "proper" toilets or renovate other parts of the houses, like the kitchens or guestrooms. **(LP_Y_07)**

The houses in *Nglanggeran* village do not have specific architectural designs that represent Javanese traditional houses. However, this village owns some buildings that were designed based on Javanese traditional houses, such as *Pendopo Joglo* (Figure 7.5) and *Limasan. Pendopo Joglo* is a pavilion set in the front part of a residential complex (Prihatmaji et al., 2014) that functions as the public space used to receive guests, create social venues, and host cultural performances. In *Nglanggeran*, this building is the *Pendopo Kalisong,* which is located at the entrance of the ancient mountain of *Nglanggeran* (Figure 7.5). A *Limasan*-style house, meanwhile, is an extension of a regular Javanese house with a trapezoidal longitudinal section, five roof ridges, and a large veranda around the front side, which serves as a welcoming space. An example of this type of building is the house where *Griya Coklat* is located.

Even though traditional houses only exist in a few spots, in terms of the tourism industry, the success of developing a tourist village in *Nglanggeran* can still be acknowledged. According to the leaders of the village, they received 171,306 domestic visitors and 1,557 foreign visitors in 2016, a number that would have increased the income of the village, the regional government, and the local people.

Figure 7. 5. The traditional style of *Pendopo Joglo of Kalisong* at the front gate
(Source: Photograph by Author, 2017)

Another important point in relation to the mythological landscape is the practice of *adat* and a belief system that connects strongly with religious practice in Indonesia. In another interview regarding to his role as *Juru Kunci* or mountain key holder, **LP_Y_10** acknowledged that his power in his cultural role is not as strong as in the past because there is a trend of Islamic religious puritanism in the village that does not give permission for *Muslims* to believe in *tahyul* or mystical stories and objects and/or *adat* that support such a belief system.

> Yes, there are some who argue and start telling other people that what I did was *syirik* [refers to the sin of practising idolatry or polytheism or believing other than the One God concept in Islam] or that some of our *adat* was not the right thing to do in Islam. **(LP_Y_10)**

This statement relates closely to the argument of Acciaioli (1985) who suggested that in the Indonesian model of transforming an area into a tourism place, the local people need to adjust their belief system, culture, and *adat* to the interpretation of Pancasila. The first *Pancasila* is *"Ketuhanan yang Maha Esa"* or "Belief in the One and Only God." When this national principle is interpreted by a particular group of puritan people, it would problematise many *adat* and local beliefs. Some local discourses

suggest that the practice of *adat*, such as meditation in the mountain and the cults around the mountain, is a result of the influence of animist and polytheistic beliefs. Nonetheless, in his argument, Acciaioli (1985) also suggests that in the context of display for tourism, flexibility in belief systems still can be accommodated.

Therefore, the construction of a mythological landscape to imagine a nation in a heritage space is contested due the growing influence of puritanism, which may be a threat to *adat* or existing local belief systems. This situation shows how several groups contest the space because of conflicting interpretations.

7. 3. 2. Activating youth movement in a state-controlled setting

The second view of *Nglanggeran* as a heritage tourist village relates to the young people who participate in work around the village, the mountain, and the surrounding tourist areas. They work as parking attendants, ticketing agents, guides, front office staff, and management of the tourist village. The *Sekretariat*, or office of management, is located on the second floor of public toilet block only 10 metres from the ticket office. With an industrial minimalist style of building, the *Sekretariat* serves as a source of information and day-to-day management. This office includes a space for the young people to work, accept guests, and answer their questions.

The reading of the cultural heritage village of *Nglanggeran* will address youth activism in the village, as seen in the existence of *Sekretariat,* working labourers and staff that are predominantly young people between 19 and 35 years old. Understanding youth activism in *Nglanggeran* village within the cultural and state-controlled context of Javanese life needs to address the production of narratives surrounding the roles of the youth organisation in the village. I argue that the youth movement in Nglangeran village that bridging the gap between generations contributing to the romanticising of the village, and therefore to increased tourist demand. This approach, consequently, constructs the cultural heritage performance of the *Nglanggeran* ancient mountain and the *Nglanggeran* village as a space for youth activism in a state-controlled setting.

The connection between young people, their office spaces, and heritage preservation in *Nglanggeran* relies on a nationwide civic organisation at the local level called *Karang Taruna*. This is a state-created youth organisation commonly found in the

villages or *kampong* of Indonesia. *Karang Taruna* was first initiated during the Soeharto era. To build the national spirit and a civil society, local organisations were created across Indonesia in homogenised forms, such as the PKK (*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*) or The Guidance of Family Welfare, which consists of adult female members who join in monthly local gatherings, RT/RW (family units that also have meetings every month and that usually include *Arisan* or the collection of money for small lotteries for members), and youth *Karang Taruna* organisations (Mulyasari & Shaw, 2012). This is similar to the findings in Bali, where the villages also have similar forms of local organisations (See Chapter 5).

In relation to the early development of *Nglanggeran* as a tourist destination in 1999, during the Soeharto era, the village began an initiative for a group of young people in the *Karang taruna* organisation to work on forest preservation in the pre-historic mountains.

> The young people started with tree planting as their regular activity for more than six years to protect the landscape. Afterwards, the head of the village trusted the development of ecotourism using Decision Letter of Head of the Village of *Nglanggeran* No.05/KPTS/1999 on May 12th, 1999, which allowed the young people in *Karang Taruna* to be ticketing officers. **(LP_Y_07)**

The process is uneasy because of the insufficient funding, competing interest, forms of decision-making and authority. After the earthquake in 2006, the young people began to think about growing the business and commercial activities of the villages by initiating three homestays for people outside of the village to stay overnight.

The youth village leaders were motivated by several concerns: (1) they were concerned with the illegal and eco-unfriendly use of nature in the mountain of *Nglanggeran*, such as cutting and selling trees; (2) high urbanisation among the youth since there were no jobs, no pride, and no activities to support young people; (3) they were eager to take care of nature and willing to think about businesses that would be useful for the locals; (4) they believed that their village had the potential to be developed into a tourism village with education, conservation, and local empowerment concepts.

They then held more intense meetings with other members of the villages (such as farmers, adult female groups, and customary leaders) to increase the income for the village lost due to the destruction caused by the earthquake, which affected almost 90% of residential houses. In this stage, the young people presented fundraising proposals to the government and private institutions, which mostly led to rejections. The membership of the young people who were involved in this effort also gradually decreased, from 50 to 10.

After 2007, they received a formal statement encouraging them to build a *Pokdarwis*, or Tourism Awareness Group, which then enabled them to access government grants related to tourism development projects. This grant maintains the population of the village, which comprised around 2,573 people in 2016, around 842 of whom predominantly worked as farmers and whose level of education was mainly primary school or uneducated (more than 35%).

> Before it became a tourist village, people just went up to the mountain and were done. No other activities. We chose to build the tourist village because we have the magnet, we have the visitors, so we just need to manage them. We have a homestay, chocolate farm, goat farm, and we have a paddy field. We make people stay longer in the villages, give them activities related to our villages, and provide them with village facilities. **(LP_Y_07)**

Only in 2011 did the village finally receive a 6,500 USD grant, equal to 65 million rupiah, to build infrastructure for the mountains and offices. They received a similar amount in 2012 and 2013 from the same organisation, *PNPM Pariwisata* or the National Program for Independent Community Empowerment for Tourism, under the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono administration. That funding was used to build infrastructure and to increase the quality of human resources through training and comparative study trips.

The youth movement from the example of *Nglanggeran* villages shows that young people move within the state framework in the Indonesian local community. Kurasawa (2009) argues that since Japanese colonialism, there has been a strong form of community or local organisation imposed in Java island called *tonarigumi* or commonly known as *Rukun Tetangga* or RT (Harmonious neighbours, a community organisation consisting of several families). In this setting, the Soekarno and Suharto

eras established the system and included local interest groups such as women, youth, and religious interests. Within the community organisation, the communication system is mostly vertical or top-down between central government and the local community. Community meetings, on the other hand, are conducted in the spirit of *musyawarah mufakat*, or discussion until consensus is reached, as members are less comfortable with major decisions made in a top-down manner (Kurasawa, 2009). However, in the post-*Soeharto* era, a much more horizontal system of communication, such as making funding proposals based on the ideas of the local community, requests, and lobbying local government, is more common (Kurasawa, 2009). Opportunities to receive grants and funding are open and competitive. In the case of *Nglanggeran*, the youth movement has an important role in conducting meetings using the traditional *musyawarah mufakat* form of discussion by involving various interest groups in the community and in competing with proposals to fund the renovation and preservation of the mountain and houses.

Another challenge during the process of constructing the heritage tourist village is to convince the local people that the market and demand to experience the everyday life of the village exist (Figure 7.6).

> The most difficult one is to make people here aware of their potential. As an illustration, they disbelieved if their daily activities such as planting the paddy, ploughing the land, milking goat, or their everyday farming activities can be used for tourism. They are unconfident and shy about their activities and even disbelieve that the market to experience such activities exists. They even say, "How can people in Jakarta come from far away just to get into the mud and plant the paddy with dirty cows?" It was difficult for us to convince them that we can sell such activities. **(LP_Y_07)**

Figure 7. 6. Agricultural activity used as a tourism activity
(Source: Photographic documentation by *Nglanggeran* village, 2015)

It was initially difficult to convince the local people to open their houses for homestays. With the increasing demand for commercial activities like gathering nights for high schools or overnight outbound trips, the young people started to organise trials, using university students' overnight activities to ask the local people to open their houses for homestays.

> This Javanese way is called *Pekewuh*, or uncomfortable feeling, not because of your house but because you feel that you cannot serve your guest at its best. They are not sure if the guest would be fine to stay in their regular house. In the beginning, we only had three homestays and now, *alhamdulillah (Thank God),* we have 79 homestays. **(LP_Y_12)**

As tourism and commercial activities spread through the village, coordination, meeting, and power relations between the nation and the local people remained centred on the young people. Structurally, in the Javanese socio-hierarchy, young people are second voices and inferior to their older fellows. Tanner (1967) underscores the idea of a respectable continuum in speaking and using language in Javanese culture that runs through a vertical relationship between age groups. In *madyo kromo*, or the middle range of language, young people are deemed inferior to adult males (Tanner,

1967). This creates a challenge for young people to speak up and "teach" their older fellows to discuss the construction of heritage in *Nglanggeran*. The Javanese parable *Kebo nusu Gudel*, or a cow milking her baby cow, was often used to describe how the elderly people feel when they have to follow the instructions of the young people during my interviews with some elderly people in the village:

> It is ok, if we have to follow the young people. Just like the parable of *Kebo Nusu Gudel* (A cow milking her baby cow). As long as we can protect the forest and mountain, we can develop the village to get more income through tourism, we can give job to young people so they won't run away to the city, and we still keep our tradition, culture, ritual, and custom. It was difficult to ask the young people to go to the farm. Now, it is a bit easier because they think the agricultural activity is not useless anymore. **(LP_Y_11)**

To overcome the social hierarchy between the young people and their older fellows, some of young leaders I spoke to, use the term *Mati dipangku* to discuss how they could convince the other members of the community to join their efforts.

> In Javanese, we called it *Mati dipangku* or a Javanese man will die if you put him on your lap. Let us say you make him useful when he disagrees with you, especially the older man. Instead of putting him outside, you make him lead or involve him in an important role of an event that became the cause of a dispute. He will feel good and respected, then, soon, he will support you **(LP_Y_07).**

The involvement of the young people in cooperation with many stakeholders became the key to reconstructing *Nglanggeran* heritage. Their achievements are commemorated through their offices, built as a statement of space for their strong involvement in and contribution to the village. The offices appear as a diorama of their achievements, with numerous photographs of awards, trophies, certificates, and displays of the structure of the organisation (Figure 7.7).

> We really started from zero. From knowing nothing, and now we become an award-winning village in Asia and Indonesia. These photos and trophies in our office become our pride. **(LP_Y_10)**

Figure 7. 7. The office for the management of the village
(Source: Photograph by Author, 2017)

Nglanggeran can demonstrate how moving the pre-existing youth organisation and converting lifestyle and social hierarchy can be used to imagine the agricultural nation. Although, the process of fund raising, competing interest, and village structure or authority to convince older people and decision making become the main challenges of activating the youth movement in this village.

7. 3. 3. Immersing the nation brand promises in the village

The third reading of the cultural heritage village of *Nglanggeran* can be understood through the immersion of the nation brand promises in the village. I argue that the immersion of the nation brand is facilitated by the existence of the organising committee of village commercialisation efforts and by the ubiquitousness of the Indonesian nation brand as a reminder for the local people. In this approach, nation brand is used as a goal and guidance for constructing the cultural heritage of the village for tourists.

Community participation to some extend drives the construction of heritage and commercial success, even though there's state control and intrusion. Accordingly, the

first view of the village and its construction as a heritage tourism village is given in the information provided by the *Badan Pengelola Desa wisata* (BPDW*)*, or the Tourism Village Management Body, which was initiated by the membership, or *Pokdarwis (Kelompok Sadar Wisata*, or Tourism Awareness Group). In the case of *Nglanggeran*, the *Pokdarwis* initially appeared as a village organisation concerned with tourist activities. Members of the *Pokdarwis* were expected to be figures in the local community who can motivate, communicate with, and mobilise others. Then, the membership was shaped into the executive body of the BPDW, which has a more solid organisational structure. This organisation (BPDW) is one of the profit makers of *Badan Usaha Milik Desa* (BUMDes) or Village Owned-Enterprises, a project established during Jokowi's administration to empower villages, which was one of his priorities in *Nawacita* (Nine Agendas in Jokowi Administration). In the case of *Nglanggeran*, BUMDes was created to serve as an umbrella for village commercial efforts. The management team of the BPDW is drawn from the membership of *Pokdarwis,* but the members of *Pokdarwis* do not have to join the management team. In their commercial efforts, the management team of BPDW receives several sources of income.

> With help from Department of Culture and Tourism of Gunung Kidul Regency, the village developed *Badan Pengelola Desa wisata* (BDPW, or the village tourist management agency) in 2008 to create a technical and procedural organisation to manage the tourism income for the village. Around 65% of the profit from tourism activities supports the village activities, while 35% pays the *Pendapatan Asli Daerah (PAD)* [regional income] of *Gunung Kidul.* **(LP_Y_07)**

Of park ticket income, 35% goes to the Village Owned-Enterprises (BUMDes), and the rest is saved for future operations. The Village Owned-Enterprises is like a capital earning system that has two major income streams: from the savings and loans of the village cooperative and from tourism revenue, such as tickets. Funds from tour packages, such as homestays, outbound trips, guides, and group tours, go mostly to the management team. Individuals who work participate in the business receive a small incentive of between 50,000-70,000 IDR/day (or equal with 5-7 USD$/day), depending on the roles they take, which can range from parking attendants, to ticketing agents, guides, or public speakers.

Our management appeared first before the BUMDes existed. But we still want to follow that [the rule of BUMDes] and put our organisations under the BUMDes because we want everything to have a legal basis. It is legit that a village asset management is to be covered under the BUMDes. **(LP_Y_03)**

To communicate with each other, the management team coordinates several meetings. They use Saturday and Sunday for the management team to meet in the office. For smaller meetings, they have Wednesday night every week scheduled. For bigger meetings, especially with all the *Pokdarwis* members and various groups from the local community, they hold a *Selasa Kliwon* or *Tuesday Kliwon* meeting. (A Javanese week only consists of five days. A *Tuesday Kliwon* meeting takes place about once a month (To be precise, one round of Javanese month takes 35 days).

A parking attendant, whom I interviewed while he was working on his one-day shift in *Embung,* said that tourism activities have changed the village dramatically. He personally felt pleased that he could earn a bit more income as a parking attendant (receiving USD 5 per day) in addition to his seasonal income as a farmer. He described some awards that the village has won through the information he gained at *Selasa Kliwon* meetings. In his words,

I am only a poor and uneducated person, but I am proud of this village, from a poor and unknown village. Every day we only eat cassava, you know the sentences: *wong gunung kidul mangan tiwul?* [people from *Gunung Kidul* only eat cassava, which is considered a low level of food]. And now, even we won an Asian award. **(LP_Y_01)**

In the *Selasa Kliwon* meetings, the management team reports the income from tourism activities, their achievements, problems that they need to solve together with the local people, and any other information about social life.

Other evidence of the reconstruction of the village to a national heritage site include the ubiquitousness of the Seven Wonders (*Sapta Pesona*) symbol, which has been used to disseminate the national brand of *Wonderful Indonesia*. The management places *Sapta Pesona* signs in many tourism locations, especially around their entrances. There are at least five locations where the management team has placed the *Sapta Pesona* sign (Figure 7.8).

Figure 7. 8. The ubiquity of the *Sapta Pesona* signs
(Source: Photograph by Author, 2017)

As one of the ambassadors of the village, SH stated that this sign is used as a reminder to the local people to achieve the national hopes for tourism destinations:

> We put this sign [*Sapta Pesona* signs] everywhere to remind us about the values and national standard we must achieve. **(LP_Y_07)**

The "seven wonders" are "Security, Order, Cleanliness, Freshness, Beauty, Friendliness, and Memories." Initially, the management team worked to define at least three principles (security, order, and cleanliness):

> Can you imagine people feeling safe when they park their motorbike while the parking attendant is unconvincing? For example, they smoke, they look naughty with colourful hair, torn pants, and dirty? This is the first thing we need to educate the

people when they accept guests. They have to look properly clean and well mannered. Otherwise, people will not feel safe and secure. **(LP_Y_02)**

For that reason, the management team decided that those who work in the tourism areas would wear uniforms. The uniforms combine culture with a contemporary approach. The men wear a *blangkon*, or traditional Javanese headdress made of batik (Figure 7.9). The *blangkon* is typical of Yogyakarta's style, with a bulge or *mongolan* in the back of the headdress. For their clothes, they wear black shirts with the *Sapta Pesona* and *Nglanggeran Gunung Api Purba* emblems.

Figure 7. 9. The uniform of the people who work in *Nglanggeran*
(Source: Photograph by Author, 2017)

In this organisational outline, the local intelligentsia is gathered in the *Pokdawis*. However, the program and operational activities are actually managed in the BPDW, and commercially developed through BUMDes. The implementation of the Indonesian brand of *Wonderful Indonesia,* especially the execution of *Sapta Pesona,* however, was conducted through the use of various symbols and materials readily available in the space of *Nglanggeran* village. Therefore, the homogeneity of national standards is implemented through *Sapta Pesona* and the existence of *Pokdarwis*, while BUMDes acts as a state controller of the village enterprise and commercial activity, to reach the national agenda at the village level. This can either be perceived as an

example of how the state exploits the local level (cutting their incomes) or as the state empowering the village by giving it a legal body to run and control the business at the village level while providing grants. The reluctance of some local people is negotiated in the village meetings, with information predominantly provided by the members of *Pokdarwis,* as the agent for change and state control at the village level.

Nglanggeran village immerses the nation brand promises in the village by organising a committee to legalise commercialisation efforts and remind the local people of nation brand promises in outdoor media. The discourses and cultural material in this process create a double articulation, whether the choice to legalise the commercialisation efforts is a part of obedience or a part of exploitation of their own efforts, volunteerism, and labour work *(Gotong royong).*

> I do not know whether to give some of our profit to the government is an example of exploitation or not. What I know is in the beginning, when it was all very difficult, and we failed many times, it is all on us. And now, when we are successful, we need to give the money to the regional government. I hope there should be more take and give in a much fairer way. But, do we have any other choice of not registering our income to the government? **(LP_Y_01)**

When it comes to income and profit making, heritage space becomes a politically charged area (Adams, 2014). Therefore, similar to Adams' view on Kete Ke'su in Toraja heritage, I argue that in *Nglanggeran*, rather than showing a natural landscape, the construction of the space is predominantly unnatural. The village has become a place where a complex exchange between performance, profit making, and politics exists in a process of imagining a nation in a heritage village.

7. 3. 4. Collecting local commodities in the land of ancient mountain

The last reading relates to imagining the nation, collecting the local commodity in the land of ancient volcano. I argue that the process of recollecting the local commodity is conducted to gain more tourism assets for the village performance, to reinforce local characters and to gain commercial benefit for the local people. This approach constructs the cultural heritage village as a space where natural and artificial artefacts are mixed together and reclaimed as local commodities.

The expression of the romanticism of the heritage tourist village of *Nglanggeran* relies heavily on the ancient mountain of *Nglanggeran*, usually called *Gunung Api Purba* (GAP)*, which translates in English as "ancient volcano". The name of *Nglanggeran* itself is less famous than *Gunung Api Purba* since, in Java, the destinations that have ancient volcanos are only in this location. Therefore, *Nglanggeran* village is positioned as the context where the *Gunung Api Purba* is located. The word *Purba* [meaning ancient or pre-historic] is exploited in the positioning of both the *Nglanggeran* village and the *Gunung Api Purba*:

> We all have "Purba" as our last name in social media. Sometimes, people mistakenly think that is our real last name and it is similar with Batak's last name, Purba [one of Indonesian tribe in North Sumatra that has strong ancestry list through their last name]. But, no, it is a part of our positioning as the management of GAP. We want to make GAP a part of our identity, at least in social media. **(LP_Y_03)**

The name *Purba* is used as the village brand. Starting from the social media name and the production of a chocolate called *Purba Rasa*, the local people decided to use this name, as the GAP name is much more popular than the name of the village of *Nglanggeran*. To strengthen the image of "Purba," the management team also decided to create Education Park, with dinosaur statues as a diorama in the park. They also put artificial "dinosaur" fossils in big stones to provide a "Purba," or ancient, ambience, even though, according to archaeological findings, Indonesia has no dinosaur fossils. In effect, tourists' blinkers when dismissing/accepting something as authentic is in tandem with locals' flexibility in constructing their spaces, this particular example notably expresses a disconnect with scientific history, archaeology, and science (Figure 7.10).

Figure 7.10. Artificial dinosaur fossil on a stone
(Source: Photograph by Author, 2017)

> This is not real (Figure VII.7). We are just creating this to show people that this mountain is as old as dinosaurs. But some people use these artificial fossils to take pictures. **(LP_Y_10)**

The cohesiveness of natural resources and views of the landscape is also reproduced through photographs, which are usually taken in available spots prepared by the management team using signs such as "spot for photo" in some areas around the mountain. The experience of consuming the landscape of the mountain is constructed through various types of stairs built on the way to the top. There are stairs made from cement, from stone, and from wood. On the top of the mountain, the management team put an Indonesian (red and white) flag as a sign that the visitors have reached the pinnacle (Figure 7.11).

Figure 7. 11. An Indonesian flag is planted on the top of the mountain
(Source: Photograph by Author, 2017)

> We put the flag on top to symbolise that we reach the top *Gunung Api Purba* of 700 metres from the sea level [Figure VII.8]. Usually, when you go hiking, you bring a national flag to put that on top of the mountain, right? Why? It is because you want to show your pride in your nation, same thing here. It also symbolises our pride in our nation, but it also shows that you are in the territory of Indonesia. **(LP_Y_12)**

As well as a trekking package to the ancient mountain of *Nglanggeran,* the village also offers both natural and artificial destinations, such as the following: (1) Visiting *Embung Nglanggeran* or the artificial *Nglanggeran* reservoir, which covers 0.34 hectares and functions to irrigate the region's local fruit farms (such as *durian* and *klengkeng* fruit*)*. It also has several locations for camping and some tree houses for photographs. The artificial lake is located 1.5 km southeast of the entrance gate of the *Gunung Api Purba (GAP)* or *Nglanggeran* ancient mountain. The place is located above a parking lot and people need to ascend stairs for about 200 metres to observe it. It was the first such lake built in Yogyakarta (around 2012) and was inaugurated by the Sultan of Yogyakarta or Governor of the Province on 19 February 2013. (2) Another destination is *Kedung Kandang* seasonal waterfalls, which only appear during the rainy season from October to May. The landscape of the waterfalls comprises the

paddy field terrace and a natural volcanic staircase. (3) The villagers also developed local agricultural products, such as goat milk and chocolate, which local people sell in their showrooms, called *Griya Coklat* (Figure 7.12).

Figure 7. 12. *Griya Cokelat* as a showroom for chocolate product in the village using *Limasan* style of housing
(Source: Photograph by Author, 2017)

Information about the ancient mountain as the main magnet of the village and the establishment of the reservoir as part of the village's ideological landscape is available on the large signage near the entrance. Although the village has developed a local guide service and signage for presenting historical information, depth of information about the mountain, the villages, and the reservoir is not available in any guidebook or short printed pamphlet. However, the visitor is asked to imagine the ancient mountains and their connection with Javanese culture through artificial symbols and mystical stories from the guide. National identity is acknowledged through various logos and symbols that strengthen the site's identity, while the commercial activities involving the local people centre on the tourist's interest in the *Gunung Api Purba*. The village appears as a supporting secondary performance to the magnet of the mountain.

A combination of artificial symbols and natural heritage is closely exploited in the story of *Nglanggeran* village. Artificial symbols and material amid natural heritage, however, should not be understood solely as the destruction or disruption of a heritage. Instead, in this case, they create supporting identities upon which the local people, the villages, and the tourist sites rely. For example: (1) the local people use the artificiality of the reservoir as a secondary site to sell a full package of destinations. By using the romanticism of the locations via photographic posts in social media, this artificiality seems legitimated, something to be visited along with the heritage of GAP. (2) The local people understand the dinosaurs' artificiality amidst the natural heritage as a part of the entertainment and education element of the destination. The rare sight of dinosaurs in Indonesia and Java is perceived as a commodity, making the statues part of the site's identity to be enjoyed by tourists and local people. (3) Constructing everyday life, as a tourism object is part of the experience offered in the villages. These tourism activities, such as milking goats and planting paddies, as part of a tour package are redefining the meaning of everyday life in the agricultural heritage of the village. (4) The decision to celebrate Javanese cultures through visible symbols, such as cloth or buildings, creates more emphasis on the importance of the existing local culture. Local leaders have begun to understand the values of traditional identity that will attract more tourists and appreciation.

> We used to have plenty of *kampung houses* and *limasan* in this village (Figure 7.13). Almost all houses were having traditional style. But we perhaps consider it as poor; we then change it to more modern style when we have money. Now, when we meet the tourists, we see they appreciate more traditional styled houses than the new modern houses we have. We may re-build some here soon or bring some ancient wooden houses from neighbouring village. **(LP_Y_07)**

Figure 7. 13. Traditional style of Javanese *Kampung* wooden house
(Source: Photograph by Author, 2017)

The head of the village even somewhat expressed regret that some *kampong* houses that used to be plentiful in the villages were now disappearing due to the interest of the local people in building modern houses. However, foreign, and domestic tourists appreciate more ancient and traditional buildings. The local people are now aware of the values of other cultures and their own local assets. They plan to build more Javanese traditional houses in the future. With the upcoming visits of foreign tourists, they reconsider and reassess the values of the traditional houses they used to have because they give stronger local identity, and new commercial and heritage meanings to them.

The local people collect their local commodity to reinforce local characters for commercial benefit. After having experienced living in a heritage village and understanding profit making in such a space, local people start to pay attention to what the tourists value. Such a phenomenon in tourism is commonly referred to as host gaze, reverse gaze, and local gaze. In this context, Erb (1997) argued similarly regarding the eastern Indonesia hosts' context that becomes a newly decorated area for tourism. Erb found that the local people create multiple strategies and innovations as well as maintain a continuing identity from their past by assessing the foreign

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tourists' appreciation of their own local heritage and performance (1997). In *Nglanggeran* village, the local people show a feeling of loss in relation to their traditionally designed houses, which they considered old-fashioned and poor before the tourism construction. The effort of remodelling the houses by maintaining traditional styles and designs may create potential revenue and economic growth due to the "authentic experiences" valued by the market (Haryanto, 2013; Hermawan, 2016; Yamashita, 2003).

7. 4. Discussion

The findings in this chapter have answered some key questions regarding the ways in which local voices in *Nglanggeran* village imagine a nation in their agricultural heritage spaces. The local narratives, cultural materials, and performances in the heritage demonstrate that the village produces four discursive themes, which dominantly construct and reshape the heritage land. These themes not only demonstrate the imagining of the nation but also produce paradoxes, which articulate the contested agricultural landscape of Indonesia.

First, the village of *Nglanggeran* produces a mythological landscape to imagine the nation by replacing the limited resources of scientific information and using Javanese cultural identity to claim ownership. Lowenthal (1998) argues that heritage is not history. Heritage reshapes the past and fabricates what may be collectively approved to own a heritage (Sushartami & Ristiawan, 2018). Lowenthal argues that heritage has the flexibility to amend and exaggerate historical traces and tales to strengthen the biased narratives of the nation. As he argues: "It is a declaration of faith in that past" (Lowenthal, 1998, p. 8). In this perspective, the narrative of heritage in *Nglanggeran* can be understood as a construction of history to substitute for the missing linkages and information in history or scientific accounts. Unlike Lowenthal, Edson (2004) argues for the need to maintain heritage authenticity by avoiding cultural homogenisation. Edson argues that the effort of searching for cultural, natural, tangible, and intangible heritage is needed to avoid loss of heritage and social identification with people's own identity (2004). In this context, the local elites of *Nglanggeran* village acknowledge the value of historical, scientific, and geological information as important information and assets. However, they have not found a way

to use their resources to present it and to understand it, despite the fact that the construction of natural heritage, according to UNESCO, always assumes the value of physical and biological formations as bringing the wonders of place through how the place is internationally worth and valued from the aesthetic or scientific points of view and protection to animals and plants for the conservation of nature (Edson, 2004). This discourse then places the *Nglanggeran* village and the ancient mountain landscape in a contested mode of heritage, caught between scientific acknowledgement and presentation or maintenance of the current performances.

Second, the village activates the youth movement in a state-controlled setting by using the pre-existing local youth organisation and challenging social hierarchy in order to construct market demand. In this context, it is relevant to see how the national culture can create and re-create symbols that represent the nation (Cameron et al., 2005), for example through political systems and civic organisations in the village that standardise the national spirit (Zielonka & Mair, 2002). Even further, in a post-colonial nation, the legacy of colonialism and the emergence of knowledge cannot be neglected (Chatterjee, 1991). The *Nglanggeran* village is one example of the massive implementation of a colonial community system in Java, which was adopted by the Old Order and the New Order to create a network of information and command throughout the villages and/or *kampung* in the city using centralised development (Allerton, 2003). This shows that colonial constructions still function to construct the future of villages. Therefore, the youth movement can be seen not only as an empowering means of activating the pre-existing civic system, but also as the activation of colonial legacy, which is similar to the argument of Chatterjee that "Even our imaginations must remain forever colonialized" (1991, p. 521). Consequently, in reading the construction of *desa wisata* in Indonesia, it is difficult to escape the construction of political strategy from the previous regimes and even the legacy of a post-colonial nation.

Third, the existence of *Sapta Pesona* signs in a formal and orderly manner shows that many materials in the village are used to reconstruct the village from within, not just for tourism consumption, but also for local consumption to create a resilience in the tourism community (Beel et al., 2017). It reflects the infusion of the politics of the present in which the participation of the local community is considered to be an asset

or commodity of the construction of a nation. The actors of the village are rewarded by the central government for being the thinkers who rearticulate, recreate, and contest the heritage spaces where the authentic past meets the invented present (Adams, 2006; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983, Picard, 1990).

Fourth, in the process of collecting local materials, there are circular interactions between local intelligentsia and understanding the tourism market. Giacciardi (2012) argues that many heritage tourist villages may be tempted into the ongoing options of preservation-driven as opposed to visitor-driven or choosing between conservation and commercialisation (Chabbra, 2009). However, in the case of *Nglanggeran* village, understanding market demand may also lead to an appreciation of local identity and excavating cultural assets for both conservation and commercialisation. Sumaco and Richardson (2011) suggest that identification of the needs and perceptions of the market segments of a heritage is a way of understanding the consumption of place and how to develop the heritage even further. Conserving the traditionally styled houses based on a local understanding of tourist demand and their everyday life may also make a positive contribution to the conservation of culture in the village. Another similar point of view is from a study of *Kampung Naga*, a rural village in West Java, also known for its local culture and life. The local people there interpret that, through understanding market demand, the quality and uniqueness of the local products, local wisdom, and traditional values can be maintained as an appreciation of their local identity (Satya & Kuraesin, 2016).

7. 5. Conclusion

A demonstration of the long history of the relationships between nation-state and the village, and the various paradoxes involved in these relationships, is shown in *Nglanggeran* village. The space offers a sense of exploitation, and at the same time pride, by producing commodities of achievements for the nation. It embodies both the memory of the past and the challenges of the future, such as choices between cultural appreciation and a search for locality as a globally recognised heritage asset.

The sources of investigation here indicate the consistency of the existence of a national brand at the local level. The national brand of Indonesia is in the symbolic signs and in the implementation of *Sapta Pesona*. It also appears in the existence of *Pokdarwis*,

as the agent of tourism changes at the local level. Although management structures can vary, such as using BUMDes as a village organisation to control commercial assets, the functions of *Pokdarwis* as a state agent for the nation and the local people to address the social, cultural, and local aspects of the tourism movement remain consistent as discussed in Chapter 5 about local voices in *Penglipuran* village, Bali. However, in the case of *Nglanggeran* village, the overlapping symbols between nation, region, and local identity are not so visible because the Javanese identity exists, along with the village's "uniqueness," through various symbols and signs and nation spirit.

Next, Chapter Eight discuss the consumption of mythological landscape, youth movement, and local cultural materials by the interactional process between local people and Australians. In this way, the next chapter connect the ways in which the Australians gaze, consume, and participate in the products, services, and experiences the local people have constructed.

Chapter 8. Consuming Agricultural Heritage: Interactions of Australian Tourists and Local People at *Nglanggeran,* Yogyakarta

8. 1. Introduction

Australian and Indonesian relations to Java Island are shaped through several interactions including business, education, government and/or politics, arts, culture, language learning, tourism, and youth exchange (Payne, 2012). Accordingly, the characteristics of the activities and interactions of Australians in Yogyakarta shape and re-shape the construction of the province, the island of Java, and Indonesia as a nation. As Dickinson (2006) argues, any region that provides some memorial spaces can be a text and offer an experiential landscape to produce memories, expectations, and imaginings through a variety of places, materials, narratives, experiences, and interactions.

The specific market of Australians reproduces, reconfirms, but also challenges, the pre-existing positioning of Yogyakarta, Java, and Indonesia by visiting different spaces. Types of place also raise diplomatic, political, and even people-to-people problems (Kusumohamidjojo, 1986). With these contested imaginings, Yogyakarta offers cultural, traditional, agricultural, educational, and interactional opportunities for Australians. However, it also offers the complex problems of most of the Indonesian population, such as lack of education, poverty, poor maintenance of public facilities, issues of diversity, commercialisation, and exploitation of human and natural resources (Monfries, 2006).

8. 2. Objectives of the Chapter

The chapter aims to capture the interactions of Australians and Indonesian local people in the setting of the cultural heritage village of *Nglanggeran*, Yogyakarta. As explored in the previous chapter (Chapter 7), *Nglanggeran*, in itself and through the lens of local people, creates a contested space of heritage production and construction. The

next step is to understand the consumption process of *Nglanggeran* village from the point of view of Australians as they negotiate their constructed imaginings of Java and Indonesia as a nation. These constructions function to magnify the cultural differences between Indonesians and Australians and to identify the tension that occurs in this space. The interactions in *Nglanggeran* offer representations of a potential space, which becomes the model of the idyllic *Desa wisata* project across Indonesia. Thus, this chapter will investigate the imaginings and expectations of Indonesia by Australian tourists in *Nglanggeran.*

8. 3. Findings

The cultural heritage tourist village in Yogyakarta is a contested venue, demonstrating the conflicts and complexity of the cross-cultural interactions between local people and Australian tourists (Adams, 2006; Ernawati, Dowling, & Sanders, 2015; Sumaco & Richardson, 2011). Given the potential tension in interactions, two discourses emerge of how Australians imagine and expect the nation through the heritage village. These are: the discourses about space involving the demand for interactional spaces, perceptions of natural landscape, and the dynamic of the locality and life struggles; and discourses of brand association which bracket the brand of the nation, Jogja/Java, and the village of *Nglanggeran*. From there, I review the longstanding problems of interactions in the heritage context from a cultural perspective to address how consumption processes reshape and reproduce the imaginings of Indonesia.

8. 3. 1. Discourses about Spaces

The first reading of the interactions between Australian tourists **(AT)** and the local people of *Nglanggeran, Yogyakarta* **(Y)** is from the perspective of space, which connect the people and the place. Discourses about space clearly appear in various conversations and discussions that occurred during the research fieldwork. The specific findings are: (1) Australians imagine the cultural heritage village as an interactive local space where they expect contradictory interactions between commodities, traditional life, and experiences that will enable them to understand local values. (2) Australians also depict nature in the villages as a place for the display of the products that formed part of their pre-departure narratives and construct the

landscape as an opposition to city imaginings. (3) The Australians also problematize the local daily activities and struggles. Consequently, the discourses of space make the perceptual process of consuming a cultural heritage tourist village a contestation between natural and constructed space.

8. 3. 1. 1. The consumption of interactional spaces

I argue that, in the discourses surrounding people and space, Australian tourists expect interaction with and learning about other people's lives. The tour package in the village then functions as an instrument to accommodate such a demand. However, a paradox characteristic of tourism emerges in the colonial way of looking. During the process of interaction, the power of the western gaze still influences the process of consumption through comparative looks and language limitation. Consequently, the space becomes a constructed space of interactions.

Multiple discourses appear related to the interaction with local people. The concept of the "village" is attractive for Australians because of the perceptual connection of this space with the opportunity for interactions and gaining insight into other people's lives. Two Australian tourists explain:

> If you hang out with people and like talked to people and stuff, but it's kind of hard to say like "Oh hey can you tell me like how you live?" **(AT_Y_01)**

> And it just offers another insight to have to know how people live around the world. **(AT_Y_03)**

In these statements, the research participants understand that the only way to gain insight into how other people live their lives is by visiting and interacting with them in their own places. Here, then, the cultural heritage village contributes to alternative imaginings of space whereby the tourists' presence in the space (i.e. their expectations and demands) alters and reconstructs the nature of the space and the interactions that occur within it (Massey, 1994, p. 118). This concept relates to the notion of invented traditions, which argues that the meaning of tradition is altered based on the demands of current challenges (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983). For example, the village constructs activities through tour packages that will allow the tourists to interact with

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the local people. One of the activities in the village is related to the cacao plantation and cocoa making.

> Yes, we interacted with the tourism team – led by Mas AR – and then we also met with a cacao farmer who shared a lot with us on organic cacao plantation. We also met with the gorgeous ladies at Griya Coklat who were very passionate about the work that they do. **(AT_Y_08)**

In this sense, the activities of the tour package become an instrument of interactions and therefore provide an understanding of how people live in a certain place. The example below (Figure 8.1) is a photograph taken by a research participant to indicate the "gazing" at people and place, especially in relation to gaining an understanding of how things work in the local space of *Nglanggeran*, such as how to plant a cacao tree that becomes the product of the village. Figure 8.2 is a photograph taken by the local people of *Nglanggeran*. The photograph is about one example of an activity providing the opportunity for interactions with tourists and giving excitement to the tourists by allowing them to experience the way local people create their local products (Figure 8.2).

Figure 8. 1. Photograph by a research participant about one of their activities in *Nglanggeran* village
(Source: Photograph by AT_Y_04, 2017)

Figure 8. 2. Photograph by the local people of *Nglanggeran* about their interactions in making *Dodol Coklat (chocolate snacks)*
(Source: Photograph by *Nglanggeran* in 2016)

In this sense, interaction becomes a potential commodity of the village recognised by both the local people and the Australian tourists. Furthermore, some research participants also recognise the attractiveness of the village not only as a space of interaction but also as a place in which to exercise the power of being "white" and being a tourist.

> I think it is an insight into what Indonesian village life might be… It is one of the best ways, I guess, to practise your Indonesian language is to go to an Indonesian village. Many people want to talk to white people ("Bule"). Emmm. And it just offers another insight to have to know how people live around the world. **(AT_Y_04)**

> Their treatment to me was quite extraordinary. Maybe it is because I am white with blue eyes, and blond hair. They were, like, want to take photo with me, showing me around, and talking to me. **(AT_Y_06)**

The space of village represents a symbol of the nation – "what Indonesian village life might be" – and involves the exercise of power, for example in the condition of white

privilege in a postcolonial nation (Wekker, 2016) and the privilege of being a 'white tourist' as the Australians explain above.

Another point is on the way Australian tourists understand local myth. Said (1995) argues that the West has created an orientalist look towards the East where European colonialism took part in creating the discourses of Non-White. These concepts deal with the imaginings of the East as ideologically different from the West and as exotic, strange, still full of myth, underdeveloped, and even barbaric (Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Said, 1995). Non-Western values become the Other and Western cultures become the norm and standard in relation to everyday interaction with the East. For example, Western values include "rational, peaceful, liberal, logical, capable of holding real values, without natural suspicion" (Said, 1995, p. 49). In contrast, the East will have the opposite imaginings. For example, the East is portrayed more mystical, conflicting, traditional, and strong in local belief systems. Another example from the research participants comes as a question about the mountain cult, which prohibits women who are menstruating from entering a certain location (Figure 8.3).

> **AT_Y_05**: Why I found many prohibitions against women who had a period like in this place [location in Figure 8. 3]?

> **AT_Y_03**: I guess women are considered dirty when they had a period like in Bali.

> **AT_Y_05**: Other than belief reason, I do not know what kind of other rational reason about this prohibition. If this were in Australia, I am sure many women would protest against it.

In these discussions between AT_Y_03 and AT_Y_05, both Australian research participants exhibit a curiosity about mythologies and local belief systems in a space. Using a presumed connection between belief and location – "like in Bali" – they also distance themselves from the context of the space by viewing the place from an Australian point of view, which may reject such a belief system. Some scholars argues that sometimes people who travel to a certain place adopt the position of the colonial elite (Simmons & Becken, 2004; Frenzel, 2012; Tan & Bakar, 2016), using their own standards (Australian) to try to understand other people's values and beliefs, for example, using the phrase, "If this was in Australia."

Accordingly, the discussions and interactional spaces they encounter also create and strengthen the cultural narrative of the village, which is depicted as "traditional" in its belief system, its way of life, and what local people in the village look like.

> The people in the village are just humble, friendly, and live a simple life. **(AT_Y_02)**

> Yes, very happy to talk to me and explain their village. **(AT_Y_09)**

> Yes briefly, they were kind and generous and incredibly knowledgeable about their practices. **(AT_Y_04)**

Figure 8.3. Photograph of guide explaining a sacred place called *Comberan* Spring where there is a sign saying "Women on Period May Not Enter"
(Source: Photograph by Author, 2017)

While enjoying the "service" of the local people as tourists, the Australian tourists watch the local people's routine life (at a glance or briefly within one day), and their "exotic" beliefs and culture become rewarding experiences in *Nglanggeran*. The local people then function to help the Australian tourists find enjoyment by experiencing a peaceful, friendly, and educational interactional space. This process meets the

expectations identified above in depictions of the village, which is expected to be a place where tourists can gain insight on how others living their life, in a brief or one-day tour experience. This is a rewarding experience that Australian tourists may not achieve if they go to villages, which are not prepared for tourists in terms of interactional space and staged authenticities such as tour packages or host families. The people that the Australian tourists meet in Nglanggeran tend to fit their expected cultural narratives in a constructed space. In a one-day tour with a big group, the interaction depends on time and language ability. However, the interactional space will be supported by the tour activities and local guides available in *Nglanggeran*. An example is offered by one of the Australian tourists who speaks the Indonesian language quite well.

> It was because we have like a big group, I think 20. So, this quite difficult to sort of have one on one interaction mm... other than when we were training the traditional food. But then of course question for more "how do I make this?" ... [hahaha...] yeah. But I had a chance, in the corner or something and I just finished like smoking... and I had a chat with a man. I just spoke to him, and you know like: did he grow up here? Was he born here? That"s all the thing. Mmm.... That also nice, it was good. But I could not have had that kind of conversation if I didn't speak *Bahasa* Indonesia. **(AT_Y_08)**

For the Australian tourists who stay more than one day and decide to stay with local host family, the situation will be more complex. This is because the impressions they have of the local people they meet will be influenced by language limitations, unprepared hosts, and further daily dialogue that may be more difficult to "stage" than in a one-day trip. A research participant who went on a one-day tour and stayed overnight with a local host family describes her difficulties in speaking with the host family because she speaks very little Indonesian and her host family spoke only a little English.

> I think with the son it was, we spoke a bit of English, a bit of Indonesian and I think maybe with the parents like, I don't think I spoke much English, maybe it was just like a really little bit, and I think maybe even like, I don't think they spoke even that much Indonesian that may be more Javanese or something. **(AT_Y_01)**

Another experience is that of Australian tourists who spend one night with a host family who has a young person. The younger generation tends to speak English and is more willing to interact with the tourists. This helps the process of interaction.

> Mmm... They seem really nice, I think they were a little bit shy maybe, like yeah I don't think they really try to talk very much, Cause here it's like the mother and father of the house then there would've been their son, my age, maybe older. So, I spoke with him ...yeah, so I spoke with him a bit and I think he sees things like, awkward, but he was a bit more comfortable talking to me. But the family was just like the older, I think they are bit shy. **(AT_Y_04)**

The ability to speak English in the *Desa wisata Nglanggeran* then becomes an asset for host families to create the kind of interactional space that is expected by the tourists. It is also part of the consideration to be chosen as a host by the management team in addition to consideration of house facilities and location. However, this provokes a paradox whereby the purpose of the tourists' visit is to learn about the "ordinary" and "everyday" life of other people in the interactional space, but the complexities of language proficiency disrupt this to some degree. However, it is often the host family that is expected to adjust in terms of language ability to fulfil this demand. English ability then somehow becomes a standard determining the success of the local interactional space in achieving the demand for "insight into the life of other people," in a cultural heritage village prepared for tourists. English ability also becomes an instrument of subordination of "the other" in tourism culture, where those who can speak English have more privilege and opportunity to introduce their voices (Pennycook, 2017). Meanwhile, those who cannot speak English as hosts are more likely to be depicted as "shy" by the tourists, rather than building an understanding of the local struggle to learn the language or an understanding of white privilege and/or English speaking privilege in the politics of language in the global world (Thurlow & Jaworski, 2010).

Finally, when the interactional space is created and the voices of local people are heard through explanation/presentation in English, tour packages, trekking, conversation, and activities, the Australian tourists can sense the pride of the local people.

> Mmmm... it is pretty generic but everyone is incredibly happy you know like everyone is very warming to us. Mmmm. they... the villagers were. yeah, they seem happy to

see us... and they were excited to show us the village on the tour and explain the history of the area. **(AT_Y_02)**

Overall, I think it was very positive experience and I think that the villagers were, you know, happy to see us there and interested to share their culture with us because we wanted to know as well. Mmm... Yeah so far as I was there as the consumer everything was good. **(AT_Y_05)**

Absolutely! They... All villagers I spoke to are very proud of like staying in Jogja, like Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta. And mm... and proud of where they were and what they did as petani (farmers)... yeah, they were very good. **(AT_Y_06)**

The statements above demonstrate the relationships between space, interactions, and identity. The connection between the Australian tourists and local people is established when the interactional space is created. The Australians also reconstruct the place and produce further narratives by gazing and consuming the place as part of its status as a potential commodity. The interactional space of *Nglanggeran*, then, is not only processed into being a constructed *desa wisata*, but also becomes a future constructed village as the product and outcome of everyday interactions with tourists.

8. 3. 1. 2. The perceptions of natural landscape

In the discourse between nature and space, I argue that the consumption of the village image fulfils the pre-departure narrative and an escape from city imaginings. Both Australian tourists and local people connect not only through people to people interaction, but also through the natural landscape, which works to forge tourist, local and national identities. In this sense, the natural landscape of the village of *Nglanggeran* produces accumulations of imaginings produced and reproduced by both Australians and local people. The examples of interview below present perceptions from the tourists about the village before they arrive. The village is described as "very small," "not many people," "rural," "wetlands or sawah," "relax," "slow", and "plants:"

I think... I supposed that it often brings up the stereotype of image of village may be geographically, very small, perhaps not many people there. Under… hundred family… geographically quite a small area perhaps. (**AT_Y_05**)

When you think village, you will associate it with more like a rural setting, with the sawah, as opposed to in the city somewhere, when you say village…it brings to certain images in your mind that have already been placed there. (**AT_Y_02**)

For me, it's because I've seen it first-hand. Even before that, the idea that it was a verysort of…a less frantic life… you know… things that are quieter…emmm… relaxed…hehehe… you know… things go slow…. but things still get done. (**AT_Y_07**)

The statements from the participants describe the preconceptions of the village and their expectations for the space. From here, the natural space and preservation are related to "the association of 'sense of place' with memory, stasis, and nostalgia" (Massey, 1994, p.119). The current understanding of the village in pre-departure cultural narratives highlights the power relations in the space. As Lekan and Lekan (2009) argues, those who can define space have the power to construct it as a commodity. To read the imaginings of the natural landscape in the constructive village such as *Nglanggeran*, it is important to see how this village functions for the tourists, local people, and the nation. What kind of memory and nostalgia is this village constructed through? Three examples below show such constructions. Here are three photographs taken by the Australian tourists when they visited the village, which they considered "their favourites", and posted on online media.[1]

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[1] They gave permission for these photographs to be published and analyzed in the research project.

Figure 8. 4. Tourist's photo of herself at the mountainside
(Source: Photograph by AT_Y_08)

Figure 8. 5. One Australian tourist took a photograph of the Yogyakarta landscape in *Nglanggeran*
(Source: Photograph by **AT_Y_05**)

Figure 8. 6. Photograph of the top of the trekking area
(Source: Photograph by **AT_Y_06**)

The photographs demonstrate the production of images of "being elsewhere" such as the tropical mountain (Figure 8.4), Yogyakarta landscape from above (Figure 8.5), and the top of the mountain with flags, signs, and natural landscape (Figure 8.6). These images relate directly to the way in which a tourist site can be a place for nation building. Tourism strengthens the sense of ownership in the representation of 'our,' such as our land or our culture, (Baranowski & Furlough, 2001) and connects it closely to their business, community, and shared identity elsewhere, such as in *Nglanggeran* village, through the design of photographic locations for the production of memories and nostalgia of place for the tourists.

The photography spots, which often include props such as the flags and signs saying "*Puncak Gunung Api Purba 700 mdpl*" or "Top of the Ancient Mountain 700 m.a.s.l," are prepared strategically for the tourists for their creation of photographs and memories. The photographs above demonstrate how the natural landscape in the village of *Nglanggeran* functions for the tourists, local people, and nation. (1) For the tourists, the framing provides pieces of evidence of being elsewhere (Baranowski and Furlough, 2001) by capturing iconic images that are different to home places and

memories. By taking photographs in the designated areas, the natural gazes and landscape are constructed by both the local people who design the spots and the tourists who are willing to document those spots. MacCannell (in Baranowski & Furlough, 2001) argues that this process is an optics tourism, which actively negotiates the dynamic meaning of the authenticity of a place and national identity at a certain site. The imaginings of the natural landscape of *Nglanggeran* space, then, are reproduced through these interactions. (2) For the local people and (3) the nation, the three photographs above demonstrate the complex interplay of politics and ideologies that shaped tourism and vacations (Baranowski & Furlough, 2001).

Using this media production, tourism in *Nglanggeran* creates new forms of knowledge, defining what should be seen and reinventing the place through the tourist gaze and specific tourist spots (Baranowski & Furlough, 2001). Finally, the spots in the photographs above work to strengthen, to confirm, and to fit the Australian tourists' pre-departure cultural narratives of the place, such as "very small," "not many people," "rural," "wetlands or sawah," "relax," "slow", and "plants" from AT_Y_02; AT_Y_05; AT_Y_07 above.

The next point of view is the relationship of the village to the city. The village may be depicted as the opposite of the city. Some Australians contrast their village experience and expectation with the city experience:

> I think just the same... I think it's good to get out of the city and experience the village mmm... once in a while **(AT_Y_07)**

> Probably the same... I like village experience so. It is good to like getting a different perspective. **(AT_Y_08**)

> I think for me it's different to what I've done in Bandung, so I was. like Bandung feels like a nice cafe, maybe like walk, and like shopping and like city stuff... Like I haven't had any like village experience as here... like kind of natural places. **(AT_Y_02)**

> I stay in a metropolitan or industrialized city, Surabaya, mmm… and to experience a sense of community and nature in a village like *Nglanggeran* was, I think, delightful. **(AT_Y_01)**

I want to try to see a much less developed area in terms of infrastructure and housing than Jogja city, farming practices are more rudimentary in the village here, I guess. **(AT_Y_05)**

I think the village can be different from the city in terms of community living with shared farmland. **(AT_Y_06)**

The depictions of the village also show the properties belonging to the village space. For example, when the Australian tourists connect their willingness to go to the village with their desire to see a different point of view of Indonesia or enjoy different features than the city such as 'farmland,' 'community,' and 'less develop.' This is due to the understanding of the authenticity of imaginings, the enlightenment of self to learn new things, amiability, group belonging as relatively young Australian students, and participation in other cultures or with one's own culture.

The natural landscape of the village as a spectacle can forge a consumerist culture of learning, desire to explore, and lifestyle. *Nglanggeran* village functions as the laboratory of interactions between Australian tourists and local people, which negotiate the meaning of nature and modern life in the constructed space of traditions and cultural commodification.

8. 3. 1. 3. The dynamics of locality in activities and struggle

In this section, I argue that the Australian tourists understand the value of locality as an object of consumption. The Australians value local activities as a commodity by participating in package tours of local activities, learning about local struggles, and highlighting the life of the local people through their comparison of Australian experience with the poverty, simple life, and traditionalism of the village (Figure 8.7).

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Finding the right market
positive People live everyday
historical Structured way
money capital Standardize plan
Indonesia Manage expectation
development For the locals
experiences income travelers
Selling a bit of history
Everyone happy Life better
Greater village tourists
grassroots
Benefit for everyone Fake development?
Everyone aware Poverty alleviation

Traditional
big Together House
surprise
Communal area space Interesting
Unique
large
Verandah

Less intensive
Less frequent
Privacy at home
Public but still individual
Free nature park/ walking trails
Communal area

supermarket Locally
Farming system produced
industry
machines Big farm

Traditional
For tourists? cool
Normal day?
Music More explanation
unclear

Nglanggeran

Don't really look at it
Kitchen Cooking stuff
basic stove
Working area

Australia

Not disturbing
Rules and laws
Not so much of working
together privacy
People Private
individual questions
No obligation

Care People
Personal information
Curiosity community
Share responsibility
Work together
different religion
Farming
happy
Community insight Chocolate making
Community development
pioneer example Sustainable tourism
microeconomy Locally produces methodology
market different More bins for garbage

machine
metal Kitchen
Modern
Everywhere Most interesting part
on ads of house
commercial
western

Figure 8.7. Map of discourses of heritage performance and the comparative process
(Source: Figure by Author, 2018)

Several themes that depict the village, for example, refer to a communal area in the village and houses, music and traditional dance performance, kitchen, people, and poverty alleviation using the concept of *desa wisata*. The diagram (Figure 8.7) attempts to map the vocabularies, which can show the narratives through which Australians consume the heritage using things they compare with their homeland. There are at least four topics of comparison: communal areas, farming, people, and kitchens.

Accordingly, the diagram above shows not only the discourses of heritage performances emerging from the Australian tourists' perspectives, but also a range of "gaze" collections in the process of consuming place. The collection of thematic gazes from Australian tourists is a part of the acts of "seeing" and collecting "sights" (Urry, 2002). The diagram shows the distinctive values of the visual activities that give a place a special and unique character (Urry, 2002). Therefore, the comparative topics

appear as the explanation of the distinctive features of *Nglanggeran* compared to the tourists' everyday life in Australia.

The first discussions of the communal areas see them as quite unique and striking for Australians as the village residents hold activities in these places and the local people also receive guests or talk with their neighbours in the communal areas at their homes. The communal space is the area where the local people often hold tourism activities. In the picture taken by *Nglanggeran* local people below, the tourists enjoy eating traditional food without chairs and tables, using their hands, without plates (but with leaves), and with many other people in the *Kalisong* traditional *Joglo* house. This tradition is also common among Javanese people in the village. They share one big plate made of leaves to eat together, taking food with their hands, and eating it in their own leaves (Figure 8.8). The 'eating together' activity is designed to give the tourists a glimpse of this experience of communal life in the village.

Figure 8. 8. Experiencing sharing food and eating together in *Kalisong Joglo* with hands and plates made of banana leaves
(Source: Photo by *Nglanggeran*, 2016)

The differences in terms of culture are related to the intensity of communal gathering and how it works. For example, some research participants describe the activities as a

"very traditional" way of eating, "it's about togetherness" or "unique experiences," to describe their impression of the communal activities that the village organises. This example of communal area is consistent with Urry's argument that: "These experiences are only of importance to the tourist because they are located within a distinctive visual environment" (Urry, 2002, p. 172). The tourists then describe the use of communal space in Australia as "less frequent" and "less intense" in terms of time compared to that in the *Nglanggeran* visual environment. In this context, the Australian tourists look at places in *Nglanggeran* as the centre of their consumption and gaze especially in its points of distinction by comparison with Australian everyday life. The discourses shown in the diagram above are part of the visual activity or collection of sights. The Australians also engage in the process of grouping the discourses into identities, topics, and unique features by experiencing the places and interacting with local people through various activities.

Another example is that some Australians that I interviewed expect the house in the village to be very traditional, "...maybe made of bamboo/wood", and "quite small" before they come to the village. However, when they arrived in the host families, they are surprised to discover that the houses are rather big and "modern" in terms of materials and design.

> I was like see, I think, I was more surprised, like, how big the house was, because it was almost like two separate houses and they join. mmmmm and that was nice passageway and it was cool and interesting, and it was kind of inside and outside. Ummm yeh and their things like the tile and veranda thing because we don't really have that (here), so that's interesting. **(AT_Y_04).**

The picture below is an example of a big house in the village of *Nglanggeran* for hosting tourists (Figure 8.9).

Figure 8. 9. Example of houses for hosting tourists in *Nglanggeran*
(Source: Photograph by Author, 2017)

The media are involved in this dynamic creating an anticipated image or fantasy of consumers; therefore, the interpretation of the object of the gaze is dependent on pre-given experiences (Urry, 2002).

In the discourse of people, Australians also describe the conversations they have with the local people as distinctively different from their experiences in Australia.

> Yeah... Questions like, what is your religion? Are you married? How many kids do you have? Like you know... everyone knows that information and it's not ... it doesn't feel strange, it just what everyone does. And that's cool, that's really cool. So those are the big differences. (**AT_Y_08**)

> There are two questions I would avoid asking strangers in Australia, those are... what is your religion, and do you have a boyfriend or are you married? But, here, those questions are everywhere. For the religion, I actually do not have religion, but it is too complicated to answer like that because people will be confused. So, just to make it easier, I will answer, I am a Christian. (**AT_Y_04**)

Those statements questions about marital status and religion have a significance in Indonesia–to do with social status and conformity to social rules–while Australian

culture, by comparison, has fewer expectations of this type (more social/religious "freedom"). In the statements above, the Australian tourists reflect their identity and connect it with the way they interpret their interactions with the local people.

8. 3. 2. Brand Association: Locating Indonesia through *Nglanggeran*

To explore the discourse of brand association, I used one of the interview tools to understand the perceptual words which connect Australian tourists with places such as Indonesia, Java or Yogyakarta, and *Nglanggeran* village. I asked my research participants to write down or mention words that came to mind when I mentioned each category.

To analyse these associations, I used Davis' model, as illustrated in the circular structure of the diagram below. For the categories in these word associations, I used the concept of place branding, which includes the hexagonal model of nation branding (Anholt, 2006a) and city branding (Anholt, 2006b). I did not use all of the categories in the hexagonal model, such as Pulse, Pre-requisite, or Investment/immigration, because there are no word associations related to those categories. Thus, I only employed categories, which appeared in the word associations.

I argue that the word associations bracket each description of the categories and create a diverse identity. The nation, region, and village connect and disconnect in the minds of Australian tourists, demonstrating both confirmation and contradiction in shaping the complex brand of what it means to imagine Indonesia. As a result, a contested imagining of the nation is produced in the process of interactions between Indonesian local people and Australian tourists (Figure 8.10).

For example, Australian tourists depict Java and Jogja as "traditional" and this is confirmed in the depiction of the *Nglanggeran* village as "traditional." They also associate Indonesia with "mountain", and this is also confirmed in the description of the village. Another example is how Australian tourists see "food" to imagine Indonesia, Java/Jogja, and the village itself. Even though they mention different types of food, it shows how "food" becomes a potential commodity and category, which is consistently reflected in the imaginings of place. Another point is that the diagram

shows that the Australian tourists imagine Indonesia in terms of "diversity," and thus the discourse of specific groups within this "diversity" reflects how diverse the nation is, such as words about "Javanese," "community," "young people," and "students." The example above shows how place brands facilitate the collective characters that describe a particular geographical place through the lens of social, cultural, and political views and also function as a rhetorical vehicle for a targeted audience to memorialized the place through several traits that appear repeatedly or confirm each other (Adams, 2006).
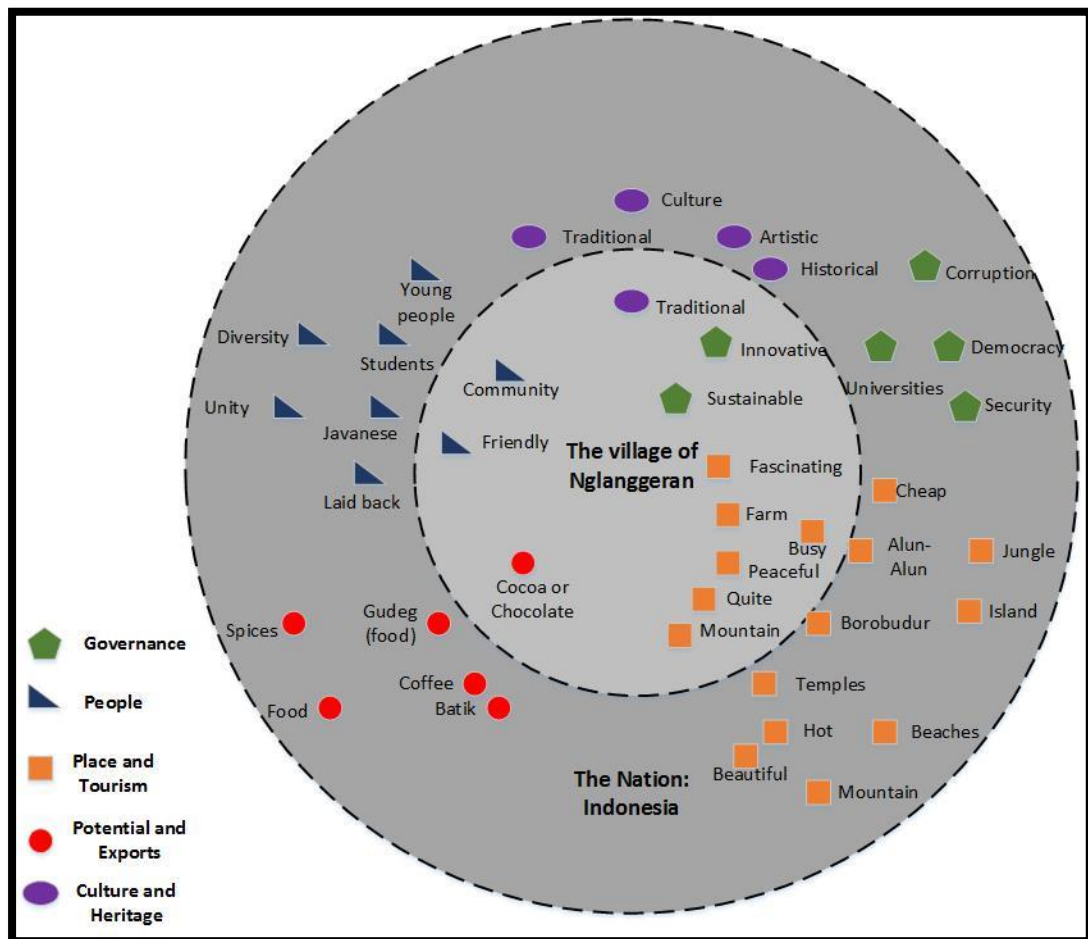
Figure 8.10. Map of brand associations of Indonesia, Java/Yogyakarta, and the village of *Nglanggeran*
(Source: Figure by Author, 2017)

Some contradictions also appear in the imaginings of the nation, region/island, and village. For example, the words "corruption" corrodes the imagining of the Indonesian government, but appreciative words such as "democracy" also appear for the nation, and "sustainable" and "innovative" appear to describe the village of *Nglanggeran*. In this case, the village of *Nglanggeran* functions to lessen or/and provide a different point of view within the imagining of Indonesia in terms of "corruption." In the politics of place branding, brands may function as proxy sites for social deliberation and debates about the social values of a place (Freire, 2005). Although Indonesia is associated with "corruption," in the smaller scale of geographical locations, some positive values can be found as a competing norm to represent the complexity of Indonesia. Place brands, then, mediate the collective traits of cultural, political, and social characteristics that define a geographical place and function as a rhetorical vehicle for targeted audience to memorialized Indonesia (Adams, 2004).

8. 3. 2. 1. The problematic notion of *desa wisata* brand

In this section, I demonstrate how different perception exist in terms of choosing which materials should be represented, and the rationales of local people and Australian tourists regarding the concept of *desa wisata,* of which a direct translation to English is "tourism village." As the market of the young traveller is increasing and becoming the target of the village, the approach of *desa wisata* is contested in terms of its ability to meet future market demands.

In the guidelines of the conceptual framework about *desa wisata*, the program involves a mixed strategy of agrotourism (such as farming experiences, museums, and landscapes), cultural tourism (related to local cultural commodities), and eco-tourism (such as environments or natural landscapes) in a particular location, site, or village. The program of *desa wisata* was introduced in early 1991 in Bali as an answer to calls for sustainable tourism forms in Balinese villages and the preservation of the authentic life of the village. The term *desa wisata* was then applied to any location across Indonesia, which performed as a village constructed for heritage and tourism, such as *desa wisata Nglanggeran, desa wisata Dieng, desa wisata Penglipuran*, etc. *desa wisata* then becomes the name of a specific product and brand of tourism in Indonesia.

However, when interviewed, some Australian tourists were quick to deny the interpretation of *desa wisata* as an ideal space of preservation of an authentic life of agriculture; instead, they regard it more as a prepared location or village for tourists to experience life in the village.

> Well, I think it's like, it should be strange when you are Australian and you hear about "a tourist village" or *desa wisata* because like to us maybe it's not really real… because it's just like they just do that for tourists, so like I feel a bit strange like going to the tourist village and then there was like an event and everything on just like that. Like it was interesting though, it's interesting just going. **(AT_Y_03)**

The understanding of the term *desa wisata* or tourist village, seems problematic due to the emphasis on the construction of the notion of "tourist" prior to arriving at the location or from the brochures read by this tourist. For example, another participant explains their position as an Australian and how Australians would name a location.

> Because what, I think like in Australian culture, like you may have a town which is like a holiday town. So, like Margaret River is like a really popular example, right? So, it is just like "oh yeah, I'm just going to Margaret River for like a holiday." And you kinda know that it is like where everyone goes for a holiday to do the tourist thing, but you don't really call it like a "tourist village" because, like I think to me when you heard about the tourist thing, "oh this is just something I do for the tourist". Like this is not really real, so maybe this is like, just like some pretending things. You know, something like that. **(AT_Y_02)**

The production-consumption of *desa wisata* is important to note here. For those who designed the *desa wisata* as a national strategy to create a brand for tourism purposes, it was perceived more as a diversification and specific branding of the spatial tourist experience. For example, the village of *Nglanggeran* has the name "*desa wisata Nglanggeran*" as a brand of the village, but villages nearby do not embed the term in their names, rather referring to themselves just as "*desa* X, Y, and Z." The gate of *Nglanggeran* was also created in a more attractive way than that of a regular village (Figure 8.11).

Figure 8.11. "Regular" village just beside the *Desa wisata Nglanggeran*
(Translation of text: "Welcome to the village of *Ngoro-oro*")
(Source: Photograph by Author, 2017)

On the other hand, for their consumers, in this case Australians, the name *desa wisata* produces an expectation of a village "prepared for tourists." The quotation above also emphasises the experiential expectations of the *desa wisata* as "something I do for the tourists" or "just like some pretending things."

Crucially, the perceived "brand" of *desa wisata* from the tourists' perspective demonstrates the perceptual distinction between Indonesians and Australians. Whereas Indonesian people would think of something "touristy" with pride and as something they can celebrate, Australians tend to think that emphasising a "touristy" label would reduce the value of a space (Figure 8.12).

Figure 8.12. A giant sign at *Desa Nglanggeran* to welcome tourists
(Translation of text: "Welcome to the area of ecotourism of the ancient mountain
in *Nglanggeran, Patuk, Gunung Kidul*, Yogyakarta")
(Source: Photograph by Author, 2017)

> If I hear like it's you know like a touristy. You know this touristy culture centre, this
> tourist village or something. Sometimes I don't really feel like it's real. Saying the
> real one of maybe farming village, that might more interesting rather than just a model
> or clearly said it is "tourist" or "tourism" place or village or town**. (AT_Y_03)**

At the same time, the local people do not value achievements as much as Australians
when it comes to promoting their local area. After we finished exploring the village,
on the way back home in the car, I told the Australians about the achievements of the
village, and they seem surprised about the awards that the village had received.

> I honestly did not know that this village won an Asian award for community
> development. Why did they not tell us? Or the guide did not even tell us? Or perhaps
> in the brochure, like "an Asian award-winning village," or in a giant outdoors
> advertising along the way, something like that. I would value this village even more
> and know what to expect. **(AT_Y_09)**

If this village was in Australia, you will find easily they promote their achievements everywhere, along the way you may find "award-winning village," something like that. Like "an award-winning winery" will excite you as you go to the village. Especially this is in ASEAN; it's a big thing. It is better so the tourists can appreciate the village even more. **(AT_Y_10)**

Certainly, there differences between local people and Australians in terms of which features should be promoted as commodities in a heritage space. It is here that the tension of demands, representations, and performances of cultural heritage define which create a politic of preservation (Kavoura, 2012). For the designers of *desa wisata Nglanggeran*, their achievements were as much about a shared experience as Indonesians, a pride in representing the nation and the identity of local people who work onsite. The local people see the presentation of achievements as a promise and a burden in terms of their performance of cultural heritage.

I think it's like, for me personally because you can just come to do like mmm countryside, stay in the village, staying in the farming village, and not really a tourist village. So, you can still go around, you can do tourist things, cause I still want there to be tourist things, but it just, yeah won't say tourist. **(AT_Y_05).**

Therefore, in the case of *Nglanggeran* village, which targets the young foreign tourists, the approach of communicating *desa wisata* in this future market is contested. The choices between using terms aimed at the Indonesian market and the foreign market should be understood as challenges not only in terms of language but also in terms of how to interact with these markets and with current trends.

8. 4. Discussion

Capturing the tensions in the interactions between Australian tourists and Indonesian local people in the setting of the cultural heritage village of *Nglanggeran*, Yogyakarta, the findings show theoretical connections through three ways of looking. These are: (1) the connection between nature, people, and identity; (2) the dynamics of social relations in the interactional spaces; and (3) the place branding constructions in the postmodern market.

First, there is always a link between natural landscape, people, and identity. Lekan and Lekan (2009), for example, argues, in relation to a German case study, that the preservation of natural landscape illuminates the relationship between environmental reform, cultural construction of identity, race, and even social class. Preserving landscape in a modern era is a way to promote class-consciousness, mobilisation, and even class identity (Lekan & Lekan, 2009). In this sense, the outcome of the interactional space in *Nglanggeran* becomes the product of the village, which was defined by the tourists and the local people's understanding of their own touristic culture. In the process of becoming the village of Nglanggeran is in a constant process of interactions, gaze, and experiences from both Australian tourists and local people. Massey (1994) argues that when we look at space, we are looking not only at the characteristics of the area itself–such as the potencies of capital accumulation, or a fluctuating market, or external ownership–but also at its identities, such as its social structure, political character, and the 'local culture'–all of which are the products of interactions. In this sense, the space of *Nglanggeran* village is defined by (1) the market of tourists who visit the village, (2) capital processors earning profit (such as from organisations or agencies where the tourists are from and how the local people organise who should be the hosts and the local guides), (3) social structure (that defines the position of tourists and local people), and (4) local culture (which may or may not strengthen the local identity). Hence, as Lekan and Lekan's argument suggests, reading the connections between nature, people and identity in *Nglanggeran* produces an understanding that the cultural heritage village is a product of cultural construction from the nation, local structures, tourist interactions, and class identity associated with the commercialisation and commodification process.

Second, to understand the dynamics of social relations in space and place, especially in the interactional context of *Nglanggeran* village, it is useful to consider Massey's (1994) argument that social relations are constantly crosscutting, intersecting, aligning, and creating paradoxes. The interactional space, which is expected by and prepared for the tourists, becomes, paradoxically, not only a space for the tourists to learn about the authentic life of others, but also the location of the geopolitical structure of white, tourist, and English speaking privilege. Those dynamics indicate the complexity, simultaneity, and relativity of social relations throughout the landscape of place and space (Massey, 1994). This process is closely related to the

tenuous journey of experience and pleasure for the self: "Going on vacation and engaging in tourism have historically been perceived as an expression of collective and individual identities and values, and as a time of relief from the exigencies and alienations of everyday life" (Baranowski and Furlough, 2001, p. 11). For example, in interviews after experiencing the place, the Australian tourists expressed their self-identity by comparing some of their experiences during the trip. The processes of expression and relief are integrated with the understanding of authenticity, the enlightenment of self, amiability, and group belonging, nationalism, and participation in other cultures or in one's "own" culture as Australians (Baranowski & Furlough, 2001).

Third, there is a mismatch between the of *desa wisata* program and the specific market targeted by the program. It is easy to be critical of the program of *desa wisata* in the context of the English translation of the concept and use of the combined words "*desa*" and "*wisata.*" This is similar to the argument of Mowforth and Munt (1998), who discuss the concept of the evolution of the tourism market in search of authenticity. They use the example of the success of Lonely Planet, which provides 'food' for the appetite of young people for a deep exploration of the countries they visit and embraces an emergent curiosity about social and living settings. This argument illustrates the growing size of a new middle class who seek authenticity, honesty, and reality, instead of the tinsel and staged constructions of tourism. The findings indicate that Australian tourists would rather go to a place which has a brand "farming village" rather than one branded as a "tourist village." In relation to that, Mowforth and Munt (1998), when discussing the postmodern market, explain the notion that 'tourists hate tourists' (p. 87). They give the example of how Lonely Planet and the growth of the future market similarly use the approach of hiding the direct "tourist or tourism" message. Future market combines vacation with business or learning and sees the vacation as the right of individuals, no longer as a luxury/. The targeted market is looking for alternative destinations, package deals, and independence in public transportation, and preferably travels in a group (Murphy, 1985, in Mowforth and Munt, 1998, p. 87).

Finally, both confirmation and contradiction in the place branding of a nation, region, or village reaffirm the sense that the place brand is in a complex communication

process. The word associations of place brands may demonstrate an awareness of pre-existing representations, increase proof of assumed perception, and demonstrate the ways in which a national image is contested.

8. 5. Conclusion

In relation to the question of the expectations and imaginings the Australian tourists in the cultural heritage tourist village of *Nglanggeran* have of Indonesia, it is impossible to escape the process of a comparative journey. I argue that the Australian tourists keep looking for diversity but expect similarity in some aspects of life, and this is related to the modes of experiences and consumer consumption which apply to the specific market of Australian tourists in the *Nglanggeran* village. These tourists also recognise the cultural disparity in their trip to the village, in addition to learning about language and culture. In this comparative mode of sojourn, the Australian tourists consume the nation, understand others, and find their own self-reflection as Australians.

Finally, the case of *Penglipuran* and *Nglanggeran*, with all its intersections between discourses, gazes, consumption, and identity, demonstrates that cultural heritage villages can be the laboratories on how interactions between Australian and local people is meaningful and complex. These cultural heritage villages also demonstrate the narratives of consumer identity, the emergence of consumer culture, and the meaning of experience, space, place, performance, gaze, mobility, and the political relations of Indonesia and Australia's citizen-consumers. Further, a side-by-side comparison is discussed in the next chapter to understand how both villages affect the imagining of Indonesia.

PART THREE: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The aim of part three is to draw the findings and the theory together into a critical discussion using a comparative approach. Part three is structured as follows. Chapter Nine demonstrates how the two cultural heritage villages are similar, different, and interconnected. Chapter Ten concluded the dissertation project by outlining the answers to the research questions, identifying challenges and presenting recommendations for future research.

Chapter 9. The Comparative Findings between Two Cultural Heritage Villages in Indonesia

9. 1. Introduction

In the Indonesian context, one of the most powerful texts and discourses for shaping the 'Indonesianess' of diverse ethnic groups is the performance of cultural heritage villages or *desa wisata (*Dahles, 2002; Khamdevi & Bott, 2017; Manaf, Purbasari, Damayanti, Aprilia, & Astuti, 2018). The *desa wisata* is a representation of local involvement in the construction of the idyllic village and nation. The cultural heritage villages are examples of communities experiencing constant changes as a result of both external and internal local influences (Whelan, 2016). Research on cultural heritage villages in the Indonesian context has discussed the complexity of social, political, cultural, and economic conditions (Khamdevi & Bott, 2017; Manaf, Purbasari, Damayanti, Aprilia, & Astuti, 2018). Many other studies have also discussed the long-standing tensions in the relationship between nation and village (Antlöv, Wetterberg, & Dharmawan, 2016). However, those studies include only limited discussion of the locals' sense of space as a means of interpreting the presence of national authority in the realm of the cultural heritage village and the tourists' experiences of imagining a nation from the outside (Rusyiana & Sujarwoto, 2017; Tolkach & King, 2015). Therefore, the current study answers the limited research inquiry into the interconnections of imagined community, nation branding, and tourism consumption practices because of local interactions with Australian tourists in the contested space of *desa wisata*.

To understand the complexity of cultural heritage villages, there are variables to consider such as the interpretations of how local people sense their place and cultural identities, locals' negotiation of the idyllic standard of the nation, and an understanding of tourism demands through tourists' experiences and media representations (Ashworth, 2017). Such issues determine the ways in which local communities understand landscape, their civic roles, and their interpretations of the nation's imaginings without losing their own local identities and voices (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2016). They also influence the ways in which tourists

experience the spaces (Sumaco & Richardson, 2011) and media representations of the cultural heritage spaces (Perera, 2009; Urry & Crawshaw, 2002).

Specifically, this chapter aims to demonstrate: (1) how the media that represent the cultural heritage villages show the imagining of the nation; (2) how the heritage village community preserves cultural identity and performs the idyllic concept of the village for the nation; and (3) how tourists experience the nation through interactions with local spaces and people. These objectives are addressed using concepts of the interconnections of space (Massey, 2005), imagined communities (Anderson, 1991), nation branding (Anholt, 2011), and tourists' consumption (Urry & Crawshaw, 2002). These theories and concepts were chosen as a framework to understand how to locate a nation in the cultural heritage spaces (see Chapter One).

9. 2. Objective of the chapter

By exploring two cases of Indonesian cultural heritage villages, the current study contributes from three different perspectives. Firstly, both places provide a diverse background against which to understand the long-standing tensions in the relationship between nation and village in the realm of the social, political, cultural, and economic conditions of Indonesia (Antlöv, Wetterberg, & Dharmawan, 2016). Second, under the *desa wisata* concept, the study explores how local community artefacts are collected, displayed, and constructed in an effort to preserve the imaginings of the agricultural and cultural diversity of the nation (Pickel-Chevalier & Ketut, 2016; Mitchell, 1994). Using self-sufficient village grants, government incentives, competitions, training, national standard ratings, and the establishment of village agents, the villages not only serve for tourism and local economies, but also reflect nation power in some ways (Ernawati, Dowling, & Sanders, 2015). Third, not only does the current study address the fact that that Indonesia is a part of the world that is underrepresented in the cultural heritage literature despite its richness of culture and ethnic community, it also answers the limited discussions of the interactions between locals and Australian tourists in the space of cultural heritage villages (Payne, 2012; Perera, 2009). Using these two cases and these three perspectives, the current study contributes to an understanding of the complexities of the theories surrounding the constructions of the cultural heritage village.

9. 3. Comparative Findings

Exercising a comparative approach, this chapter will answer the following questions: (1) which kinds of discourses of both villages are similar and which differ significantly? (2) what are their interconnections; and (3) how are the findings regarding media, local people, and Australian tourists articulated with each other to facilitate the imagining of the nation? Three theoretical approaches (see Chapter 1) are used as a framework within which to compare the findings: (1) imagined community for locals, especially in terms of space, civic practice, and colonial stories; (2) nation branding, especially in terms of the understanding of local tourism agents and identity; and (3) tourist consumption, especially through the perspective of market, selectivity, and demand.

9. 3. 1. Insiders: Imagined Community from Local Voices

This section comprehends the concept of imagined communities through the lens of cultural heritage villages, as a means of demonstrating the relations and tensions between nation and village communities in the construction of a heritage space. Although these two villages differ widely in almost every aspect of their tourism settings and performances, they share many similarities in developing their villages and following the national idyllic, which defines the typical patterns for cultural heritage village tourism in rural Indonesia. Therefore, through the lens of cultural heritage villages, the imagined community is seen as a dynamic process, not a stagnant concept. Imagined community in the cultural heritage village is open, unfinished, and always becoming (Massey, 2005; Harvey, 2015), and depends on the socio-cultural, economic, and even political, circumstances of the nation. The dynamic process of the nation influences the way locals perform in the heritage space to imagine their identity and their nation (Harvey, 2015).

The study of two cultural heritage villages in Indonesia has indicated that the concept of imagined community is contested in the realm of heritage space, civic community, and local story, which intersect in the complex relations of the nation and the village community in Indonesia (Dahles, 2013). This section displays the concept of imagined community by comparing two cultural heritage spaces in the tensions of space and civic practices.

9. 3. 1. 1. Making Sense of Local Space

The imagined communities in the cultural heritage villages relate to the process of making sense of local spaces. The local people are central to an understanding of the symbols, icons, designs, and narratives of space within the realm of imagined communities (Kusno, 2014). The space becomes an open text within which to comprehend the complexity of social relations between the locals, the nation, and the tourists (Salazar, 2007). Data collected from interviews and participant observation shows that both places, indeed, possess different materials (D) to be utilised as their heritage performances, as shown in Table 9.1 below, but they also have similarities (S) that construct patterns of developing cultural heritage villages for the purposes of the nation.

Table 9. 1. Similarities and Differences in the Discourses of Spaces

Discourses of space	Penglipuran	Nglanggeran
Construction of Landscape	D: The houses are the centre of heritage performances and nature becomes the supplementary setting.	D: Nature (the ancient mountain) is the centre of the heritage performances and the houses become the supporting settings.
	S: Both places use the materials that have been acknowledged by outsiders in the initial process of preservation: the traditional houses (Penglipuran) and the environment around the mountain (Nglanggeran).	
History	D: Became the earliest initiator and model of cultural heritage tourism in Indonesia starting in 1991.	D: Developed only after the earthquake in 2007, when the locals wanted to create more

		opportunity in their lives.
	S: An event was a landmark for starting their initial movement. Penglipuran's event was planning for Soeharto's visit and Nglanggeran's event was the earthquake. Both places have become models of cultural heritage tourism in Indonesia since 2012.	
Population and religion	D: 972 people (2015) with a majority of Hindu believers.	D: 2583 people (2017) with a predominantly Muslim community and a small percentage of Catholics.
	S: Religion helps to construct the local structures, beliefs, and values. The landscape, everyday activities, and decisions are inspired by religious values.	
Administration of village	D: Formal administration and customary administration.	D: Formal administration.
	S: The administration is recognised as the local rules and consensus from the processes occurring in the administration is the foundation of decisions and operations.	
Materials to exhibit	D: Traditional houses, traditional buildings, bamboo forest, temples, shops, cafes.	D: Ancient mountain, Javanese traditional meeting houses, waterfall, artificial lake, chocolate shop, shops, parks, cocoa plantation and goat milk producer.
	S: The choice of which materials should be exhibited comes from the information from tourists and outsiders.	
Activities for tourists	D: Without package tour: walking around the village, shopping, visiting the houses, observing temples, eating.	D: Without package tour: trekking the mountain, visiting the chocolate shop,

	With package tour: learning to make traditional food, drink, or merchandise, staying with locals at homestay, listening to presentations, watching traditional performances.	visiting the artificial lakes and parks. With package tour: outbound, camping, visiting water fountain, learning to make and cook traditional food or chocolate, milking goats, listening to presentations, staying at homestays, watching traditional performances.
	S: Both destinations are prepared to have performances of heritage with or without prepared tours and visits. Therefore, a tourist or a group of tourists can consume the place even without the locals having to prepare for specific performances.	
Connection to colonialisation	D: Connection as the fighter to NICA and servants to the Kingdom. The land was granted from the kingdom of *Bangli.*	D: A place to escape from Japanese occupation and then the ancestors built the settlement.
	S: Both heritages still use the story of colonialism as their local history and as a connection to the early establishment of the villages.	

(Source: Table by author, 2019)

The findings of the study show that local people perceive the space of heritage as a dynamic and contested place of their identity as an imagined community. Through discourses of space, the local interpretations around spaces produce the dynamic construction of the imagined community. The differences referred to above, such as Penglipuran preferring houses as their main identity marker and *Nglanggeran* preferring their natural surroundings, also construct heritage spaces differently and create unique features in their performances, such as through the activities for tourists which are predominantly shaped by the materials they exhibit. The ways in which local people make sense of space relates to their effort to legitimate their territorial

ownership, for example through their claim of local history and the connection to the colonial story. In other words, this is a process of marking places as products of emotional and physical connection through construction of landscape, a sense of belonging through the administrative membership, otherness such as religion, and identity such as connection to colonial narratives (McDowell, 2016). The construction of 'our' or 'us' is associated with emotional boundaries, belonging, and the symbolic qualities that can represent the locals' 'self.'

The locals' sense of space is also closely related to the perceptions and beliefs about the place, which then shape the collections of symbols and signs differently (McDowell, 2016). This heritage process connects with current needs, the struggle between locals and nation, and the diverse history in heritage (McDowell, 2016). Therefore, local interpretations of their spaces can shape the diversity of heritage, which translates into the cultural assets that set up a strong local identity.

Additionally, discussing the imagined community in cultural heritage villages cannot escape from the narratives of the colonial and the postcolonial in the nation. Kusno (2014) argues that the representations of Indonesian current spaces have been revived and rearticulated in the colonial and postcolonial history of the nation, for example by using the colonial story as the foundation of local historical values (Bloembergen & Eickhoff, 2011). The research findings indicate that cultural heritage village spaces historically and symbolically represent the complex interactions between the local memories of the present and the past by interpreting the meaning of the postcolonial spaces, narratives, and identities, without forgetting the colonial memory (Kusno, 2014).

The findings suggest that the cultural heritage villages are similar in that both places involve the colonial stories and postcolonial struggles of their ancestors. *Penglipuran* narrates the story of colonialism during the NICA or the Dutch period (Vickers, 2013), while *Nglanggeran* tells the story of colonialism during Japanese colonialism. Local people in both places narrate the story of their ancestors as fighters against colonialism, which reproduces the spirit of nationalism as an imagined community. In their postcolonial stories, both places produce a story of ancestors' achievements and struggles to own the land in which they are living now. They inherit this story from earlier generations, although both places may not have historical documents to validate

and archive their stories. Both places, however, possess and utilise symbolic and iconic cultural material as a public memory to validate their heritage identities and local inherited stories. Through the process of interviews, it is evident that there is a strong connection between their ancestors and the colonial and postcolonial times through their contributions, struggles, and land ownership. This finding is similar to previous research, which argues that land ownership in many ethnic communities derives from vernacular stories and inherited, though undocumented, narratives (Lund, 2016). Problems related to land acquisition appear when outsiders with documents and legal certificates claim their spaces (von Benda-Beckmann & von Benda-Beckmann, 2011). Local struggles around the ownership of the land from the *Sultan* or customary land are mitigated through law enforcement (von Benda-Beckmann & von Benda-Beckmann, 2011). However, in the case of cultural heritage villages, the inherited stories about the land of the ancestors in colonial/postcolonial times are also accumulated for the contemporary purpose of heritage identity.

As a similarity, the research findings in both cultural heritage villages indicate that the local principles and commitments to preserve the heritage space have been the strongest anchor in the negotiation between tourism demand and/or the idyllic imaginings of the village for the nation.

> In accordance with the initial concept, we have a unique, village that is like this, rarely, or can be found now. **(LP_B_03)**

> We first manage the potential of this village starting from the biggest magnet, which is the ancient mountain. We choose to form tourism village concept because we have the magnet already, we just need to manage the human resources and natural surroundings. Previously, we have nothing. People went up to the mountain and then went home. Now, people spend more time such as staying at the homestay, buy chocolate, visit the goat milking activities, and many more. **(LP_Y_04)**

Similar to previous research, despite some changes in the local interpretations of imagined community and space representation, some strategies and negotiations have been adopted to maintain local principles and values (Ernawati, Murna, Jendra, 2017; Yudantini & Jones, 2015; Di Domenico & Lynch, 2007). These research findings, as has been discussed in previous chapters, support the argument that local interpretations

of spaces based on the socio-economic and political dynamics that a nation faces over time, and the complexity of local everyday struggles (Rubinstein & Connor, 1999; Throsby, 2016), contribute to the construction of space in cultural heritage villages.

The inner connections between space, civic practices, and colonial stories rely on the construction of the concept of tranquil landscape in the media. In this construction, the village is expected to sustain its 'pure' space away from commercial development and to maintain its cultural and historical values (see Chapter 3). The landscape of the village is consumed through media using cognitive and emotional. In these two approaches, the historical and cultural story enriches the cognitive values of the tranquil landscape, and the design and preservation of spaces fulfil the emotional demand of tranquility (Figure 9.1). To enrich the cognitive values of a space, the locals maintain their customs, inherited stories, and cultural design under their interpretation of imagined community. To sustain the idyllic landscape represented by the media, the locals utilise their sense of place to preserve nature, design landscape, and construct tourists' experiences based on locals' movements in civic practice and on tourist expectations of tranquil nature and tranquil residential streets, as Figure 9.1 shows. Although local struggle in the socio-cultural, economic, and political spheres persists, the locals hide this situation, using the temporary setting of tourists' experiences, private and commercial spaces, and limited interactions in the space to maintain their staging of authenticity and construct the perception of 'how they see us' (Chabbra, 2009). Concequently, the tranquil space of the cultural heritage village is a result of an inextricable connection of the local sense of space, the local struggle to move their civic practices, and inherited materials, with the national standard of the idyllic and media representation.

Figure 9. 1. (Left) Brochure of *Nglanggeran* and (Right) brochure of *Penglipuran*
(Source: Photograph by author, 2017, permission granted by both villages)

An imagined community, as demonstrated in this section, is an infinite and open process negotiated between local people and the nation. Many studies have contributed to the development of the concept of an imagined community in the Indonesian context, although with different settings, including transnational mobility (Salazar, 2007), shared cultural heritage, and the dilemma of the local community (Dahles, 2013). The current research contributes to answering the question of how local people, as an imagined community, represent their nation in their interactions with foreign tourists in cultural heritage village settings. Finally, as unfinished and always becoming, an imagined community in the cultural heritage space will inevitably produce tensions.

9. 3. 1. 2.   Loyalty of Locals through Civic Practices

A cultural heritage village becomes a place for a resemblance between national power, local consciousness, and the loyalty of community. This consciousness develops through civic practice (Little & Shackel, 2016) as an institutionalised relationship between nation and people. The findings of this study show that people's mobility, local communication, and village settings become an important part of the construction of the spectacles of commodities (Staiff, 2016; Younan & Treadaway, 2015). Using institutional bodies, authoritative procedures, policies, and national standards in the cultural heritage villages, the repertoires of national power and civic loyalties come into being. This can be shown through the ways in which both places construct the mobility of people and village settings (Table 9.2). It is evident in this study that, to achieve the status of an idyllic community, the cultural heritage community must perform loyalty to the nation (Vickers, 2013; Picard, 1990; Wiener, 1999), and thus recognition and acknowledgement from the nation of the diversity of local interpretations of loyalty to authority are also important.

Table 9. 2: Similarities and differences in the discourses related to local people

Discourses related to local people	Penglipuran	Nglanggeran
People mobility	D: Initiated from the head of the customary villages and some other active committees.	D: Initiated from some young people in the youth organisation.
	S: Both places use existing structures and village organisations. They started to form similar organisations focusing on tourism when the central government began to ask villages to form Tourism Awareness Groups, *or Pokdarwis*, and institutionalised the membership through formal letters.	
	D: Village meetings in *Balai Banjar,* family and Balinese	D: Following Javanese custom in community

Place and time for communication	social membership, and following the rules based on customary local agreement.	meetings and youth meetings based on agreement. The meeting place is not in the Balai *Desa* but in a Javanese traditional building called the *Joglo Kalisong*.
	S: Both places utilise buildings that have become one of the attractions for both tourists and locals. The locations of the buildings are not hidden because they are parts of the heritage exhibition.	
Village setting	D: Balinese customary village in combination with regular and formal form of Indonesian villages.	D: Formal form of regular Indonesian villages.
	S: Balinese and Javanese villages follow the order and authority of the village setting by negotiating their understanding of and relationship to the nation. Although they are different, the settings are recognised and acknowledged by the nation.	

(Source: Table by Author, 2019)

As indicated in Table 2, the two cultural heritage villages approach civic practices with the different human resources available in their communities. *Penglipuran* has strong social cohesion in its traditional customs and village structures (Wulandari, 2010). Therefore, the construction of the cultural heritage village follows the nuances of the customary rules and leadership distributions in Balinese custom and negotiates national demand in the realm and dynamics of customary rules or meetings. Meanwhile, *Nglanggeran* derives a strong energy from its youth organisations (Ayu, 2010). Hence, the development of the cultural heritage village follows the directions set by the young people, including the leadership of the local organisations, the operational resources, the distribution of profit sharing to the nation and locals, and the dissemination of information in digital media, local icons, and tour packages. Therefore, even though both villages follow similar idyllic constructions from the nation, each village develops and moves its available human resources differently to achieve them.

Similarly, the research findings in both cultural heritage villages indicate that civic practices are generated according to the constructions of the idyllic. It is evident, from the findings in *Penglipuran* and *Nglangeran* villages, that locals acquire their idea of the idyllic from broader national standards. Their constructions of their identities (or of cultural heritage) follow the standards set out by the administration work, share profit with the regional government (Duncan, 2007; Antlov, 2003), actively participate in the constructed village organisations (Yuliastuti et. Al., 2017), participate in national standards through competitions or training programs, and show loyalty by exhibiting the symbols, icons, and principles of the national construction of the idyllic village.

The broad similarities in the loyalty of the village communities, demonstrated in their civic practices, has resulted from a long-standing history of spreading the national vision of the idyllic village community. This vision is not only about the performances of heritage community, but also about the everyday life of the village in relation to economic struggle, health, youth, and women's empowerment, and many more areas.

This finding is similar to previous research in other parts of Indonesia on the implementation (or imposition) of national imaginings in the village (Dahles, 2013). In the context of cultural heritage villages, similar approaches can be applied to these villages. For example, fin the practices of village organisations or bodies, the nation disseminates its idyllic visions, pushes the village to fulfil the set-up requirements for national recognition, delegates the distribution of power to authorise decisions, and expects the national spirit to be demonstrated in local immaterial assets such as *gotong royong* (voluntary or free labor) and *musyawarah* (local meetings and discussions to negotiate interests and tensions), and in profit sharing as material assets by claiming a contribution of regional income (Dahles, 2013). Therefore, the findings support the argument that civic practices are political processes of showing loyalty to national imaginings of idyllic villages.

Historically, national imaginings were once imposed by the central government and were essentially non-negotiable. However, more recent developments have provided more opportunities for cultural heritage communities to negotiate theirs and the nation's identities through various opportunities and bodies, for example through *Pokdarwis,* training, and competitions (Zhu, 2015).

We also join training and competition, but especially, through *pokdarwis,* we can discuss our ideas and implement that in our village. In fact, there were members of our group working in the government office. The head of the service came along to listen too. So, the members are competent enough, we also have scholars in there. **(LP_B_01)**

So, to formulate, deliberate, join in the *Pokdawis* here. When there is an agreement and the policy, it is in the forum of *Pokdarwis*. The *pokdarwis* position was not a policy maker, but only to inaugurate, then formulate, when the forum in *Pokdarwis* did not agree, we would not dare to execute. **(LP_Y_03)**

Similar to Salazar's (2007) arguments, the nexus of local voices with the nation and the global world is inextricable from the existences of many mediators, which require the strong identity of traditional and local performances. Accordingly, national imaginings have been adjusted based on community interpretive power, initiative, and efforts to achieve the 'idyllic' standard. At the same time, the locals have also negotiated and contested their local performances (Zhu, 2015).

This is quite difficult for us to make people aware. Why is this awareness very difficult? As an illustration, when daily activities, for example, every day the lady is only planting the paddy, cultivating land with cow, those are her daily activities. When it is given to tourists, they (the local people) are not confident that it is an education. That it is a tourist attraction, there is a market that wants to see it. **(LP_Y_01)**

Oh, it is our sharing, so like this, we share it first, then the travel agent or company will be interested, "Please, please make the program like this, this is it." We give a kind of offer, this is how it is, sometimes we meet up to 3 times. We have meetings and revisions, like that. Whether from his own travel agent, company, government visit, or school, like what we want and do. But if we offer the right one, then it is finished, there are no more revisions. **(LP_B_05)**

Many scholars argue that the tensions between Indonesia as a nation and local people in cultural heritage village communities exist in the context of a long history of exploitations of free labour (Bowen, 1986), imposition of policy (Salazar, 2007), local inequalities (Dahles, 2013), homogenisation of tourism quality (Jones, 2013), and controlled tourist experiences (Dahles, 2013). However, the findings of this study also

indicate that, because of social, cultural, and political changes in Indonesia, the 'power' to negotiate the village local system and national imaginings has shifted and opened.

9. 3. 2. Nation Branding

This section considers the concept of nation branding through the study of cultural heritage villages in Indonesia. Two patterns appear in the two villages to form similarities and differences (Figure 9.3). Those are related to the presence of the local tourism agent and the identity of places in the complex representation of the nation. Many studies discuss the nation branding of Indonesia through the lens of tourists' perceptions of the Indonesian brand (Sumaco & Richardson, 2011) and city branding of the nation (Risanto & Yulianti, 2016). They contribute to the development of the theoretical concept of nation branding by understanding the complexity of the nation through various settings. The current research contributes to the limited discussions of how nation branding in such a complex nation disseminates the understanding of its values to the rural area of cultural heritage villages, which have been established across Indonesia.

Table 9. 3. Similarities and Differences in the discourses of nation branding

Discourse of nation branding	Penglipuran	Nglanggeran
Local Tourism Agent	*D: Pokdarwis* exists to support the local tourism agency but still under the coordination of customary leaders.	*D: Pokdarwis* exists to support BUMDes or Villages-Owned Corporation Body.
	S: The existence of similar organization is a part of homogeny standard from the nation to organize cultural heritage villages.	

Understanding on nation values	D: There are many interpretations on relations to nation as Balinese or as a minority group of tribe and religion. There are many personalization and fusion of nation symbols to Balinese identities, icons, and symbols.	D: Understanding nation values as it is or less reluctant and less reinterpretation using local identities.
	S: Both places understand the nation philosophy, authority, and contribute to the nation through representation, profit sharing, and achieve standard.	
Renown and honor	D: Mostly achieve winning in cleanliness, customary, and traditional houses criteria.	D: Mostly achieve winning in community participation and creativity criteria.
	S: Both places become the top or best example of cultural heritage village practices in Indonesia even though with different materials to exhibit.	

(Source: Table by Author, 2019)

9. 3. 2. 1.   The Local Tourism Agent

The existence of local tourism agents in the Indonesian cultural heritage village is not surprising. This approach has been taken by the government of Indonesia to mitigate tensions at the local level and to disseminate the national vision for specific purposes, such as a rural agent of civil society in the decentralisation process (Ito, 2011). *Pokdarwis* as local tourism agents serve nation imaginings in the tourism sectors. Specifically, it serves to mitigate local tensions (Wibawa, Sujarwo, & Hiryanto, 2016) and open opportunities for negotiation within the village (Manaf et. Al, 2018), and has become the requirement for national recognition (Endhartiko, 2016). *Pokdarwis* also

ensures the dissemination of national standards through the brand values of *sapta pesona* or seven wonders. Due to the diversity of Indonesian ethnic communities, with collectives and high context culture, the existence of local tourism opens the 'power' to negotiate nation imaginings through the village local system and interpretation. The nation imaginings are not imposed in a hostile experience; rather, the space of negotiation is available to the local heritage community through various opportunities and bodies (Zhu, 2015).

However, the existence of the local agent also indicates certain fragility. The interviews in *Nglanggeran* in particular, show how the local agent may face local conflicts as internal challenges. Those conflicts include the issues of convincing the locals to see the potential of tourism, profit sharing, and inter-generational interactions.

> In 2014, we have to pay retribution 2000 rupiah per visitor to the regional government. With that, we also have to explain to our friends and the people. They argue, 'why should we give to the office?' So we need to explain that this is the rule, it is not that they have taken from us, but that we have to contribute to the regional government on public property that we use as tourism areas and the visitors get the ticket. **(LP_Y_01)**

Previous studies indicate similar findings that *Pokdarwis,* as a local agent, is vulnerable to local conflicts in many different locations (Wibawa, Sujarwo, Hiryanto, 2017; Pantiyasa & Supartini, 2015). The *Pokdarwis* also relies heavily on human resources and the spirit of volunteerism (Wibawa, Sujarwi, Hiryanto, 2017). The interview findings from *Nglanggeran* and *Penglipuran* indicate that the tourism agent can only work when people are willing to volunteer, provide free labour, and contribute to their village in ways that may put their time, energy, money, and even career as the cost. Although the local agent is essential for the nation imaginings and establishment of tourism development, the position of the local agent may also put the social harmony of the community at stake.

> To unite one team is very hard. Our youth organization were 80 people, but then become less to 60, 50, to 40, to 30, and then ended up with 10 people who still try very hard to develop tourism. We understand, young people are vulnerable in

terms of commitment. But when the tourism started to run, we got more people involved. **(LP_Y_03)**

When we conduct meetings, we have many debates and arguments. We have people who want to the street to get asphalt. Meanwhile, our group do not want because we want to preserve the gate or *angkul-angkul*. We can make the asphalt street behind the house. Of course, many disagreements, but as the time goes by and we can explain that the asphalt street behind the house is not so bad at all, then they started to accept. Now we have asphalt street surrounding the village. **(LP_B_07)**

From the findings of this study, the tourism agents in the cultural heritage villages influence the controlled tourist experiences and the local understanding of nation imaginings. The local tourist agent, practically, are an essential part of nation branding in Indonesia as they mitigate local conflicts, and negotiate local interpretations of nation imaginings, standards, and/or requirements of competitions, training and incentives. The agent bodies' role also shapes the experiences of tourists through providing the design of the landscape, activities, information, welcoming, presenting, and even guiding.

We joined competition and spread information about the standard in the competition to the people here. We also present our villages to the ministers or officials who come to our village. **(LP_B_05)**

As you can see, we have many visitors including many other villages. They learned from us. The minister of tourism also sends me, and representative from Penglipuran, to be the judge and trainers of the competitions; we visited perhaps 5-10 villages across Indonesia**. (LP_B_08)**

Now, sometimes people do not know *Gunung Kidul,* but they know or heard ancient volcano in Nglanggeran. After that they get to know further the potential of *Gunung Kidul* region like beaches and caves around here. **(LP_Y_04)**

The tourism activities in both cultural heritage villages are constructed, directed, and agreed by the members of *Pokdarwis* through meetings. Additionally, beyond those roles, the local agent is also entrusted with the image making of the nation and with condensing the substance of a place and providing a doorway into a site, a region, and/or a country. Hence, a similar agent constructs tourist 'experiences are, for the most part, shaped by the local agent and locals' understandings of nation branding.

9. 3. 2. 2. The Contribution of Two Cultural Heritage Villages to the Nation's Identity

The concept of identity is essential to an understanding of nation branding and place branding. In this section, the comparative study to two cultural heritage villages will demonstrate the contribution of such places to the nation. Identity is a synthesis model of nation competitiveness in the global world, which includes culture, tourism, investment, trade, export, and many other factors (Anholt, 2007). However, critics argue that identity merely strengthens the concept of 'branding', which reduces the complexity of the nation to the simplicity of a brand, a product, a market, and consumers. The identity concept in nation branding consists of a multifaceted process involving values such as tourism, people, culture, policy, brands, and investment (Anholt, 2007).

The findings of this research indicate that the identity from both cultural heritage villages for nation branding can be mapped through the values of tourism, people, and culture. Both places reproduce narratives and discourses in the interconnection of these three values. The figure below (Figure 9.2) explains the connection of the competitive identities with the narratives of the data from both places. For example, the exotic locals are related to the identity of the people (Anholt, 2007). Meanwhile, because findings about the connection to Australians are related closely to cultural diversity, these are related to the value of culture (Anholt, 2007). Then, the tranquil landscape is related to the tourism identity of Indonesia (Anholt, 2007). Finally, the comparison of two cultural heritage villages shows that the nation brand of Indonesia is mostly shaped in the identity of tourism, culture and people.
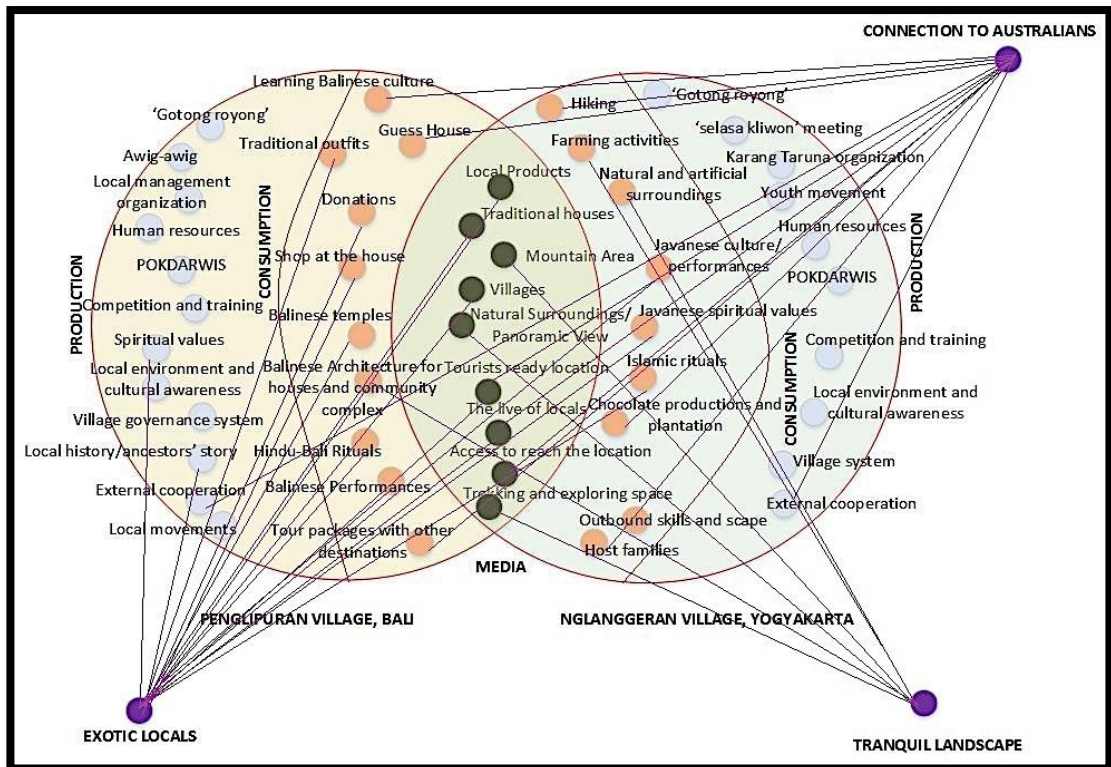
Figure 9. 2. The Map of Identity of the Two Cultural Heritage Villages

(Source: Figure by Author, 2018)

To assist in the understanding of the complexities of identity, Anholt proposes a way of locating nation brand by identifying the four elements of nation brand (2007). These are nation brand images, nation identities, purposes, and equity. By identifying three dominant discourses in these two cultural heritage villages, the current research also can identify how and to what extent these values are related to the four elements of nation branding.

Accordingly, in the complexity of the nation brand image, people from outside (the Australians and media), associate, expect, feel, and remember Indonesia in three predominant ways, through culture, tourism, and the representation of local people (Anholt, 2007). The experiences of Australian tourists, through visual landscape, buildings, and culture, can strengthen and change the perceptions of the brand image (Kavoura, 2012; Newland & Taylor, 2010). For example, Australian experiences in the two cultural heritage villages strengthen their perceptions of the communality of local people, traditional narrative, and friendliness. However, their perceptions also change regarding issues of poverty, cleanliness of space, and life in the village. The

process of strengthening and changing perceptions also connects with their prior perceptions and stereotypes to adjust what they see and to confirm their expectations (Kotler & Gertner, 2002). Therefore, to locate a nation from the outside, the brand image of Indonesia is shaped through the tourist perceptions of tourism, culture, and people.

Media, including the logos, slogans, and symbols, which are broadcast with various texts, can identify national identities (Anholt, 2007; Holt, 2004; Sumaco & Richardson, 2011). The symbolic identities of Indonesia, according to the figure above, are dominated by texts regarding local products, the life of locals, traditional houses, and landscapes such as mountains, villages, and panoramic views. These texts also consistently reveal the tourism, culture, and people of the hexagon values. These values dominate the national identities represented in the media.

Anderson (1991) argues that the nation's purpose is to uphold the official principles of the nation, including the values and local traditions that are formed to create its identities and its dreams. In cultural heritage spaces, local people decide which culture they would like to perform to best represent the shared uniqueness of their nations (Newland & Taylor, 2010; Waterton & Watson, 2010). Similarly, on the production side, the local people produce many narratives and symbols that occupy the discourses of tranquil landscape, exotic locals, and connection to Australia. These then lead into the identity of tourism, people, and cultural diversity as the dominant values that shape the nation's purposes.

Finally, the powerful positioning of Indonesia as a nation brand, in this context, is shaped as 'Wonderful Indonesia' in cultural heritage villages through tourism, people, and culture. These are the familiar values that shape the perceptions of Australians, media, and local people in the setting of the cultural heritage village (Kotler & Gertner, 2002). These key concepts and values contribute to the understanding of how the interactions between Indonesians and Australians in the cultural heritage villages affect the imagining of Indonesia.

9. 3. 3. Outsiders: Tourist Consumption

This section explores the concept of tourist consumption from the perspective of Australian experiences in the two cultural heritage villages. Three patterns are identified in this research; these have to do with market, selectivity, and demand. The similarities and differences in the markets of the two cultural heritage villages are related to the location distances, cultural proximity, and tour packages. The selectivity is related to the selection process of tourist experiences. In this selection the guiding process dominates the construction of tourist experiences and time constrains. Meanwhile, the demands of tourist consumption relate to the values of pure, poor, and practicality.

9. 3. 3. 1.　　Market: Location Distance, Cultural Proximity, and Packaging Tours

In the postmodern market, heritage space becomes the meeting place for the production and consumption process of a particular segment of identity. The tourists who visit community heritage villages are motivated to do so by their perceptions of these communities and the ways in which these perceptions are tied to fantasy, reality and virtual reality (Nuryanti, 1996). Mostly, this segment gathers in the space of heritage to confirm their perceptions, expectations, and understanding, not to disprove historical facts (Lowenthal, 1998). Therefore, identifying the how and why this segment is shaped and gathered is part of a crucial investigation into tourism consumption.

From this research (see Chapters 5 and 7), the market segment is identified as visitor with educational purposes, working class, families, and people who enjoy the past experiences from the nostalgia of a place. This finding is similar to those of previous research about the market of heritage (Nuryanti, 1996). The process of gathering this segment is closely related to the element of distance, whether geographical or cultural. This distance is then bundled together in a tour package, which sells experiences and not so much the destination.

> I came here to enjoy cycling around Bali. I just follow the guide. He said this is a very traditional village. It is very nice, just a bit crowded **(AT_B_07)**

> I do not know about this place before. I just choose a heritage tour with my family, read the activity in the itinerary, sounds fun, and the driver pick me up. But it's beautiful here. **(AT_B_05)**

Covering distance in terms of geographic location is viable in tourism for rural places such as villages. Previous research by Cai and Li (2009) indicates that distance travel remains practicable even for destinations in rural areas. Distance is related to the types of tourists who are likely to visit a destination (Cai & Li, 2009). For example, Cai and Li's study revealed that tourists from within a 50-mile radius of tourism destinations participate in most of the activities. Although locations within walking distance are still the highest preference (Arbel & Pizam, 1977), this creates issues and problems in terms of crowdedness, price, size, and services (Urtasun & Gutierrez, 2006). Meanwhile, those tourists who choose distant locations or rural destinations to visit or stay at are the segment that wants to see the diversity of destinations, trip-related characteristics, and experiences (Cai & Li, 2009), such as activities in the mountains, type of housing, and experiences in the villages or natural surroundings (Figure 9. 4). Tour packages, as found in the brochures, are shaped based on the type of destinations, distances, and trip characteristics. The segment of the tourist market, then, is shaped based on the consideration of distances and locations. For example, *Penglipuran* village is bundled with destinations around north middle Bali such as Kintamani area and Ubud area. Since it is located in the mountain area the tours promote the place with cycling experiences, village experiences, agri tour, or heritage of Bali in the mountain. Meanwhile *Nglanggeran* village is bundled more with agriculture, mountain hiking or trekking, adventure, and eco tourism (Figure 9.4).

Figure 9. 3. Brochure from *Nglanggeran* consists of activities in the rural place
(Source: *Nglanggeran*, 2016)

In term of the distance of culture, previous research and academic discussion has come up with the concept of cultural proximity. According to Lane and Kastenholz (2015), when tourists find that the destination is culturally closer, their image of the destination is more positive. This then shapes the tourists' demand in terms not only of the novelty

of a place but also of the balance with the familiarity of the culture (Ryan, 2002; Lane & Kastenholz, 2015). This research (Chapters 5 and 7) has argued that the trip Australians take to Indonesia is a comparative journey. The discourses of comparing the two cultural heritage villages with their home or country are constantly materialised during the interview and participant observations. This comparison is an act of identifying the novelty and familiarity of places (Ryan, 2002). This is also similarly proof of the local perceptions of the need to familiarise their places in some ways to meet the tourists' demand, such as providing more familiar toilets, showers, baths, bedrooms, facilities, and even food.

> If the host family has a good kitchen, they let the guests enter. But if not, they will prefer the guests to stay outside the kitchen. **(LP_B_03)**
>
> We have two kitchens. One is the traditional kitchen (a hut made of bamboo) and using firewood that we preserved in the front side of the house. We still use it, although not very often, or just our elderlies who use it. The other kitchen is our regular kitchen with the gas stove. **(LP_B_09)**
>
> We have two toilets. One toilet is for the guest and one for us. Usually for the guest we provide sit toilet with bidet and shower, but for us, we like to use the squad style with regular bucket. **(LP_B_10)**

This effort, as some local participants explained, is conducted to make the tourists familiar, creating a 'tourist ready' atmosphere. At the same time, elements of local identity, such as the design of the houses, decorations, and traditional aspects, are still maintained by the locals. Thus, this research supports the notion that geographical and cultural distances may influence the way tourists (from Australia) view the nation (Indonesia) as a destination (Huang, Cheng, & Lin, 2013).

Both geographical location and cultural proximity then shape tour packages, which bundle the destinations into experience packages. Destination is no longer the product. The experience is now the product. Similar to previous research from Huang, Cheng, and Lin (2013), which identifies the consumption of tourists to neighbouring countries, the quality of destination, the proximity of the culture, the distinctive features of a place, and the negative perceptions shape the intention of tourists to visit a destination. In Huang's research, the cultural proximity and geographical distances (between neighbouring countries and between destinations) become a strong influence in shaping the intention to visit (2013). This research has shown that the ambivalence

of the novelty of cultural heritage villages, sense of nostalgia, and familiarity also shapes the intention to visit.

However, tour operators and the experiences also become the important aspects of the production of experience to a place, by gathering and delivering the destinations based on the location and bundle of cultural experiences. The tour operators construct the experiences based on thematic groups, which connect the destinations into location distances, cultural familiarity, and similarity. For example (Figure 9.4), interviews with tour agents and operators reveal that the first questions they ask in order to understand the tourists' intentions are 'where' the tourists want to go, and 'what are you looking for?'. With the second question, the tourists will then answer with keywords–which in this research are related to brand association–such as 'culture,' 'heritage,' 'traditional,' 'beach,' 'cycling,' 'trekking, 'and many more. These keywords or associations then lead to many tour packages being offered as options. This step is linked to the dominant notion that shapes the tour package media message about 'what' and 'how' experiences. In the case of *Penglipuran*, the tourists usually refer to 'cycling' (How), 'mountain' (What), 'village' (What), and experiences with 'Balinese houses' (How and What) as the unique words. Meanwhile, for *Nglanggeran*, tourists usually refer to 'trekking' (How), 'mountain' (What), 'village' (What), and experience with 'chocolate' (How and What) as unique words. These are the examples of bundling the tours through the ensemble of cultural familiarity and novelty.
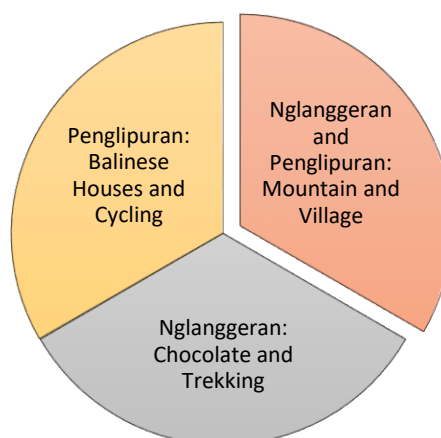
Figure 9. 4. Keywords to Identify Two Cultural Heritage Villages
(Source: Figure by Author, 2019)

Therefore, based on the finding of this research, it is evident that the market segment is shaped by location and cultural proximity and tour packages. The tours packages are constructed based on the short distance to other destinations, 'tourist ready,' familiar but novel places, and have similar themes, for example 'chocolate plantation,' 'cultural heritage,' 'authentic Bali,' 'cycling tour.' These places are constructed based on their familiarity to each other, thematic construction, and being 'ready for tourists' by negotiating performances of tourists' familiarity and novelty. The finding of this research thus supports the notion that many cultural heritage destinations, including *Penglipuran* and *Nglanggeran*, are adapting themselves to the homogenising culture of tourism in order to fulfil the familiarity demand of international tourists, and at the same time, trying to maintain their local distinctiveness or novelty (Salazar, 2007)

9. 3. 3. 2.   Selectivity: Guiding and Time Constraints

Tourism experiences are constructed through the process of selecting from available resources. Research has indicated that this selection is influenced by the availability of Indonesian guides to narrate places for international tourists (references) (Salazar, 2007) and by time constraints which shape tourists' perceptions of place (reference) (Smith, Costello, & Muenchen, 2010).

Figure 9. 5. Guides in Penglipuran explain about houses (Left) and in Nglanggeran explain about mountain (Right)
(Source: Photos by Author, 2017)

The guide functions to select information and narratives that should be delivered and interpreted (Figure 9.6). In previous research, the guide in Indonesia, through their interpretation of local heritage, has become the dominant actor in negotiating the tension between the familiarities of international tourists (Australians) and local

differentiation (Salazar, 2007). From participant observations in both locations, it is evident that the guide becomes the one who narrates and defines the places, the symbols, and the cultural materials as an authentic local. According to the guide, the tourists appreciate the combination of the interpretation of local particularity and tourists' familiarity to the consistency of the location with tourists' imaginings and expectations (Salazar, 2007). For example, through the peculiar descriptions (according to tourists) of features such as the family members described in every house, mythology, and the functions of traditional equipment, the guides offer uniqueness of locality in Penglipuran (Figure 5). Meanwhile, with some familiar values and explanations such as cleanliness, daily activities, and comparison with modern or western style, the guide also enables tourists to connect the experience with their own backgrounds. This is similar to the findings of Salazar (2007) that the guide can skilfully represent the local life in ways that have been adapted to the tastes of a segmented group of tourists such as Australians.

> The tourists like to know the myths and tradition around this area. That information will make them wonder. (**LP_Y_08**)

Time constraints produce the illusion that experiences are in-depth and reflective when they are actually only peripheral and staged. The time referred to here is related to the duration of the visit to the site and the time setting of the visit (morning or afternoon). According to research findings, time constraints contribute to perceptions of places and experiences constructions (Smith, Costello, & Muenchen, 2010). For example, the duration required to visit determines the depth of the information provided to tourists. The time setting also constructs what kind of experiences they participate in at the place. The major differences between *Penglipuran* and *Nglanggeran* are in the time required to consume the place. Australian tourists in *Penglipuran* only visit the place for the duration of one or two hours. The activities are related to sightseeing (see Chapter 5 and Figure 9.7).

> I am from Sydney, and I have visited Bali for 26 times, but this is my first time in here [village of Penglipuan]. I came here with the daughter of my friends just for an afternoon short visit. She wants to show me new places in Bali that I have never visited before....It's beautiful and peaceful. **(AT_B_07)**

I came here with a one day tour package. I think we should visit four places today. I just went to Tirta Empul before coming here, and, honestly, I do not know where else my guide will bring me after this village. **(AT_B_09)**

Meanwhile, Australians in *Nglanggeran* mostly visit the place on a full-day educational trip, which allows them to participate in local activities and interact more with local people (see Chapter 7). This results in different perceptions of space, whereby Australians perceive *Nglanggeran* as interactional space and *Penglipuran* as a tourism space.

We came to the village with a group for a one day activities. We learn about cooking delicious chocolate snacks with the nice ladies, eat food at the house of a lady, and buy some souvenirs at the chocolate shop**. (AT_Y_12)**

We stayed for one night with M family before trekking up the mountain the next morning to enjoy sunrise. M and his wife were very friendly and bring us around their neighbours. **(AT_Y_11)**

Figure 9. 6. Tourists along the street of *Penglipuran*
(Source: Photo by Author, 2017)

To conclude, guides and time constraints shape tourism consumption. These two factors influence the narrative and interpretation of places and perceptions of experiences about places. They also contribute to the shaping of the market segment, which demands the selection of information in specific time for their own purpose of travelling.

9. 3. 3. 3.　　　Demand: Purity, Poverty, and Practicality

Tourist demand in rural destination relates to perceptions of certain issues such as the purity, poverty, and the practicality of the place. Paradoxically, these three issues are interconnected but also positioned in different directions. For example, the idea of purity of place demands an authentic place that may maintain traditional ways of living, which may be perceived as poor and unpractical (Jacobs, 2016). Meanwhile, the perception of poverty is demanded to demonstrate the purity of the place from modern technology but should be balanced with practicality for tourists (Butler & Hinch, 2007). Finally, when tourists demand some practicality in a place, such as access to enter, distances, and/or facilities, the 'purity' of place or nature may be at stake and the development of capital to reduce poverty is inevitable.

The idyllic image of the village in the finding of this research is related to the cultural construction of pureness of places. The purity of the village landscape, life, and nature is the opposite of city imaginings (Bell, 2006; Jacobs, 2016). Such purity is groomed with the staging of no electrical devices and a certain level of expectation that the purity of nature and life are maintained. For example, the villages may hide electrical towers behind preservation areas, keep preserved kitchens but still use modern kitchens in the residential areas (*Penglipuran*), or establish more traditional houses in *Nglanggeran* for homestay purposes. The efforts are not only based on local initiative but also on the local interpretation of tourist demand.

In the findings of this research, poverty functions in three ways. First, poverty becomes the staged imaginings of traditional life (Jacobs, 2016). Second, poverty is related closely to the attitudes of local people to issues such as begging, donation, and impressions of how they live. Third, poverty is related to previous local identity, before they became cultural heritage villages, in the narrative of community empowerment. For example, local commercial activities may be perceived in different

ways, as I asked to some tourists. The commercial activities can be perceived as a way to escape poverty (Figure 9.8), "I wonder how much they earn with cheap prices of things" and "I feel pity though that they live in poverty." Meanwhile, other tourists perceived local commercial activities reduce the purity of the place such as with comments of "This place is too commercial," "too many shops." Some other, perceived local commercial activities as a good way to contribute profit in tourism, "it is good that if I buy coffee, it goes directly to local people."

Figure 9. 7. Example of local commercial activities
(Source: Photo by Author, 2017)

The practicality of places becomes a demand of tourists because they require not only familiarity but also wellbeing in order to consume the place (Butler & Hinch, 2007). The practicality of a place will shape the segment of tourists who visit, which then determines the willingness of tourists to explore the places. 'Tourist ready' places can be perceived either as idyllic village or as artificial, depending on the expectations of tourists.

9. 4. Conclusion

All the comparisons above suggest that the implications of interactions between Indonesians and Australians in cultural heritage villages appear to follow the logic of interconnections of place and identity. The place always opens to the production and consumption of identity of places and people. The comparisons address the media representation of cultural heritage villages by showing some parts of the imaginings of the nation. Meanwhile, the heritage village community preserves its cultural identity and performs the idyllic village for the nation and the media. Finally, tourists experience the nation through interactions with local space, people, and their own identity as Australians. Culture becomes an object and subject of commodity, a changing token of what traditional means in the consumption and production process. Culture configures to diverse local resources, which connect with the contextual background of media, local interpretation, and tourists' consumption.

The cultural heritage village in all its manifestations plays an important role in Indonesian life, especially in the village and rural areas. To some extent, the cultural heritage villages cannot avoid some demand from the media and the national standard. To fulfil the idyllic nature, the cultural heritage village community must play by the rules, permeated with the everyday tourist consumption.

Next chapter articulate the concluding remarks of this dissertation, which summarise the key findings of the chapters and explain the ways chapters can answer the research questions. Furthermore, the next chapter present the recommendations which can be useful for local people, media, and academia.

Chapter 10. Concluding Remarks

This chapter reviews the research questions and summarizes the research findings of this study based on how the study answer the objectives, as discussed in more detail in the Chapter 9.

10. 1.   Meeting the research objectives

This study is conducted to answer three objectives:

> **RO 1**: Explore the imagining and expectations of Indonesia by Australian tourists of these cultural heritage villages.

> **RO 2**: Understand the imagining of Indonesia by locals who work in the cultural heritage villages.

> **RO 3**: Investigate how the interactions between Indonesians and Australians in the cultural heritage villages affect the imagining of Indonesia.

To answer the objectives, this study is conducted within the framework of previous scholar discussions, concepts, theories, and findings around the study of a nation through the interactions of Indonesians and Australians in the setting of cultural heritage villages. Framed by Western perspectives upon the study of nations, this thesis has shown that the process of locating Indonesia is a complex and contesting mode of practices from the insiders and the outsiders. The cultural practices through the interactions between Indonesians and Australians in the cultural heritage villages to imagine a nation offers multiple patterns of productions and consumptions, interpretations and negotiations of space and place, and a typical cultural interactions which critically engage the classic findings on the west 'gazing ' the east and the post-colonial practices of power relations in tourism.

Earlier concepts and theories introduced in this thesis which are the study of nation, as framed in the figure of intersections from three main bodies of theories (Chapter 2) are indeed applicable in this research project. The previous works around nation and/or nation-state or *Negara* (Anderson, 1991; Geertz, 1980; Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983), nation branding (Anholt, 2007), space and social relations (Massey, 2005), and

place consumption (Urry, 2002; Cohen, 2004) whose articles have been much cited in this thesis are relevant as the foundation of the research. As the study shows the contemporary development of *desa wisata* or cultural heritage villages of Indonesia, it becomes pertinent to look at the similarities and distinction of cultural formations and local contexts as the point of departure from previous scholar discussions. The findings of the study show the similar process as Anderson (1991) and Geertz (1980) have argued, for example, that the tensions between nation and villages still exist in the circular route of power, elites, privileges, symbols and organized local practices throughout the productions of the idyllic cultural heritage villages.

However, opportunities to open ground-up communications, representations, and negotiations are also much available within the existences of cultural heritage villages such as through local agent bodies, possibilities of performing local uniqueness in the competitions and training, and general standards which can be applied within the framework of local interpretations and negotiations. Anholt (2007) argues that nation branding can be represented through cultural heritage and tourism, similarly, the findings specify how local organizational bodies called *pokdarwis* are the one that ensures the implementation of nation brand values or the Indonesian *Seven Wonders (Sapta Pesona)* in the villages level. Importantly, Massey (2005) and Urry (2002) have been cited mostly to critically engage with the space constructions to produce the imaginings of nations from the inside and outside using the outcome from the trajectories of social relations, the process of gazing, and consumptions of tourists through power and privilege. Using the theoretical framework, the study not only engages those theories and concepts derived from Western perspectives but also critically specifies how such concepts work in the Asian case study contexts and offer alternatives in using the theories built from the local ecosystem of specific settings in Indonesian contemporary villages.

I have demonstrated upon the first objective (RO 1) that the role and representations of Indonesia in tourism media has been an issue of continued debate among scholars. This is mainly due to the dual role of tourism media as the place to promise and promote the constructed commodity of a nation, on the one hand, and its continued role of providing and describing the expected sense of places and 'authentic' experience to the tourists, on the other hand. Within this vague duality, Indonesia, as

a nation, has to obtain the western market. Meanwhile, the major development of tourism places has unavoidably altered the experience of space and the nation. There are some further questions in regards to these findings. (1) Does the reproductions of the third world motif to the western market still relevant? (2) Does it obsolete to frame and portray such a fast-growing developed and complex nation? Meanwhile, there is a growing market of the postmodern tourists who seek for interactional experiences and access interactional online media. According to this study, showing the "poor but happy face" of the third world is not relevant anymore and obsolete. The study demonstrates the explorations of such questions using analysis in Chapter Four about tourism media for Australian tourists, Chapter Six and Eight about the place consumption of Australians in the Balinese and Javanese cultural heritage village contexts.

Chapter Four of this thesis has sketched the contexts of tourism media, which represent one face of the nation. At the beginning of this thesis, I described the discourses surround the representations of Indonesian local spaces and peoples in the media landscape for Australians, which promise the tranquillity of natural spaces, the exoticism of humble and poor local people, and bodily experiences of Australians. However, as the online reviews and interactivities in the media appear to enrich the stock of knowledge in tourism, the study found the embodiment of the critical communal culture of seeing Indonesia under the promise of tranquillity, exoticism, and bodily experiences. Of particular insight was the process of comparing the promise of tranquility in the tourists' pre-departure expectations and imaginings with the post-visit perspectives of Australians: the Australians related experiences of refusals and disappointment, the commercialisation of places, crowdedness of tourism areas, local greediness, donation, and the issue of poverty. As a paradox, the constant representations of the tranquil places and exotic "poor but happy" faces of Indonesia still predominantly circulated in the tourism media for the purpose of securing the power of neo-colonialism through tourism industry. The counter-narrative about what Indonesia should be about through the representations of contemporary Indonesian places, spaces, people, and experiences to Australians are needed to change the dominant and continued reproductions of images and texts about the nation. Another important counter-narrative is the production of tourism media which provides opportunities for the voices of local people to describe themselves, demonstrate their

dignity, pride, and gives power and agency to resist and counter the colonial gaze. These opportunities can be provided by the government of Indonesia, Australian media, tour and travel agents, and or academia who want to change the dominant visual and textual narratives that depict Indonesia in a colonial gaze.

Continuously, Chapter Six and Eight have demonstrated the complications, multiple patterns of consumptions, and ways of imaginings and expecting Indonesia through the specific setting of Australians in *Penglipuran* and *Nglanggeran* cultural heritage villages. The thesis mapped the patterns of space consumption of Australians by reviewing the traditional narratives which makes the Australians visit the villages, demonstrating the comparative journey which constantly appearing during the trip, identifying things to compare, and understanding to what extent Australians want to 'see the life of others. Specifically, the study contributes insights into the kinds of traditional narratives consumed by Australians by identifying the traditional materials of 'others', the dynamic tensions during the interactions between hosts and guests regarding the perceptions on poverty and cross-cultural interactions (Crouch et al., 2005) by understanding the what and how social life is established, achieved, and maintained for practicality of life (Meethan, Anderson, & Miles, 2006). Finally, the comparative activities and discussions about home (Stylianou-Lambert, 2012) consistently show not only, attractive features that the tourist compare to, but also what process in the everyday life that they contrast as 'home' and 'away' experiences and which spaces are constructed and contrasted (White & White, 2007). By exploring the nuances of place consumptions and interactions in Balinese and Javanese cultural heritage villages, the study offers ways of seeing the consumption to the life of others using communicative and cultural practices in tourism. It allows the investigation on how Australians reflect wider social discourses in relations to their identities, behaviour, judgment, home place, and interactions.

Regarding the second objectives (RO 2) the current study shows that the voices of locals have been in continuous debates in terms of identity, exploitations from the nation, and also loyalty to the nation idyllic (Chapter Five and Seven).

Accordingly, chapter Five and Seven demonstrated the complexity of place productions of cultural heritage villages. The thesis mapped at least four similar characteristics and discourses, which construct the productions of cultural heritage

villages. Those are (1) the ways local understand, negotiate, and interpret their local spaces for the purposes of heritage, everyday life, and tourism activities; (2) the ways local actors move within the realm of existing organizations shaped by the nations and show the loyalty within this national rules, standards, and values; (3) the ways local implement the widely distributed nation brand values as the anchor of their movements, and (4) the ways local keep their past memories through stories and buildings as part of the village identities. In this way, Indonesia then is imagined in the interconnections to the nation, space, people and past.

Finally, the third research objective (RO 3) about how the interactions between Indonesians and Australians in the cultural heritage villages affect the imagining of Indonesia can be seen using the comparative findings in Chapter Nine. In this chapter, the media, local productions, and tourist consumptions are interconnected in ways to imagine Indonesia through three specific findings. Those are about space, people, and connections to Australians. The space of Indonesia is shaped, produced, reproduced, negotiated, and consumed in the circular imaginings of the tranquillity of nature. It indicates the implications of colonial gaze in the tourism study debate, which expect places to remain and stay pure, natural, and 'untouched,' even though modernity and development are unavoidable. Meanwhile, people of Indonesia are gazed upon, expected, interpreted, and seen in the face of the third world. The circular imaginings of the people also impose the colonial gaze of power relations between tourists and locals such as by portraying the vulnerable part of society such as children, elderly, female, and particular class of society such as the poor fisherman, farmers, and street vendors whom the tourists will meet during the place consumption. These imaginings are sustained and maintained in the media, productions, and consumptions creating a potential of nation brand equity. The imaginings of Indonesia become the positioning of a brand. They are the asset value of a nation's reputation (Anholt, 2007; Holt, 2004; Song, 2011). According to this study, the nation brand equity of Indonesian is shaped by the accumulation of the perceptions, understandings, and interpretations of local people, media, and Australian tourists. Critical questions upon these reproductions of imaginings are still limited and underrepresented. Calls for diverse imaginings of this complex nation should be made to reproduce the vibrant development of the nations and answer the postmodern tourists who want to explore beyond the existing portrayals. Meanwhile, Australians are interconnected in these imaginings by not only

by consuming it but also reproduce the place through their bodily expectations on the media and onsite, and through their interactions.

10. 2.   Aiming the research objectives through the selected methods

Within the complex relations between nations, places, past, and people, the academic discussions about Indonesia seems not enough to discuss the contemporary understanding of *desa wisata* or cultural heritage village. Since reading space and place it is not a particularly key priority or focus in Indonesia, researching the tensions and challenges of places and spaces can give important contribution in providing rich methodologies of understanding media and cultural phenomena. Therefore, instead of giving a descriptive trend on the growth of cultural heritage villages in Indonesia since the national program was launched in early 2012, in the first part of the thesis, I contested the stake and challenges of top model of cultural heritage villages from the media, productions, and consumptions side to project the future social-cultural risks in these contemporary places. While, for the second part, I focused to discuss the productions and consumptions of both locals and Australian tourists to map the dominant discourses, tensions, patterns, and rethink the perspectives of Western scholars of human geography, media, and cultural studies for their applications in the non-Western settings. Finally, in the third part, I attempted to map the patterns of similarities, differences, and how these places in connections with media, productions, and consumptions are interconnected. Using the combination of media data analysis, ethnographic approach, and discourse analysis, this thesis answered the complexity of the places, spaces, and nation.

Upon the media analysis, the investigation in this research project aims to be more reflexive with socially just interpretation of the depictions of nations (Jepson, 2005), local people (Wright & Eaton, 2018), and Australian tourists in the mainstream media, online discussions, and on-site experiences. The aim is to understand more deeply the depiction of places, people, and identities in tourism in terms of 'othering,' by mapping some key texts, which frequently appear in the media, and understanding the meaning of social reproduction (Li, Zhang, Zhang & Abrahams, 2019). As a response to Dervin's call to define patterns of representations of rural places and people in a

different setting (2015), the findings contribute the conclusion that the depiction of places and people beyond the villages of Indonesia is not only related to representation but is also about the social and economic impacts in the cycle of tourism culture. In connections with previous research findings (Dhakal, 2016; Prince, 2017), the findings of the current research confirm that local people and the natural landscape are sometimes dragged into a demand for a staged authenticity within the traditional and rural charms the Australian tourists are looking for.

Meanwhile, the ethnographic approach is an effective way of conducting research in a tourism setting where the tourists and locals who work in tourism places are enjoying their limited time and experiences. Observing their activities enable the researcher to understand 'the ways of seeing' and 'things to do' in tourism location. Ethnographic interviews enable researchers to reach in-depth information in a conversational way. In this regard, an anthropological approach plays an important role to open the native's voice to share their actions and understanding. Using the ethnographic approach in this study, I have attempted to land the local cultural practices of interactions in the cultural heritage villages by recognizing the productions of media and social-political impact of a nation to the villages. This study, then, answer inquiries in the field of cultural studies, media theories, and human geography from the framework of the West in understanding Indonesia from the past and how it can be developed at present.

Using discourse analysis, the study challenges the dominant scholarship of tourism, which mostly reiterates industrial priorities (Timothy, 2017), by critically engaging in a reflexive approach to social reproduction and the existing power relations. The combination of empirical, interpretive, and critical findings aims to raise consciousness that the identities of rural places and people are, indeed, compromised (Caust & Vecco, 2017). The homogenous depictions of rural places and people, the limited duration of tours, and selective information, which prevent the tourist experience from being more reflexive and responsible, and awareness of the struggle of others is often deprioritised and wrapped into the dominant discourses of tourism consumption and practices.

Using this methodology, I interrogated the socio-cultural construction of cultural heritage village community, which currently becomes the trend of contemporary villages of Indonesia. I provoked the more innovative analysis of local-cultural

contexts on tourism, media, productions, and consumptions by understanding the voices of those who involved in the cycle of the tourism heritage spectacle. Moreover, the growing number of cultural heritage villages open more possibilities and opportunities for studying and pointing out critics towards the media practices, the local performances in their culture and everyday life, and tourist consumptions as I articulated in chapters of this thesis.

10. 3.   Recommendations

As a result of the study in cultural heritage villages, some practical recommendations as well as for future research emerged. The following sections offer brief discussion related to these recommendations.

10. 3. 1. Practical Recommendations

Recommendation according to media analysis. Government of Indonesia/any tourism organizations/media who produce images for tourism purposes must show different narratives from its place, people, and past to counter the narrative of the recurrent and dominant images. These images can start a new conversation upon what this nation has become and how Indonesia should be portrayed in the most contemporary and diverse faces. The representations of Indonesia in tourist marketing and advertising (particularly for an Australian audience) needs to counter the exploitative discourses that are routinely relied upon. These counters should come through representations of for example, the raising urban educated generations who develop tourism, transportations, and hospitality industry; or the successful and optimistic young generations in rural areas who develop their award-winning villages; the hybrid space of contemporary landscape of the nation which shows rural space with modern technologies which currently raising that assert power and agency. Indonesia, for Australia, must be seen as equal neighbours and partners who share future together in tourism spaces, not only as tourism service providers, or 'poor but happy locals' who search for dollar dimes, but also creative thinkers, tourism professionals who enjoy tourism and heritage knowledge together.

Recommendation according to the locals. The government claimed there are more than 950 tourism villages in 2016 as an achievement. However, only less than 50 villages who are eager to join the national cultural heritage village competition since

2012-2016. The rest of the villages are unclear on how they survive to fulfil the minimum national standard of sustainable cultural heritage villages or even just to deal with the everyday challenges and conflicts. Consolidating on the development of the cultural heritage villages accross Indonesia is essential. More homework is needed to work on the existed villages, rather than to build other new villages. Sustainability in cultural heritage villages does not mean to build as many villages as possible across Indonesia. It means building programs that ensure long-term durability for the communities to be able to negotiate the meaning of their heritage in their everyday life. *Penglipuran*, as one of the most successful village, gives us a lesson that a strong initiation from the local people, the existence of internal value system to preserve their life like *awig-awig,* the readiness of the local community to accept outsiders and tourism as a part of their daily life are an important consideration. The centre of designing tourist village should be initiated from, by, and for the people who live there. Although, developing a cultural heritage village relies on the interconnections of all of these groups (local villages, regional national government and outsiders-tourists), the power-relations involved need to be such the local villages are able to take ownership of their place, identities and lives. The cultural heritage villages should be built under the idea of local initiative for preservation rather than the commercialization because the people in the village are the one who will get the biggest impact of the remodelling process. Local creativity and readiness are fundamental.

Furthermore, upon the ways discourse related to how nation exploit the villages, the local people of *Penglipuran* and *Nglanggeran* keep voicing their concern regarding sharing their tickets and parking income 60% for the government Bali and 35% for the government of Yogyakarta. The government needs to readjust the values and profit sharing since the locals consider it as unfair. Since, there is an economic dimension to these power-relationships and that there needs to be a redistribution to more accurately reflect the production. Hence, community-based tourism area must have the ability to negotiate the sharing since it is in their local space and their life become the everyday tourist gaze.

Another aspect is related to the livelihood of the local people. The burden of providing tourism spectacles every day and accepting strangers at their doors, yard, and main

street can be exhausted. The local community needs to reconsider time to break such as holiday or day off regularly when they do not accept tourists at particular days and just taking back the ownership over the exploitative frameworks of the tourism industry.

Recommendation according to Australian tourists. The two recommendations above therefore have implications for outsiders (i.e. tourists, and in the case of this dissertation Australian tourists). The postmodern tourist in the contemporary era is looking for experience-based product. The destination is not the main course anymore, but the route, connectivity, and thematic experiences. Is there any convenient connectivity and route that can be explored around the destination? This question needs to ensemble within a simple short message for the tourists.

Meanwhile, as the study is conducted, challenges are available in terms of lack of data regarding the targeted tourist markets. Even though statistics central bureau of Indonesia can provide the number of inbound tourists from international gates, but there is a lack of database upon the reasons and the tourist mobility map within Indonesia. Research about international tourists needs to be conducted, which may be useful for the tourism industry and government. The government should not only spend money on promoting the destinations, but also build government database, policy, and detailed strategies and open them publicly. Hence, academia, NGOs, start-ups, media, and business sectors can support the projects, which potentially develop all parts of Indonesia.

10. 3. 2. Future Research and Theoretical Contributions

Recommendation according to media analysis. According to the key findings in this research, tourism media for Australians depict the places and people of Indonesia to strengthen the current power relations and stereotype. However, it is necessary to see the other side of the media, especially on how Indonesia present itself as a nation (Pamungkas, 2015). A study focusing on the portrayals of nations through their own tourism brochures, ads, information boards on heritage sites are needed to map how the parade of diversity in a nation is constructed and how historical narratives are selected (Sushartami & Ristiawan, 2018). The study can focus on mapping which materials such as nature, culture, and interactions of people that regions represent

themselves in the tourism ads and gather these data for the whole nations to see the complete representations on a typology of tourism diversity. The study could also explore more deeply the concept of authenticity and how diverse activities lead to different perceptions of authenticity and how tourists perceive authentic local resources.

Another intake for future research, the rapidly changing space of mobile media and how it has shaped the processes of consumption and production of places. Cultural heritage villages are contested in the perspective of both the producer and consumer of contents for the media (Groote & Haarsten, 2016; Reijnders, 2016). This production and consumption process involve not just the commodities of places but also the historical and heritage narratives (Foster et al., 2017; Groote & Haarsten, 2016). Agents involved in this process use resources to preserve cultural values (Beel et al., 2017), to attract tourists (Edelheim, 2015), to increase tourist spending (Luscombe, Walby, & Piché, 2018), and also to reinforce identity (McDowell, 2016). Thus, the media – both offline and online – play important roles in shaping the representations of places (Groote & Haarsten, 2016) and the politics of communication (De Groot, 2016).

Recommendation according to local voices. This dissertation focus on two cultural heritages in Java and Bali with their dominant local identity. Meanwhile, as a diverse nation, it is essential for researchers to capture the nuances of different local identities other than *Penglipuran* and *Nglanggeran,* for example examining places with different religion and region such as in the eastern part of Indonesia where Christians are the most dominant population and were abandon by the nation. A study focusing on other areas of contemporary cultural heritage villages with different religions, regions, and challenges may give nuances to this study.

Additionally, since 1990s, multidisciplinary academics have called for more studies to understand the practice of cultural heritage villages in the rural areas in diverse communities in non-western settings (Smith, 2006) and comparing them (Graham & Howard, 2008). Although there are many case studies involving Asian as places, people, and tourists (Tan & Bakar, 2016; Huang, 2011; Xie & Lane, 2006), comparative study between Asian countries are still needed (Ayu, 2010). It will enrich the findings in term of similarities, differences, and interconnections. Further research

can explore the comparative study to cultural heritage villages in Asia by looking at the similarities, diversity, and connections in media, culture, heritage, and tourism.

Recommendation according to tourists. According to the findings in this dissertation, there are changes in the character of tourists in the postmodern era (Sharpley, 2012), dynamic evolutions of work and leisure (Cohen, 2004), access to media and information (Meethan et al., 2006), and the divisions of time and space that blur the imagining of tourism experiences (Franklin & Crang, 2001). Hence, not only does the concept of the consumption of everyday life in the cultural heritage village offer a way of understanding current and recurring phenomena in tourism behaviours (Franklin & Crang, 2001), but it is also useful in constructing theoretical and practical approaches to the dynamic processes that occur in different tourism settings (Sharpley, 2012) which are frequently taken for granted. Accordingly, a study on inbound tourists from other countries than Australia such as Japanese tourists (Yamashita, 2003), Chinese (Zhu, 2015), European, and many others are pertinent to understand the pattern of consumption and their buying behaviours in a destination. This information will be crucial for the hospitality industry and tourism to move between preservations and market-driven strategies and policies (Chabbra, 2009).

10. 4. Final Reflections

Finally, research on locating a nation using interactions between Indonesians and Australians in two cultural heritage villages is complex and enduring. The media, producers, and consumers of a cultural heritage village consist of multiple segments, ways of productions, types of consumption, and lifestyle. Therefore, calls have been made to conceptualizing the pattern and form of productions and consumption in various setting and spaces. It is a way to understand how to locate a nation using specific settings, places, theories, and methodologies. Although, it may only investigate a predominant type of productions and consumptions to specific settings of spaces and cannot be generalized to another type of space (Cohen, 2004). Appropriately, this study may able to capture the media of tourism, specific market of Australian tourists, identities of locals, and how they intersect, interact, and interconnect in the contemporary village of Indonesia.

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APPENDIX

1. Interview guide to local people
2. Interview guide to Australians
3. Consent form
4. Formal letter for soliciting participations
5. Guidelines for transcription of interviews

Participant Consent Form, Version 1, HRE2017/2083
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Appendix

Interview Guide-With Local People

Nama/Name: ....

Alamat/Home: ....

Pekerjaan/Job: ....

Umur/Age: ....

Peran di desa/Role in the village: ....

Lama kerja di desa/Length of Participation:

       ☐ 1-5 years/tahun

       ☐ 6-10 years/tahun

       ☐ 10 more/lebih

1. *Bagaimana anda mendeskripsikan partisipasi anda di desa wisata?* How do you describe your participation in the tourist villages?

   ....
   ....

2. *Mengapa anda berpartisipasi?* Why do you participate in the tourist village?

   ....
   ....

3. *Dimanakah lokasi anda berkerja selama di desa wisata?* Where do you mostly work in the tourist villages?

   ....
   ....

4. *Apakah tantangan yang anda hadapi selama anda berpartisipasi pada proses desa wisata ini?* What are the challenges you face during your participation?

   ....
   ....

5. *Siapakah orang di sekitar anda yang berpartisipasi dan berkontribusi untuk desa wisata?* Who are the people around you that participate and contribute to the tourist village?

   ....
   ....

6. *Apakah hal di desa ini yang mewakili identitas dari desa? Bagaimana hal itu mewakili bangsa? Mengapa?* What do you think represents the village? How do you think it represents the nation? Why?

   A. *Simbol?* Symbol?
   B. *Slogan?* Slogan?
   C. *Pertunjukan?* Performance?
   D. *Alam sekitar?* Landmark?
   E. *Arsitekture?* Architecture?
   F. *Tradisi?* Tradition?

   ....
   ....

Pertanyaan Tambahan untuk pihak manajemen dan kepala desa/Additional Questions for the management persons and village leaders:

Participant Consent Form, Version 1, HRE 2017-2083

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Appendix

7. *Mengapa orang-orang di desa memilih obyek tertentu sebagai atraksi?* How does the village decide which objects are suitable attractions?

   ……

   ……

8. *Bagaimana proses pengambilan keputusan mengenai obyek yang menjadi atraksi utama?* What is the process for deciding which performance should be the main attractions?

   ……

   ……

9. *Siapa yang terlibat dalam pengambilan keputusan tersebut?* Who is involved in the decision making process?

   ……

   ……

10. *Object apakah yang berganti arti sejak pertama desa ini dibuka untuk umum?* What are the objects that change meaning over time since the tourist villages were open for publics?

    ……

    ……

Anda dapat bertanya tentang penelitian ini, termasuk hasil yang diperoleh, kepada peneliti: Desideria Cempaka Wijaya Murti (desideria.murti@postgrad.curtin.edu.au) di Curtin University.

Appendix

Interview Guide for Interview with Tourists

Research Title:

Locating Nation: Interactions between Indonesians and Australians at Two Heritage Tourist Villages

Name: ....

Home: ....

Job: ....

Age:...

Gender: F/M

Travel with:

- ☐ On my own
- ☐ Group. How Many? ....

1. How did you find out about this village?

   ....

   ....

2. What attracted you here?

   ....

   ....

3. What words or phrases come to mind when you hear the words Indonesia/Yogyakarta/Bali/Village?

      1.
      2.
      3.
      4.
      5.

4. Have your impressions about this place changed since you arrived? If so, how would you describe the difference between your expectations and experiences?

   ....

   ....

5. What are some of the main tourist activities you have participated in while visiting this village?

   ....

   ....

6. Can you list your most interesting experiences, cultural attractions, and/ or locations in this village? Why you found that interesting?

   ....

   ....

Participant Consent Form, Version 1, HRE 2017-2083

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Appendix

7. Did you have a chance to interact with the local people in the village? Can you tell me about this experience?

   ....

   ....

8. What are the key differences between this place and your hometown?

   ....

   ....

You may address any questions or concerns about this research, including the results obtained, to the researcher: Desideria Cempaka Wijaya Murti (desideria.murti@postgrad.curtin.edu.au) at Curtin University.

This research has been approved by the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee (Approval Number xxxx). The Committee is comprised of members of the public, academics, lawyers, doctors, and pastoral carers. Its main role is to protect research participants. Should you wish to discuss the study with someone not directly involved, in particular, any matters concerning the conduct of the study or your rights as a participant, or you wish to make a confidential complaint, you may contact the Ethics Officer on (08) 9266 9223 or the Manager, Research Integrity on (08) 9266 7093 or email hrec@curtin.edu.au.

Appendix

HREC Project Number:	HR2017-2083
Project Title:	Locating Nation: Interactions between Indonesians and Australians in Two Heritage Villages
Principal Investigator:	Desideria Cempaka Wijaya Murti

My name is Desideria Cempaka Wijaya Murti. I am a Ph.D. student at Curtin University. I would like to inform you about the research project and ask your consent to include you as the participant of my project:

What is the Project About?
This project is about the interactions between Indonesians and Australians in the tourist villages.

How is the method to conduct the research project?

I will conduct interviews with both Australian tourists and local people as a group or individual. All the interview processes will involve audio and field notes to record the message from the participants.

Why am I being asked to take part and what will I have to do?

1. The research is looking for individuals who are either Australian tourists, or Indonesians working in the tourism industry to take part in a semi-structured interview.
2. You will be asked questions about your experiences in the tourist villages. I also will make a digital audio/video recording so we can concentrate on what you have to say and not distract ourselves with taking notes. After the interview/focus group the recordings will be transcribed.

Are there any benefits' to being in the research project?

There may be no direct benefit to you from participating in this research. However, it will be a chance for you to discuss your opinions/feelings/condition about the tourist villages.

Are there any risks, side-effects, discomforts or inconveniences from being in the research project?

There are no foreseeable risks from this research project. During the research project we may find out new information about the risks and benefits of this study. If this happens we will tell you the new information and what it means to you. It may be that this new information means that you can no longer be in the study or you may choose to keep going or to leave the study.

Appendix

You might be asked to sign a new consent form to let us know you understand any new information we have told you.

Who will have access to my information?

The information collected in this research will not be identifiable. Any information I collect will be treated as confidential and used only in this project unless otherwise specified. The people with access to the information I collect: the research team and, in the event of an audit or investigation, staff from the Curtin University Office of Research and Development

Electronic data will be password-protected and hard copy data (including video or audio tapes) will be in locked storage. The information we collect in this study will be kept under secure conditions at Curtin University for 7 years after the research has ended and then it will be destroyed/kept indefinitely (select one). The results of this research may be presented at conferences or published in professional journals. You will not be identified in any results that are published or presented.

Will you tell me the results of the research?

I will write to you at the end of the research and let you know the results of the research. Results will not be individual but based on all the information I collect and review as part of the research and publications.

Do I have to take part in the research project?

Taking part in a research project is voluntary. It is your choice to take part or not. You do not have to agree if you do not want to.

If you decide to take part and then change your mind, that is fine, you can withdraw from the project at any time. You do not have to give us a reason; just tell us that you want to stop. Please let us know you want to stop so I can make sure you are aware of anything that needs to be done so you can withdraw safely. If you choose not to take part or start and then stop the study, it will not affect your relationship with the University, staff or colleagues.

What happens next and who can I contact about the research?

If you decide to take part in this research I will ask you to sign the consent form. Signing it tells us that you understand what you have read and what has been discussed. It also consent indicates that you agree to be in the research project. Please take your time and ask any questions you have before you decide what to do. You will be given a copy of this information and the consent form to keep.

Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) has approved this study (HREC number 2017-2083). Should you wish to discuss the study with someone not directly involved, in particular, any matters concerning the conduct of the study or your rights as a participant, or you wish to make a confidential complaint, you may contact the Ethics Officer on (08) 9266 9223 or the Manager, Research Integrity on (08) 9266 7093 or email hrec@curtin.edu.au

Appendix

Nama saya Desideria Cempaka Wijaya Murti. Saya seorang Ph.D. Mahasiswa di Curtin University Saya ingin menginformasikan kepada Anda tentang proyek penelitian dan meminta persetujuan Anda untuk menjadi peserta dalam proyek ini:

Proyek ini tentang apa?
Proyek ini membahas interaksi antara orang Indonesia dan orang Australia di desa wisata.

Bagaimana metode untuk melakukan proyek penelitian?

Saya akan melakukan wawancara dengan turis Australia dan masyarakat setempat. Semua proses wawancara akan melibatkan catatan audio dan lapangan untuk merekam pesan dari peserta.

Mengapa saya diminta ambil bagian dan apa yang harus saya lakukan?

1. Penelitian ini mencari individu yang bisa menjadi relawan untuk ikut serta dalam wawancara.
2. Secara praktis, kami akan mengajukan pertanyaan tentang pengalaman Anda di desa wisata. Kami juga akan membuat rekaman audio / video digital sehingga kami dapat berkonsentrasi pada apa yang harus Anda katakan dan tidak mengalihkan perhatian kami dengan membuat catatan. Setelah wawancara / focus group kami akan membuat salinan lengkap rekaman.

Apakah ada manfaatnya menjadi peserta dalam proyek penelitian ini?

Mungkin tidak ada manfaat langsung bagi Anda untuk berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini. Namun, akan menjadi kesempatan bagi Anda untuk mendiskusikan pendapat / perasaan / kondisi Anda tentang desa-desa wisata.

Adakah risiko, efek samping, ketidaknyamanan atau ketidaknyamanan dari proyek penelitian?

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Tidak ada risiko yang dari proyek penelitian ini. Jika ada resiko terjadi, kami akan memberi tahu Anda informasi baru dan apa artinya bagi Anda. Mungkin informasi baru ini berarti Anda tidak dapat lagi mengikuti penelitian atau Anda mungkin memilih untuk terus berjalan atau meninggalkan penelitian. Anda akan diminta untuk menandatangani formulir persetujuan baru agar kami tahu bahwa Anda memahami informasi baru yang telah kami katakan kepada Anda.

Siapa yang akan memiliki akses terhadap informasi saya?

Informasi yang dikumpulkan dalam penelitian ini tidak akan dapat diidentifikasi. Setiap informasi yang saya kumpulkan akan diperlakukan sebagai rahasia dan hanya digunakan dalam proyek ini kecuali jika ditentukan lain. Orang-orang yang memiliki akses terhadap informasi yang saya kumpulkan: tim peneliti dan, dalam hal dilakukan audit atau investigasi, staf dari Curtin University Research and Development

Data elektronik akan dilindungi kata sandi dan data hard copy (termasuk video atau rekaman audio) akan disimpan dalam penyimpanan terkunci. Informasi yang kami kumpulkan dalam penelitian ini akan disimpan dalam kondisi aman di Curtin University selama 7 tahun setelah penelitian selesai dan kemudian akan dimusnahkan / dipelihara tanpa batas waktu (pilih salah satu). Hasil penelitian ini dapat dipresentasikan pada konferensi atau dipublikasikan di jurnal profesional. Anda tidak akan diidentifikasi dalam hasil apapun yang dipublikasikan atau dipresentasikan.

Apakah anda akan memberi tahu saya hasil penelitiannya?

Saya akan menulis surat kepada Anda di akhir penelitian dan memberi tahu hasil penelitian. Hasil tidak akan bersifat individual namun berdasarkan semua informasi yang saya kumpulkan dan review sebagai bagian dari penelitian dan publikasi.

Apakah saya harus ambil bagian dalam proyek penelitian?
Berpartisipasi dalam proyek penelitian bersifat sukarela. Ini adalah pilihan Anda untuk ambil bagian atau tidak. Anda tidak harus setuju jika Anda tidak mau. Jika Anda memutuskan untuk mengambil bagian dan kemudian berubah pikiran, itu bagus, Anda dapat menarik proyek. Anda tidak perlu memberi kita alasan; Katakan saja bahwa Anda ingin berhenti. Jika Anda memilih untuk tidak mengambil bagian atau memulai dan kemudian berhenti belajar, itu tidak akan mempengaruhi hubungan Anda dengan Universitas, staf atau rekan kerja.

Apa yang akan terjadi selanjutnya dan siapa yang dapat saya hubungi tentang penelitian ini?
Jika Anda memutuskan untuk mengambil bagian dalam penelitian ini, saya akan meminta Anda untuk menandatangani formulir persetujuan. Menandatangani itu

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juga berarti bahwa Anda mengerti apa yang telah Anda baca dan apa yang telah dibahas. Ini juga persetujuan bahwa Anda setuju untuk berada dalam proyek penelitian. Tolong luangkan waktumu dan ajukan pertanyaan yang kamu punya sebelum kamu memutuskan apa yang harus dilakukan. Anda akan diberi salinan informasi ini dan formulir persetujuan untuk disimpan.

Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) telah menyetujui penelitian ini (HREC nomor HRE2017-2083). Jika Anda ingin mendiskusikan studi dengan seseorang yang tidak terlibat secara langsung, khususnya, masalah tentang studi atau hak Anda sebagai peserta, atau Anda ingin mengajukan keluhan rahasia, Anda dapat menghubungi Petugas Etika pada (08) 9266 9223 atau Manajer, Integritas Penelitian pada (08) 9266 7093 atau email hrec@curtin.edu.au.

Appendix

TO:

DEAR XXX

My name is Desideria Cempaka Wijaya Murti. I am a PhD student at the School of Media Culture and Creative Arts at Curtin University investigating the interactions between Indonesians and Australians at heritage sites. I am writing to ask your permission to accompany ACICIS students on their "in-country" experience and for the opportunity to conduct in-depth interviews with them. The title of my research project is **Locating Nation: Interactions between Indonesians and Australians at Two Heritage Tourist Villages.**

       The aim of the project is to analyze the positioning of a nation from the eyes of local people and foreign tourists in the setting of cultural heritage spaces in Yogyakarta.

       I would like to seek your permission to conduct interviews and observations whom I understand will be at Kebon Agung tourist village. It is of course subject to student's consent. They have the right to withdraw their participation in this project at any time without any consequences. The interview will take approximately 30 to 60 minutes to complete at a convenient place they would like to choose during their stay in Yogyakarta.

       Information obtained from this interview will be used as part of this research project and results may be published in journals and conference presentations. I can assure you that all responses will remain confidential. All data will be de-identified (individual and institutional names will be masked) in the thesis and any published materials. Data related to this research will be kept securely and access is limited to the principal investigator and the Supervisors. One copy of publication results will be provided for ACICIS as documentation, if required.

       I attach a copy of participant information and example of the consent form for your reference.

       Thank you for your attention and your permission to conduct this research is greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

Desideria Cempaka Wijaya Murti (desideria.murti@postgrad.curtin.edu.au)
Ph.D. Student – Curtin UniversityStudent ID#: 18565021

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You may address any questions or concerns about this research, including the results obtained, to the researcher: Desideria Cempaka Wijaya Murti (desideria.murti@postgrad.curtin.edu.au) at Curtin University.

This research has been approved by the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee (Approval Number xxxx). The Committee is comprised of members of the public, academics, lawyers, doctors, and pastoral carers. Its main role is to protect research participants. Should you wish to discuss the study with someone not directly involved, in particular, any matters concerning the conduct of the study or your rights as a participant, or you wish to make a confidential complaint, you may contact the Ethics Officer on (08) 9266 9223 or the Manager, Research Integrity on (08) 9266 7093 or email hrec@curtin.edu.au.

Appendix

Guidelines for Transcription of Interviews

1. Use Transcription Header (see below) for each interview.
2. Assign a unique name or case identifier for each transcript.
3. Use de-naturalized approach.
4. Use the "Start of Interview" with "-----" (five dashes) before and after, to indicate the beginning of the recorded interview session.
5. Entire document shall be left justified.
6. Use margin (indents) only for the text of the participants verbal answers for easy reading (readability).
7. Use double pound or hash signs, appears immediately before and after a source ID.
8. Use brackets for inaudible sounds or indecipherable comments: (inaudible), (inaudible: 2 minutes of interview)
9. Use double question marks for unintelligible sound that the transcriber is not sure about: ?(club on Avalon)?
10. When interviewer and interviewee are talking simultaneously (cross talk), use square brackets, started with an abbreviation "CT" to indicate portion of the cross talks: [CT: ....]
11. Note significant 'unnatural' disruption in the interview, such as someone interrupting the interview, the recording had to be paused, re-starting a new recording after it had been concluded (for additional interview) etc. Use the "***" (triple stars) at the beginning and end of every note. Begin and end this part with straight lines extending the whole width of the page to facilitate quick finding.
12. Filler words (ya, iya, yeah, he eh, oke, jadi, anu, gitu, etc.) need to be transcribed.
13. Nonverbal sounds (cough, etc.) and background noise (vehicle sound, people talking, police siren, etc.) do not need to be transcribed.
14. Insert time stamp approximately every 5 minutes to enable the quick retrieval of the audio recording that correspond the transcribed text. Highlight the time stamps in yellow to facilitate quick finding.
15. De-identify transcription by replacing personal and institutional names with the respective codes (refer to the "In-depth Interview Participants Coding Table"). Highlight the de-identified names in light blue color to facilitate quick finding.
16. Use the "End of Interview" with "-----" (five dashes) before and after, to indicate that the interview session had formally reached completion and no additional interview had been initiated.

Transcription Header
Interview #:
Participant Code:
Site/Location:
Date of Interview:
Transcriber:

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