

UNDERSTANDING RURAL INDONESIAN CULTURE THROUGH REFLEXIVE
PHOTOGRAPHY AS A MEANS OF DEVELOPING TOURISM

By

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A THESIS PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF SCIENCE

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

2008

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(To everyone who dedicates their lives to tourism)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis would not be possible (nor very useful) without the constant support of many people. For that, I would like to thank the following people. First of all, I would like to express my highest and deepest gratitude to God for a lifetime of love and endless inspiration. My special gratitude also goes to my parents, my brother, and my relatives for their financial, mental, and spiritual support.

I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Lori Pennington-Gray for being an outstanding advisor and excellent professor. Her constant encouragement, support, and invaluable suggestions made this work successful. She has been everything that one could want in an advisor. I am also indebted to my committee members Dr. Brijesh Thapa and Dr. Ben Smith for reviewing this thesis and providing valuable feedback. They made this thesis an enjoyable experience for me.

My sincere gratitude also goes to Dr. Heather Gibson for sharpening my interest in tourism through insightful discussions; Dr. Steve Holland for his constant support; Dr. Ariel Rodriguez for introducing me to another facet of conducting a research; Dr. Budi Subanar, SJ for his thoughtful feedback; and Dr. Trevor Sofield for providing his valuable insights on this thesis.

I thank all the faculties and staff at the Department of Tourism, Recreation, and Sport Management at the University of Florida as I am constantly picking up new knowledge from them. Not a day goes by that I do not learn something from this department.

I am indebted to Bill Gallagher for his constant support and encouragement. I am also grateful to Debra Anderson for her help and valuable advice during my stay in Gainesville. Their presence in my life is the best thing that could have happened to me.

I thank these following people for their never-ending support, encouragement, and camaraderie: Satya Indrabayu, Elena Bychkovskikh, Derrick Feinman, Sun-Jin Kang, and Naomi Moswete. Words cannot express the gratitude I have for the time we shared.

I am also grateful to all participants and residents of Sambu Village who have shared their wonderful life experiences with me. Without their insight, helpfulness, and participation, this thesis would not have occurred. Finally, as I close another chapter in my life, I thank all the people who have supported me in completing my academic endeavor at the University of Florida in any ways. Their efforts are very much appreciated.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Community-based tourism	Tourism programs that take place under the control and with the active participation of the local people who inhabit or own an attraction (Drumm, 1998). It promotes both the quality of life of people and the conservation of resources (Ross & Wall, 1999). It acknowledges the importance of social dimensions of the tourism experience, rather than primarily focusing on environmental or economic impacts (Scheyvens, 1999).
Culture	Culture is a complex multidimensional phenomenon that is difficult to define. In this study, culture is defined as a complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (Taylor, 1924 as cited by Reisinger & Turner, 2003). It is a way of life of a particular group of people (Harris & Moran, 1996). It is fluid, always changing and always-contented (Wood, 1993).
Front stage- back stage	Front stage refers to areas where host community performs a limited range of activities for a tourist audience. Backstage refers to areas where host community continues meaningful traditions away from the gaze of tourists (MacCannell, 1976).
Reflexive photography	Reflexive photography is one form of photo-elicitation method. In the reflexive photography, photographs that are taken by participants themselves are used to elicit information from research participants (Harrington & Lindy, 1998)

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May 2008

Chair: Lori Pennington-Gray
Major: Recreation, Parks, and Tourism

The purpose of this research was to better understand rural Indonesian culture as a means of developing tourism. The study was conducted in the village of Sambu, Indonesia, in June-July, 2007. Three objectives were addressed in this study. The first objective was to explore the meaning of local culture as held by local residents. The second objective was to present themes of what residents desired to share with tourists. The last objective was to provide information gained from the identified themes to the decision makers in the village of Sambu, with the goal of promulgating local tourism development.

This study was framed with four interrelated research questions: (1) What does Sambu's culture mean to the people of Sambu? (2) What do the people of Sambu want to share with visitors about their culture? (3) What do the people of Sambu want to hide about their culture from visitors? (4) How do the people of Sambu choose to negotiate themes; which they want to show to visitors and themes that they want to hide from visitors?

To address the aforementioned research questions, the study employed a reflexive photography method. Twenty-eight residents were issued single use cameras and were asked to take pictures of things, places, people, or anything else that deemed important to them in their village. The photographs were developed and interviews were conducted to elicit information.

Data analysis used both photographs and quotes from photo-elicitation interviews. The study used an inductive thematic approach to analyze the data.

Four major findings were found with regards to the research questions. First, two major themes emerged when participants discussed the meaning of their local culture namely, agricultural village and ritual-tradition. Second, there were six major themes that participants desired to share with visitors i.e. rural way of life, environmental features, built structures, people, art and festivals, and animals. Third, the themes, which some participants wanted to share with visitors, were also the ones they desired to hide. Fourth, participants employed two strategies, time and space alteration, in negotiating themes that they wanted to share and not to share with visitors. These strategies provided room for creative maneuvering in the presentation of the cultural landscape of the village of Sambu.

The study concluded that reflexive photography could be a powerful tool for tourism planning, especially in rural areas. It was also suggested that the development of tourism in the village of Sambu should be based on the identified themes as well as retention of the authenticity of the themes. This strategy would increase residents' level of support toward tourism development and maximize benefits for residents of Sambu. Finally, further research in tourism studies using visual methodology was recommended.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Over the past few decades, the tourism industry has experienced phenomenal growth. In the Asia-Pacific region, tourism arrivals grew at an average of 7.1% per year over the past decades (ESCAP, 2005). Tourism revenue more than doubled and created 115 million jobs in 2002 (ESCAP, 2005). In recognition of this, many countries have started to develop their country's tourism industries. As tourism has grown, its products have become increasingly diversified. A significant market segment, known as cultural tourism has emerged due to these evolving changes in the growth of all forms of tourism. Ap (1999 as cited in McKercher & DuCros, 2002:4) defines cultural tourism as a form of special interest tourism where culture forms the basis of either attracting tourists or motivating people to travel. The growth of cultural tourism as an economic force is undeniable (WTO, 2005). Tourists looking for unique and authentic experiences are increasingly interested in cultural sites and innovative arts programming, and have demonstrated a willingness to travel to these attractions.

The pace and scale of change associated with tourism varies considerably from place to place and time to time. Traditional, modified, and new cultural landscapes may have different meanings to different people. For residents, the landscape may be associated primarily with work and everyday life. On the other hand, for visitors it may be a landscape of pleasure experienced in a brief sojourn (Wall, 1998). In some developing countries where the tourism economy is dominated by outside investors, the cultural landscape may reflect differential access to power, with tourism being viewed as a form of neo-colonialism and as a means of elite development (Nash, 1989).

Even where the same features are valued by visitors and outsiders, they may be valued for different reasons; perhaps as sites and places to be lived in and possessing profound personal,

cultural, and religious significance for local residents, as compared with sights to be viewed, passed by, and perhaps captured on photographs by the visitors (Hull & Revell, 1989). The differences in backgrounds and interests between locals and visitors suggest that it may be necessary to interpret the local cultural landscape and its meanings to visitors.

One prevailing view regarding culture and tourism is that tourism often contributes to the erosion of authentic culture (Deardan & Harron, 1994; Picard, 1995). Some researchers even argue that culture is commoditized, ratified, and transformed into a marketable item where customs become tourism attractions (Greenwood, 2004). However, Wood (1993:48) argues that tourism may be developed by communities within their symbolic construction of culture, tradition, and identity. This conceptualization of tourism is used by planners as a dynamic social ingredient, which demonstrates local culture, rather than an outside force that ‘flattens’ the culture. The dynamic of tourism appears to promote a narrow concept of culture. In his study, Picard (1995) demonstrated how the Balinese have come to objectify their culture in terms of the arts and to evaluate the tourism impact in terms of whether these arts are flourishing or not. Picard (1993) argues ‘culture’ is not understood as the anthropologist’s broadly defined conception of ‘the total range of activities and ideas of a group of people with shared traditions,’ but is narrowly defined as those aspects of culture that are subject to aesthetic appreciation, namely artistic expressions.” (p.90)

Furthermore, Picard (1993) and Gewertz and Errington (1989) found that locals might interpret the presence of tourists as a sign of the authenticity and continuity of their culture. The Bali Post newspaper in 1995 conducted a survey about Balinese culture and found that sixty percent of the readers found that growing numbers of tourists were proof that Balinese were not losing their “Balineseness.” (Editorial, May 4, 1995). Similarly, Gewertz and Errington

described a Chambri initiation in which the young men are met with the challenge, “Are you [man] enough to make the carvings and place them in the men’s house for the tourists to buy?” (1989:80). The study further found that the acquisition of money through tourism was “regarded as requiring the exercise of ancestor knowledge to ‘pull’ to Chambri and to impel them to purchase artifacts.” Hence, the presence of tourists at Chambri was interpreted not as an erosion of Chambri tradition, but seen as evidence of its persistence and strength (Gewertz & Errington, 1989: 47).

Adams (1997) notes the touristic commodification of culture tends to promote a quantitative notion of culture, such that the Indonesian Torajans commonly say, “we Torajans have more culture here,” implying that their tourist-deprived neighbors have less culture (p.45). The packaging and marketing of culture to tourists tends to make people self-conscious and reflexive about the “cultural stuff,” which, they may have previously taken for granted. This tendency is partly generated by the demands of the marketing, where cultures benchmark themselves against another to demonstrate a competitive advantage. In addition, the very act of objectifying and externalizing culture makes it more visible and subject to reflection, debate, and conscious choice.

Ryan (2005) argues that successful tourism is not simply a question of the presentation to visitors and the requirement that visitors respond in culturally appropriate ways but that the purveyors of the product also need to be aware of the nature of tourism and visitors as consumers of culture. From this standpoint, local communities may have an opportunity to plan tourism in their community while controlling their unique meaning of the cultural landscape. Ryan (2005) also mentioned that the degree, to which tourist attractions, activities, or destinations exist as tourism products, is influenced by three dimensions. These are: (1) the degree to which the

culture of local people pervade the product, (2) the duration, and/or intensity to which the visitors become immersed in the cultural “production,” and (3) the degree to which the activity, sites, or performance is locally owned.

The need to identify cultural elements that can be used as tourism attractions for visitor consumption plays a pivotal role in creating appropriate tourism destination (Cave, 2005). Although local communities may see the importance of their culture and the tourism industry sees those cultural elements as potential products, it is not automatic that local communities are willing to give up their identity or sell their culture. However, locals customarily lack the power to determine which of their cultural elements will be displayed for tourists’ consumption.

Visitors and host communities both hold preconceived notions about things that are private (Cave, 2005). This notion may occur on a continuum, which comprises friends at one extreme and strangers at the other. Tensions may arise across a series of interactions between visitor and hosts. From the host perspective, the manipulation of their culture may effect their perception toward tourism in their community.

To preserve the cultural landscape, tourism planning therefore should include zoning (Cave, 2005). In designing zoning for tourism, local communities should have space to protect and preserve the cultural landscape they have as well as spiritual values and knowledge, cultural treasures, oral and written material evidence of traditions that are central to the community. Conversely, local communities should also be given space to share their everyday life with visitors. Local communities should also be allowed to choose certain types of visitors who can have access to cultural knowledge, participation in cultural activities, or have access to portions of the physical site (Ryan, 2002). In this process, values such as authenticity are taken into account. The negotiation process between host values and tourism values may result in differing

levels of authenticity or commodification. An example is that dances and rituals are perhaps shortened. Folk customs or arts are often altered, faked, and invented (Graburn, 1996). In this view, identifying cultural elements that the host community is willing to share is crucial to preserving the local culture and promoting culturally responsible tourism.

There are various discourses of authenticity: those of the state, the tourism industry, including culture brokers (Cohen, 1989) and local communities. Furthermore, different constructions of authenticity may be presented to different types of tourists, including domestic and international. Therefore, more than just intensifying ethnic identity or increasing ethnic pride, the issue of selecting cultural elements and the construction of specific forms of authenticity for the tourism industry may affect local identity and culture. The selected cultural elements can be then divided to three zones. 'Zone of privacy' refers to a space for locals to perform their rituals and daily life beyond tourism space. A 'self-managed zone' allows locals to select type of visitors who can see certain element of their culture. 'Zone of commercial potential' refers to any cultural elements that can be used to wider visitors.

Many cultural activities do not adapt well to tourism initiatives (Cave, 2005). This may be due to cultural insensitivity on the part of the tour operators and marketers and inappropriate translation of the values of these activities (McKercher & DuCros, 2002). Therefore, responsible tourism initiatives have been widely promoted by several organizations (Goodwin & Francis, 2003). Responsible tourism is concerned with protecting the environment and culture while ensuring that local communities will benefit from tourism spending (Hurdle, 2005). From the visitors' perspective, understanding the culture and customs of people at the destinations has been correlated with trip satisfaction (Pennington-Gray & Thapa, 2004). From the host side, culturally responsible tourism will ensure willingness of local communities to share their daily

life with tourists (Cave, 2005). The acts of presenting one's culture to outsiders may strengthen the notion of community and thus increase identity, pride, cohesion, and support (McKercher & DuCros, 2002). This will not happen if local communities are not given power to choose which part of their culture that they will share with visitors.

In the current study a more appropriate development process which will spread costs and benefits more equitably and is more sensitive to social and cultural impacts is urged (Brohman, 1996). This development allows for a reduction in the need for local residents to trade off quality of life and social costs for economic growth, and contributes to a broader based positive attitude toward tourism (Sproule & Suhandi, 1998). Accordingly, a community-based approach to tourism development, which considers the needs and interests of local communities in addition to the benefits of economic growth, should be adopted. Community-based tourism development seeks to strengthen institutions, which are designed to enhance local participation and promote the economic, social, and cultural well being of the local community (Brohman, 1996). It takes place under the control and with the active participation of the local people who inhabit or own attractions (Drumm, 1998). It stresses considerations such as the compatibility of various forms of tourism with other components of the local economy, the quality of development, and the divergent needs, interests, and potential of the community (Brohman, 1996). Involvement of the local community is crucial to sustaining community-based tourism, which is the basis of sustainable tourism (Drumm, 1998). Community involvement in tourism planning should be optimized at all levels, starting from product development through marketing and distribution (Brohman, 1996). Thus, community is not the object of development, but is the decisive factor of development itself (Ardika, 2005). As a decisive factor, tourism may be able to help liberate local citizens from poverty and reduce dependency on external resources (Ardika, 2005).

One country which embodies the concept of cultural tourism and which has made a strong commitment to increase tourism development based on its diverse culture is Indonesia. Located in Southeast Asia (Figure 1-1), Indonesia is the largest archipelago in the world, stretching 5,110 kilometers along the equator from east to west and 1,888 kilometers from north to south. It consists of five major islands: Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and Papua with 17,508 smaller islands known as “Thousand Islands.” (CIA fact book, 2006). The chain of islands divides the Indian and Pacific oceans. It is enriched with natural resources and diverse culture, which provide for a vast range of tourism activities. Travel by air is the only effective access for international visitors to Indonesia, unlike many other archipelago destinations, where access by land and sea are both other vital factors in the success of tourism.

As an archipelago nation comprised of over three hundred ethnic groups and a multitude of religions, Indonesia faces the challenge of building a shared national consciousness (Adams, 1991). The Indonesian government envisions tourism will help to promulgate a sense of national unity. It is also seen as a strategy for fostering domestic brotherhood (Departemen Pariwisata, Pos dan Telekomunikasi, 1990:40). In addition, the government also sees tourism as an important development strategy to augment declining foreign exchange earnings from fossil fuel and timber exports (Booth, 1990).

An important attribute of cultural tourism is authenticity (Taylor, 2001). When tourists visit an area to experience a unique culture, residents often engage in presentation or demonstration of culture in order to attract visitors. Authenticity is not always targeted to international tourists who come from very different cultural backgrounds, but also targeted at domestic tourists. Authenticity is necessary to differentiate tourism products among communities and to avoid homogenization of tourism products (Adams, 1991). Adams (1991) argues that

domestic Indonesian tourism bears elements of a national pilgrimage with emphasis on continuity as reflected in Indonesia's national slogan, "unity in diversity." Therefore, authenticity is an important theme, which assists Indonesia in promoting domestic tourism as a means of consolidating the cohesion and the unity of the nation.

In addition, international tourism is more prone to negative information than domestic tourism. Media reports of terrorism linked to Indonesia resulted in a significant decline in the number of international tourists (BPS, 2004). Domestic tourists saved Indonesian tourism during these periods (Ardika, 2005). With more than 704 distinctive cultures, Indonesia is a big market for domestic tourism. Through visiting other regions, Indonesians are encouraged to admire the diversity of their nation (Ardika, 2005).

In Indonesia, the government plays a significant role in constructing an Indonesian culture to be presented to other nations. Regional governments choose "regional culture" with unique cultural "peaks" suitable for being part of Indonesian national culture. Picard (1993) argues that the discourse of regional culture implies "it's decomposition into discrete cultural elements, to be sieved through the filter of the national ideology and sorted out... those deemed appropriate to contribute to the development of the [national culture] should be salvaged and promoted, whereas those deemed too primitive or emphasizing local ethnic identity should be eradicated." (p.93)

Indonesia's tourism development policy has generally been top-down, emphasizing sizeable international mass tourism and the construction of large scale, capital-intensive projects usually funded by overseas investors and international capital. The central government controls four to five star accommodations and many travel agencies that comprise Indonesia's "high-end" tourism. Under this system, provincial governments can only regulate and control lower-end

accommodations and guesthouses. Dahles (1998: 77) argued that this was due to the central government's unwillingness to allow provincial governments' access to projects that generate large financial benefits.

Significant political pressures from powerful sources reinforce existing authoritarian "top down" tendencies (Black & Wall, 2001). This is illustrated by the displacement of local communities by large tourism projects, several examples of which can be found throughout Indonesia. In Bali, development close to the sacred Tanah Lot Temple led to local controversy and demonstrations (Warren, 1993), and in Kuta South Lombok several fishing villages were bulldozed, displacing villagers for new large hotel developments (McCarthy, 1994; Wall, 1996; Fallon, 2001). For many communities, daily life has dramatically changed even if they are not displaced as in the examples above.

Since the fall of Suharto era in 1998, Indonesia has embarked on a program of fiscal, administrative, and political decentralization at the same time; moving the country from one of the most centralized systems in the world to one of the most decentralized. The process decentralized much of the responsibility for public services to the local level, doubled the regional share in government spending, reassigned 2/3 of the central civil service, and handed over service facilities to the regions (Hadi, 2004). Within the new framework of participatory decentralization, development planning is implemented in a bottom-up process, from the village level up to the national level. In tourism industry, this new paradigm is resulting in a reduction of investments by large corporations seeking maximum economic profits from tourism resources and focusing more on rural development as well as increasing local participation in decision-making (Ardika, 2005).

Throughout Indonesia, many villages have started to develop alternative tourism attractions that offer unique and original local products in rural settings. While local responses have varied greatly in Indonesian tourism development, nowhere have locals been heavily engaged in the tourism process (Ardika, 2005). This lack of involvement takes place in the context defined by the structure and policies of the Indonesian government, the preexisting field of interethnic relations, and the particular features of the tourism industry, most notably its preoccupation with authenticity (Picard & Wood, 1997). The contradictory interest of government, partly rooted in their desire to promote cultural tourism, provides room for creative maneuvering by local communities.

The importance and urgency of understanding the mechanisms available for local communities to conserve culture within the changed conditions wrought by the tourism industry (McKean, 1973) is deemed necessary as part of a way to reorient Indonesian tourism (Ardika, 2005). Ardika mentioned that several tourism projects in Indonesia have uprooted local communities from their daily life due to misunderstandings concerning what local residents actually desire. Therefore, in order for Indonesia's tourism plan to encourage small scale and community-based tourism, understanding local perspectives toward cultural elements related to tourism is important. To achieve aforementioned goal, figure 1-2 presents the proposed model for this study.

Statement of Problem

Over the past two decades, anthropologists and historians have become increasingly concerned with cultural construction and intervention (Lindstrom & White, 1993). As many have stressed, in order to advance our understanding of the construction of tradition, our question must go beyond examination of which aspects of culture are authentic and which are invented (White, 1993:3). Closer attention must be paid to the process whereby traditions are invented and the

condition under which customs are negotiated. Wood (1984) notes that we need to recognize that cultures are not passive, and we must become more sensitive to the cultural strategies people develop to limit, channel, and incorporate the effect of tourism. Further, Adams' (1997) study in Toraja suggests that encounters with tourism are prompting new challenges to local forms of meaning, power, and identity. In this view, tourism creates a fertile context for reinterpretation of tradition and customs.

Little analysis has examined the process by which locals can engage in decisions related to demonstration of culture to the tourists. Particularly, the understanding on how to identify specific unique cultural elements by locals and how these elements will be adapted for the tourists will be better understood in Southeast Asian context. This study will help understand how Indonesia can responsibly develop tourism within the vision of the locals, particularly controlling for their unique cultural attributes. As a mandate of the Indonesia National Tourism Plan communities will be involved with the process of development and in particular decide how and what will be presented to the tourists in a cultural tourism development plan.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the research was to better understand and describe rural Indonesian culture as a means of developing tourism products. Three objectives addressed this purpose. The first objective was to explore the meaning of local culture held by local residents. The second objective was to present cultural themes of what residents want to share with tourists. The last objective was to provide information gained from the themes to the decision makers in the Sambu village with the goal of promulgating local tourism development.

Research Questions

The central theme for this study is the meaning of Sambu's culture for local residents of Sambu that have the potential for developing cultural tourism. This theme is framed by several

interrelated research questions. The evolving nature of research questions are discussed in more detail in the method sections of the study. The initial research questions were:

- What does Sambu's culture mean to the people of Sambu?
- What do the people of Sambu want to share with visitors about their culture?
- What do the people of Sambu want to hide about their culture from visitors?
- How do the people of Sambu choose to negotiate themes, which they want to show to visitors and themes that they want to hide from visitors?

Delimitation and Limitation

The study is delimited to the community of Sambu village in Yogyakarta province, Indonesia. Thus, the explanatory power of any result developed by this research is limited to Sambu and cannot necessarily be extrapolated to other communities in Indonesia. However, any findings derived from the research will provide a basis for improving the understanding of tourism in rural communities throughout Indonesia. Focus on local cultural significance will give practical implications to tourism developers in Sambu.

The limitation to this study is the growing effect of terrorism on tourism worldwide. International opinions on political instability in Indonesia for the past few years have been of major concern and interest to the people of Indonesia. While the number of international visitors to Indonesia has clearly been affected, it is unclear to what extent the series of unfortunate events in the country might affect the role of tourism and how it is viewed by local communities. Likewise, as fieldwork for this research only took two months (June-July, 2007), there were some cultural features, which could not be captured in pictures taken by residents due to seasonality of the event.



Figure 1-1. Map of Indonesia, courtesy of National University of Singapore Library

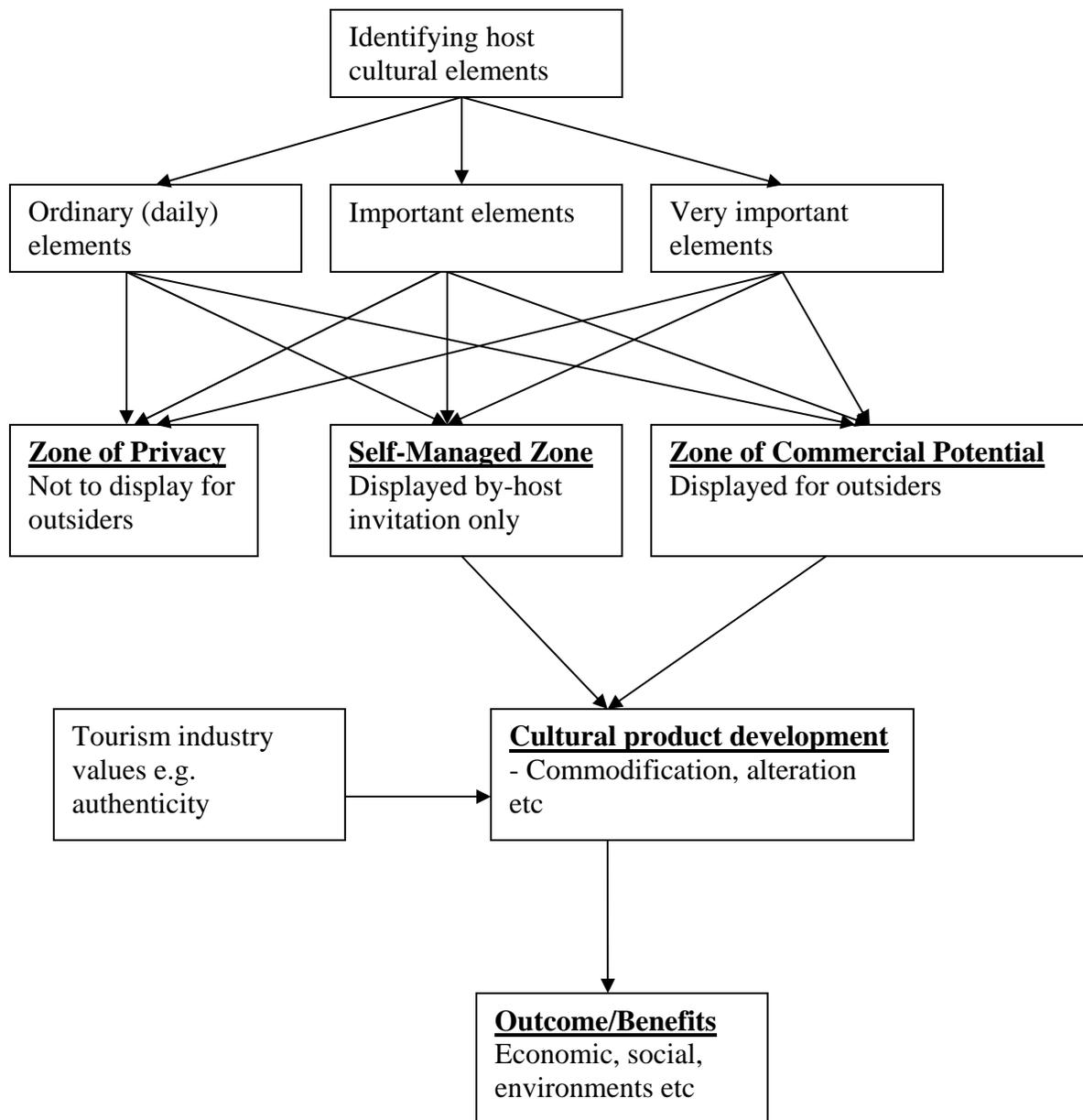


Figure 1-2. Proposed model

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents the theoretical foundation of the study. This chapter incorporated seven sections to support the study. Those sections are (1) culture, (2) issue of authenticity, (3) front stage and back stage, (4) sharing authenticity, (5) the tourist-host interface, (6) photo-elicitation, and (7) community-based tourism.

Culture

Schein (1985) suggests that culture exists simultaneously on three levels: On the surface are artifacts, underneath artifacts lies values, and at the core are basic assumptions. Assumptions represent beliefs about reality and human nature. Values are social principles, philosophies, goals, and standards considered to have intrinsic worth. Artifacts are the visible, tangible, and audible results of activity grounded in values and assumptions. In Schein's (1985) words culture is

[t]he pattern of basic assumptions that a given group has invented, discovered, or developed in learning to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, and that have worked well enough to be considered valid, and therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to these problems (p.9).

Hatch (1993) provides the Cultural Dynamics Model to reformulate Schein's work in terms of dynamism by describing the relationship between cultural elements (Figure 2-1). In this model, Hatch explains that the model can move in either a clockwise or a counterclockwise direction. All of the processes co-exist in a continuous production and reproduction of culture in both its stable and changing forms and conditions.

According to Hatch, the process constitutes expectations of "how it should be" that can be specified as a list of cultural values. Cultural realization is defined as a process of making values real by transforming expectations into social or material reality and by maintaining or altering

existing values through the production of artifact (rites, rituals, and various physical objects). In the model, symbol is defined as anything that represents a conscious or an unconscious association with some wider, usually more abstract, concept, or meaning for examples stories, logo, and visual image. Cohen (1985) argues that symbols “do more than merely stand for or represent something else... they also allow those who employ them to supply part of their meaning” (p.14).

Using Barthes (1972) example, “a bouquet of roses is given, not only as a bundle of flowers but also symbol as an expression of appreciation”(p.45). The objective form of the symbol (the flowers) has literal meaning associated with aspects such as its smell, color, texture, and arrangement. Beyond this objective form and its literal meaning lies subjective and figurative association that adds to the bouquet’s meaning. These may include past gift-giving experiences, a person’s history with flowers, and the significance that friends may attach to the roses, and even perhaps a verse or scene from a play. The cultural dynamics model suggests that these forms arise first as artifacts, and through additional cultural processing, they come to be recognized as symbolic forms by organizational members.

Schutz (1970: 320) claimed, “the meaning of an experience is established, in retrospect, through interpretation,” Cohen (1985:17-18) added “by their nature, symbols permit interpretation and provide scope for interpretative maneuver by those who use them. In this view, the model suggests that interpretation contextualizes current symbolization by evoking a broader cultural frame for constructing meaning. This is shown in figure 2-1 the arrow from assumption to symbol.

Jenks (1993) divides the representation of culture into four categories (Figure 2-2). The first box (A) represents culture as a cognitive category or state of mind. This type of culture

according to Edelheim (2005) is relevant to tourism literature in that it refers to the culture of a world before intrusions of technology and globalization. Many tourism researchers have agreed that culturally and environmentally sensible tourism embraces two general concepts. The first is a goal should be achieved. The second suggests that all development affects culture, whereby communities may actually lose their identity if not properly planned for (Edelheim, 2005).

The second box (B) views culture from an evolutionary perspective. Thus, as culture evolves, the “less developed” world will be influenced by the cultural values of the “civilized” world. Edelheim (2005) argues that this definition of culture is still seen in travel brochures in which tourists are invited to experience the “authentic” culture of some remote region. This definition is based on a western sense of achievement, which views other culture to be less refined as their own.

The third box (C) represents Urry’s (1990) notion that tourism is an example of popular culture or an amalgam of different forms of cultures. The last box (D) represents culture as a social category. It represents a way of life of a certain group of people. This view highlights cross-cultural interaction. People are aware of differences between how they live and how others live. The way people think and the things people value are both reflections of the culture they are part. Thus, the manner in box (D) is more neutral compared to other boxes.

Issue of Authenticity

The study of authenticity became an important issue in tourism studies when MacCannell (1973) gave impetus to this issue in his influential paper *Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Setting*. Since then the study of authenticity has snowballed. Numerous studies have examined the issue of authenticity (Cohen, 1979, 1988; Redfoot, 1984; Moscardo & Pearce, 1986; Boynton, 1986; Hughes, 1995; Brown, 1996; Selwyn 1996; Salamone 1997).

MacCannell's (1973, 1976) contribution to understanding authenticity is grounded in the premise that a tourist seeks escape from the alienation and meaninglessness of modern life. According to this view, tourism provides an opportunity to experience the pristine, primitive and natural, through a pilgrimage to that which is yet untouched by modernity. Therefore, the authentic is viewed as an agreed upon and objectively defined entity that can be found and enjoyed. Cohen (1989) found support for this view in his study about Thai hill tribe posters. The image of a timeless, primitive and exotic local create the anticipation of a tourist adventure among people frozen in time. However, Cohen (1988) also argued that authenticity is a socially constructed concept and its social context is not given but negotiable. Authenticity is a personally constructed, contextual, and changing. Tourists are active creators of meaning in their tourism experience rather than passive receivers. For some tourists even a "commercialized replication of local customs" may be experienced as an authentic product (Cohen, 1988).

Although the concept of authenticity is widely used in tourism settings, according to Wang (1999) it is a slippery concept and imposes ambiguity and limitations. As a result, authenticity is perhaps the one area in cultural heritage management and conservation planning in which lively debates have resulted in a noticeable broadening of opinions (McKercher & duCros, 1999).

Wang (1999) distinguished types of authenticity in tourism. According to Wang (1999), there are two kinds of authenticity, first object-related authenticity and activity-related authenticity. Object-related activity can be divided into objective authenticity and constructive authenticity while activity related activity refers to existential authenticity.

Objective authenticity refers to the authenticity of the original. The idea of objective authenticity can be seen in the early works of the authenticity issue debate. It began with Boorstin (1964) who argued that mass tourism is a collection of "pseudo-events". It suggests

tourism is a commoditization of culture. In Boorstin's (1964) view, tourists are presented well-contrived imitations of the original. Both Boorstin (1964) and MacCannell (1973, 1976) refer it as an objective authenticity. In relation to MacCannell's (1973, 1976) definition of authenticity, Selwyn (1996) indicates that MacCannell uses "authenticity in two different senses, authenticity as feeling, and authenticity as knowledge. In MacCannell's opinion, tourists search for an authentic experience. Tourists are concerned with the authenticity of their feeling, which according to Selwyn is called hot authenticity. In addition, MacCannell refers to staged authenticity (authenticity of the original) which is what Selwyn calls cool authenticity. Therefore, the authenticity of the tourists' experience depends on the object being perceived as authentic. Although tourists feel that their experience is authentic, their experience may be judged as inauthentic if the object is not considered authentic or in MacCannell's (1973) sense "staged".

According to Wang (1999), constructive authenticity refers to the authenticity of an object in terms of its imagery, expectations, preferences, belief, or power. It results from social construction. A certain object is perceived as authentic not merely because of its originality but because of its social viewpoints, beliefs, perspectives, and or power. Several researchers have referred this definition of authenticity (Cohen, 1988; Salamone, 1997; Silver, 1993).

Cohen (1988) argues that authenticity is relative and negotiable. In addition, Salamone (1997) argues that authenticity is contextually determined. Furthermore, Silver (1993) suggests that authenticity can be a projection of expectation, or stereotyped images of certain objects. Within this view, tourists look for signs of authenticity or symbolic interpretation.

A postmodernist perspective also contributes to the debate on authenticity. According to a postmodernist perspective, the notion of authenticity should be deconstructed. Post-modernists

argue that there is no absolute reality. The experiences consumed in tourism are only one partial and selective interpretation of the past produced by a variety of planners, marketers, and or interpretative guides (Selwyn, 1990). Cohen (1995) argues that postmodern tourists have become less concerned with the authenticity of the original. There is sifting of mindset on modern tourists who look for authenticity to postmodern tourists who look for aesthetic enjoyment. Postmodern tourists have become more aware of the impact of tourism on host community. The postmodern perspective redefines authenticity in existential or self-oriented terms rather than by measurement against some stable autonomous reality (Waitt, 2000).

Wang (1999) extends existential authenticity to refer to a potential existential state of being that is to be activated by tourist activities. Within this view, authentic means giving an activated existential state within a liminal process of tourism. It has little to do with the authenticity of object. Wang argues that in such liminal experiences people feel that they are much more authentic and freely self-expressed than in everyday life. This occurs not only because the object that is perceived is authentic but also because they are engaging in non-everyday activities. Further, Wang classified existential authenticity into two dimensions, intrapersonal and interpersonal authenticity. Intrapersonal authenticity refers to a bodily feeling. People find tourism as an escape from daily routine and as a way to pursue self-actualization that is difficult to find in daily routine.

Interpersonal authenticity refers to people seeking authenticity among themselves. It is a matter of relationship. For example, traveling with family is an example of seeking authentic inter-personal authenticity. It is a way to gain and reinforce authentic togetherness. Turner (1974) indicates communities exist in tourism and these communities are characterized by liminality, which refers to any condition outside or on the peripheries of everyday life. Within

these communities, everyday structures fall apart. From the aforementioned literature, authenticity can be viewed from different philosophical approaches such as positivism, constructivism, or post-modernism (Wang, 1999). However, whatever the approach used, the importance of authenticity is paramount.

Front Stage and Back Stage

In planning tourism, some communities practice boundary maintenance to limit the physical impacts of outsiders (Dogan, 1989). Often because they want to maintain their privacy, they do not want tourism to impact adversely upon their daily lives. One reason for boundary maintenance is that some communities worry about the “demonstration effect” of tourist behavior on their children. Interaction with visitors may therefore be limited to a “front stage” which may be physically located on the perimeter of the community residential area and only “open” for two hours per day for example. At the other end of the scale, some communities are happy to welcome outsiders into the heart of their community. One example of opening up a community is by providing opportunities for either home-stays or tours through the community.

MacCannell (1976) argues that tourists are largely motivated by a “quest for authenticity,” which is fundamentally a search for cultural differences. Tourists interpret such differences as an indicator of less contamination by contemporary capitalism and thus greater authenticity. However, MacCannell asserts that the host populations protect and insulate their culture by dividing their lives into “backstage” areas, where they continue meaningful traditions away from the gaze of tourists and front stage areas where they perform a limited range of activities for a tourist audience. This makes portions of the host culture available for guest consumption, while it protects other parts from commoditization.

MacCannell (1976) argues that tourism settings can be arranged in a continuum starting from the front and ending at the back. He developed six stages to the continuum in a tourism setting. Those stages are presented in table 2-1.

Cohen (1979) modified MacCannell's model. Cohen's modification considered touristic settings from two points of view. Those are the setting and the tourist. From the setting's point of view, the experience can be either "real" or "staged" and from the tourists' point of view, the experience can be perceived as "real" or "staged." This modification thus presents a two-by-two classification of touristic setting (Table 2-2). According to Jennings and Wailer (2006), Cohen's model is useful to understand that even though hosts can control the level of authenticity provided by the setting; perceptions of the setting may be different for different tourists.

Sharing Authenticity

Tourists and hosts come from different backgrounds. Both have different behaviors, values, perceptions and attitudes to experience the culture that is different than their own (Cave, 2005). In addition, both hold pre-conceived notions about those things that should be private and those things that should be made public to outsiders.

From the host's perspective, there may be elements of their cultural or identity that should be displayed for outsiders as well as elements which must be retained as private for their own for spiritual and ritual reasons (Adams, 1997). Similarly, from the visitor's perspective, an open and closed environment is necessary (Bird, Osland, Mendenhall, & Scheider, 1999).

Figure 2-3 presents the dynamic interaction between community values and tourism industry values. The model provides an opportunity to analyze the discourse between tourism management and local community. The ideal management is to balance cultural values and tourism values at several levels of meaning, being active in "self-management" through community in critical.

In the study of ethnography, it is often considered that due to their circumscribed nature, short-term touristic encounters are bound to a system of meaning and value that may never move beyond representation. In fact, experiencing “something else” than the tourist “bubble” ensures that international tourists do not go anywhere real (Cohen, 1972). Whether the industry has pre-determined this controlled environment is a heavy debate. Because of this, there are many definitions of authenticity as presented in a previous section.

Authenticity has become a corner stone for an industry that generally seeks to procure other peoples’ “realities.” In tourism, authenticity poses as objectivism. It holds special powers of both distance and truth. These are vital components in the production of tourist’s value. Dialogue requires two-way communication between guest who MacCannell (1976) views as searching for authenticity and the host who is controlling the level of authenticity intentionally or not. This notion is explained in the dynamic interaction of tourism and is explained in figure 2-3.

In his study on Maori tourism, Taylor (2001) argued that authenticity often leads to reification of culture and a negativity that would undermine the touristic experience. He then suggests that in the tourism experience, values are important both to the social actors involved and to the visitor. In Taylor’s perspective, authenticity may be more positively redefined in term of local values rather than seeing value as the emanation of an “authentic object.”

Taylor (2001) used the word “sincerity” to refer to the encounter that occurs in the zone of contact among host –guest. He describes the New Zealand Maori culture as reproduced by commercially oriented non-Maoris, whereby they relied on stereotypes to create performances and shows. This allowed little personal contact between guests and Maoris. In response, local Maoris fought back by providing their own cultural experience in the form of staged back-region cultural demonstration that interpreted their culture with what Taylor called “sincerity.” This is a

good term because it draws attention to the willingness of the host to be authentic while safeguarding their heritage and destiny through intrapersonal authenticity. Thus, sincerity allows guest and host share authenticity.

According to Taylor (2001), sincerity demands a shift away from objectification and towards negotiation. Visitation to local markets, learning to dance, involving tourists in a folk ritual may blur the boundary between who is on display and who is consuming the event. As such, they move away from an objectificatory mode. The emphasis on communication of sharing authenticity also encourages tourists to reveal themselves. Thus, authenticity may be redefined in term of local values.

The Tourists-Host Interface

McKercher and DuCros (2002) argued that visitation to places of cultural, heritage interests have continued to grow in popularity, and that visits can be motivated by a range of desires. These can extend from mildly curious or simply accompanying friends who have an interest in such sites, to the other extreme. Their work indicates that as few as 12 percents of visitors can be designated as purposeful cultural seekers. Related with this phenomenon, Ryan and Huyton (2000) argued that the current tourism product is heavily oriented toward a representation of indigenous people that represents their culture as being in the past.

Ryan (2005) developed a model to indicate the role of tourism intermediaries (figure 2-4). Two key components are the degree to which community is aware of the nature of tourists and second is the nature of tourists. These tourists are defined as “the questing tourists” and the “accepting tourists” based upon their degree of knowledge of the culture of the hosts and the degree to which they wish to participate in the daily life of the community. The questing tourists have a high degree of knowledge and intention to acquire insight into the culture based on that

knowledge, while the “accepting tourists” have little knowledge and wish to perhaps dabble in culture and be entertained.

Ryan argued that the four possible scenarios result with reference to the way in which tourism products may be structured. If the community is not tourist aware, then when faced with the “questing tourist,” a tension may result between cultural exhibitions provided for the guest and the need to be hospitable. On the other hand, in the case of the “accepting tourist,” although the community may not be fully aware of tourists needs, the lack of curiosity and willingness to accept things at face value means that the tourists may not be satisfied with the level of hospitality. When the community is more “tourist aware,” it may then nominate people as intermediaries to play either a guardianship or teaching role. The former involves a revelation of knowledge appropriate information to tourists, while the latter is more general educating of community facts and values. Figure 2-4 implies that successful tourism planning is not simply a question of the presentation to the tourist but rather that tourists respond in culturally appropriate ways, as indicated by various codes of responsible tourism.

In relation to the host-visitor interface, interaction occurs between three main categories. The host which refers to local community, the visitor which refers to outsiders, and the mediator which refers to middle person, interpreter, or go between. Each of them has certain roles in the interface. Table 2-4 outlines the roles for each category.

Typically, the host has roles as guardian, teacher, and manager. As guardian, the host protects and preserves spiritual values, knowledge, and tradition that central to their community. These traditions are passed on to the members of the community, within a closed structure, from older generations to younger generations. As part of their identity, these elements of tradition will rarely be displayed for outsiders. In addition, as a guardian, the host selects visitors who can

access their daily life. Cave (2005) demonstrates through her example that Turangawaewae in New Zealand is for invited guests only. As a teacher, the host helps visitors to interpret cultural experiences (Balme, 1998). The host acts as a manager as an exchange of knowledge, entertainment, and souvenirs. Visitors actively seek cultural immersion experiences (Smiles, 2002). Visitors interact with community cultural expressions that may have been commodified for them.

Mediators play great role in the host-visitor interface. They bridge misunderstandings, facilitate positive outcomes, and solve problems between the host and visitors. In addition, they serve to assist cross-cultural communication (Brown, 1992). External mediators can act as an actor mediator between cultures by taking part in the normal daily life of a community, by participating in the mastery of cultural ethnic arts, language, or religion. The effect of this interaction can lead to an adoption of elements of other cultures to strengthen the cultural experience. As a designer, mediators can help both host and visitors to design, construct, and execute cultural performances with different levels of authenticity or commodification. In this process, some dances and rituals can be shortened, folks customs can be altered, faked, and invented (Graburn, 1976). Bedhoyo dance, a sacred dance in Java has been shortened from 4 hours to 30 minutes for public consumption. The original dance is only danced in the palace for ritual only (Geertz, 1990). As a facilitator, the mediators interpret, translate, and “make accessible those things, which are unfamiliar, exotic, strange, and unusual in another culture” (Cave, 2005:267). In this context, the term culture broker is coined as a mediator between host and visitors (Smith, 2001).

Photo-Elicitation

Visual research methods have theoretically played a minor role in social research, because social research has been a “world-based” discipline and the capacity of images to reveal “the

truth has been questioned (Harper, 2002). Recently however, visual research has become a common technique because of its user-friendly. In addition, by using photographs and playing with content (what is in the photo) and process (how photos were presented) researcher can probe participants to discuss social phenomenon (Rasmussen, 2004). Barthes (1972) suggests that the “photograph” offers a paradox, by offering a neutral, objective view of the world on one hand and a value laded ideological view on the other. Barthes believes that the function of myth in a society is to depoliticize speech. Therefore, it is possible for a photograph to have more than one meaning. In this context, photography becomes a powerful means to understand social phenomena. Over the last decade, the use of photographs for social science has received considerable attention (Rose, 2001).

There have been numerous studies across disciplines and topic areas that have used photographs to elicit information from research participants. The use of photography to provoke a response has become known as “photo elicitation” (Heisley & Levy, 1991). One early case study of photo elicitation as a field method is Collier’s (1957) study of mental health in Canada, particularly how families adapted to ethnically diverse people. In that study, Collier found that the “photographic interview got considerably more concrete information” from the interviewees (p.849). Inserting photographs into the interview process also appeared to “relieve the strain of being questioned,” functioned to sharpen the interviewee’s memory, and reduced areas of misunderstanding (Collier, 1957). Schwartz (1989) added that interviewees respond to photographs, “without hesitation. By providing informants with a task similar to viewing a family album, the strangeness of the interview situation is averted” (p.151-152).

One form of photo elicitation was termed reflexive photography indicating that the photographs are taken by participants themselves (Harrington & Lindy, 1998). Harrington and

Lindy (1998) examined the perceptions of college freshmen. In this case, ten students were given a single used camera to take shots of their impressions of the university. This was followed by a reflexive interview to discover reactions. The same technique has also been used to examine cross-culture issues. Berman (2001) studied recently arrived refugee Bosnian children aged 11-14 in Canada. Participants were given single use cameras and asked to take pictures of people, places, and events. The meanings of the photographs were then explored in later interviews.

Samuels (2004) in his study of children Buddhist monks in Sri Lanka found that inserting photographs taken by the participant themselves is more likely to reflect the participants' world and thus better suitable to bridging the culturally distinct worlds of the researcher and the researched. Using the participants' photographs in the interview process gives primacy to their world and provides a greater opportunity for them to disclose their own sense of meaning to the researchers. He also mentioned that photo-elicitation interviews resulted in a greater interest to take part in the study. Samuels (2004) also mentioned that reflexive photo-elicited interview provides an even better opportunity for reflection, recollection, and description than inserting photographs that were taken by someone other than the interviewee.

In tourism studies, photo-elicitation has been rarely been used. Botterill and Crompton (1987, 1996) and Botterill (1988, 1989) used photo-elicitation to investigate tourists' experiences from the individual tourists' perspectives. They combined the use of the repertory grid technique with the visual images by using personal holiday snapshots and brochure photographs to elicit constructs pertaining to particular destination images. In the first study (Botterill & Crompton, 1987), the researchers invited a tourist to explore her thinking about her Mexican vacation using six color prints of scenes she had personally photographed. Using the triad procedures the tourists were asked to identify how two of the photographs were similar and yet different from

the third. The results showed her individual perceptions of Mexico based on her personal experiences. In a further study, Botterill and Crompton (1996) explored the personal construct systems of two American tourists to Britain and how these changed before and after the tourists' experience.

Cederholm (2004) used photo-elicitation to study backpacker experience. He used photo-elicitation as a method for data collection as well as a method for analysis. He used the respondents own photographs in in-depth interview. His analysis of illustrated through the backpackers' narratives and experiences of travel photography. As the findings, he presented four analytical themes: framing the unique, framing the local scene, catching the moment, and the deviants among backpackers. The first three indicates the photographic and experiential ideals of the backpackers, and the fourth underlines the norms of the backpacking culture through narratives on the deviants.

From the several cases presented above, photo-elicitation can be a particularly powerful tool for social researchers to understand social phenomena. It can challenge participants, provide nuances, trigger memories, and lead to new perspectives and explanation. In addition, this technique can bridge psychological and physical realities (Douglas, 1998) allow for the combination of visual and verbal language (Wang & Burris, 1997); assist with building trust and rapport and produce unpredictable information (Samuels, 2004); promote longer, more detailed interviews (Schwartz, 1989); and provide a component of multi-methods triangulation to improve rigor (Jenkins, 1999).

Although the photo-elicitation interview is a useful tool to gather data, there are some challenges both for the interviewee and the researcher. For the interviewee, there is the mundane challenge that would not happen in a words-alone interview context. For example, participants

may lose their camera or they may be unskilled at photography. The interviewee may also use the camera in inappropriate way. Clark-Ibanez study (2004) mentioned that one of participant used the camera to take photograph of his naked sister and so the mother destroyed the camera. The financial cost, coordination of camera dissemination and retrieval and time spent developing the photographs and conducting the interview may be prohibitive for the researcher.

Community-Based Tourism

The term Community-Based Tourism (CBT) is applied to a diversity of activities, operations, and ventures that involve a community with visitors to varying degrees (Sproule & Suhandi, 1998). It refers to visitation to a place where the community is involved in presenting its people, place, or heritage as attractions or where it is providing a range of goods that constitutes the tourism element of the concept (Battadzhiev & Sofield, 2004). The current paradigm of CBT focuses on the development and promotion of tourism business and services in which organized poorer communities can play an entrepreneurial role, while protecting the local culture and natural resources (ESCAP, 2005).

The broad goals of CBT are to contribute to improved conservation and development with, economic, social, and cultural benefits for all community members (Battadzhiev & Sofield, 2004). CBT also encourages tourism that protects the local culture that the tourists have come to see in the same manner that tourist are expected to protect the natural resources they enjoy. Perhaps most important goal of CBT is socially sustainable (Jain, Lama, & Lepcha, 2000). This means the tourism activities are developed and operated, for the most part, by local community members, and certainly with their consent and support. This is not to suggest that there are not dissenting views on tourism development when carried out at the local level, but it does imply that there is a forum for debate, and that the community encourages participation (Jain *et al*, 2000). It is also important that a reasonable share of the revenues is enjoyed by the community in

one way or another. This may include revenue streams, which go to co-ops, joint ventures, community associations, businesses that widely employ local people, or to a range of entrepreneurs starting or operating small- and medium-sized enterprises (Battadzhiev & Sofield, 2004).

Another important feature of CBT is its respect for local culture, heritage, and traditions (Denman, 2001). Often, CBT actually reinforces and sometimes rescues these. Similarly, community-based tourism implies respect and concern for the natural heritage, particularly where the environment is one of the attractions (Jain *et al*, 2000).

CBT projects develop in a number of ways, and the structure, goals, and themes represent different environments, growth patterns, cultural values, and stages of development. The continuum with the private and fully enclosed resort on one end, and the completely integrated CBT activity on the other, represents an idealistic notion. Some of the types of tourism that are particularly suitable to CBT are ecotourism, ethnic/indigenous tourism, agro/rural tourism and cultural tourism since they are open to community ownership and control (Battadzhiev & Sofield, 2004). It would be difficult to find a tourism program where there is absolutely no local influence, just as it would be impossible to find an example of CBT, where there is unanimity internally and externally regarding the achievement and distribution of benefits. Taken in an international context, the variety of cultures and environments worldwide ensure that the implementation and outcomes of CBT will be different, just as communities are different.

Battadzhiev and Sofield (2004:30) classify differing degree of participation by communities in tourism activities into four broad categories:

(a) Passive interaction with tourists

Visitors may observe the indigenous community going about its daily way of life but there is no attempt to carry out specific activities for the benefits of the tourist. Although community and its members are part of the touristic landscape, there will be no direct benefit. This type of community may be regarded as participating in tourism but it is not CBT. Visitors may observe daily life and take photographs but they may be asked to pay a small fee.

(b) Indirect interaction with tourists

The examples of indirect interaction are demonstrating the skills in climbing a palm tree for which visitors will pay the climbers a small fee. A community wishing to avoid face-to-face contact may participate indirectly for example by leasing their land to a developer and receiving an annual fee but otherwise playing no direct role in tourist interaction.

(c) Direct interaction

Direct interaction includes providers of labor (e.g. in hotels) specialized personnel with skills (e.g. singing, dancing, playing ethnic musical instruments, other cultural performances) and expertise (e.g. manufacture of artifacts, guiding) with the tourists.

(d) Direct interaction in self-owned activities

Wide ranges of opportunities exist; from occasional interaction to full interaction in the tourism industry and constant contact with tourists. At one end of the range there may be community-owned and managed lands used for tourism purposes on a continuing basis with collective decision-making arrangements. On the other hand, an individual landowner may lease his land to an international entrepreneur and retain a small share in the venture.

CBT can play a significant role in generating benefits for the poor if well managed (ESCAP, 2005). It can often be developed in poor and marginal area with few other export and diversification options. Tourists are often attracted to remote areas because of their high cultural,

wildlife, and landscape values. One of the assets of poor communities is their cultural and natural heritage and CBT presents opportunities to capitalize on those assets.

CBT provides direct and indirect economic benefits to participating communities, improving their living conditions, and giving them a united sense of direction. (Battadzhiev & Sofield, 2004:8) indicates several positive impacts on the livelihoods of poor community can be identified:

- The money that can be earned by selling goods or services to both tourists and the owners of tourism facilities
- The wages that result from a growth in formal employment possibilities at the location
- The improvement of infrastructure, like roads, piped water, improved sanitation and communication and schools and learning equipment
- Sustainability of the local culture. Since culture is a tourism attraction, the local communities have a good reason to maintain their lifestyle
- The environment in which the local communities are living is also a reason for tourists to visit the location. Thus tourism is a reason to use the environment in a sustainable manner

Table 2-4 illustrated the features of successful community who implement CBT.

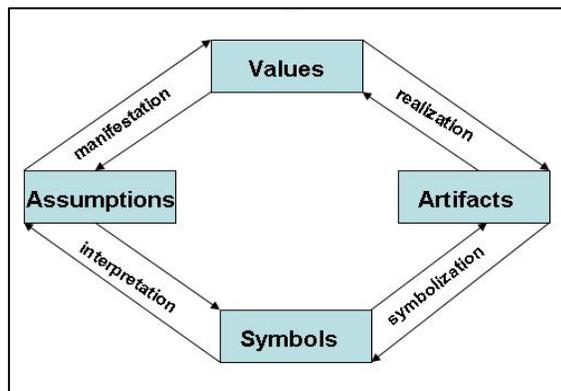


Figure 2-1. The cultural dynamic model (Hatch, 1993)

(A) Culture as a cerebral, or certainly cognitive category: culture becomes intelligible as a general state of mind. It carries with it the idea of perfection, a goal or an aspiration of individual human achievement or emancipation. This links into themes...from Marx's false consciousness to melancholy science of the Frankfurt school. In origin... mostly in the work of the Romantic literary and cultural criticism of Coleridge, Carlyle and Arnold.

(B) Culture as a more embodied and collective category: culture invokes a state of intellectual and/or moral development in society. This is a position linking culture with the idea of civilization and one that is informed by the evolutionary theories of Darwin and informative of that group of social theorists now known as 'early evolutionists' who pioneered anthropology... This notion nevertheless takes the idea of culture into the province of the collective life.

(C) Culture as a descriptive and concrete category: culture viewed as the collective body of arts and intellectual work within anyone society: this is very much an everyday language usage of the term "culture" and carries along with it senses of particularity, exclusivity, elitism, specialist knowledge and training and socialization. It includes a firmly established notion of culture as a realm of the produced and sedimented symbolic: albeit the esoteric symbolism of a society.

(D) Culture as a social category: culture regarded as the whole way of life of people: this is the pluralist and potentially democratic sense of the concept that has come to be the zone of concern within sociology and anthropology and latterly, within a more localized sense, cultural studies.

Figure 2-2. A framework of culture (Jenks, 1993 as cited by Edelheim, 2005)

	Tourism Industry Values Weak → Strong		
Cultural Community Values Strong	Self managed • active control • Cultural values strong • Access by prior knowledge		
		Mediated • Agreed access via intermediary • Community approval	
Weak			Appropriated • Tourism values strong • No community approvals • Access not agreed

Figure 2-3. Tourism industry values versus cultural community values (Cave, 2005)

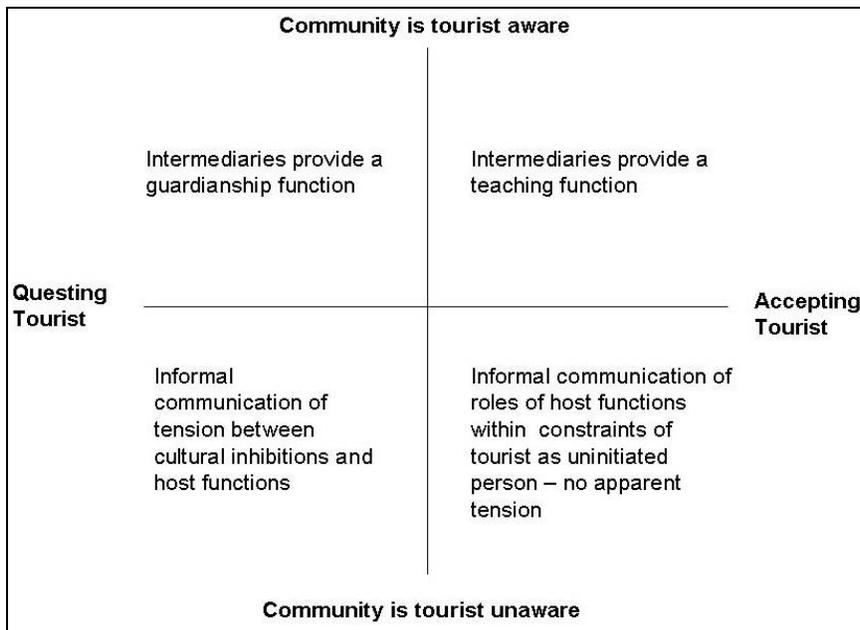


Figure 2-4. Model of community-tourists intermediaries (Ryan, 2005)

Table 2-1. MacCannell's (1976) front-back continuum

Stage 1	It is the social place where tourists attempts to overcome or to get behind
Stage 2	This stage refers to front region that has been decorated to appear. It may be like a back region. The example of this stage is a seafood restaurant with a fish net hanging on the wall. This space is actually a front region and always be, however the decoration functions as remainders of back region
Stage 3	This stage is a front region that totally organized to look like a back region. The example of this stage is simulation of moon walks for television audiences
Stage 4	This stage refers to a back region that is open to outsider. The example of this stage is official revelations of the details of secret diplomatic negotiation
Stage 5	This stage is a back region that may be cleaned up or altered a bit because tourists are permitted an occasional glimpse in. The example of this stage is orchestra rehearsal case
Stage 6	According to MacCannell this area motivates tourist consciousness

Table 2-2. Model of tourists setting

		Nature of Scene	
		Real	Staged
Tourist's Impression of Scene	Real	Authentic and recognized as such	Failure to recognize contrived tourists space
	Staged	Suspicion of staging authenticity	Recognized contrived tourists space

(Cohen, 1979 as adopted by Jennings & Weiler, 2006)

Table 2-3. Notion of roles

Roles of Host	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Guardian • Teacher • Manager
Roles of Visitor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Involved inquisitor • Edutainee • Casual observer
Roles of Mediator	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Actor • Designer • Facilitator

(Cave, 2005)

Table 2-4. Local participation on CBT

Local involved in CBT activities	
1.	Are engaged in same or similar economic activities
2.	Live under similar economic conditions and have close social affinity
3.	Have common interests
4.	Have similar needs and problems
5.	Are trusting of each other
6.	Communicate openly with each other
7.	Participate in discussions, planning, and decision making
8.	Make decisions by consensus or a majority vote
9.	Have clear objectives
10.	Are honest and work hard to achieve their objectives are committed to the community and share a sense of belonging with it
11.	Hold regular meetings
12.	Participate in the formation of the group constitution/articles of association and by-laws and obey it in letter and spirit
13.	Jointly elect a managing committee
14.	Finance community activities through agreed savings and contributions
15.	

(Jain *et al*, 2000)

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to evaluate cultural features, which can be developed as tourism in Sambu, a small village in Yogyakarta province, Indonesia. The study was conducted with the cooperation of the people of Sambu who identified their culture as a means of developing tourism. The primary source of data collection was a reflexive photography supplemented with informal interviews and participant observation. Data was analyzed using photo elicitation procedures. Insight into the data was cross checked regularly with the participants to ensure accuracy and reliability. This method showed how tourism should be planned based on the people of Sambu. This understanding served as the foundation of developing tourism in Sambu. It would also be a tool to evaluate the appropriateness of tourism for other similar rural communities in Indonesia. The village of Sambu was chosen for this study because it had maintained a viable community based tourism management program. The next section of this discussion is the rationale guiding this study and an accompanying description of the methods utilized to collect and analyze the data.

Rationale

Kelly (1999) argues that meaning cannot be separated from its cultural context. Similarly, Coalter (1999) suggests that meaning of leisure might not be found in objectively procured quantitative data, but rather from the information gained from the individuals' mind, which comprise a culture. Samdahl (1999) also mentions that social reality is subjectively defined based on cultural contexts. Therefore, the cultural context provides meaning to the social process under investigation. In addition, a symbolic interaction view from sociology will be used whereby interpretation of meaning will use symbols and things in the context of a social interaction

(Attinasi, 1989; Jary & Jary, 1991). In this view, social process can be best addressed using qualitative methodology.

The present study is interested to understand the cultural landscape of the village of Sambu as a means of developing tourism. The nature of the study called for a qualitative approach, as the purpose of qualitative research is not counting opinions or people but rather exploring the range of opinions, the different representations of the issue (Gaskel, 2000:41). Given a particular social milieu, the study is interested in finding out the variety of views on the cultural landscape of Sambu that residents want to share or not to share with visitors. In order to be confident that the full range of views has been explored the researcher would need to employ an appropriate methodology.

The present study is unique because it relied on the use of photography as a means for data collection. Empirically, photographs have been used within qualitative research in two ways; as images produced by the researcher and the images produced by research participants (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). In this case, pictures produced by study participants as “reflexive photographs” (Harper, 2002) was used. Interviews about photographs then were conducted informally. This is called the “photo-elicitation interview” (Blinn-Pike & Eyring, 1993). According to Harper “in the reflexive photographic method, the subject shares in the definition of meaning; thus the definition are said to ‘reflect back’ from the subject” (p.64-65). In this study, participants produced photographs as part of the inquiry process and then participated in an interview.

The use of photo elicitation for the study was grounded in the interactive context in which photographs acquired would reflect meaning. In this context, the process was a dynamic whereby interaction between the photographer, the spectator, and the image were controlled. Meaning was then actively constructed, not passively received. Barthes (1964) characterized photographs as

“polysemic”, capable of generating multiple meanings in the viewing process. Similarly, Byer (1966) describes photograph as follows

The photograph is not a “message” in the usual sense. It is, instead, the raw material for an infinite number of messages which viewer can construct for himself. Edward T. Hall has suggested that the photograph conveys little new information but, instead, triggers meaning that are already in the viewer (p.31).

Cronin (1998) also mentions that the meaning of the photographs arise in a narrative context.

Cronin suggests that placing emphasis on the narrative context of photographs has several important implications for any research into meaning of photographs. First, it implies that any such investigation needs to pay as much attention to the context in which photographs are used as it does to their manifest content. Secondly, it reinforces the message that the function of the photographs are primarily the creation and maintenance of meaning, and to this end a hermeneutic approach, which concentrates on the meaning woven around a photograph.

Based on studies that used a number of different qualitative research techniques, Eckhardt (2004) argued that no matter how well designed the interview questions are, how comfortable the respondents is with the interviewer, how informal and/or structured the discussion between the respondent and the researcher is, it is typical to receive one-and-two sentence answers to most questions. Therefore, the researcher believed that by allowing the informant in this study to express themselves both through picture taking and in words, and by shifting the focus from the person to the images, communication and cultural barriers maybe overcome.

Study Site

Sambi is a small village in Sleman regency. It is located in the northern part of city of Yogyakarta in the island of Java, Indonesia. It is about 21.75 miles from city of Yogyakarta. The total area is 62.76 acre. Most of Sambi residents are Javanese and the main occupation is rice

farming (Village record, 2006). The total number of residents is 223 people (Village record, 2006). The village is located on the slope of Mount Merapi (Figure 3-1).

Mount Merapi is one of the Indonesia's most active volcanoes. The last eruption was in June 2006, causing the evacuation of more than 1100 people from many villages. Despite its active status, Mount Merapi continues to hold particular significance for the Javanese people. It is one of four places where officials from the royal palace of Yogyakarta make annual offerings to placate the ancient Javanese spirits.

The village is also near Gunung Merapi National Park (GMNP). The park was officially inaugurated on October 17, 2003 by President Megawati. The park covers 43,265 acre on the slopes of two neighboring volcanoes - Mount Merapi and Mount Merbabu - located in the provinces of Central Java and Yogyakarta. The Forestry Department describes Mount Merapi as a natural ecosystem which is still intact, comprising alpine habitat with meadows and shrubs and mountain habitats with endemic species such as orchids (*Vanda tricolor*), the Javan tiger, and the Javan Eagle (Forestry Department, 2003).

Right from the start, experts from Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta (GMU) advised officials that in-depth studies of the planned park area were needed and proposed intensive discussions with villagers. The Non Government Organization (NGO) WALHI Yogyakarta called for a new model of management to avoid the conflicts between the government and indigenous communities. It proposed that a consortium of local stakeholders should have overall control. The university and local NGOs held several public meetings to discuss the proposal with local government officials on the platform.

However, the plans were pushed through by the forestry department from Jakarta, Yogyakarta, and Central Java with no genuine consultation. A series of meetings were held in

various sub-districts where people were told what a national park was and that their area was to become part of one. Government officials brushed aside any resistance, claiming that all the communities agreed with the park plans with only minor reservations. Many local people were concerned about their livelihoods. They were worried that they will no longer be allowed to collect volcanic sand for building materials or gather firewood or fodder for their animals. They feared that they will be marginalized by conservation measures, even though forestry officials have publicly stated that no one will be evicted from the new park (Kusuma, 2003).

Despite the active status and a conflict surrounding Mount Merapi, the volcano draws thousands of domestic and international visitors annually. Kaliurang area is the main tourism site in Mount Merapi where accommodations, parks, and other facilities are concentrated. This area is one of popular destinations for visitors to Yogyakarta. Sambi itself is located on the major road to Kaliurang, from Yogyakarta (Figure 3-1)

Sambi has not been prepared as a rural tourism destination. The history of tourism in Sambi dates back to the late 1990s. In this period, tourist providers based in Yogyakarta tried to attract more visitors to Yogyakarta by developing new tourism destinations. They saw the potential for Sambi to be packaged as a rural tourism destination. This community is still practicing Javanese traditions and rituals. There are also very rare traditional Javanese style homes. This village is also surrounded by rice terraces with the 5 -15° elevation and creeks. It also has a 16-65 feet high cliff.

After consulting with some residents, local tour operators began bringing international tourists to the village. The common package tour includes visiting Kaliurang with a stop in the village of Sambi on the way back to Yogyakarta. There is usually a two-hour village tour and lunch or dinner and entertainment by residents. In some cases, tourists would stay overnight.

These tours continued for several years without any record on the number of visitors. Gradually, Sambu gained popularity among tour operators as an alternative tourism destination.

In May 2002, Sambu was chosen as a venue for the Jogja International Silk Exhibition and Conference (JISEC). This event was attended by international participants and covered by the international mass media. In this event, participants had a village tour and had a dinner in Sambu. During this event, residents performed their traditional dances and other performances to entertain the participants. This event had a positive impact because many more visitors came to the village either to experience the atmosphere of Javanese village, enjoy the natural scenery, and enjoy traditional performance prepared by the residents.

The types of visitors in Sambu are both domestic and international visitors, students to and professionals looking for a retreat from their daily routines by immersing in the village atmosphere. Table 3-1 presents the number of overnight visitor in Sambu. The actual number of international visitors is not known, as most of visitors are excursionists or brought by tour operators.

In 2003, residents of Sambu formed a tourism committee to enhance the quality of the tourism experience for tourists and to maximize benefits from tourism for all residents. The committee has four divisions namely (1) Culture and Tradition; (2) Environment; (3) Housing; (4) Art and Performance; (5) Safety and Security. Table 3-2 illustrates the main job descriptions for each division.

In 2003, Gaia Foundation, a NGO in community development began to assist Sambu in developing a better community-based tourism plan. With Gaia assistance, Sambu built outbound facilities to attract more visitors especially the international visitors. Gaia also assisted Sambu in designing trekking trails and cliff climbing.

Until now, few tourism-related studies have been conducted in Sambu. Most of the studies focused on the viability of Sambu as a rural tourism destination by conducting SWOT (Strength, Weakness, Opportunity, and Threat) analysis (Marthono, Tristiani, & Soep, 2003; Dinas Pariwisata & Kebudayaan Kabupaten Sleman, Pusat Studi Pariwisata UGM & Pengelola wisata se-kabupaten Sleman, 2006). None of them researched experiences with tourism for the past few years. Therefore, the full understanding of tourism in Sambu is still unknown. This situation opens a possibility to evaluate tourism in Sambu from the residents own experience. This evaluation is important as Sambu is currently reviewing some strategies to develop new tourism products to attract more visitors. They are interested in attracting visitors and offering more unique experiences than other villages with similar packages. By doing so, it will unlock the opportunity for Sambu to sustain the tourism in their community.

Data Collection

Preliminary data collection for this research was conducted in June-July 2006. In this phase, the researcher made an on-site visit to Sambu and discussed the possibility of conducting research in the village with the tourism committee, local authorities, and the Gaia Foundation. After obtaining permission and support from all parties, the researcher gathered some available data pertaining to demographics, number of visitors, and the current tourism plan. Informal interviews with several people were also conducted to better understand the current condition of tourism in Sambu. These data became the foundation for designing the research project and fieldwork.

The fieldwork was conducted in June-July 2007. In this study, data was gathered in three stages (1) an initial interview, (2) a photo making process, and (3) a photo-elicitation interview. Informal interviews were also conducted with the Gaia Foundation, local authorities, and other parties to enhance the validity and reliability of the study.

Participants

A pool of potential participants for this study was generated by posters informing the community of the study and inviting participation throughout the village. All residents were invited to a public information session at the village chair's house, at which time participants would be recruited. Additional participants were also recruited from several group meetings in Sambu such as woman and youth group meetings.

Twenty-eight residents of Sambu were recruited for the study. The study used "criterion – based sampling" (Patton, 1990: 179). The criteria used for selecting these twenty-eight participants were designed, as Stake (1994) prescribed, 'to [assure] variety based on opportunity to (p.244). These criteria included the following (a) the subjects had to come from a variety of occupations including those employed directly with tourism and those who were not. (b) The subjects' time in residency in Sambu should be varied. (c) The subjects had to come from a variety of ages. (d) The subjects had to come from both genders. Potential participants were asked to fill out a short demographic survey to see if they met the criteria above. The sample attempted to provide a cross sectional representation of the people of Sambu. Creswell (1998) recommended between five and twenty-five interviews for qualitative research. Similarly, Kuzel (1992:4) tied his recommendations to sample heterogeneity and research objectives, recommending six to eight interviews for a homogeneous sample and twelve to twenty data sources "when looking for disconfirming evidence or trying to achieve maximum variation". Therefore, twenty-eight residents were considered sufficient for the study. Table 3-3 presents the profiles of the participants of the study. As shown table 3-3, the participants were made of 15 females and 13 males. They ranged in age between 19-60. Their education backgrounds were varied from elementary school to higher education. They represented five types of jobs as identified by participants themselves. They had lived in Sambu between 3-60 years.

Participants were given information about the research and use of findings and photos. Participants were provided with opportunities to withdraw their participation or use of their photos. Even after the photo making process was completed, participants could contact the researcher to withdraw from the study if they wished.

Photo Making Process

In auto-photography, the participant was given control of the camera and was responsible for taking photographs. This approach ‘permits other to view the world from the view of the observed person’ (Ziller, 1990: 124). The cameras were distributed as soon as the participants understood their assignments and signed informed consent form from the University of Florida’s Institutional Review Board and participant list. Prior to distributing the cameras, the participants were given a training session, where they learned how to (1) use the camera, (2) keep tracks of photos they took using a numbered list, (3) explain the purpose of taking photographs, and (4) ask for permission when they took photos.

When using auto-photography it was helpful to simplify the picture taking process as much as possible and provide some structure to the image-making experience (Taylor, 2002). For this reason, the resident participants were issued a camera with built in flash containing 27 color exposures, which was preloaded. The camera was a single use 35 mm (including flash) that required no adjustment for light or other environmental conditions. This choice of camera helped simplify the picture-taking experience. Many frames were intended to achieve a high level of coverage. The participants were then given the written instructions in Indonesian (Figure 3-2).

Participants were asked to take photos of things, places, people, or anything else, which reflected things that were unique and important to them. Table 3-4 outlines details of participant assignment. Participants were encouraged to make notes regarding their thoughts about the pictures after taking the photographs. There were no limitations to what the participant could use

as expression of what was considered important. They, however, were encouraged to take a minimum of two pictures of each image, to ensure that they had captured their thoughts. Participants were given two weeks to take pictures. Some of participants were completed the assignment in a couple of days. A few others completed in two weeks. Only two participants completed the assignment in three weeks. Whenever participants completed the assignment, she or he put the camera at the village chair's house. Every two days, the cameras were picked up and taken for developing.

After developing the photographs, the next step was editing which referred to the process of selecting negatives to print (Heisley & Levy, 1991). In this step, contact sheets were made by placing all the negative strips for a roll of film in a transparent 8-10 inch sleeve and developing a picture from it. One 8 by 10 inch contact sheet had the information from an entire roll on it; each picture on the contact sheet was the size of a 35-milimeter negative. Contact sheets were the "raw" data (Heisley & Levy, 1991). As a photographic project developed, the analysis might return to the contact sheets to code them and to select prints for further analysis as findings emerged.

In selecting the photographs for printing, several issues were taken into account. First, the technical quality of the photographs had to be good enough to be used effectively in the photo-elicitation interview. Second, in the printing of selected images, no cropping (changing the initial framing of the event) was done. Avoiding cropping in this stage was suggested by Heisley & Levy (1991) because the researcher was not yet sure, what might be important. In addition, because all the photographs were shot with the same standard lens, full-frame printing allowed the comparison of photographs and provided more information about the distance of the photographer from the objects (Haisley & Levy, 1991). Two sets of photographs were printed;

one for the participants and the other for the researcher. Each printed photograph was assigned code on the backside as identification (ID), which refers to its location in the contact sheet. The code number consisted of camera and frame number. For example, code number 02.14 referred to camera number 2, frame number 14.

Although participants had been given training in using single use camera, some technical problems occurred that affected the number and quality of photos developed. In addition, some participants lent the cameras to others who did not know how to use them. There were some disappointments when the participants saw their photos of interior scenes that were very dark or of a headless person. The researcher also found that one camera malfunctioned (the flash did not work). Despite technical or other problems, the participants were generally very pleased to use the camera and to receive their photographs.

Photo-Elicitation Interview

The next step in the study was the photo-elicitation interview phase. This photo interviewing technique operated with ‘the express aim of exploring participants’ values, beliefs, attitudes, and meanings and in order to trigger memories, or to explore group dynamics or systems’ (Prosser, 1998: 124). Interviews were conducted with participants about the photographs they took. Exploring photographs during an interview with a participant offered a stimulating medium for discussion and helped maintain the focus of the study. The implementation of a photo-elicitation interview in the present study occurred soon after the photographs had been printed. Most interviews were held at the homes of the participants. Some interviews were also conducted at the village chair’s house. All interviews were conducted in the evening or at night, to protect work schedules.

During the interview, the researcher asked participants a series of qualitative open-ended questions about the assembled sets of photographs taken by the participants as suggested by

Secondulfo (1997) and Kvale (1996). The researcher however did have a semi-structured protocol to refer to if the researcher needed help with the interview. When the discussion began to focus on the photographs it was important that both the researcher and the participant could easily view them. The researcher laid them out on the table. In addition, before discussing each image the researcher marked on the back of the photograph what it represented (e.g a river, a house, a person). This was helpful later when the researcher was organizing the data for analysis. Once the photographs were identified, the participant was asked questions related to each photograph. In this study, the researcher asked the participant to describe what was going on in the photographs and then asked them to separate photographs that show something important and to explain why they believed it so. The photographs helped the participant construct the events and provoked detailed descriptions. The images also helped participant justify their stance. The emergent technique was used in the interview. The guided question was what is going on in this picture?

As the description progressed, questions were raised about the specific content of the image, the process involved in taking it, what thoughts came to mind during the execution of the photographs, and what it represented about living in Sambu. Then the participant was asked to sort and categorize photographs of what they thought represented life in Sambu. This step followed Kelly's (1955) personal construct theory. Kelly argued that people make sense of the world of constructing a perspective on events, people, and situations. These highly personal 'constructs' represent theories about the world based on individual experiences and represent deeply held values. Each construct is unique to that person (Dalton & Dunnett, 1990:7). Constructs could be categorized and ordered in a process called 'laddering' (Dalton & Dunnett, 1990:69). This category and laddering approach was used when the participant categorized the

photographs. The guided question was: Do these pictures represent things that are important about living here for you and your community? Why?

The researcher took notes of the each photograph information, which were grouped by participant. These groups became the initial themes for research question one; resident perception on Sambi's culture. Once we isolated all the "important" images from the photo interview kit, the researcher asked the participant: Which pictures are especially important? What makes this person, place, or event important to you?

The participant then was asked to re-categorize the images that they wanted to share with visitors. This was used as the preliminary analysis for the emerging themes as the participant named the topic groups. The guided questions were if you were going to show people what it is like to live here which pictures will you include? Which would not be included? What kinds of things are missing?

The researcher was largely a recorder of participant ideas and associations, querying them only when some statement was not clear or when some aspect of the photograph remained undiscussed. The researcher tried to do as little as possible in guiding the interviews. If ideas were raised that required further elaboration, the researcher asked them briefly before moving on the next photograph, to clarify some expressions or words that they had used (e.g., "What do you mean by X?"). In some instances, the researcher encouraged the participants to expand on their descriptions by saying, "Is that so!" This additional analysis broke down the categories even further for a clearer look at what the participant deemed important from their daily life, which can be used as tourist attraction.

The participant then prioritized which of categories was most important and ranked the photographs for their significance within each category. This added a layer of complexity to the

ordering, but also gave the participant an opportunity to talk in the order of their most significant photographs. This process of sorting the photographs seemed to help their thoughts around the task. At any time the participant re-categorized the photographs, the researcher numbered the photographs in the order that they were discussed. The photographs that were categorized by participants then were put in the envelope for later analysis.

The interviews were, overall, much longer than the researcher anticipated; indeed, most of the interviews lasted 60-80 minutes approximately in length. Four interviews took almost two hours to complete. In numerous instances, discussing the first few pictures lasted between 15 to 25 minutes alone. To assure ethical research procedures of confidentiality, informed consent, and the rights of withdrawal were followed, as outlined in the study's ethical approval application. Each participant was given the opportunity to select a pseudonym. In the case where a participant did not select a pseudonym, a pseudonym was then assigned to them to protect confidentiality and anonymity. Interviews were audio and video recorded. The video record captured both the interview conversation and the photographic images for analysis. The audio recorder recorded the interview conversation. The audiotapes were later transcribed and translated into English.

Data Analysis

After the interviews were completed, the next phase was analyzing data. The present study employed several steps in analyzing data. First, audiotapes of all interviews were transcribed verbatim and then translated into English. To ensure the accuracy of the transcriptions, an Indonesian student helped as a secondary transcriber to transcribe and rechecked the verbatim transcription. The next step was to translate the verbatim transcription into English. The researcher read and reread all transcripts and field notes to become intimately familiar with the data. According to Marshall and Rossman (1995), familiarity with responses is critical to the process of analyzing qualitative data. The researcher was particularly interested in patterns that

emerged across the photographs that were used in the interview as well as across 28 participants. The researcher conducted an inductive thematic analysis using both the participant's photographic images and the interview transcripts.

The next step was close reading of the transcript. The basic unit of analysis was a quote of a photograph. A quote was defined as a statement made by a participant that expressed a single feeling or idea about the research questions (Loeffler, 2004). Bernard (2003) mentioned several techniques to identify themes in qualitative research. Due to the nature of the unit of analysis, the study looked for repetitions, similarities, and differences, missing data, and theory-related materials in the text. The researcher read and reread all interview transcripts line-by-line, identifying quotes to represent participants' perceptions on their cultural landscape and weaving these together. This process involved sifting through the text and marking them up with different colored pens until the categories emerged. The researcher used 15 different colors to identify emerging categories such brown to represented landform features, blue represented water features, green represented vegetation, and red represented rural way of life. The quotes would be then incorporated into a photograph database for further analysis.

In analyzing photographs, Collier (2001: 38) referred to direct and indirect analysis. Direct analysis was the examination by the researcher of the content and the character of the images as data. This process involved looking at the different images as a whole as well as an inventory based on the guiding research questions measuring (counting) and comparing content found in the images, and developing categories or themes that emerge naturally from the photographs. However, although the researcher employed direct analysis of the images, a direct analysis was not central to the study. Particularly since the photographs were used exclusively as a photo-elicitation device to help stimulate the subconscious in the exploration of what participant

believed as important in their daily life in Sambu, and that they want to share with visitors. This approach of using photo-elicitation was referred to as an indirect analysis (Taylor, 2002). In an indirect analysis, the photographs were interpreted by the participant and not the researcher as part of the interview process. This allowed the researcher to avoid a problematic aspect often associated with using photography in research such as does it reflect a 'true' representation of the participant's reality. In other words, indirect analysis recognized the photograph as a projection of the subjective and moved away from the rigid interpretation of the images as some kind of integral representation of reality. The purpose of the photograph was to stimulate the subconscious, jog memories, and set a more realistic context for the interview experience (Banks, 2001).

After identifying meaningful chunks of the interviews, the next step was analyzing the photographs. It began when the participants viewed the pictures and provided explanations of the pictures (Prosser & Schwartz, 1998) by categorizing them. The next stage of analysis occurred when the researcher closely reviewed the pictures that were grouped by participants in the photo-elicitation interview. To make the analysis easier, all photographs were digitalized at the time of development and stored on six photographic CD-ROMs. Next, all photographs were cataloged and entered into image album of Microsoft Access (2000) database. Access was one of many database programs that can be adapted for cataloging photographs by multiple fields of interests. One advantage of using Microsoft Access was its ability to display a digitalized thumbprint sized photographs corresponding to each data (Clark & Zimmer, 2001).

The database was designed to prompt (1) list photograph ID number (camera number and the location of the frame in contact sheet). (2) A general notes section if we recalled important events or discussion that had taken place at the time of photograph. (3) A content note; in the

content section of database, the researcher created a coding system to label the activity, place, people, or event in the photograph. (4) Participants' categorization of images that represented daily life in Sambu and things that were important to them and their intention to show or not. (5) The database also contained quotes or the participants' verbal accounts of selected photos from the interview transcripts. The database functioned as a codebook.

Next step is microanalysis of the photographs. Microanalysis was completed by the researcher on each photograph in the database (Collier & Collier, 1986). Microanalysis required careful examination of images by identifying major categories. A list of information to be recorded was delineated and used to analyze the photographs. For this study, the following information was logged: who was in the pictures, where the picture was taken, what activity depicted, what information was similar to the verbal interviews, and what information was added to the verbal interviews. This step included printing the database, cutting and sorting. This involved re-identifying quotes or expressions that seemed somehow important and then arranging the quotes into piles of things that went together. Then the researcher laid out the quotes randomly on a big table and sorted them into piles of similar quotes. By sorting expressions into piles at different levels of abstraction, the researcher could identify final themes and categories (Bernard, 1995). There was always constant comparison between data collected, related literature and emerging themes. Making comparisons between all selected photographs allowed the researcher to derive patterns of response and to see if the photographs related to the themes that had emerged from the interview data. In summary, data analysis began when data collection began. It was a "simultaneous process" (Merriam, 1988:123).

Validity and Reliability

Babbie (2007) argues that qualitative research provides measures with greater validity than quantitative research. The photo-elicitation interviews enhanced the validity of qualitative

methods and helps address some pitfalls in conventional qualitative interview. The photographs eased rapport between the researcher and interviewee (Clark-Ibanez, 2004). For the researcher, information provided in the photographs facilitated asking respondents questions (Collier, 1967). Photographs provided a structure for the interview by creating a semi structured interview schedule. Photographs also lessened some of the awkwardness of the interview because there was something to focus on especially if the photographs were taken by the interviewee and they were therefore familiar with the material (Clark-Ibanez, 2004). Validity in this study was also increased by researcher's familiarity of the culture and language of people in Sambu. To increase validity, during the last week of the fieldwork, the researcher copied each photograph and its participant commentaries onto an A4 sheet. Then researcher asked participants to make any correction on a notepaper. They kept the transcripts and the printed photographs as their copy. They submitted only noted correction, if any, at the village chair's house where the researcher would pick them up. Only one person submitted correction about his thought on his two photographs. The researcher incorporated the changes that participants made into the final manuscript copy of the interview.

In qualitative research, Babbie (2007) argues that it might pose a problem with reliability. Typically, qualitative interviews are considered reliable when the same individual collects and analyses data (Kirk & Miller, 1986). In this study, all interviews were conducted by the researcher in either Javanese (residents' mother tongue) or Indonesian. As the researcher was fluent in both languages, a language barrier was not an issue.

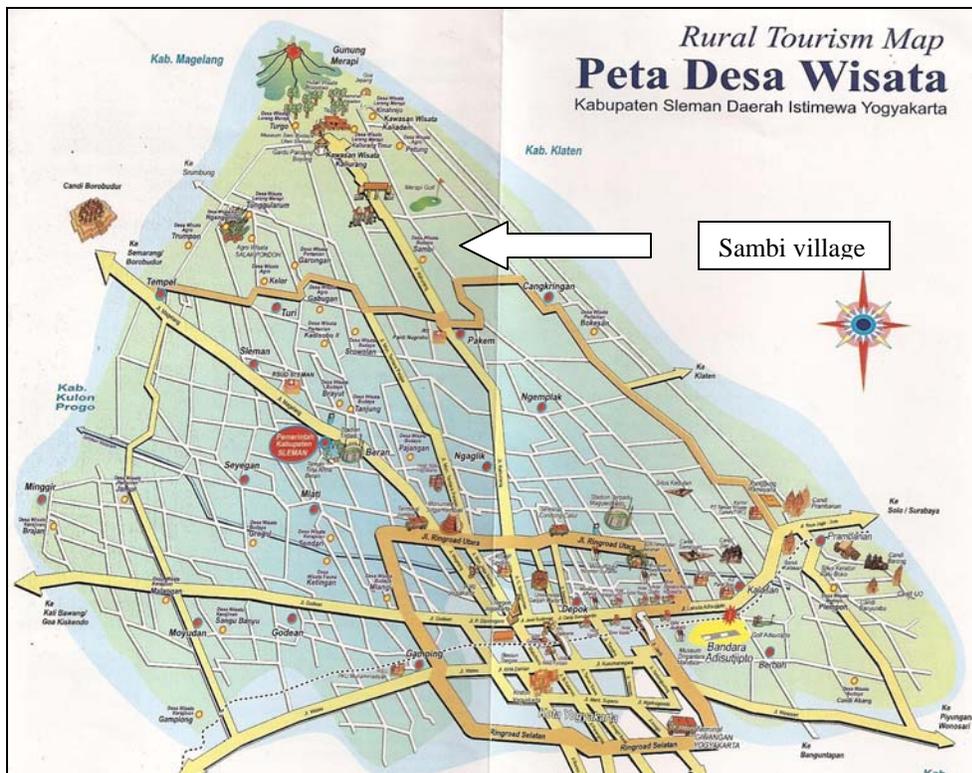


Figure 3-1. Map of Sambi (Sleman tourism brochure, 2002)

What you'll do: Take pictures of locales, activities, or events that are significant to you and/ or your community (for example important places, rituals, etc - it's up to you). This is a **FREE** project – it will not cost you anything.

- This camera issued to you. Remember to keep it out of the sun
- I will pick up the camera when you have are done taking the pictures. I think two weeks should be enough time but let me know if you need more time.
- After the photos are developed. I will bring you the photos
- We will have some time to talk about the photos you took.
- Let me know if you have any questions: [my contact number]
- Have fun

Figure 3-2. Participants' assignment card

Table 3-1. Number of overnight visitors to Sambi village 2001 to 2004

Visitors	2001	2002	2003	2004
Domestics	142	111	176	186
International	38	7	8	7
Total	180	118	184	193

(Village visitor record, 2006)

Table 3-2. Job description of Sambu's tourism committee

Culture and tradition	To oversee, maintain, and enhance the existence of traditional culture, beliefs, and rituals
Environment	To oversee and coordinate environment preservation programs in the village
Facility and accommodation	To oversee and coordinate any facility for visitors including accommodation and selecting residents houses for visitor's accommodation (home stay),
Arts and performance	To coordinate, plan, and program any performance for visitors consumption
Safety and security	To coordinate, plan, program, and assure the safety and security of all visitors and residents, including mitigate any possible conflict between residents and visitors.

Table 3-3. List of participants

No	Pseudo name	Sex	Age	Education	Livelihood	Year in Sambu Village
1	Nana	female	30	Higher education	private employee	5
2	Silvia	female	48	high school	farmer	28
3	Utik	female	31	high school	housewife, farmer	5
4	Penta	female	40	Higher education	housewife	4
5	Neni	female	28	high school	housewife, farmer	3
6	Ajeng	female	36	Middle school	housewife	15
7	Diana	female	25	Higher education	unemployed	25
8	Joko	male	49	high school	farmer	47
9	Dewi	female	34	high school	housewife	15
10	Agnes	female	21	high school	unemployed	19
11	Yoyok	male	63	Middle school	farmer	37
12	Oda	male	42	Middle school	farmer	40
13	Benny	male	30	Higher education	private employee	30
14	Satya	male	55	elementary school	farmer	55
15	Bayu	male	47	high school	farmer	47
16	Andri	male	60	high school	elementary school teacher	60
17	Ratri	male	34	high school	farmer	34
18	Wenny	female	47	high school	farmer	12
19	Hesti	female	35	elementary school	farmer	15
20	Indri	female	33	high school	farmer	33
21	Bismoko	male	24	Middle school	farmer	24
22	Andre	male	25	high school	private employee	25
23	Ony	male	38	Higher education	private employee	38
24	Galih	male	19	high school	unemployed	19
25	Guntur	male	50	elementary school	farmer	50
26	Sissa	female	38	high school	housewife	38
27	Tersi	female	37	high school	government employee	12
28	Rostati	female	33	high school	farmer	13

CHAPTER 4 RESULTS

The chapter presents the findings of the study. The chapter is divided into four main sections to answer the guided research questions. (1) What does Sambu's culture mean to the people of Sambu? (2) What do the people of Sambu want to share with visitors about their culture? (3) What do the people of Sambu want to hide about their culture from visitors? (4) How do the people of Sambu choose to negotiate themes, which they want to show to visitors and themes that they want to hide from visitors? To provide a clear description of the findings, photos and quotes are used throughout the chapter.

The participants (N=28) took 653 photographs. A total of 618 photographs were used in the interview. Thirty-five photographs could not be used due to several reasons such as out-of-focus, too dark, or participants' personal request. Each participant took 23.32 photographs in average. Initially the photographs were coded by content into 15 detailed themes and categories for analysis. These categories were initially grouped by participants themselves in the photo-elicitation interview in which they were asked to group and regroup photographs based on research questions. Table 4-1 shows 15 themes that emerged during photo-elicitation interview and number of participants who took pictures of them.

These categories were then collapsed into seven emergent photographic themes: (1) environment features, (2) rural way of life, (3) structures, (4) arts and festival, (5) people, (6) animals. Outliers of the photographs were coded into "other" theme (Figure 4-1)

Thirty nine percent of the photographs represented a rural way of life. Using their cameras, participants sought to capture images of farming activities, rural daily activities, farmland, and traditional instruments. The rest of the images they captured were split between images of environmental features around Sambu such as valley, rivers, roads, and various vegetation (28%),

built structures (12%), arts and festivals (3%), people (9%), animals (7%) and other (2%). The participants used these photographs as a springboard for discussion in the photo-elicitation interview. Data analysis of those discussions yielded a tremendous amount of information. The findings of the discussion are presented below.

Question 1: Meaning of Sambi's Culture to the People of Sambi

The study is intended to understand how people of Sambi view their culture. To elicit information about residents' perception about their culture, the researcher asked a participant to categorize photographs to represent about life in Sambi. Then the researcher asked the participant, "Why these pictures represent things that are important about living here for you and your community? The researcher then took a note on the photograph ID number. Using this question, the researcher was able to elicit two major themes of Sambi's culture. Those themes were agricultural village and ritual and tradition. These two themes were always appeared and discussed by participants in each photo-elicitation interview.

Agricultural Village

The theme of agriculture was used by all participants. For instance, Silvia, a mother of two children who works as a rice farmer, looking intently at the photograph (Figure 4-2) held on her hand she said

Most of the residents here are farmers. Some of them may not have a rice field but they work for other residents who own it... As you see this village is surrounded by rice fields... and that is Mount Merapi. Besides rice field you can also see chili, salaca [snake fruit], and lettuce in the village. Some residents may have other jobs but I think we are farmers...
(Silvia)

Similar responses were received from other participants. Another participant, Guntur (Figure 4-3) added

We are in the slope of Mount Merapi. This village is the first area, which has fresh water from the mountain. We can plant rice or anything here year round, unlike other villages in the south of Yogyakarta. They get less water so that they have to arrange together when

they should plant rice, when they should harvest. Here you can plant any time you like... (Guntur)

Utik who just moved in to Sambu five years ago from Bandung also offered similar view (Figure 4-4)

I moved here five years ago because my husband is from Sambu. Here the weather is cool, there is a valley, surrounded by rice fields and everyday you can see farmers walk to the field... Those are *bu* Minah and ... [long pause] I think *pak* Budi.. They are going to the field. They bring paddy on their back. Some people start planting paddy today. I like moving here. I think if you want to see daily life of rice farmer, you should live here or at least stay here a couple of days... (Utik)

People of Sambu have grown their crops on very small farmland using a highly labor intensive and manual technique of cultivation. Some of residents who possess an above average amount of land rent it out in various kinds of tenancy agreements to others. This leasing of the land is usually done for more than one cropping season, because then the total rental price will be more favorable than for only one cropping season. However, the rental price also depends on a number of other factors such as quality and condition of the land, the owner's need for cash, and as always in the case of Javanese culture, the relationship between owner and tenant. Andri, an elementary school teacher held his photo (Figure 4-5) said

I have a rice field on the corner of the village. I asked another person to take care of it as I am busy with my job as an elementary school teacher. Many people here work at the farms... Rice farming is demanding work; you should take care of it every day. I have other things to do. I rent it to another resident who has no farm ... I can help other residents who have no job... You know, we need to help each other here ... (Andri)

The agreement usually determines that the owner pays a land tax; and for leasing arrangements of more than ten cropping seasons, it is customary to have the presence of the village officials as witness. One participant, Bayu, commented: "We need to have the village official when signing the leasing agreement to protect every party in case something bad may happen in the future."

In Sambu, as with other Javanese villages, there are three main share-crop systems. Joko a farmer who has been living in Sambu since forty-seven year ago explained

We have three main share-crop systems; *maro*, under which the tenant receives half of the crop, but has to bear the costs of seed, fertilizer and labor, while the owner pays the land tax; *mertelu*, the tenant receives one-third thereby bearing also the costs as in *maro*; *merpat* the tenant receives one-quarter of the crop, but is only compelled to bear the labor costs... (Joko)

Merpat naturally occurs when the need for rice land becomes great, and has now become the most common land-tenure system in most Javanese village (Koentjaraningrat, 1985). Another participant, Ratri, said that there is another land tenure arrangement.

We also have pawning or *gade* system... the owner of a land surrenders it to another person for a fixed sum, without transferring the title. The latter may cultivate the land until the former pays back his debts... (Ratri)

In the *gade* system, the interest to be paid consists of the entire crop of the land, for the duration of the loan. In order to receive a bigger loan, a person often offers himself as agricultural laborer on his own pawned land.

In Sambu there are three major types of land-use systems; the mixed garden around the house called *pekarangan*, the dry fields, collectively called *tegalan*, and the irrigated rice field or *sawah* in Indonesian. The mixed garden represents a large selection of plants, which are organized vertically, as well as horizontally to take maximum advantage of available sunshine. The tall coconut palms and fruit trees in between, then there are herb and spicebushes that grow lower, and finally there are the shade-tolerant tubers, which grow under the trees and near the soil. Utik, a housewife, explained her photo (Figure 4-6), "Our *pekarangan* is not that big, we have palm tree, mango tree, and salaca (snake fruit). I also plant flowers and decorative plants. Some people here also plant herbs in their *pekarangan*. "Another participant, Wenny, added, "I love gardening so I plant a lot of herbs such as chili and tomatoes. I also plant flowers and decorative plants."

The *pekarangan* often provides a steady harvest throughout the year because of its large variety of plants, and because it is a ready source of additional cash income for many items that can be sold in the local market. In addition, in their *pekarangan*, many residents have fishpond as explained by Satya through his description of his photo (Figure 4-7).

Many residents here have fishpond. The water here is very good. Whenever we want to eat fish, we just take some from the pond. We also can sell the fish at the market to get extra money. For me I like watching and feeding fish in my pond, its fun and relaxing... (Satya)

The *tegalan* or dry fields are partly found on steep sloping land or areas that cannot be converted into wet-rice fields because of the porous character of the soil. *Tegal* usually provides two short season crops per year such as peanuts and cassava. The poor water holding capacity of *tegalan* land is often the reason for its restricted ability to produce additional crops. In Sambu, only a few areas are *tegalan* as Sambu is located in the slope of Mount Merapi with plenty of water. Ony, holding his picture (Figure 4-8) explained

This is my wife in *tegalan*. Some people here plant soybean, cassava, or peanuts in their *tegalan*, but only a few. The soil here is really good and we have plenty of water so we transform the land into rice fields. (Ony)

The cultivation of rice in flooded fields, or *sawah* in Indonesian, is the main kind of agricultural technology utilized by farmers, the most important base of their substance. Increasing intensive cultivation practices have also increased the yield of the harvests. In well-irrigated areas, farmers cultivate fish in inundated rice fields, a practice that not only provides additional protein for the farmer's diet, but also seems to have a favorable effect on the soil.

In our rice field, I also have fish because we have a plenty of water... whenever harvest come, I can get some extra money from the fish... (Joko)

Although farmers are usually engaged in farming activities, it is obvious that a large variety of non-farming occupations exist in Sambu village communities. Many residents are often engaged in both, combining the two as primary and secondary occupations. In responding to this

research interview only a few identified themselves as *petani* (farmer), although they actually spend more person-hours in farming activities. Thus, it was extremely difficult for the researcher to determine not only the difference between primary and secondary occupations, solely based on statement of the respondents themselves. In addition, some participants used a more prestigious work such as teacher or private employee although they might engage in farming activities.

People here sometimes do not want to be called as *petani* [farmer] because the word *petani* implies uneducated and poor... I am *petani* and I have warung [a food-stand] too. I think it is time we change that idea... don't you think so? (Bismoko)

Ritual and Tradition

Aside from discussing an agricultural life style, most participants of this study also discussed about how they still practice many rituals and traditions in their village. Ajeng, for example said

Here we still practice several traditions such as *slametan* for giving birth, when people passed away, before planting paddy, or before harvests. We always conduct *slametan* otherwise, we are afraid something bad may happen. (Ajeng)

Geertz (1960) argued that the *slametan* is the center of the whole Javanese religious system.

Slametan is the Javanese version of what is perhaps the world's most common religious ritual, the communal feast, and as almost everywhere, it symbolizes the mystic and social unity of those participating in it. Friends, neighbors, fellow workers, relatives, local spirits, dead ancestors, and near-forgotten gods all are bound, by virtue of their commensality, into a defined social group pledged to mutual support and cooperation. (Geertz, 1960:11)

A *slamatan* can be given in response to any events one wants to celebrate, ameliorate, or even sanctify. The word *slamatan* is derived from the Javanese word *slamat*, which means, "nothing bad is going to happen". *Slamatan* always takes times in some events related to life-span; birth, marriage, death or planting paddy and before harvesting rice. Although the emphasis or mood for each event is different, the underlying structure remains the same. There is always a special food,

incense, the Islamic chant, and the extra-formal high-Javanese speech of the host. Sissa, a housewife, took picture of *slamatan* (Figure 4-9). She explained

I conducted *slamatan* for my newborn baby a week ago; I invited all people in the village to get their blessing for my baby. I prepared meals for those who attended the ceremony. I also had to give them meals in a box to take home rice with several side dishes... now some people prefer to give bread instead of rice... (Sissa)

Although most villagers still provide traditional meals, as Sissa said, a few people began to provide more modern dishes such as bread in a box, indicating the influence of modernization.

The common reason of the use of bread instead of rice and a lot of traditional side dishes is practicality. They can just order it from the neighboring city, as illustrated by Hesti.

If I have money then I will order bread from my friend in Yogyakarta... preparing a box of meals for *slametan* is a lot of work, you have to cook a lot of food. My neighbors would help of course. I do not have to pay them, but still it is very demanding work. (Hesti)

The village chair offers two reasons for conducting *slamatan*. “When you conduct *slametan*, nobody feels any different from anyone else. Therefore, they do not want to split up. *Slametan* also protects you against any spirits, so they will not upset you.”

Horizontally, as in the *slamatan*, everyone is treated the same, the expected result is no one feels different with other, no one feels inferior than the other. This will strengthen the emotional bond among the residents and no one has a wish to leave the village. Vertically, the *slamatan* also strengthen the relation between people and local spirits. The spirits are believed for not to bother them when they conduct *slametan*. The ultimate outcome is the absence of emotional disturbance. As conclusion, *slamatan* is the core of Sambu’s culture. All rituals and traditional ceremony gravitate in *slamatan*.

Participants also discussed changes in Sambu.”Sambu is growing... Sambu is not remote anymore. There are newspapers here... some roads have been paved. We have electricity here... I guess we are a little bit more modern than fifteen years ago... [laugh] (Bayu). Similarly, Nana

also commented, “yes we live in a village but things changed here, more people have motorbikes. Some residents also have cars. I guess we are in the transition...” The Indonesian rural development program has enabled a village like Sambu to speed up development. Bayu and Nana’s view demonstrate that Sambu is in transition. It is now in the transition to modernity. This changing world has clearly affected how to retain rural authenticity and in the same time accelerate rural development.

Question 2: Themes of What Residents What to Share with Visitors

The present study is interested in describing cultural landscape of Sambu that can be used as tourism attraction. In the photo-elicitation interview, participants were asked to categorize photographs that they took into groups that they wanted to show to visitors. Then they were asked to prioritize which of categories that they wanted to show to visitors and ranked the photographs for their significance within each category. The participants’ categories were recorded. Then, those categories were compared with other participants’ categories. This technique enabled the researcher to pull out patterns across all participants. These patterns emerged as themes that residents wanted to share with visitors to Sambu. These themes were (1) rural way of life, (2) environmental features, (3) structures, (4) people, (5) arts and festivals, and (6) animals.

Rural Way of Life

The first theme, which participants wanted to share with visitors, was their daily life. This theme was found across all participants. All participants (N= 28) discussed their interest to share rice-farming activities with visitors. Sixty-seven photographs of rice farming activities were found to support this theme. These activities include preparing the field before they planted the paddy seed until the day of harvesting. Penta for example, when she was asked to describe the photograph she took (Figure 4-10) she said

This is my husband harvesting rice with some other farmers. When we harvest rice, we need many people to help us. We cannot do it alone. I think it is an interesting activity for people from the city. We can teach them how to harvest rice with *ani-ani*, a traditional instrument to cut the paddy. Some tourists have come here to learn it. (Penta)

Similar responds also received from other participants. Bismoko for example when he was asked about the picture he took (Figure 4-11). He said

Three months ago, a visitor from USA came here and stayed at my house for two nights. He really enjoyed his stay. He learnt to plough in my rice-field. Sometimes he joins us when we have lunch in the farm. He said that it was his best experience... This is some residents here take a break from planting paddy and have lunch. (Bismoko)

In Sambu, the agricultural cycle starts at the end of dry monsoon, usually around October or November, however in practice; it depends on the individual decision of the farmer, usually based on Javanese numerological calculations. The cycles of activities start by repairing the irrigation ditches, the bamboo pipes, and the dikes, and preparing the rice fields. This involves cutting the remaining paddy stalks of the previous harvest close to the ground. The straw is taken to the farmers' house for cattle fodder, garden mulch, or sell to middlemen, who will in turn sell it to paper factories. The parts of the rice field that remain in the field are burned and later ploughed and hoed after which the field is flooded for as long as a week to ten days. After inundating the field for several days, the soil is turned again, and then harrowed twice or sometimes three times. Dried paddy stems and weeds are removed and then the mud is finally smoothed, the water is drained and the soil is then ready to be fertilized before the field is flooded again. The field is then ready for the transplantation of the seedlings from the seedbed.

One participant Ajeng explained

Rice-farming is demanding work. It is also a communal work. One cannot do it alone. There are always many people involve in the process, from preparing the field, seedling until we harvest it. (Ajeng)

The activities in the initial phases of the agricultural cycle are primarily carried out by males. When the size of the land is manageable, the labor is provided by the farmer's own

household. This is possible because the work can be spread over a relatively long period. When family labor is insufficient, however, or when a farmer wishes to establish good relations with other farmers or with his next-door neighbors who own rice field of the same size as his, special efforts are made by inviting them to help in the rice fields. Such assistance has to be requested according to established etiquette, with the indication that their help will be reciprocated. It is customary in Sambi and in Javanese community in general for the host to provide lunch.

One day before the seedlings are to be transplanted, they are pulled from the seedbeds. These seedlings are washed to remove excess mud, then tied into bunches; the tops are cut to an even length, the bunches are left to soak in the mud overnight. Early the next morning each woman picks up a bunch of seedlings, and moving backwards, plant the seedlings, one, or two at a time, forming three rows.

Planting rice seeds is not that easy, if you do not know how, you will never keep the seedling straight... It's also interesting for visitors to see women moving backwards to plant it. (Penta (Figure 4-12))

To keep the rows straight, a marked bamboo rod is used for sideways spacing. After the planting is completed, the water-level is carefully watched to prevent the field from drying out. Low water-enables weeds to grow.

In three to five months, the young plant grows into lush green plants, which gradually turn yellow as the grain ripens. The water is allowed to flow gently, and is carefully kept at a certain level up to one week before harvest. During this time, the women weed the fields. Approximately one week before the harvest, the water is drained off and the ripened paddy is left to dry.

At harvest, the rice stalks are cut individually by using *ani-ani*, a small hoe-shaped bamboo implement with a steel blade not more than 2 inches long. The cut stalks are tied in bundles of a fixed size, which the husband or the son of the harvester carries at each end of a

shoulder pole to the house of the owner of the rice field. Rice cultivation, which is still using traditional technology, is one tourism asset in Sambu. Andri explains his picture (Figure 4-13)

Right now most villages have used modern technology in rice farming. I know that some people in the other villages use tractors to plough the fields. Some others do not use *ani-ani* anymore to cut the paddy. They also use huller machines to separate the paddies. Here most people still use traditional devices, we still use *ani-ani* to cut the paddy, and we still use cows or water buffalo to plough the fields. So if you ask me what to show to visitors, then these are what I want them to know. (Andri)

Besides discussing rice-farming activities in the rice field, participants also took pictures of various activities of processing the paddy. For them, the process of processing paddy into rice is barely known by people from the city.

There are many visitors who come here have no idea about processing paddy. They do not know that the process is so complicated.. so they come here with their children to see the actual process... I guess once they know how complicated the process is they will be more appreciative with rice... Never throw rice again from their dishes [laughing] (Yoyok)

After collected from the field, the paddy is then dried (Figure 4-14), to be further sold or stored. By drying, the grain loses 20 to 23 percent of its original weight. The dry grain is then tied sold to middlemen, partly to the government rural cooperative and partly stored for the farmers own consumption in their store house. Whenever they need rice for consumption, women take the paddies from their storehouse and remove the stalks and the husks by pounding it in a longitudinal hollow dug-out rice *lesung* (pounding log). These stalkless grains are then called *gabah*, which are later winnowed on large *tampah* (bamboo trays) to clear them from any remaining stalk. Satya took picture of her neighbour clearing *gabah* (Figure 4-15).

This is *mbah* Surip clearing *gabah* from the stalk on *tampah*. Some people here are now using huller, a mechanical rice processing machine, but many people are still using traditional way... visitors should see that process. (Satya)

Ten participants also highlighted their interest to show other farming activities besides rice farming. There are eleven photographs of chilly, lettuce, and celery farms taken by those ten participants. A couple of residents took picture of lettuce farming, indicating that this farm is

quite important in Sambu. The lettuce farming is quite new and it is the only lettuce farm in the surrounding area. This farm also supports some youth in the village. The owner recruits the youths who dropped out from school to work on the farm.

This is a lettuce farm (Figure 4-16). This is the only lettuce farm in the area. *Pak Sunarso* owns it. I took this picture because I do not want people to think that we only have rice-field in Sambu.... I want visitors to know that we have lettuce farm here, visitors should visit that farm... visitors can buy cheap fresh lettuce there. (Bismoko)

Two participants took pictures of chili farms, which are quite popular among residents. Hesti for example took pictures of her chili farm (Figure 4-17).

Beside rice, I plant chili; sometimes the price of chili is higher than rice, so I can get some extra income for my family... there are other residents who also plant chili in their farms. I wish visitors could visit my chili farm. I guarantee visitors would get fresh chilies... [laughing] (Hesti)

The third focus of participants' discussion on rural way of life is village daily activities.

All participants discussed how they are interested to share their daily activities. Thirty-one photographs were found to support the claim. Tersu for example took picture of his neighbor (Figure 4-18) and said

This is *mbah Suro*, my neighbor. She washes her clothes in the river. There are many people here who still wash their clothes in the river although not as many as ten years ago or when I was still a kid...but still this can be found in the village.(Tersu)

A similar respond was made by Silvia. She said

Washing clothes in the river has been practiced here from a long time ago... since my grandparents. I now have a bathroom. I wash my clothes there, but sometimes I wash my clothes in the river to meet other residents. Sometimes it a good place to meet other people...so if you want to meet someone, you may see them in the river. (Silvia)

Tersu and Silvia discussed that washing in the river is not necessarily a personal daily activity but it has become a place for local people to meet and have a small talk. It is easy to find older women washing their clothes in the river as well as women feeding their babies around the river in the late afternoon. In this case, the river becomes a communal space for people of Sambu to

relax and socialize with other residents. Another participant, Dewi, also discussed some other activities such as feeding chickens in her picture (Figure 4-19).

That is my mother feeding our chicken. We have several chickens. She always feeds them everyday. I think this is interesting for people from the city as in the city they never does it. (Dewi)

Some other participants use the picture of to demonstrate the difference between city and rural lifestyle. “Look at here, can you find this activity in big city? I don’t think so. So if you want to see people cooking with branches instead of gas... Just come here,” said Ratri.

An important institution found in rural areas in Java is the *arisan*. An *arisan* consists of a group of people who meet once a month and contribute a certain amount of money to a common kitty, which is distributed to each member in turn. The *arisan* is popular in Sambu. There are youth *arisan*, women *arisan*, man *arisan*, farmer *arisan* and so on. One person can join more than one *arisan*. The original function of the *arisan* was more social than economic. The *arisan* can be a place for public interaction and announcements. Sometimes, sales people from certain companies come and demonstrate their goods, hoping that some members will buy their merchandise. Nineteen pictures taken by fifteen participants illustrated the importance of *arisan* for residents. Nana who took pictures of *arisan* (Figure 4-20) said

I join two *arisan* groups, youth *arisan* and woman group. I join *arisan* to socialize with other residents, if you do not join *arisan* you may miss some information as sometimes there is new news or information there. (Nana)

The *arisan* usually is conducted at night around eight and runs for two to three hour depending on whether they have some important things to discuss or not. In fact, *arisan* is the best place to meet the residents. Most of participants in this study are actually recruited through several *arisan* groups in Sambu. “If you want to meet residents here then you need to attend at least one *arisan* group here...” said Oda.

In addition, a couple of participants took photographs of some tourists' activities in the village. These activities varied from catching fish in the ponds and tourists learning to farm. Two participants also took photographs of various traditional instruments commonly found in Sambu such as hoe, *ani-ani* (paddy cutter), or plough. The rural way of life was a dominant theme brought up by participants in the interviews. This suggested participants' interest to share the Sambu's way of life as a tourism attraction.

Environmental Features

The second theme that always appeared in the discussion with participants was environmental features in Sambu. These environmental features include landscape, water features, vegetations, and roads. There were 174 photographs across participants revealed this theme. Nana a private employee in Sleman the nearest city, who has lived in Sambu for five years, explained that the main asset in Sambu is its landscape.

I took this picture (Figure 4-21) when I went to the field. I stopped and took a picture of it... I thought the scenery is really good for people from the city. In the city you can not find such of things; fresh air, dirt roads, and even that coconut trees. This is Sambu and I want people to know that our village has beautiful landscape. (Nana)

Located in the slope of Mount Merapi, Sambu has been blessed with natural beauty. It has good soil for farming, valley, and a small river. Fifteen participants took 16 pictures of valley that they called as *ledhok Sambu* (Sambu valley). Twenty-four participants took 24 photographs of the river in the valley, which they call *kali kuning*. One participant, Yoyok, said, "*Ledhok Sambu* is our main asset, and I am glad that we have it so that we can sell it for tourists". Agnes (Figure 4-22) offered similar view

I think *ledhok Sambu* and *kali kuning* is the main tourism attraction here. Other villages may have similar traditional arts or village nuances, but we have *ledhok Sambu* and *kali kuning*. Without those two, we are just as similar to other villages which develop rural tourism. (Agnes)

Agnes and Yoyok statements along with other participants outlined the importance of having *ledhok* Sambu and *kali kuning* as tourism assets. Most participants were interested in developing tourism based on these two natural assets. They do believe that these assets will differentiate their community from surrounding villages who also offer village tourism. A similar response was also received from Rostati when she was asked to describe her photograph.

Kali kuning on the valley is popular. GIA foundation comes to manage it a couple years ago. They have an outbound facility there. Tourists, who mostly students come and play there,. They play many games there. I hope GIA can help us managing the valley so that more visitors can come in... (Rostati)

The GIA foundation built an outbound facility in the valley in 2004. Since GIA taking part in developing tourism in Sambu, there are two gates for visitors. Those who want to use the outbound facility should then contact the GIA, while the village handles visitors who do not use the facility.

Besides taking pictures of landscape, valleys, and river, many participants took pictures of roads and trails in Sambu. There were nine photographs of dirt road, which were taken by nine participants. There were 12 photographs of trails taken by 6 participants and 5 photographs of paved road which were taken by 3 participants. Guntur for example took picture of the road he passed everyday (Figure 4-23).

I pass this road everyday... whenever I go to my rice fields, go to the market or just visit my neighbor” We wanted to pave it last year but the committee and some people were afraid that if we pave it, it will make Sambu lose its rural atmosphere... which we use to attract visitors. (Guntur)

Road is a symbol of accessibility. As a rural area, Sambu has many unpaved roads and trails. These roads and trails connect many points in Sambu. For participants, the road is also a symbol of modernity. Some main roads in Sambu have been paved while some others are kept unpaved for keeping the “authenticity” of Sambu. Silvia explained

Because of tourism, we can pave those roads ... if we wait for government money... I do not know when we can pave those roads ... but we are told not to pave some other roads to maintain the rural atmosphere here. (Silvia)

Eleven participants brought 17 photographs of fish ponds in Sambu. Sambu is located in the ring 1 of Mount Merapi. This area receives plenty of fresh water from the mountain. A couple of springs could also be found in Sambu. In fact, some participants took pictures of those springs. The water is good for fresh water fish. Residents in Sambu usually have fishponds in their yard. Some residents sell the fish to the nearby market or for daily consumption. Satya, one participant who own fishponds said

Many residents here have fishpond. The water here is very good. Whenever we want to eat fish, we just take some from the pond. We also can sell the fish at the market to get extra money. For me I like watching and feeding fish in my pond, its fun and relaxing... (Satya)

Another participant, Benny, also commented his own photograph (Figure 4-24).

I think our fishpond can be an interesting attraction for visitors. Visitor can catch fish in the ponds or fish there. These activities are very popular among school kids. We can also offer to cook that fish for the visitors' consumption... (Benny)

All participants also took pictures of flowers and plants. They sell decorative flowers and plants to visitors and sometimes they sell them at the nearest local market. There were 33 photographs of decorative plants. Tersu who owns a nursery, took picture of hers (Figure 4-25). She explained

Many residents here have flowers and exotic plants. Two years ago, we were told that this [plants and flowers] will be the trend in the city. Many collectors come here to look for certain flowers or plants such as hibiscus. Sometimes I have to look for it at villages around here and sell it here. (Tersu)

Two residents in Sambu own nurseries. Other residents usually have a few plants only. The two residents who own nurseries often go and sell their plants at the market.

The other environmental features such as mountains, ephemeral effects, and ferns were also found in the photographs and the discussion with the participants. As environmental

features always appeared in both of photographs and interview, it can be concluded that this feature is considered important for the participants and that they are interested to share this features with visitors.

Built Structures

The third theme that was brought up by most participants was built structure such as old houses, village entrance sign, and other important built structures. A total of 73 photographs was found. Particular structures are made to signify a unique cultural neighborhood and to conjure up images of the Sambi community. It involves a concerted effort to draw cultural boundaries, to construct relations across those boundaries, and to characterize the cultural traits contained within each of them (Khan, 1997). There are distinctive components of the contemporary cultural landscape of Sambi.

One structure, which participants took pictures of, was the village entrance sign. This village sign is actually the front gate of the village. The structure is 4.9-6.56 feet. It was made of brick. The gate informs outsiders that they are about to enter the Sambi village. The inscription on the gate is written in Indonesian *Desa Wisata Sambi* (Rural Tourism Sambi). Next to the gate is a directional sign which is written *ledhok Sambi* (Sambi valley). The sign acts as a barrier from the other villages. The other villages that share a border with Sambi do not declare themselves as a rural tourism destination. In the same time the size of the gate, which is not very high and wide, enables the village to harmonize with their neighboring villages.

We built that village sign three years ago when we were declared as a rural tourism destination. We modified it a couple of times until it is what you see now... not that big... not that small so that everyone can see and know that they are now in Sambi. (Sissa, Figure 4-26)

The second type of structure taken by participants was old or traditional houses, which still use Javanese architecture. Fourteen participants brought 30 photographs of old houses. In the

Javanese community, the style and size of a house is a symbol of prestige and class. The style is determined by the shape of the roof. The average villager in Sambu has a house with *srotong* roof. The *limasan* roof is usually for the house of village officials. The *joglo* roof in the past used to be restricted to important and wealthy families (Figure 4-27). Nowadays, the style of the roof no longer signifies the wealth of the people living in the house.

Participants also took pictures of various tourists' facilities in Sambu. There were 19 photographs of tourist facilities. Tourists' accommodations in Sambu usually are of three types; (1) guesthouses (Figure 4-28), (2) homestay or (3) a hut/tent. There is a guesthouse in Sambu named Baruna. Baruna was designed as a kampong style house consisting of beds, western style bathrooms, and a small kitchen. The facility is targeted for upscale visitors and foreign visitors. The facility peaked in visitation in 2003, when there were many foreign visitors came to Sambu. Nowadays, the number of foreign tourists was declined significantly and the guesthouse is barely used. Hesti who took picture of Baruna guesthouse explained

There are no foreign tourist stays at Baruna nowadays. The owner even took the water heater out, and locked the rooms. I still remember when there were many tourists stayed there... I wish we would have more tourists. (Hesti)

Beside the guesthouse, Sambu also offers homestays. The homestay is very popular as visitors can stay at residents' houses. The host family will treat their guest as part of their family.

Sometimes the host family teaches several farming skills to their guest. The most important thing is the relation from homestay can become a long relationship.

Michael stayed in my house for 3 days three years ago. He was a foreign student from USA. He was nice and funny. He helped me in the rice field. He ate whatever my wife cooked for him without complaining [laugh]... Last week I got a letter from him. He got married and he said that he will bring his wife here this December. (Andri)

Sambu also offers tents or huts for visitors who want to camp. There are two campgrounds for visitors. One campground is located on the side of the village overlooking the valley (upper

side ground). Another campground is located in the valley (lower ground). The upper campground is facilitated with semi-permanent huts; dining hall, restrooms, and a meeting hall (Figure 4-29). This structure is currently in dispute between the village and the owner of the grounds. The huts were built by an investor, which later handed it over to the village. The ground owner does not allow visitors currently due to a dispute with the former tourism committee. Thus, this has resulted in a decline in the number of visitors to Sambu. The facility is one of main attractions of Sambu, many visitors want to stay in the huts.

A lot of people ask me to use that property, but I can not use it... [long paused] although property is our main asset, I do not know why the owner does not allow us to use our property in their ground. There was no written agreement about the property and the ground. I have urged *pak Hadi* [village headmaster] to discuss this issue with the owner but so far we can't find good solutions... it is really frustrating to us. (Chair of tourism committee)

In summary, participants are interested in sharing with visitors unique structures in Sambu with visitors. These structures range from the village sign, old houses to tourists' lodging. Thus, tourism development plan should address residents' interest to show these unique structures to visitors.

People

The fourth major theme that participants want to share with visitors is people. This theme ranged from photograph of themselves, family members, close friends, old people, and important people in the village. A total of 53 pictures were found across all participants. This theme illustrated residents' intention to share their life with visitors. It is about the story of people of Sambu. While portraying some activities, participants always also mention the struggle some residents face through time. Their life story becomes an important aspect in discussing rural tourism. Literature in tourism often urges the correlation about the acceptance of residents and the quality of the tourism experience. The photographs taken by residents followed by their

quote of the pictures have revealed the intension to share residents' lives with visitors. The pictures taken were varied from a single person to several people and from a baby to an older person.

I like when tourists stop by and have small talk with us... last week when I was feeding my baby... this man I forgot his name... something like Mark or ... , came to me, greeted me and asked about Sambu and about my baby... He thinks my baby is adorable. We then ended up just chatting... (Hesti)

Hesti's view represents other participants' views. Like Hesti, people in Sambu are generally hospitable and friendly with visitors. Having time to meet locals and engage in small talk leaves good impression for both visitors and residents.

I don't like when tourists just come by and walk around without stopping by and greeting us... you know it is just like you have a guest who just wants to see your house without talking to you... (Ratri)

The majority of photographs (37) taken were about family members and relatives. These photographs were found across all participants. Some participants took photographs of their children, wife, or husband. All participants argued that people in their photographs were important in their life. They believe that they should share it with other people. Rostati for example, holding the picture (Figure 4-30) in her hand said, "this is my children playing in our backyard. I have two children. I think if visitors wants to see my children... it is fine, unless it is *sholat* time [praying time for Muslim]".

Some participants took pictures of their family together. Family for Javanese people is important. Children learn about life first in the family. The family value is then an important element to be shared with other people from outside Sambu. Moreover, as Javanese culture is a communal culture, showing the guest their family, symbolizes a deeper acceptance and warmer welcome to their village. In this view, without acceptance from the people, the visitors will not

get a quality tourism experience. Tersi asked her sister to take picture of her family. She does not have family photograph and saw the camera as a tool to have one (Figure 4-31).

This is my husband, me, and my daughter. I asked my sister to take this picture. I hope it is fine for you [me]. I asked my sister to take this picture, as I really want to have a family picture that I can show to anybody. At first, my husband is shy but I urged him to do so [smile]. My family is the most important for me...of course I will introduce them to visitors here, if they want to meet my family... I do not know why I have to hide my family. (Tersi)

Beside family, some other participants took picture of old or respected people. There were 11 photographs brought by nine participants discussed this category. Rostati's picture (Figure 4-32) for example giving information about interest to share life experience of old residents in Sambi.

That is *mbah* Surip and *mbah* Tini. They are quite old.. *Mbah* Surip is 86 years old. I am not sure with *mbah* Tini, but I think around 70. Although they are old, they still work at the rice field. Both of them are still healthy. They always walk everywhere. I took this picture because I think *Mbah* Surip and *mbah* Tini are examples of very tough women. I think the younger generation like mine can learn a lot from their experience... (Rostati)

In summary, participants through their photographs have shown an intention to open their lives to visitors. They intend to share their life story with visitors. Participants also discussed that they intended to show their hospitality to visitors.

Art and Festivals

The fifth theme revealed from the discussion with the participants was art and ceremony. A total of 20 photographs were found. Although the number of photographs was low, more than eight participants discussed about this theme in the photo-elicitation interview. The photograph of the *wayang kulit* (leather puppet) performance was mostly found in the photographs taken by participants. There were nine photographs, which were taken by nine participants depicted *wayang kulit*. One participant, Bismoko, said

This is the *wayang* performance last night. The title is *Petruk dadi Ratu* (Petruk becomes a king). It was a funny story. Many residents showed up and watched it. The show ended

around 3 in the morning, but I went home around 2 as I had to work. (Bismoko, Figure 4-33).

The leather puppet show is a performance art that has been around more than 500 years. Its presence has its own story, in relation to the entrance of Javanese Islam. One of the *Wali Songo* or the nine pious leaders who spread Islam in Java created the puppet by adopting *Wayang Beber* or Beber Puppet that grew during the triumph of Hindu-Buddha. This adoption was done since leather puppets became the proper media to spread Islam because Islam prohibited plastic art. Consequently, leather puppets were made in order for the people to be able to see shows

The show is done by the puppeteer. All the night, he plays all the characters of the leather puppets forming human characters made from buffalo skin decorated with motifs out of the product of leather. He changes his voice, switches the intonation, produces humor, and even sings. In order to make the atmosphere vivid, the storyteller is assisted by musicians who play *gamelan* - a set of the traditional Javanese music instruments - and the female singers called *sinden* who sing Javanese songs.

The total number of the characters in the leather puppet shows numbers in the hundreds. The puppets that are not played are placed in banana stem that is placed close to the storyteller. While being played, the puppets will look like a shadow from the rear view of the white screen in front of the storyteller. The shadow is created by the light from the oil lamp placed at the upper rear of the storyteller that is cut off by the puppets being played on the screen. The stories originated from old epics such as Ramayana or Mahabharata.

Oda, the owner of *gamelan* set and *wayang* explained that he had to spend money from his own pocket to conduct such performances. Sometimes he even provides snacks for his audiences. He said, "Yes I spend a lot of money to conduct such performances, but I do not care much... I am fine with it. You know if you like doing something you will not care how much it

costs.” He is actually well trained as a puppeteer. His younger brother even holds a bachelor degree in Javanese arts from Indonesian Art Institute in Yogyakarta, one of reputable academic institutions for arts. He added

I do hope by holding this performance, younger generations will be interested in learning more about Javanese arts. Maybe they thought that this traditional art is not cool. They prefer to learn music from western. It is a pity as foreigners are more interested in learning *gamelan* and *wayang*... I am afraid in the future my children will learn *gamelan* from American teacher... (Oda)

By holding the performance, he allows other residents to learn and play *gamelan*. Some local youth also play *gamelan*. This illustrates the concerns of maintaining the life of *gamelan* and leather puppets. The performance is conducted every Sunday night around 8 and runs until 3 or 4 in the morning. This performance is one of the community recreational spaces. They watch the performance; some people also show up to socialize with other residents. In Sambi people is seen through how far he or she can socialize with other residents. The *wayang kulit* show then provides that opportunity.

Participants also mentioned some ceremonies, which are still practiced by residents such as *slamatan* and *bersih desa* (village cleaning). *Bersih desa* is a community ceremony. It is held the last week before the fasting month for Muslims. Residents cook various meals. These meals then are gathered along the road near local cemetery. They also clean the cemetery area. Residents then gather along the roads praying and eating the meals together. This ceremony symbolizes cleaning their body and cleaning their community to prepare of the upcoming fasting month, which is considered sacred for Muslims. Galih, one participant, explained

You should come to our *bersih desa* event. Each family brings food. There are many traditional foods. We gather on that road outside the cemetery. We clean the cemetery and pray together ... and after that, we eat the meals together... (Galih)

Similarly, the chair of the tourism committee said that they have put this event on the calendar of events in Sambi. “*Bersih desa* is a big event for us. There are always traditional foods, cleaning

the cemetery and wayang. Visitors should join us,” he said. Unfortunately, this event was not taking place when the study conducted. Therefore, no one took pictures of the event. This event however was brought up by eleven participants in the interview.

Concerns about local arts disappearing were also mentioned by residents. There were eight photographs of traditional games and arts. These concerns also were raised by eight participants. Sissa holding her photograph (Figure 4-34) and said, “I took this picture to show that we still play some traditional games here. These are Ani and Siti playing *ingkling*.” The game is called *ingkling*, which means walking or leaping on one foot. The player has to leap over the squares drawn on the ground or paved place. The player needs to have a *gacuk* or a flat thing, which is thrown to the square. It is usually made from a fragment of a broken tile. The *gacuk* must be thrown into all squares beginning from the first square until the last. The square where the *gacuk* lays cannot be stepped on; thus, the player must leap over it. The player cannot step on the opponent’s *gacuk* either; otherwise, their turn will go to the next player. The *gacuk* cannot be thrown into the wrong square or fall on the line. If it touches the line, the player will lose their turn. Each player will compete to be the first to complete the squares. The player who gets their first will have the right to occupy certain field to be his or her rice field. However before occupying the rice field, the player must leap on his or her foot (*inkling*) passing each of the squares with the *gacuk* placed on her or his upper palm which cannot fall down. After returning to the starting point, the player throws the *gacuk* to a certain square by turning his back on the game arena. The square on which the *gacuk* falls is marked to be occupied field.

Children nowadays are more familiar with more modern games such as basketball, skateboard, or play station. By taking a picture of traditional games, which are still played in Sambu, participants not only reveal their intention to show what they actually want to share with

visitors, but it explains that the tourism in Sambu can be appropriated to rejuvenate local culture, which almost disappear. “Sometimes school children from Jakarta asked how to play *ingkling*, *petak umpet* and other traditional games which they do not know.” said Sissa. This view outlines an intention to revive cultural elements in the contemporary Indonesian community that have been rarely been found again.

Animals

Forty-two photographs of animals were also found in the photographs taken by participants. Participants took pictures of sheep, water buffalo, cows, cats, dogs, and rabbits. One participant for example took pictures of cows (Figure 4-35).

This is *pak Sardi*'s cow. He just returns from his rice field. He has two cows. I took this picture to show that here we are still using cows sometimes other people using water buffalo to plough the rice field. (Ony)

Ony's thought helps us to understand that some animals are not just animal. In peasant community as in Sambu, certain animals like a cow or water buffalo play a significant role. They help farmers to plough the rice field.

Five participants took pictures of cows and discussed it in the interview signifies the importance of cow in agricultural community. There are two types of cows in Sambu, one type is for helping farmers to plough their rice field, and the other type is to produce milk. In Sambu only one person owns milk cows. The cows produce milk twice a day. The first period is early in the morning and the second period is in the late afternoon. The owner still uses hands to milk the cows.

I still use manual way to milk my cows. It is harder than what you thought. Some visitors in the past came to my house and watched me milking the cows. People from the city usually do not know about milking cow. I explained them how to do it. Visitors like it. (Benny)

The second function of some animals is for investment. In case of emergency or when the owner needs a lot of money then, they can always sell them. “These are my rabbits. I have a couple of rabbits and some people have rabbits too. Sometimes when I need money I can sell them at the market,” said Silvia explaining her picture (Figure 4-36). “Rabbits are quite popular in this area. They are also easy to take care of. Many people here have rabbits as pets but whenever they need money, they can always sell them,” added Joko.

A similar response was also provided by other participants. Yoyok even said, “I just sold a couple of my sheep yesterday. I need money to renovate my house as it’s almost the rainy season.” Not all kinds of animals in the village are an investment. Some animals are for pets only without any intention to sell in case of a short of money. Such pets like cats and dogs were also found in the pictures taken by participants suggesting that such animals were popular in Sambu.

I have cats and I know that many people also have ... I think they are cute. My family loves cats. ... No, I do not want to sell them. People may see and touch them but it is not for sale. (Neni)

Neni assertion helps us to understand that animals such as cats and dogs can be an object of affection. This is not unique to Sambu and occurs in other societies.

For some residents, animals can signify social status, a prestige. In Javanese community, *perkutut* (turtle dove) is symbol of prestige. It is a symbol of completeness in life. Some of participants took pictures of *perkutut* bird in the cage. Yoyok explained his photograph (Figure 4-37).

This is my *perkutut*, I have three *perkutut*. I always feed them everyday. In the morning, I like listening to their voice while reading the newspaper and drinking coffee... (Yoyok)

The price of *perkutut* can be very expensive; sometimes there is a competition for the best voice. Javanese and *perkutut* cannot be separated. In Javanese culture, it is believed that having *perkutut* in the home can bring peace and harmony.

The pictures and quotes have revealed a unique relationship between humans and animals in this culture. For the people of Sambu, animals have four functions (1) labor; helping them in the field such as cows. (2) investment; they can always sell them whenever they need money like sheep, chickens and rabbits. (3) object of affection such as cats and dogs. (4) a status symbol such *perkutut*.

Question 3: Themes of What People of Sambu Do Not Want to Share with Visitors

The third research question for the study is asking what the people of Sambu would not want to share with outsiders. When participants were asked which pictures they do not want to share with visitors, all participants said that they want to show everything to visitors. Ajeng for example said, "I am going to show everything here ... it is our daily life and if people are interested to learn about us. Why we need to hide certain thing?" Joko added

When we had a workshop on rural tourism which was conducted by tourism office of Sleman Regency, they told us not to alter anything.. I think that is correct as I think the idea of rural tourism is rural atmosphere ...right? Therefore, I will show them the real rural life. (Joko)

Ajeng and Joko's assertion to display everything their village has represents most opinion of the participants in the study.

The pictures and the follow up discussion revealed that all themes, which they want to share with visitors, are also the themes that they do not want to share. Thus, respondents suggested within each theme, there were ways to prepare the community for visitors rather than prevent them from seeing. "Visitor can stay in our house... but they [tourism committee] have to tell me a couple of days before so that I can clean the room and house... I cannot let guests to stay at my house if it is not clean... it is embarrassing" said Wenny. Bayu added, "I cannot let visitors go through the trail behind my house. It is very dirty... no one take care of that area... it has been abandon for three years.. After someone cleans it then visitors can pass that area."

Interestingly, in all photographs taken by participants, there are two places in the village, which no one took pictures. Those places were the cemetery (Figure 4-38) and the mosque (Figure 4-39). The researcher decided to take pictures on his own of those two places and brought it up in the interview to understand the meaning behind those two places. In the discussion, the researcher simply asked participants about the two places by asking, “tell me about this picture”. This technique triggered participants’ perception on how they felt about the cemetery and the mosque. Indri said

I have no idea why I did not take pictures of cemetery...[laugh] I pass it everyday... and yes it is important to me. My father was buried there... [long paused], but who wants to visit cemetery anyway? (Indri)

Javanese in general have a view of the cemetery that is sacred and that plays an important role. Long before world religion such as Islam came to Java, the Javanese believed that the spirit of the dead can sought out for blessing for his relatives who are still alive. The Javanese also believe that the cemetery is the best place to ask for help from the spirits. The cemetery is viewed as a mystical place to communicate with spirits. Some people even meditate in cemetery. “My father told me if I want to seek peace, I should go to cemetery,” said Yoyok.

The belief in the cemetery is strong even when they are Muslim or some other religion. People of Sambu although majority are Muslim; they still hold this view. Therefore, people need to take care of cemetery. Cemetery needs to be visited and cleaned. People usually visit and clean the grave of their relative at least one a year before Idul Fitri or other important day.

The second function of cemetery is as a social control mechanism in the Javanese culture. The cemetery reminded people of the death. By remembering that in the end all people will die, people are encouraged to be modest in their everyday life. “Everyone will be dead, that cemetery reminds me to be a good person every day. Whether you are rich or poor, at the end all of us will be dead,” said Joko. His opinion suggests that cemetery has a unique mystical place for Javanese.

People are expected to respect the cemetery. There are many codes of conduct for people in the cemetery. “When you are in the cemetery, you should behave properly. Do not talk out loud,” said Dewi.

Due to the sacred role of cemetery, it is understandable that participants did not take photos of it. Participants want those who visit the cemetery to follow their codes of conducts.

If tourists want to visit that cemetery... I am fine with it but they should behave accordingly. I do not want any person to visit that place if they do not want to behave properly.. They should not visit the cemetery... or they may cause something bad. (Oda)

Neny shares similar thoughts with Oda, “My sister was buried there so I do not want it to become a tourist’ attraction... Well if tourists behave properly like dress appropriately then they may visit it.”

Beside the cemetery, the mosque also plays a significant role in everyday life in Sambu. Diana said, “As a Muslim, of course I can not allow people from other religions to visit our mosque as it is a sacred place for us”. Penta even suggests, “It is not a tourist attraction; people should not go there unless they are our fellow Muslims.” Diana and Penta’s opinions reflected seven other participants’ opinion. Five other participants offered slightly different opinions.

Andre, for example said

You know mosque is important for us. It is the holiest place... Muslims are expected to pray five times a day, most of them in the mosque. Therefore, if visitors are also Muslim, we should encourage them to go to mosque and pray with us. If the visitors are not Muslims, but if they really want to visit the mosque, they need to follow some codes of conducts such as take off their shoes. The most important is we cannot accept them on when the pray took place. (Andre)

Although participants indicated they would allow visitors to visit these places, they believe that visitors should follow strict codes of conduct to protect the sanctity of the places.

Question 4: The Way People of Sambi Negotiated Themes That They Want to Share and the Themes They Want to Hide

The pictures and the follow up discussions revealed that all themes, which they want to share with visitors, were also the themes that they did not want to share with visitors. There were two strategies that participants used to negotiate the themes that they want to share and not to share. Those were time and space alteration.

The first strategy is to alter time of interaction. The participants used time to evaluate certain elements of their culture to be displayed for tourists' consumption or not. Bayu said "I can not accompany visitors if they want to go to my rice field at prayer times as I have to go to mosque.. but after I return from the mosque I can accompany visitors to my rice fields. Utik also offered similar view, "My children can interact with visitors after they are done with their homework." Similarly, Sissa also said

Slamatan only can be done on certain days if there is no one here conducts *slamatan*... Then we cannot enact them for tourists. It can only be held on certain occasions. We cannot reenact some traditional ceremony only for tourists because we need to calculate the best day for that... there always calculation for doing such events here. (Sissa)

The chair of Sambi tourism committee further explained

We offer visitors what we have but some events can not be offered when it is not their time... for example when it is not harvest time then we can not offer visitors an experience of harvesting paddy or learn to use *ani-ani* to cut paddy stalks. (Chair of tourism committee)

Time becomes a crucial element to evaluate whether they want to share part of their daily life with visitors or not. Improper visitation for example may hinder residents' willingness to share their daily life. The use of photography in this study also provided ample evidences of what residents considered a good time for visitation. Pictures taken by participants were mostly taken from morning to evening. Only a few pictures were taken at nights. One may argue that due to the type of camera –single use camera-, which is better in daylight, participants tended to

take pictures in the daylight. Although this assumption may be true for some cases, it is not completely true for this study. First, most of participants are amateur photographers. Most of them have never used a camera before. In the training session, the participants were trained on how to use the cameras and they were never told not to take pictures at night. The participants were clearly informed that whenever they want to take pictures at night, they should take it in a close distance due to the strength of the flash.

In terms of time, none of the pictures portrayed praying. This theme was missing. Ryan and Bernard (2003) suggested conducting an analysis of the missing theme. The absence of praying activity in the pictures and never brought up by participants offered another view on the sacredness of certain period of time for people of Sambu. As majority of residents are Muslims, there are five times in a day that are sacred, meaning they have to go to the mosque to pray. This period is the time to break from their daily routines e.g farming, cooking etc and spend a few minutes in silence.

The views above offer dualism in viewing time. There is a sacred time. It is a time for spiritual matters, such as praying at the mosques or meditation or just taking a break from daily routine. As well, there is a profane time, times for working and doing other daily chores. Most of pictures were taken during the profane times. This suggests residents are most welcoming to visitors during their profane times. Tourism development should then need to consider the right time for visitation. Altering time of visitation to suit residents' time perception is needed to ensure high quality of tourism experience for both residents and visitors.

The second strategy discussed by participants was altering the space of interaction. Space was also important when negotiating themes that residents wanted to share. The majority pictures taken by participants were taken in profane space or a place for doing daily routine activities,

such as rice fields, roads, and front sides of yards. When participants took pictures inside a house, all pictures were taken in the living room, dining room, or kitchen. When the pictures were taken in the bedroom, it was a guest bedroom. This finding suggested that participants are mostly willing to share their profane spaces with visitors. “I taught visitors how to plough last month on my farm...” said Yoyok. “... There are trails around here, visitors can walk through these trails” added Neni. “You can also camp down on the valley, we have a campground down there...” commented Nana. These perspectives illustrate residents’ willingness to share their assets in the profane space.

There were no pictures were taken in residents sacred spaces such as cemetery and mosque. These spaces were missing in the pictures taken by participants. The absence of photographs of places that considered as sacred such as cemetery and mosque also supported the claim.

You know mosque is important for us. It is the holiest place... Muslims are expected to pray five times a day most of them in the mosque. Therefore, if visitors are also Muslim, we should encourage them to go to mosques and pray with us. If the visitors are not Muslims but if they really want to visit the mosque, they need to follow some code of conducts such as take off their shoes. The most important is we cannot accept them on when the pray took place. (Andre)

The views above give clear understanding that activities in the spaces where residents consider as profane such as farm, trails, or living rooms, residents will be glad in opening the spaces for visitors. On the other hand, when visitors want to enter and join some activities in the spaces where residents consider as sacred such as mosque or even a bedroom then there are several codes of conduct that need to be followed.

In conclusion, this study found that time and space were important criteria for the residents of Sambu to negotiate tourism in their village. Alteration of time and space of visitation is then pivotal to allow residents continue their daily life and minimize negative impacts of tourism.

Tourism planners in Sambi should take these criteria for planning an appropriate tourism in Sambi.

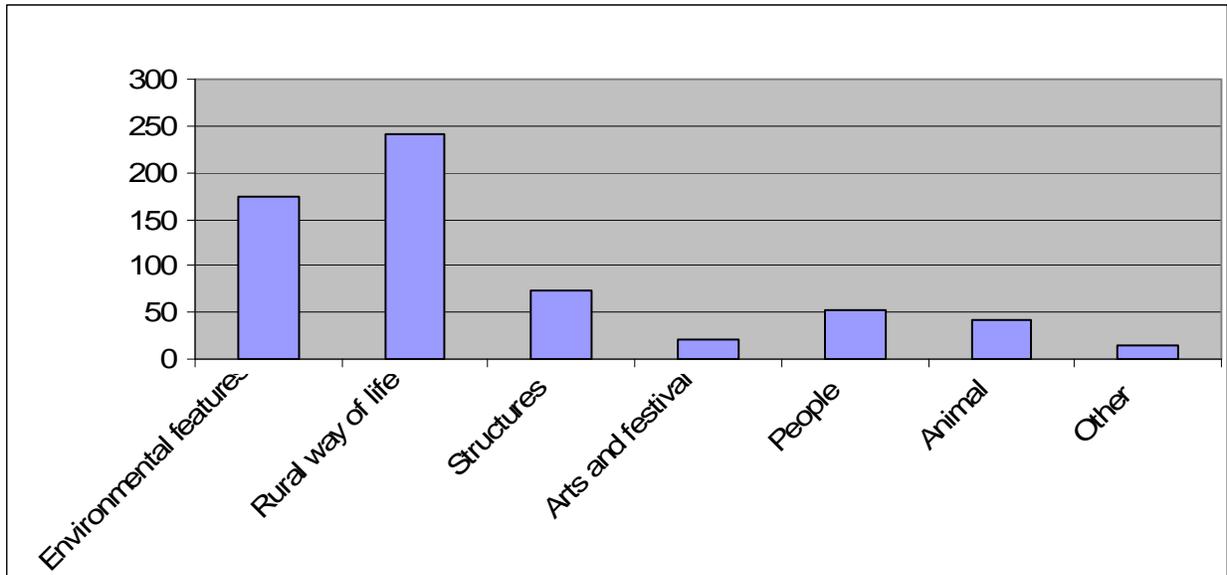


Figure 4-1. Number of photographs by content category



Figure 4-2. Landscape of Sambi



Figure 4-3. Mount Merapi



Figure 4-4. Farmers on the road



Figure 4-5. Old woman planting rice seeds



Figure 4-6. *Pekarangan*



Figure 4-7. Fish pond



Figure 4-8. *Tegalan*



Figure 4-9. *Slamatan*



Figure 4-10. Farmers harvesting rice



Figure 4-11. Farmers taking a lunch break



Figure 4-12. Farmers planting rice seeds



Figure 4-13. Farmer ploughing the field



Figure 4-14. Man drying rice



Figure 4-15. Woman clearing *gabah*



Figure 4-16. Lettuce farm



Figure 4-17. Woman picking chilies



Figure 4-18. Woman washing clothes in the river



Figure 4-19. Old woman feeding chickens



Figure 4-20. *Arisan*



Figure 4-21. Landscape of Sambu



Figure 4-22. *Ledhok Sambu and kali kuning*



Figure 4-23. Road in Sambu



Figure 4-24. Fishpond



Figure 4-25. Nursery

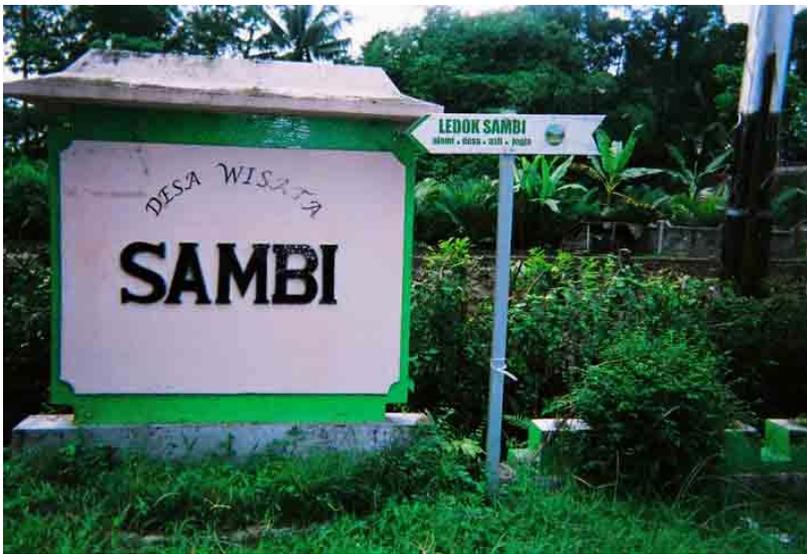


Figure 4-26. Village entrance sign



Figure 4-27. Joglo house



Figure 4-28. Guesthouses



Figure 4-29. Campgrounds



Figure 4-30. Two children playing



Figure 4-31. Family portrait

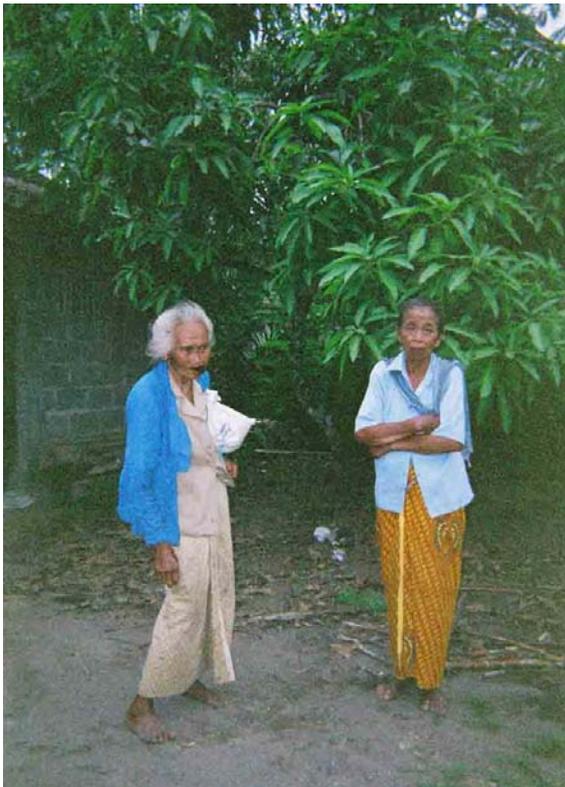


Figure 4-32. Two old women



Figure 4-33. *Wayang* performance



Figure 4-34. *Ingkling* game



Figure 4-35. *Pak Sardi* and his cow



Figure 4-36. Rabbits



Figure 4-37. *Perkutut* bird



Figure 4-38. Cemetery



Figure 4-39. Mosque

Table 4-1. Initial themes and categories

Themes and Categories	Number of Photographs	Number of Participants
A. Landform features		
A.1 Mountain	2	2
A.2 Valley	16	15
A.3 Other	2	2
B. Water features		
B.1 River, stream	24	24
B.2 Pond	17	11
B.3 Other	10	9
C. Landscape composition and effects		
C.1 Enframed, enclosed or valley view	3	2
C.2 Panoramic/distant view	18	5
C.3 Ephemeral effect, sunset	5	3
D. Vegetation		
D.1 Plantation	14	10
D.2 Decorative plant	33	28
D.3 Mass of wild flower/ferns	2	1
D.4 Sacred tree, special trees	2	1
E. Rural way of life		
E.1 Rice farming activities	67	28
E.2 Other type of farming activities	11	10
E.3 Village daily activities	31	28
E.4 Process from paddy to rice	14	11
E.5 Feeding stocks	8	7
E.6 Farmland	55	28
E.7 Other rural activities (e.g gathering)	19	15

F. Structure		
F.1 Old/traditional house	30	14
F.2 Hut	12	3
F.3 Important structure	2	2
F.4 Village entrance sign	6	6
F.5 Other structure	4	4
G. Roads		
G.1 Dirt roads	9	9
G.2 Trails	12	10
G.3 Paved roads	5	3
H. Art/festival		
H.1 Gamelan	2	8
H.2 Leather puppet/shows	9	9
H.3 Traditional games	8	8
H.4 Traditional ceremony	1	11
I. Tourist facilities		
I.1 Home stay	15	9
I.2 Outbound facilities	3	2
I.3 Other tourist facilities	1	1
J. Transportation		
J.1 Modern mode of transportation	4	2
J.2 Traditional mode of transportation	2	1
K. People		
K.1 Family member, relatives	37	28
K.2 Respected or old person in the village	11	9
K.3 Visitors, outsiders	5	3
L. Pet and animals		
L.1 Rabbit	6	5
L.2 Cat	9	1
L.3 Dog	4	1
L.4 Sheep	5	3
L.5 Water buffalo	4	4
L.6 Cow	5	5
L.7 Other	9	3
M. Instrument,		
M.1 Modern instrument (e.g TV, cell phone etc)	7	2
N. Tourist activities (with tourist in it)		
N.1 Catching fish	9	3
N.2 Learning to farm	2	2
N.3 Other	13	3
O. Other	14	9
total photographs used in interview	618	

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

I did not realize that Sambu is so pretty in those photographs... and I have been living here for thirty-three years. (Indri)

Reflection on the Use of Reflexive Photography

This study discusses the use of reflexive photography as an alternative method to identify cultural landscape features that the people of Sambu intend to share with visitors. The tourism literature suggests that when tourism is a dominant value in the communities, local communities often reacted negatively to tourism development (Doxey, 1975). Allowing local communities self-determination in deciding which aspects of tourism that visitors will be exposed to is one way to alter the power dynamic in the tourism industry. Previous studies in tourism planning and development have used conventional word-based interviews or surveys to understand the perceptions of local communities. This study demonstrated that photography can be a powerful tool in understanding what local communities really want to share with visitors and how they should share it.

For the residents of Sambu, viewing photographs while discussing thoughts about their lives led to responses that were, in Collier's words (1957, p.856) more encyclopedic than word-only interviews. One reason for this was that the photographs that participants had taken functioned not only as an anchor for grounding their descriptions in their words and their daily experiences but also as a catalyst for remembering. Burger (1992) explained the relationship between memory and seeing.

The thrill found in a photograph comes from the onrush of memory. This is obvious when it is a picture of something we once knew. That house we lived in... Memory is a strange faculty. The sharper and more isolated the stimulus memory receives, the more it remembers. (p.192f)

Unlike many research methods, reflexive photography works or does not work for rather mysterious reasons. Reflexive photography may add validity and reliability to a word-based survey (Harper, 2002). In this study, the photographs helped participants to construct their life narratives. Photographs appeared to capture the impossible, such as a person who is gone or a past event (Harper, 2002). This became an important point in using the photographs to understand the meaning of local culture and in identifying features that the people of Sambu wanted to share with or hide from visitors. Inserting photographs into the interview process also appeared to “relieve the strain of being questioned” (Samuels, 2004). They also functioned to sharpen the interviewee’s memory and reduced areas of misunderstanding (Collier, 1957). The sense of retrieving something that has disappeared leads to a deep and interesting discussion. This method also kept participants focus on the discussion, which ran for more than one hour.

The present study suggests that ascribed meanings of local culture are varied, interrelated, and hard to describe. Using participants’ photographs during interviews aided in building rapport, providing image-based metaphoric reflexive opportunities for participants and providing a secondary data source (the photographs) for data analysis and triangulation. Research participants were involved in an act of ‘meaning-making’. Through taking photographs of landscapes and cultural features, respondents told stories, which outlined their life. Using photographs as a trigger sharpens the participants’ ability to tell stories of their daily living and to reflect on them. The present study promulgates the argument that photographs are the most compatible mode for capturing moments of intense emotion, connection and celebration (Carlsson, 2001).

In addition, the auto-driven photo-elicited interviews resulted in the collection of data, which added an entire level of detail. Photographs helped to lessen some of the awkwardness of

interviews by providing a diversion for participants to focus on. Such data was believed to be more meaningful to the interviewees. Often, the responses given by the participants were not succinct and abstract. Instead, the responses appeared to represent pieces of villagers' lives. The data collected from the photo-elicited interviews had an emotional flavor, which often included discussions about the residents' personal lives and their attitudes toward tourism in Sambu.

Each of photographs functioned as a memory anchor for the participant as he or she recalled the moment of the photograph, its intention, and the cultural context surrounding it. Having that anchor set against the passing of time freed the participants to describe the meaning of their local culture and cultural features that they wanted to share with visitors. Allowing the local residents the opportunity to take pictures of what they considered important in their life had a profound affect on what Douglas Harper refers to as "breaking frames" (Harper, 2002).

On the last week of the study, all photographs of features that participants wanted to share with visitors were displayed at the main village house. Every day in the late afternoon, there were always residents who went to the house to view the photographs, which were displayed. They were interested in seeing the photographs for a variety of reasons. They compared their photographs to other residents' photographs. They sometimes laughed at photographs that they thought were humorous. Some of them tried to guess where the photographs were taken and who the individuals in the photos were. One participant, Indri, for example, after looking at the photographs said, "...I did not realize that Sambu is so pretty... and I have been living here for thirty-three years." Another participant, named Nana added, "Was that photograph taken from my back yard? ... Who took that photograph? It looked pretty." These comments suggested the ability of the photographs to allow residents (both those who took photographs and those who did not) to see their daily living from a new and interesting perspective. As Indri and Nana saw

their world from a new perspective, they came to realize the potential that Sambu has as a tourism destination. Thus, the photographs not only broke resident frames (Harper, 2002; Samuels, 2004) but also functioned as a medium of creating community awareness, which would affect tourism development.

As in the Clark-Ibanez study (2004), the present study showed the subjective meaning of photographs for participants, which can act to disrupt some of the power dynamics involved with regular interviews. When Joko, one of the participants, went to work at his rice field, he brought his camera. In the interview, he explained the process of planting paddy, the production of rice, and how his family depended on the field. Although the researcher grew up in a peasant family, the researcher knew nothing about rice production and would not have been able to ask about it in the interview had it not been for the visual data that Joko provided. Another participant, Galih, took pictures of his plant collection. He explained in detail each plant in the photograph, including how to take care of the rare and expensive plants. He also explained where to get rare plants and how to determine if a plant is healthy or not. In this case, this method became a significant tool to simultaneously gather data and empower the participants.

Although inserting photographs into the interview process elicited more information from the research participants, the study found that auto-driven photographs facilitated the breaking of the researcher's own frame more than the frames of the residents. For example, had the researcher used his own photographs to explore the cultural landscape of the daily living of the people of Sambu, the researcher would have inserted photographs of what he considered important features such as rice farming activities and rituals, etc. Allowing the residents to take their own photographs of what they (and not the researcher) considered to be important in their lives, however, not only elicited rich descriptions from the residents, but also allowed the

residents' own world and perspectives to impinge on the researcher's own frame of reference. Indeed, although many participants did take pictures of rice farming activities, many participants took photographs of activities that would have normally fallen outside of the researcher's own purview of what constituted important activities. For example, eight participants chose to take a picture of children playing traditional games. For these participants, the photographs helped to express their concerns of losing traditional games to more modern games, resulting from globalization and modernization. This case suggested the need to revive local games, which have almost disappeared. Such games can be used as a cultural tourist attraction. By doing so, tourism can help to rejuvenate local culture.

The sets of photographs gathered from the participants also helped to reveal what was considered most important to residents. An analysis of the absence of certain features in the set of photographs revealed the intention to hide certain features. For example, the absence of photographs of the local cemetery and mosque helped to explain the meaning of both structures for the residents. For them these two structures are sacred places. Before the rise of Islam, the Javanese people believed in Hinduism, which held that the soul of a dead person could be provided with blessings from the living. They also believed that the cemetery is the best place to ask for help and to communicate with the deceased. Many people meditate in the cemetery. This practice still flourishes even after the rise of Islam in Java. Many Javanese rituals are taught in the cemetery. They always preserved the grave of their loved ones. They cleaned the grave before entering the Islamic fasting month. After the introduction of Islam, the mosque became another sacred place for the Javanese. This case was obvious in Sambu. Typically, in Java there exists at least one mosque in every village. In Sambu there was one mosque, which became a central focal point for religious activities since most of the residents are Muslim.

The absence of photograph of the cemetery and mosque suggest that residents tried to keep these structures from outsiders since they knew that the study was related to tourism development. Although in the initial stage of the study the residents were clearly informed that they might take any pictures of anything important to them, not necessary dealing with tourism, the participants might be framed by the title of the study and researcher's educational background. Since in residents' eyes these two structures are not considered tourism attractions, they intentionally avoided taking pictures of those structures. The majority of participants who were asked why they did not take pictures of those structures said that they did not think about it although they admitted that those structures were important to them. This situation suggests that strict codes of conduct should be enforced when sacred places such a cemetery are opened for visitors (Shackley, 2001:4).

The reflexive photography interviews also resulted in a greater interest to take part in the study on the part of the residents. It also enabled the researcher to establish a rapport with participants much more quickly. This situation is consistent with previous studies using photo-elicitation method (Heisley & Levy, 1991; Samuels, 2004). The researcher had to reject a couple of residents who were interested in participating in photo taking in the middle of the project because of a limited number of cameras. Even in the initial stage, when the researcher explained the method of the study to the village chair, he said that the selection method was preferable than the conventional interview method.

It is good that you do not use interviews. People here seem reluctant to be interviewed. Last month, four students wanted to interview residents about tourism here for their final project. Only five residents showed up for the interview. I felt bad for those students... (Village chair)

One of the interesting experiences in using reflexive photography was that the photographs spurred meaning that otherwise might have remained dormant in word-alone interviews. The

photograph might not contain new information but could trigger meaning for the participants (Schwartz, 1989). One of the participants, Neni, took nine photos of her cat out of 27 exposures. The researcher was quite shocked with the number of exposures she used. What would we discuss besides her feelings regarding her cat? The researchers did not need to be concerned as it turned out. Neni moved to Sambu three years ago to follow her husband. She was from Padang in the island of Sumatra. Coming from a different place with different culture caused her to feel lonely. Her friend gave her two cats and she quickly became attached to the cats. Feeling lonely in the new community became a strong factor in her becoming attached to the cats. Last year one of her cats died and as a result, she now only had one cat. This cat helped to compensate for the loss of old friends. With the death of the other cat, Neni poured her affection to her remaining cat. The cat also sparked Neni's memories of her friends who gave the cat and elicited a vivid discussion about her family in Padang, her marriage and her intention to have a baby. Ultimately, the study showed that reflexive photography can be an effective alternative method in researching communities, especially in relation to tourism planning because of its uniqueness, as discussed above.

Family life in rural areas in Java gravitates on agriculture and seasonal cycles of work that have been performed for centuries to plant rice and other crops. This kind of work requires all physically able family members to participate in planting and harvesting crops. At the same time, family life cycles of birth, childbearing, marriage, and death continue in every household. Many participants took pictures of their family members and their relatives. Through their photographs, participants discussed family members' contribution to the family and their family conditions such as their hopes for a better future for their children, expectation for the government and social life. A photograph of an old person for example was always accompanied by comments

referring to a high regard for their ability to continue working in the field and the importance of respect for older person in the family. These photographs help to understand the significance of family in Sambu. Therefore, tourism planning in Sambu should consider highlighting this significant value of family. Residents should be allowed to interact with visitors, whereby the intercultural understanding between residents and visitors may emerge. In the same time, family should also be given space to practice their daily living without influenced by tourism values. A homestay may be a good alternative to allow residents to share this value with visitors. It should be noted, however, that in selecting family for homestay, planners should consult the family the ideal visitors for them and to what extent they expect the visitors to behave in their house.

In conclusion, participants construct a cultural landscape view out of their cultural understanding of what it means to live in Sambu. Reflexive photography gave them a tool to demonstrate their prowess, their concerns, and to explore deeply held thoughts. It gives social and biophysical insight into the usefulness of the landscape metaphor in connecting activity and outcomes, history and daily experience.

Modeling Tourism in Sambu

The present study was framed by four interrelated research questions: (1) What does Sambu's culture mean to the people of Sambu? (2) What do the people of Sambu want to share with visitors about their culture? (3) What do the people of Sambu want to show to visitors? (4) How do the people of Sambu choose to negotiate themes, which they want to show to visitors and themes that they want to hide from visitors?

The findings of the study offered insight into the discourse between tourism and modernization. Traditional societies are normally based around agriculture, hunting, and gathering. In an absolute sense, few if any traditional societies exist today, due to the pervasiveness of modern communications technology and globalization. Some societies in

Indonesia, such as Sambu can be said to be traditional even though some of their younger generations are receiving a modern education. The findings from this study suggest that the people of Sambu identify themselves as a Javanese peasant community. They still practice many traditional ceremonies such as *Slamatan*. They still maintain traditional social systems based on Javanese tradition. The findings also indicate that Sambu is currently undergoing significant transition from traditional way of life to a more modern society because of modernization in rural Indonesia. Sambu is an example of a traditional community that is being inundated by modernizing pressures to somehow abandon their lifestyle and adopt a monetized economic system. In Sambu, it is easy to find a modern designed house next to an old rare architecturally designed house. Television, cars, and newspaper can also be found in Sambu. While this may not be a bad thing in itself, it does require the abandonment of one set of cultural practices for another, which in the short term at least, is considerably disruptive and confusing for those living through the change. For the people of Sambu this has meant that taking visitors out onto the farms as a practice, which is compatible with their traditional lifestyle and thus apparently not too disruptive.

The findings further suggest that it would be foolhardy to argue for the rigid maintenance and preservation of a historical culture. Culture is not static, but constantly changing and adapting to new conditions. Modernization and change is not the issue of major concern, but rather, who is in control and how the social changes are structured. Some studies in tourism (Besculides, Lee, & McCormick, 2002) suggest that many of these communities can maintain the integral parts of their culture through tourism, because that is what the visitors want to see and experience. While this may appear to be an advantage on the surface, this practice leads to the commodification of those parts of the culture, while abandoning other practices, and ways of

thinking that were once and may continue to be important, although not necessarily to visitors (Reid, 2003:81). This constitutes an externally motivated preservation and not one from the center, which is an issue that needs to be addressed.

The study also demonstrated the need to balance cultural and natural conservation and tourism development for the sake of the community as well as to preserve the long-term attractiveness of the destination (WTO, 2005). Development should also be done at a speed that allows members of the community to change and adapt at their own pace. The government must play a role as facilitator and mediator in order for the villages to control their own development and work with local communities to preserve the balance between conservation and development.

Historically, the message that domestic tourism to ethnic and natural locales makes a citizen a better Indonesian has been echoed in domestic travel advertisements, journals, and guidebooks. In fact, the Indonesian domestic tourism campaign of 2008 states “*Kenali Negerimu Cintai Negerimu*” (Know your country, love your country) (Ministry of Tourism and Culture, 2008). This campaign prompted villages in Indonesia to consider their own trinkets and souvenirs as attractive powers. For example, one person in Sambu enthusiastically said that their dances, architecture, and scenic landscapes would interest both foreign and domestic tourists. Since uniqueness, indigenous architecture, and dance are all key components to marketing tourism, it is clear that the people of Sambu have absorbed the touristic rhetoric. This situation was illustrated by Picard, (1995) who asserted that the idea of the dynamic of tourism in Indonesia appears to promote the narrowed concept of culture. This appeared reflecting the fourth category of Jenks framework of culture (Figure 2-2). Jenks asserted that culture regarded as a social category as the whole way of life of people. This concept may become the basis by

which local people themselves evaluate the impact of tourism. However, since the people of Sambu are not solely dependent on tourism, the notion of the touristic rhetoric is not absorbed fully. They still view tourism as extra income and something that adds value to their village. In their perspective, they can live and survive without tourism. One participant, Bismoko, said

I am a farmer. I have a rice field. I also have a small kiosk... I like when there are many visitors here, as it brings revenue to the village. Most of us are farmers and will always be like that. You cannot expect us to change for the tourists, we can still live with the agricultural products here. I do not think we will depend on tourism. I just do not see it... (Bismoko)

Since they do not view tourism as the main source of income, they have stronger bargaining power toward tourism value. This condition helps us to understand that the more dependent communities are on tourism, the more vulnerable they are to tourism value. Thus, appropriate tourism plans need to be taken to reduce the vulnerability of local communities toward tourism value.

The present study also revealed that the people of Sambu realize the cultural benefits from tourism in two ways. First, tourism exposes the community to other cultures. This does not necessarily refer to international visitors who possess high cultural distance, but also domestic visitors who come from other areas in Indonesia to promote tolerance, understanding and 'national brotherhood'. Second, the act of presenting the daily living of Sambu to visitors strengthens the notion of what it means to live in Sambu and be a part of the community of Sambu. Thus, as Besculides *et al* (2002) suggested, cultural tourism increases identity, pride, cohesion, and support.

The study showed that without local control and support for tourism projects, legitimacy would not be sufficient to justify the development in the short or long term. The people of Sambu support tourism development as they have experienced tangible benefits from tourism. For example, the village received extra funds for the village development plan. The women's group

received extra income from catering to visitors. Youth groups also received extra funds from parking. The identity of the local social system must be preserved as development is considered and implemented. As findings demonstrate, while society's inevitability changes over time, it is in the interest of projects and local communities for certain aspects of local culture to be preserved. Respect for visitors is threatened if the host culture and society feel that their community and values are being altered by outside forces. Primacy must be given to protecting local communities and their social values, in other word retaining the authenticity of the village. Tourism and tourists are intrusive to communities and cultures, and as a result, balance must be sought and maintained in order to preserve both the community and the tourism project (Reid, 2003:11).

The present study also intimates that the focus of cultural tourism needs to be considered from the 'inside out' rather than from the 'outside in.' For example, the people of Sambu participate in many traditional ritualistic events not primarily as tourist exhibitions, but as cultural celebrations in their own right. Outsiders are invited to view and participate, but not as the main purpose of the event. Similarly, song, dance, and food are not contrived solely for outside consumption. This method of organizing celebration prevents the complete commoditification of the event, which would turn it into an inauthentic spectacle, and risk alienating people from the practicing culture (Reid, 2003: 12).

The findings of the study revealed the intention of the people of Sambu to share their environmental features such as landscape, valleys, rivers, rural way of life, structures such as old houses, art and festivals, people and animals. Unlike what was predicted, most participants did not mention features that they want to hide from visitors. It was easier for participants to identify features that they want to share with visitors. This may be because of the title of the study, which

indirectly framed participant perception of assets for visitors. As a result, they focused on features of Sambi that they deemed suitable for visitors' consumption. There was no specific feature that residents did not want to share with visitors. For residents whether or not a particular feature can be shown to visitors or not depends on factors such as whether they have prepared (cleaned) the site and in the correct time or not. Thus although the findings support the dichotomy of MacCannell (1973, 1976) back stage and front stage, this study also denotes that even in the front stage, local communities may not display it for visitor consumption if the 'stage' is not ready in perspective of the residents. Similarly, when the local community has strong control on the features, they may display their 'back stage' when they think it is ready for visitors. The main question is how local communities can gain control over those features and to what extent.

Further, the present study suggests that the stages are fluid and always contested and negotiated. Although the theoretical framework guided this study suggested that there was a zone of privacy, the finding revealed that there was no zone of privacy in Sambi. The people of Sambi do not mind opening their sacred places and their back stages to visitors, however, the residents expect visitors to behave appropriately. They also prefer that the visitation not occur during their sacred time, but rather during times reserved for non-sacred daily activities.

There are several reasons that may explain the absence of zone of privacy and the fluidity of 'stages' in Sambi. First, the influx of media and rural development program imposed by Indonesian government. The media and rural development brought modernization and globalization to rural communities. As an impact, local perspective was shifted to value openness as part as the idea of globalization. Second, as village of Sambi has recognized that tourism have provided them more benefit than the cost, such as providing extra funds for the village project.

This suggested that the social exchange theory may be appropriate theory to understand the fluidity of backstage and the absence of zone of privacy in Sambu. The social exchange theory suggested that residents who view tourism as actually valuable and believe that the cost do not exceed the benefit favor the exchange and are supportive of development effort (Turner, 1986). As residents of Sambu believe that they have received benefits from the tourism, they are willing to trade off their zone of privacy. Third, based on the Ryan's model of Community-Tourists Intermediaries (Figure 2-4), the community of Sambu is aware with tourists needs. The discussion with participants also revealed that the residents understood with the idea of rural tourism. The local tourism authorities have prepared the village through several workshops. Such workshops have increased level of confidence of their own culture.

Fourth, the tourism in Sambu is still in the involvement stage of Butler's 1980 *Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) model*. In this stage, more people have known about Sambu. Visitors in Sambu came in small numbers restricted by lack of access, facilities, and local knowledge. In this stage, Doxey (1975) argues that the host community is in euphoria with tourism. Host community welcomes visitors and investors. Therefore, they do not mind opening their "backstage" as they are confident with their culture and do not see tourism as a threat for the existence of local culture. Thus to strengthen the notion of cultural confidence, residents of Sambu may select people as intermediaries to play primary either a guardianship or teaching role of their cultural landscape. This situation however may change overtime when the numbers of visitors to Sambu begin to grow rapidly toward some theoretical carrying capacity or stagnation in Butler's 1980 model. This situation suggests that the tourism development in Sambu should also consider applying some carrying capacity models to retain the positive support from residents.

The present study offers insight on the understanding of time and space in developing tourism in rural communities. As explained in the previous chapter, the people of Sambu view time in terms of sacred and non-sacred. Non-sacred time refers to time for working and other daily routines. The sacred time ranges from time from their own, with their family or time for God. Everyday living is circulated within this perspective. The understanding of how people of Sambu view time has pivotal implication on tourism planning in Sambu. Residents, for example, prefer accepting visitors in their non-sacred time rather than their sacred time. Even when they accept visitors in their sacred times, only certain type of visitors may visit such as only visitors who are fellow Muslim can enter the mosque to pray.

Figure 5-1 shows how the people of Sambu control their culture for tourism development. The model outlined tourism in Sambu as explained through the discussion with the residents in this study. Based on the model, tourism in Sambu has four zones. The first zone is the zone of commercial potential. This zone includes all landscapes and cultural features that were identified by the participants through their photographs and interviews such as rivers, rice fields, traditional technologies, arts, and festivals. As the use of these features is in the resident's non-sacred time, more development can be focused in this area. The zone of self-managed refers to the use of culture and landscapes in residents' sacred time. Although the visitors can still use or visit the features, visitors should be advised to respect residents who are praying at the mosque or spending time with their family rather than meeting visitors. The zone of limited use refers to the use of landscape and cultural features in residents' sacred places such as cemeteries in non-sacred time. Although residents allow visitors to visit during sacred time, strict codes of conduct are needed to communicate visitors with special emphasis on how they should behave in this site. The zone of site-dependent refers to places and times that are sacred for residents such as the

mosque during times of prayer sessions. No visitation or use is suggested during such sacred times.

The model also reflects the notion of sharing the authenticity of daily living by the people of Sambu. This control system allows the people of Sambu to live in their normal life without being affected by the negative impact of tourism. The appropriate tourism plan based on the aforementioned model (Figure 5-1) provides an opportunity to articulate a vision for the community, as well as the identification of the sacrosanct community values, which need protecting. Further, the model provides room for creative maneuvering by people of Sambu. As they have a strong control over their culture, they can negotiate tourism value by altering time and space for visitation. In conclusion, the study illustrates Ryan (2005) assertion that successful tourism is not simply a question of presentation to visitors and the requirement that visitors responds in culturally appropriate way, but that the purveyors of the tourism also need to be aware of the nature of tourism and visitors as consumers of culture.

Planning

The present study demonstrates that the value of tourism development to the Sambu village is in need of revitalization. The conception and implementation of a tourism development plan in Sambu must be the prerogative of the community concerned, and constructed to not only preserve and retain the values and culture of the people of Sambu but also actually enhance their authenticity.

The present study provides valuable data for tourism planning in the Sambu village. Sambu landscape and culture is a major tourism asset. As revealed in this study, the participants want to share the landscape of Sambu and their daily living as a rural Javanese village with tourists. Thus, the appropriate tourism plan should highlight landscape and cultural features that residents want to share with visitors, while also limiting the use of features that residents do not identify. For

this reason, developing a village-tourism under CBT principles (ESCAP, 2005) is considered suitable. Further based on the findings of the study, the following are some strategies that can be advanced in order to manage tourism in Sambu to maximize benefits for the residents, while also preserving some authentic aspects of cultural features and landscapes.

Tourism Activities Development

The photographs that were taken by participants serve as the basis of developing tourism activities in Sambu. Participants have identified various features, which in their perception are suitable for developing tourism in Sambu. These features range from landscape features such as valleys, rivers, and farms to cultural features such as traditional games and *wayang* performance. Therefore, tourism development should be focused on those features. This will increase the residents' support of the tourism plan as suggested by community based tourism initiatives (Battadzhiev & Sofield, 2004). Table 5-1 presents some potential tourism activities for visitors.

The key to tourism development in Sambu is to ensure that the village retains its authentic character. Some possible tourism activities as suggested in table 5-1 help to retain the authenticity of Sambu. This is crucial to ensure sustainable long-term success without becoming too dependent on tourism, but still benefiting enough to make it worthwhile. Although residents have identified many features for tourism activities, it is recommended that they do not offer too many activities. The CBT initiative suggests that if too many activities are offered in a village, not only will it distort the village economic and cultural base, it risks becoming distorted into a Disney-style "tourism village." This refers to a village, which exists for, depends completely on tourism, and lacks authenticity, where the villagers literally are transformed into "actors" appearing on cue when visitors arrive. In addition, tourism activities must not distort the local village economy, which is mostly based on agricultural production. It should compliment the

rhythms of the agricultural year and allow non-agricultural related alternatives to the young and those with household responsibilities.

Connecting Identified Landscape and Cultural Features

Having identified landscape and cultural features that residents want to share with visitors is the next step is highlighting all identified landscape and cultural features. One way to highlight these landscape and cultural features is by creating routes, which connect each feature. In creating routes to allow visitors to experience daily living in Sambu, several issues should be taken into consideration. The first such consideration is time, which is the most crucial consideration in designing a route. As indicated by the present study, residents prefer that visitation not occur during their sacred time. Therefore, the time and duration of visitation should be taken into account when designing a route. The second consideration is the place. While residents do not mind if visitors visit their local cemetery, strict codes of conduct should be established to respect the sanctity of the place. If the visitors are Muslims then they may be encouraged to visit and pray at the local mosque together with residents during times of prayer sessions. Non-Muslim visitors, especially international visitors, should also be informed of the code of conduct in the mosque.

Interpretation

Both visitors and host communities for disparate reasons may value the same features. For residents, it is a place to be lived in and possessing profound personal, cultural, and religious significance. Conversely, it is also a place to be viewed, passed by and perhaps captured on photographs by visitors (Hull & Revell, 1989). These differences in backgrounds and interests between locals and visitors suggest that it may be necessary to interpret the local landscape and cultural features and its meanings for visitors. Interpretation is essential to the delivery and enjoyment of the cultural landscape and natural resources as well as to ensure that visitors

understand the context of it. In addition, interpretation in all its forms plays a key role once attractions, products, and infrastructure are in place so that visitors understand and appreciate what they are experiencing. A good interpretation is vital as the quality of the tourist experience depends on what the visitors understand and if they can ask questions and get information regarding the culture which they are experiencing. With a good interpretation, tourism can promote cross-cultural understanding.

Sambi should then prepare good interpretation in any forms to ensure that the village is accessible to visitors. This includes having local guides, signs, information distribution, and a visitor center. Sambi presently has a visitor secretariat and some signs, which direct visitors to Sambi valley and campgrounds. Sambi does not have other interpretation. The photographs taken by residents can be used as interpretation aids. They can put the pictures in the village promotion media or use them in post cards that can be sold as souvenirs. Signage in English should be considered if they want to attract visitors that are more international.

The profession of interpreters has arisen to meet interpretation needs (Knudson, Cable, & Beck, 1995). However, their task is not an easy one for the landscape may tell many stories and its meaning may be contested by different groups. In Sambi there is no local guide, thus, after establishing routes connecting landscape and cultural features that residents want to share, the next step is to train local people who are willing to be local guides. Local guides are needed, especially to interpret landscape and cultural features that are considered sacred places for local communities. They should inform visitors on how to behave in the local cemetery. In addition to telling stories about who is buried in the cemetery, the meaning of the cemetery to the residents should be explained. Interpretation training should also be considered which includes language and cross-cultural training.

Entrepreneurship, Marketing, and Resource Management

As Indonesia is moving toward local autonomy, tourism is viewed as a means of local development (Ardika, 2005). If tourism is to contribute to sustainable developments, the role of small and micro entrepreneurs in formal and informal economic arrangements becomes vital (ESCAP, 2005). The advantages of small-scale entrepreneurship in tourism are manifold. Small-scale activities are less disruptive and have more modest capital requirements that permit local participation. In addition, it leaves control in local hands, and they are more likely to fit in with indigenous activities and land uses. While certain benefits from tourism may be communally share such as donations to the village improvement fund as well as certain facilities such as paved roads, the majority of goods and services will come from the private sectors, which requires entrepreneurs and small enterprises.

If local businesses benefit from tourism and opportunities exist for active resident involvement in the ownership and operation of facilities, local tolerance to tourism activities is significantly enhanced. Their participation in tourism entails empowerment. Further, the emerging local organizations act as a means of power in dealing with the increased power of local authorities as an impact of decentralization in Indonesia. Supporting entrepreneurship will then help developing village-based enterprises that can function as local development.

Empowering community organizations in Sambu is seen as important strategy in local development. This strategy may also act as a means of power in dealing with the increased power of local authorities. In Sambu there is one guesthouse and some additional houses that can be used as seasonal homes. This condition reveals the need to conduct training or workshops in hospitality. As women's groups organize catering for visitors, training in food needs to be considered. It is essential for the long-term sustainability of tourism resources that village planning and development ensure that the village remains connected to and responsive to a

global tourism system, which will actually send visitors. Thus, workshops in village tourism management should also be considered. It is also recommended that integrated marketing be utilized and that a promotion program be developed in order to attract visitors to Sambu. To implement the training and marketing, the Sambu tourism committee can work with GIA foundation, which has assisted Sambu in developing tourism for the past three years. The partnership will help Sambu to strengthen the business network as well as empower people of Sambu.

Developing Village Tourism Corridors

Sambu village lies in the slope of Mount Merapi on main road from Yogyakarta to Kaliurang. Kaliurang is the main recreation site in Mount Merapi. The existence of Kaliurang acts as a magnet to attract both international and domestic visitors. Simultaneously, it also offers an opportunity to develop cultural tourism destinations to bring benefits directly to the villages in the cultural corridors that lead to Kaliurang. It should be noted that without major attractions such as Kaliurang and Mount Merapi to entice international visitors in the first place, tourism cannot thrive. Sambu village and other community-based cultural tourism destinations cannot in and of themselves attract visitors in substantial numbers to make an impact. Therefore, the link to Kaliurang and Mount Merapi should be defined clearly.

Most villages do not have enough resources and potential by themselves to supply all visitors' needs, nor to keep their attention beyond a day, nor should that be the goal. Not every village is suitable for every potential type of development such as homestays, refreshment area, cultural performances, and natural attractions and so forth. It is suggested to develop a cultural corridor linking different villages around Kaliurang and Mount Merapi, each offering their own services and attractions. This may help to avoid negative cultural, economic, or environmental distortions. Very importantly, it also helps to share the benefits from tourism among different

villages, thus reducing social friction and jealousy. For Sambu, the landscape and cultural features that participants have identified may be developed as main attractions. The cultural corridors around Mount Merapi National Park and Kaliurang also help Sambu to cover its weak points. One weak point in Sambu is the seasonality of the cultural events. Some traditional ceremonies can only be performed during certain times of the year. The other villages also have similar issues, as other villages may have similarities in landscape and cultural features due to their close proximity to the slope of Mount Merapi. The villages then can make calendars of events together by highlighting major attractions in each village. Similar studies can be replicated in the village corridors to see the intersection between cultural features in the surrounding villages.

Recommendation for Future Research

Reflexive photography with the people of Sambu has provided an inside view of what it is like to live and work in a Javanese village. This method has provided valuable data to develop a more appropriate tourism in Sambu. However since the data collection only took 2 months, the participants could only capture features that existed at that time. One participant said that he wanted to take pictures of Javanese wedding ceremony but as the wedding would take time in August, she was not able to take picture of it. Therefore, it is recommended that future study using reflexive photography should consider longer time to allow participants capture more features.

The participants for this study came from various demographic backgrounds such as length of residency, occupation, gender, and education. How each of the variables influenced their response was not covered in the study as this study focused in capturing the range of opinion about research questions. Further study then should analyze any differences based on these demographic differences. It will help us to understand how residents' sense of place and their

attitude toward tourism development is affected by those variables. Moreover, as Indonesia consists of more than fifteen thousand islands and diverse culture, it is impossible to generalize this study to a larger setting. Therefore, it is recommended that similar studies may be replicated to other villages to generate a more valuable data to develop a more appropriate national tourism plan.

Due to time constraints, the study only focused on cultural landscapes that the local community desired to share with visitors. As tourism is a matter of host-guest relations, it will be crucial to replicate similar study with visitors. By giving visitors cameras and asking them to take pictures of cultural landscape that they want to experience a full understanding on the discourse of host-guest relation and tourists gaze is provided (Urry, 1990). As photographs reflect photographer's perspectives, it will be interesting to explain any differences in photographs taken by host community and their visitors about elements that considered unique and important.

Reflexive photography is barely used in tourism research. This present study has shown that reflexive photography can be an alternative method in tourism studies. Allowing local communities to take pictures of what they want to share with visitors is one pivotal step in creating communities support to tourism project. A photograph can help to bridge the cultural distance between local communities and the tourism planners. The use of photographs also enabled the researcher to elicit information, which would be still dormant if the researcher used other word based research methods. Therefore, it is recommended that reflexive photography receive further use in investigations of tourism experiences, especially to gather detailed information on the everyday life of participants, including those who have been marginalized

with the tourism research process and to make the process more enjoyable. It will then advance our intellectual capacity in tourism studies.

Finally, despite care and attention to potential ethical issues in research that uses people's photographs, there are questions that remained unanswered in this study; for example what if the people depicted from different opinions of these images later in life and do not want the images shown the way they have been? Future tourism research using images then should consider answering such question to help us understand the dynamic surrounding visual methodologies.

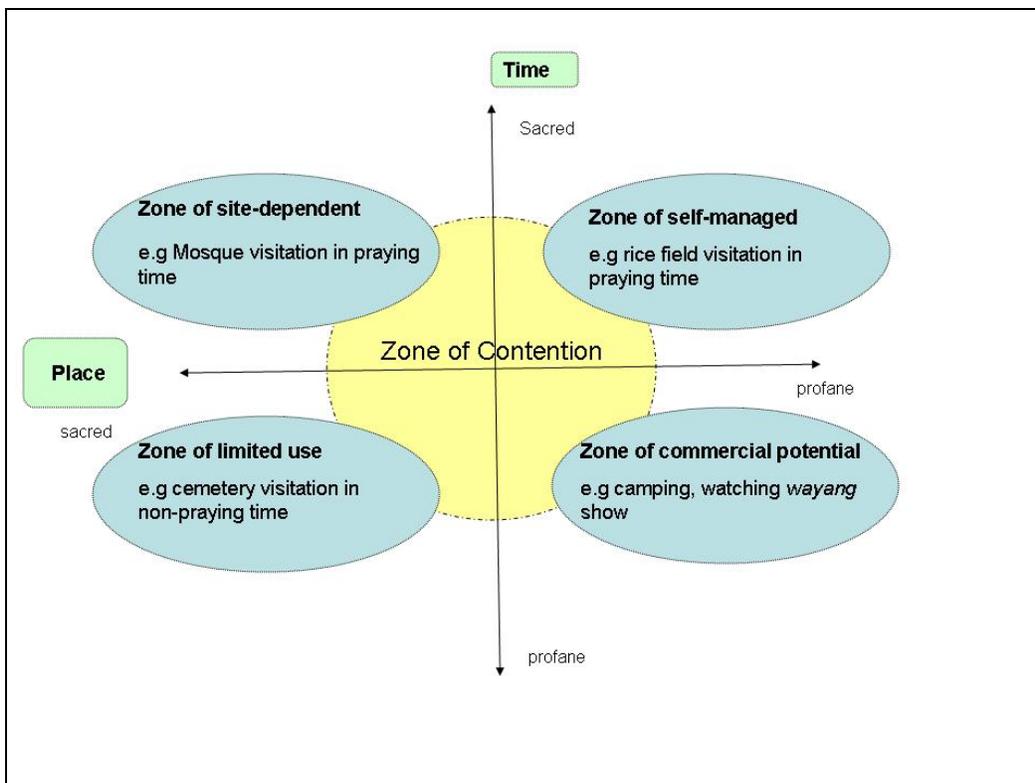


Figure 5-1. Tourism model in Sambi

Table 5-1. Possible tourism potential development

Sites	Possibility of tourism potential development
Village	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Living in the house with Javanese architecture, large front yard, enjoying the facilities with authentic village style (bath, meal, sleep, evening activities) • Participating in and learning about ceremonial life in the village especially around agricultural activities. • Learning to play gamelan, watching <i>wayang</i> performance
Farms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Studying the agriculture and farming; doing farm activities including helping to plant or harvest • Buying decoration plants from residents
River, ponds and valley	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Potential for water activities (water exploring, catching fish in a traditional way), relaxing • Could be used for trekking activities
Roads, trails	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Potential for trekking
Campground	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Camping and outbound activities
Cemetery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learning the meaning of local cemetery with a local guide

APPENDIX A INTERVIEW GUIDE

Meaning of local culture

- What does this picture mean?
- Do these pictures represent things that are important about living here for you?
- Which pictures are especially important? Why?
- What do you think about way of life in Sambu?

Elements of culture to share

- If you were going to show people what it is like to live here which pictures will you include? Why?
- What kinds of things are missing?

Elements of culture not to share

- If you were going to show people what it is like to live here which pictures will not you include? Why?
- What kinds of things are missing?

Residents' way to choose parts of culture to share or to hide from tourists

- Why do you choose picture A to represent something that you want to share with people (tourists) instead of picture B?
- How does your community choose the part of your culture to share and to hide from tourists?
- Do you or your community have some criteria to choose the part of your culture to share and to hide from tourists? If yes, what are they?

Demographics

- How old are you?
- Gender:
- What is your occupation?
- How long have you lived in Sambu?
- If not born in Sambu, where are you from?
- How many years of education have you had

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