

**Cultural Tourism Development in Ngada, Flores,  
Indonesia.**

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Photographs on  
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## **Abstract**

This thesis is an action ethnography of tourism development in two villages in Ngada, Flores. It examines the inter-relationship between culture and tourism. The thesis explores the villagers' attitudes, experiences values and priorities in tourism, and contrasts these with those of the tourists and mediators in tourism: guides and government, to reveal the 'conflicts of tourism'. The thesis compares two neighbouring villages and explores the micro level detail required to understand tourism development.

Research for this thesis has been carried out over more than ten years. Early research (1989-1994) was carried out as a tour operator. Numerous short visits and two periods of field research, one of eight months (1998-1999), followed. Credibility as a successful tour operator and long established relations meant a strong bond of trust existed when the researcher carried out fieldwork. Participant observation was used to derive a deep understanding of tourism in the villages. Focus groups were carried out with different sections of the population and local guides. Interviews were carried out with personnel from government departments. Tourists were observed and interviewed.

The thesis contributes to knowledge by providing a detailed ethnography of emergent tourism development. The comparison of two villages reveals just how important local cultural details are in our understanding of cultural processes in tourism. While cultural tourism is developed to bring economic benefits, authenticity is associated with poverty and based on markers relating to the past. Tourism is working to fossilise the villages. However the villagers are not passive and the commodification process can also be regarded as a step on the ladder to empowerment.

As an action ethnography, the explicit intention of the study was to aid the villagers. The focus groups started the process of knowledge sharing, and recommendations have been made on how to further the development of cultural tourism in the villages.



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# Introduction

This thesis is an 'action ethnography' of tourism development in Ngadha region of Flores in Eastern Indonesia. As the research has been carried out over more than ten years, the emphasis is on ongoing tourism development rather than a time-bounded snapshot. The thesis explores how tourism enters the processes of negotiation between competing realms of the villagers' social organisation and the areas of conflict that result from tourism development. It describes how tourism is valued by the villagers and the strategies they adopt to accommodate it. It also examines the tourists' behaviour, attitudes and experiences of tourism in the villages and tourism development from the mediators' perspective, thus providing a holistic view of tourism development. The thesis investigates how identity is modified in response to tourism and how the villagers cope with the attendant processes of commodification. By comparing two neighbouring villages that have had different experiences of initial tourism development, the value of micro level studies in tourism development is emphasised.

The thesis is grounded in an established field of development studies known as action research. The approach adopted here is relatively novel in that it applies what may be called 'action ethnography' to the study of tourism. The study is underpinned by a long understanding of Ngadha culture derived from the author's business experience in the area (1989-1994) and two periods of field research, one for ten days (August-September 1996) and one of eight months (July 1998-Feb 1999). Tourism, in common with other forms of development, is culturally problematical. The thesis sets out to analyse the tensions associated with tourism development and to identify possible means of ameliorating them.

An important theme is the role of what is widely called cultural or ethnic tourism development. The terms are widely used to describe forms of tourism in which culture in the widest sense is the main component. The latter term is frequently used where the culture belongs to people in less developed countries, especially in remote marginal

regions. This thesis engages with the debate of how such groups face the challenge of balancing socio-economic integration and cultural distinction.

## 0.1 Location of the study

The Ngada regency (*Kabupaten Ngada*) is located in central Flores in Eastern Indonesia (see maps Figures 1&2). Formerly part of the Dutch East Indies, the regency is known after its colonial name, Ngada, which is a misrepresentation of local pronunciation of the name. (The Dutch appear to have difficulty rendering the local 'dh' sound and wrote it as 'd'.) The people in this study, however, call themselves – and are referred to by neighbouring groups when speaking Indonesian – as *orang Ngadha*. Outsiders continue to be confused by this, since the regency, a geographical designation, is spelt one way, Ngada, and a group of people living in the south-east quarter of the regency use Ngadha.

The Ngada regency lies between 8 and 9 degrees South and 120 and 121 degrees East (Kabupaten Ngada 1998). The Ngadha live in the rugged mountainous region between the volcanoes Inerie and Ebolobo. Ine means mother and her partner Ebolobo facing her is considered father of the region.<sup>1</sup> Both volcanoes are active and over 2000m high. As with so many areas of Flores, this means the area is subject to frequent seismic activity.

The soils are made up of young latosols and litosols and much of the area is littered with volcanic boulders. Gradients vary across the region but over 40% of the land is very steep (>40%) (*ibid*). The area receives 1,750mm of rain in the rainy season (October to April) and 157mm in the dry season, far more than the rest of the Kabupaten (*ibid*). Temperatures range from between 20°C and 33°C in the day but can get down to less than 10° at night in the mountains. However, significant variation exists between villages in terms of temperature and rainfall due to altitude and aspect.

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<sup>1</sup> Ebolobo is also known as Suru Laki.



**Figure 0.1 Map of Indonesia.**



Figure 0.2 Map of Flores

The population of the regency in 1997 was recorded at 212,271, giving a population density of 70/km sq. However the Ngadha part of the regency is by far the most populous, supporting an average of 184/sq.km (*ibid*). The area is economically poor with one of the lowest per capita incomes in Indonesia (Rp900, 000/yr approximately US\$180) (*ibid*).

The Ngadha language is currently classified as belonging to the Central Malayo-Polynesian (CMP) language group, a branch of the Austronesian family (Blust 1984) and is part of what Fox (1998) calls the central Flores linkage. Up until Fox's reclassification, the language was often described as belonging to the Ambon-Timor group (Barnes 1972). The exceptionally rugged terrain of Flores helps to explain its extraordinary ethnic fragmentation. Through an examination of the languages spoken on Flores, Fox (1998) argues that the linkage has more in common with Sumba than eastern parts of Flores. This link to Sumba gives credence to the local story of origin, which claims that the Ngadha arrived in the area from Sumba.

The Ngadha are separated to the west from the Manggarai and Mbae peoples by the river Moke (Hicks 1990). Three other groups occupy the Ngada regency: the Nage and Keo to the east, and the Riung, who occupy the north of the regency. The work on linguistic (Fox 1998) and cultural (Molnar 1998) linkages suggests a continuum of languages/cultures exists with neighbouring groups in areas of Flores. Molnar's (2000) work on the Hogo Sara, a village on the border between Ngadha and Nage, shows many characteristics in common with both groups.

The Ngadha are not homogeneous and between villages significant cultural variation occurs. However, the people see themselves as distinct from the groups that border them. They not only see their language as critical to their identity but also various aspects of their culture. First and foremost is the importance of the *bhaga*, miniature houses representing the first female ancestor, and *ngadhu*, carved tree trunks with conical thatched roofs representing the first male ancestor. Secondly, their matrilineal groups are used as identity markers. In the past (and still in certain cases) bridewealth (*belis*)

was paid; women joined their husbands and their children belonged to their father's clan. Now it is the norm, in most villages<sup>2</sup>, for men to marry exogamously and children become part of their mother's clan. The Ngadha themselves, and others when talking about them, use this as a distinguishing reference point; frequently using (mistakenly) anthropological terminology by referring to the Ngadha variously as matrilineal and matriarchal. In fact they are bilineal.

The (old) capital of the regency, Bajawa, is included in the study. It is the least developed regency town on Flores. Lying in a 'bowl' surrounded by steep mountains, the possibility for this town to expand is limited. As a result, plans were made, a decade ago, to move the regency town to Mbay in the Riung district in the north west of the regency. The title of capital had already been transferred, roads had been built and some government offices were under construction when Indonesia's economy crashed in 1997. The community was divided at the time about the plans, largely along ethnic grounds. By 2000, with the local government bankrupt, the plans to move were put back on hold and Bajawa functionally remains the capital. This aborted move has had an impact on the town's development: other towns on Flores saw expansion during the last ten years of Suharto's development era, but Bajawa did not. Despite serving a population of over 200,000, the town does not even have a chemist. It is the only regency town on Flores not to have an agent's office for the East Indonesia newspaper (Pos Kupang).

Communications in Ngada are also among the poorest on Flores. The area has one major metalled road, the Trans-Flores Highway, which runs East-West across Flores. Small single tracked, partially tarred roads run off this main artery. A new metalled branch road runs to Mbay (the new capital) and will eventually continue on to meet the new north coast highway. Financed by the World Bank, this new road runs the length of Flores along the north coast and aims to replace the present Trans-Flores highway, which is subject to many landslides in the rainy season. When the north coast highway is complete, Bajawa may no longer be a transit stop between the major tourist

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<sup>2</sup> There are still two villages, to my knowledge, where it is the norm to pay bridewealth and children to join patri-clans.

attractions: Komodo National Park, home of the world's largest monitor lizards, and Keli Mutu, a volcano with three different coloured crater lakes. This could have important bearings on the future development of Ngadha.

The regency has an airport 10km north of Bajawa but this has not been upgraded or maintained because of the plans to build a new, bigger airport near the new capital. By 2000, the old airport was no longer in service.

## **0.2 Background to the study**

On my initial journey through Flores, in 1984, like many others (e.g. Sutton 1989, Schreider and Schreider 1962), I neglected to venture into Ngadha. Tourism accommodation on the island was so undeveloped that I ended up spending nights on the floor of villagers' huts. When, in 1989, I was writing the initial marketing material for my tour company's first tour, *Beyond Bali, a journey through the Eastern Isles of Indonesia*, I promised nights spent on villagers' floors. The promise was designed not only to give the flavour of the trip and put off frailer clients but also to sell the idea of "really meeting hosts in their own home". Also, to enhance marketability, UK operators marketed the tour as "led by anthropologists".

During our reconnaissance trip, we found ourselves two thirds of the way across Flores and had found adequate guesthouses for our future clients at every stop. It became essential to find a traditional village, with no available guesthouse nearby, to fulfil the commitments we had made in our marketing material. With the help of the Department of Education and Culture, we found Wogo, one of the two villages central to this thesis.

The village was very suitable for our business needs. All the houses around the central plaza were 'traditional', of wooden construction with high thatched roofs. In the centre of the thirty-two houses were a number of features special to villages in the area. There were some stone structures, which are referred to in the tourism and historical literature



as megaliths, and nine male clan posts (*ngadhu*) and seven female clan miniature houses (*bhaga*) (see plates 1,2,&3).

The two-day village visit was arranged and six months later we brought our first group. Briefly, it involved a cultural description of the village, a walk to observe local agriculture and palm toddy tapping, visiting villagers' garden homes, walking to the local volcano to observe volcanic activity. After bathing in a pool that had hot and cold water sources, a walk to the old village site and megaliths (where we had a picnic lunch of rice, pork and vegetables cooked in bamboo tubes over a fire, washed down with palm toddy), we had a cultural show of songs and dances by adults and children.

Village stays were not only a resounding success for the tourists but also for the villagers, and they became the centrepiece of our tours, featuring in the marketing material produced in the UK. The tour was repeated bi or tri- annually for six years. After we had visited the village with three groups, some of the villagers had the opportunity to take part in a festival of international bamboo music, in Bali. When we met again they asked me "How can we have tourism and not end up like Bali?" The aspects of Bali that they described were the volumes of scantily clad tourists, the traffic jams, the wealth disparities, mansions and beggars, shops, hotels, and restaurants everywhere, and no peace and quiet.

The desire to answer the villagers' question became central to my research. I wanted to conduct research that would inform the villagers how best to develop tourism. However, as my visits continued and my role changed from tour operator to academic researcher, it became clear that tourism was developing but that the process was outside and beyond the villagers' control. Their village was visited, and they became passive recipients of visitors without any signs of development. The village was not becoming "like Bali" but the villagers were deriving no benefits from tourism. Yet, at the same time, I was sure that tourism would be changing the village.

The Ngadha villagers have been incorporated into the cash economy requiring money for taxes, schooling, health care and basic commodities. The opportunities for economic development in the area are minimal. Steep slopes and a harsh climate limit agricultural

development. The area has no known mineral resources. Industrial development is unlikely due to the region's peripheral position, far from markets and lacking entry ports either by sea or air. Cultural tourism development potentially provides the villagers the opportunities to obtain cash. The villages have the raw cultural resources to provide the context for tourism although development requires their refinement for tourism consumption (Li and Butler 1997). Cultural commodification, despite its negative connotations, and the complexity of the phenomenon, may be considered a developmental step. Too little refinement and there is minimal economic benefit from tourism: too much and the resource is spoilt. Understanding the intricacies of the culture and the value systems of the actors is crucial to ensuring the sustainability of their tourism.

### 0.3 Aims and objectives

This thesis investigates the initial years of cultural tourism development in Ngadha. It provides a specific ethnographic study of the interrelationship between culture and tourism.

The aim of the thesis is to provide a deep understanding of tourism development from the perspective of the villagers living in two villages. By comparing the different experiences in two villages, located only twelve kilometres apart, this thesis makes a strong case for micro-level studies.

The villagers experiences, priorities, attitudes and values in relation to tourism are contrasted with those of tourists and mediators to reveal the "conflicts of tourism" (Cohen 1979), both real and potential. Once identified, potential solutions are examined and recommendations are made. As an "action ethnography", it is an objective of this study that the research should empower and inform the villagers.

Research for this thesis was conducted over a ten-year period. The longitudinal nature of the study allows for a discussion of how tourism is incorporated into the villagers' lives. It suggests ways to further the potential for cultural tourism development without denuding the resource.

#### 0.4 The structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into three parts: Part One is the background, Part Two the findings and Part Three the analysis and discussion.

In Chapter 1, following a brief introduction to the anthropology of tourism, the literature on cultural tourism, authenticity and cultural commodification, tourist types, and tourism mediators is reviewed. The final part of the chapter introduces responsible tourism as a framework for examining the actors' values in relation to tourism development.

Chapter 2 briefly examines the literature that relates to development, and specifically tourism development, in Indonesia. It then reviews previous ethnographies on East Nusa Tenggara, before examining the anthropological studies of tourism in Eastern Indonesia.

Chapter 3 examines action anthropology and considers the epistemological issues before presenting a graphic illustration of the ethnographic experience.

Chapter 4 gives a background to the villages. Rather than a complete ethnography, it examines the livelihood, social organisation and the belief system as a necessary background to understanding tourism management.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 present the perceptions of tourism from the perspectives of the mediators (government and guides), tourists and villagers.

Chapter 8 compares and contrasts these perceptions to show how the different groups of actors hold different views and where their underlying attitudes, priorities and values conflict with one another.

Chapter 9 examines tourism as a globalising and localising force in Ngadha. Further, it examines how tourism is incorporated into the nexus of forces that shape Ngadha society.

Chapter 10 presents the conclusions to the thesis and includes recommendations of how the villagers can develop a more responsible form of tourism.

### 0.5 Notes on translation and style.

1. My fieldwork was conducted in Indonesian and Ngadha language, mainly the former - especially in the earlier phases of my work. I have translated both into English. Words in italics maybe from either language: Ind indicates Indonesian and Ng indicates Ngadha language. However, there are a few terms that I feel are best left un-translated. Where these appear for the first time, I provide an explanation of why they are not translated. A fuller list of Ngadha and Indonesian words and expressions used in this thesis can be found in appendix 9.

#### **Ngadha words**

*Nua* = a collection of Houses found in two parallel lines with the associated *bhaga*, *ngadhu* and megaliths

*Bhaga* = a miniature house representing the first female ancestor of a clan.

*Ngadhu* = carved tree trunks, with conical thatched roofs representing the first male ancestor of a clan.

*Peo* = a stone used to tie a buffalo to before it is sacrificed.

#### **Indonesian words**

*Adat* = Indonesian word of Arabic origin meaning custom, customary law and customary behaviour. In Ngadha, it is used to mean the complex of beliefs and rituals associated with the ancestors.

*Malu* = Indonesian expression meaning modest and bashful, used to express feelings that lie between the English for shy, ashamed and embarrassed but also respectful and humble.

2. In order to differentiate between traditional named "houses" locally referred to as *sao* and other homes I use House (with a capital H) for the former and house (with a lower-case h) for the latter.
3. Following discussion with the villagers, I have used real names for the villages. The villagers were sure that anybody reading the text, familiar with the area, would be able to work out which villages I was writing about and therefore there was no point in keeping them anonymous. The real names of people have been used where they have given their permission, as this was their preference.
4. Indonesian Muslims often do not have surnames and thus references to Indonesian authors are included in full.



Plate 1. Tourists in Bena. Three *bhaga* in the foreground.

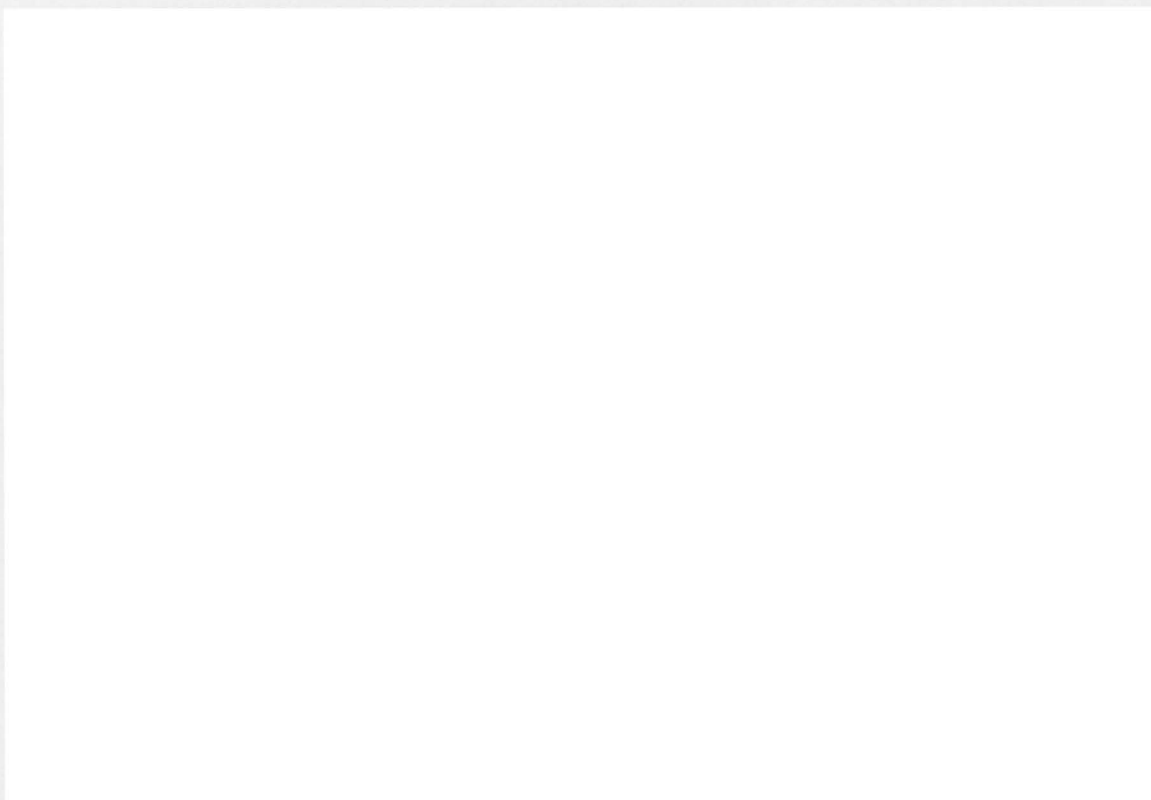


Plate 2. Four *ngadhu* beside the *lenggi* in Wogo.



Plate 3. Tourists observe thatching in Wogo. Bright green electricity pole and Catholic grave in foreground.



Plate 4. Wogo villagers pose on *lenggi* in ritual costume.

# Part 1

## Chapter 1

### Literature review- Tourism

#### 1.1 The anthropology of tourism

Anthropological interest in tourism can be traced back to the nineteen sixties (Nunez 1963) but gathered momentum with the publication of *Hosts and Guests* (Smith 1978) and was stimulated through the *Annals of Tourism Research*, whose editor Jafar Jafari has an anthropological background. Although there are now, in the United States, more PhD theses in the anthropology of tourism than in any other discipline apart from economics (Nash 1996), many of the early studies were little more than spin-offs from wider ethnographies (Wilson 1993).

Both Nash (1996) and Kadir Din (1988) claim that anthropologists were slow to accept tourism as part of their studies. Crick considers the neglect of tourism “particularly curious” given that tourism bears directly on a number of time-honoured themes in anthropology (1994: 1). According to Pearce (1989), other disciplines were also slow to examine tourism. Despite its economic importance, development literature largely ignored tourism until the 1980s. This is because tourism is a service industry and development literature has concentrated on the transition from agricultural to industrial society (Pearce 1989). Wilson (1993) suggests that the avoidance of the topic was because tourism was viewed by many as culturally destructive. Nash also claims that anthropologists did not want their work to “be construed as some kind of pleasure junket to far-away places” (1996:3).

Interest in the social and cultural impacts of tourism has been an area of interest for anthropologists, with special attention being given to the changes brought about due to the contact between different peoples. Like other strangers, tourists are "agents of contact between cultures and directly or indirectly the cause of change particularly in



less developed regions of the world" (Nash 1989:37). The people of the less developed areas of the world have been the subjects of anthropological study since the beginning of the discipline and hence anthropologists' (recent and increasing) interest in this important, ever expanding industry.

The conceptual framework for the study of the anthropology of tourism has undergone a number of shifts since it became a legitimate research topic (Wilson 1993). The initial studies on the impact of tourism were framed in a negative light, epitomised by Greenwood's (1972) and Turner and Ash's (1975) studies, leading to what Jafari (1989) called the 'cautionary platform'. However, subsequent studies by Young (1989) and Greenwood (1989) showed the importance of not taking snap-shots of a particular moment in time and the need for longitudinal studies (Harrison 1992; Hitchcock 1993a; Wilson 1993, Crick 1994, Oppermann 1997). The research for this thesis has been over a ten-year period and is thus a longitudinal study.

Anthropologists can make a distinct contribution to the study of international tourism by bringing the 'native-voice' to studies (Crick 1994, Nash and Smith 1991, Nash 1996), and, as many would concur, there is a pressing need for more detailed ethnographic studies of tourism (Crick 1994, Chambers 1997).

## **1.2 Tourism development**

As international tourism is a key element in the modernisation process of less developed countries, tourism has been analysed using modernisation theory, a theory popular in the 1950s and 1960s. "Modernisation theory focuses on the processes of Westernisation, whereby the internal structures of 'developing' societies become more like those in the west" (Harrison 1992:9). This involves a growth in the role of money in the economy, a reduction in the traditional family structure, a transfer of ideas, practices and technology, often via local elites who act as agents of change (*ibid.*).

In so far as tourism makes use of the natural infrastructure, it is not subject to trade barriers and is labour intensive (Lickorish 1991); it contributes to economic

development, brings in foreign exchange, generates employment, spurs infrastructure development and leads to economic diversification. Seen from this perspective, it is not surprising that tourism has been promoted as a strategy for economic growth in developing countries (Matheson and Wall 1982, Pearce 1989, de Kadt 1979, Richter 1993). This is especially the case in areas that have few primary resources and a small industrial base, where tourism often constitutes the only viable economic opportunity (Oppermann and Chon 1997).

The idea that tourism was a panacea for economic development was challenged by studies (e.g. Greenwood 1972, Crystal 1978, Urbanowicz 1978) that examined the position of the *toouree*<sup>3</sup> - the people gazed upon in tourist destinations. Numerous studies have “sprung from the anthropological concern with cultural contact and cultural change” (Nash and Smith 1991), in particular, contact between the more powerful tourists and the less powerful *toourees* in less developed countries.

Selwyn considers the anthropology of tourism to be “embedded in concerns of development and dependency” (1994: 34). Using the dependency paradigm, also known as underdevelopment theory (following Frank (1966), studies showed how tourism has evolved in a way that matches historic patterns of colonialism and economic dependency (Lea 1988, Oppermann 1993, Oppermann and Chon 1997). Thus, tourism is seen as a form of imperialism (Nash 1978) or neo-colonialism (Crick 1994, Hunter 2001). International tourism dominated by foreign, frequently trans-national, ownership has resulted in the perpetuation of existing inequalities (Harrison 1992, Nash 1978, Madley 1999, Broham 1996, Britton 1982, Murphy 1985). Frequently, these studies relate to enclave and resort development and the authors suggest that such developments result in the loss of local ownership. “Local people find themselves enmeshed in a globally integrated system over which they have no control” (Brohman 1996:55). Local ownership and control are important issues that will be returned to below.

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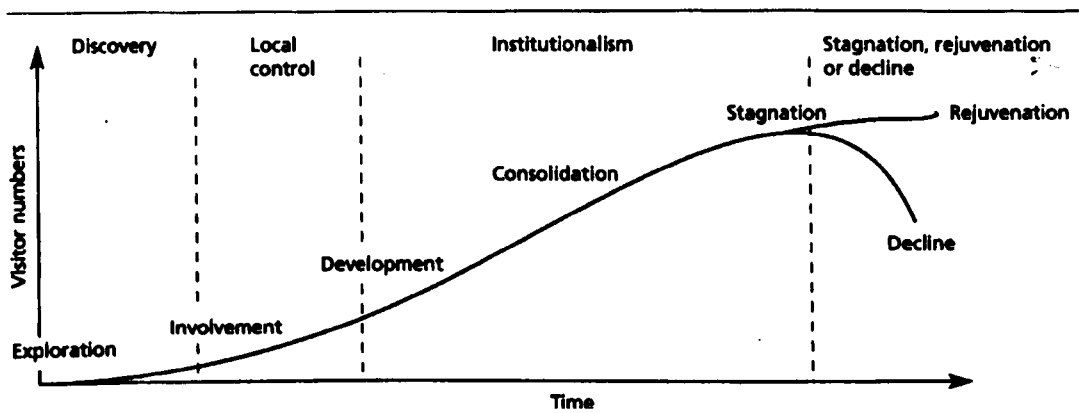
<sup>3</sup> *Toourees* are natives who modify their behaviour, whether consciously or subconsciously, when he interacts with tourists, a native- turned- actor, Van den Berghe and Keyes (1984: 374).

The political economy of tourism has built on the centre-periphery debate, analysing how islands, in particular, on the periphery, have become economically, politically and culturally dependent on tourist generating countries, in the centre. A useful analytical tool is to view tourism as being organised within a framework of politically dominant centres and marginalised peripheries (Selwyn 1996, Parnwell 1993). This thesis argues that Ngadha (the focus of the present study) is on the super-periphery. The region is hundreds of miles from the provincial capital, Kupang, which itself is a remote outpost of a nation, itself peripheral to the world system. Combined with its remote geographical position, the region has minimal industry, and as a result is super-peripheral in both geographic and economic terms. This conceptualisation of super-periphery is not used in a static deterministic sense but in order to portray the relative situation of the area as a result of geography, past processes and economics. Further, the Ngadha are Catholic and the majority of Indonesians are Moslems. The Ngadha are not part of the Indonesian mainstream in terms of cultural history, having not been incorporated into the Javanese or Malay worlds. Moreover, nothing yet has put the Ngadha on the "cultural map" of Indonesia, unlike some other minority groups (e.g. the Toraja, Batak, or Dani).<sup>4</sup>

In 1980, Butler advanced a hypothetical model of the evolution of tourism development (see fig 1). Extensively quoted and utilised by researchers (e.g. Conlin 1996, Weaver 1990, Shaw and Williams 1994), the six-stage model is based on the product life cycle concept. According to the model, no facilities or services are provided for tourists in the initial stage: exploration. During the involvement stage, locals are involved and may provide some facilities and services but this local involvement declines in the development phase. The model suggests that the critical range for the carrying capacity of a destination lies between the consolidation and stagnation phases.

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<sup>4</sup> See Stanley 1998 and Volkman 1990 on the official designation of some ethnic groups in Indonesia.



**Figure 1.1 Butler's (1980) Tourist Destination Life Cycle.**

The model has been criticised (cf. Butler 2001) but is still used by governments and planners. For example, it has been utilised in the Indonesian National Tourism Development Plan. "At the heart of the model is the principle that the development of destinations is evolutionary...and control and responsibility are crucial elements if development is to be appropriate and the destination is to survive long term" (Butler 2001:295). However, we must bear in mind that Butler's sequence is but one of several scenarios. The progression is not inevitable (Weaver 2001: 170)

### 1.3 Cultural tourism

The term "*cultural tourism*" is subject to many definitions (Sofield and Birtles 1996) and much confusion (Hughes 1996) and is symptomatic of Tribe's (1999) 'indiscipline' of tourism. In her seminal book, *Hosts and Guests*, Valene Smith differentiates between ethnic and cultural tourism: "ethnic tourism is marketed to the public in terms of quaint customs of indigenous often exotic peoples" (1978:4). Wood further defined ethnic tourism by its focus on people living out a cultural identity, whose uniqueness is being marketed to tourists (1984:361). The focus of tourists' visits is on cultural practices according to Wood, and on "native homes and villages, observations of dances and ceremonies and shopping for curios"(Smith 1978.). All these observations are appropriate to tourism in Ngadha, though the definition is problematic for two reasons.

Firstly, both Wood (1984) and Smith (1978) differentiate between ethnic and cultural tourism whereas in fact a continuum exists (Cole 1997). Secondly, the use of the term ethnic is problematic. The popular use of the term ethnic implies a minority, a framing of the 'other'. "...The nostalgic longing for untouched primitive peoples" (Mowforth and Munt 1998:69) in the minds of the tourists is part of the process of 'othering' (Mac Cannell 1984). 'Othering' is thus a prerequisite, aspect and consequence of tourism (Cole and Viken 1998). Most tourists have an ethnocentric view of the societies and cultures they visit (Laxson 1991). Although Selwyn's assertion that "it is widely accepted by anthropologists of tourism that much of contemporary tourism is founded on the 'Quest for the Other'" (1996:21) is arguable, it is probably true in relation to tourism in Ngadha. The "Other" belongs to a pre-modern, pre-commoditized, imagined world and is authentically social (Selwyn 1996:21). Framing 'Others' as primitive and traditional represents cultural ignorance (Pearce 1995) and represents a barrier to responsible tourism (see below).

The dichotomy between ethnic and cultural tourism, where the former is used for the 'primitive other' and the latter for the high arts in developed nations (as Richards 1996, for example, uses it), serves to entrench inequalities between the rich and poor. MacIntosh and Goeldner (1990) use the concept of 'cultural distance' to refer to the extent a tourist's home culture differs from that of the area being visited. At present, western academics use the term "ethnic tourism" when the cultural differences are great and "cultural tourism" when they are less so. All communities have culture, the further removed that culture from the tourist, the more exotic it will appear.

Further, the term ethnic group is usually used to define a specified racial or linguistic group (see for example Hitchcock's use in reference to the Ata Modo 1993b: 307). If ethnicity and identity are seen as processual, contested and changing, it is inappropriate for the groups and their ethnonyms to be reified by tourism. Such reification draws boundaries with potential for conflict.

The terminology is further confused by the term 'indigenous tourism'. Hinch and Butler refer to indigenous people as those who "are endemic or native to a destination region" (1996:9). This shows little understanding of the movement of people and their settlement of areas. Kadir Din, a Malaysian scholar is much clearer: "They can be native groups or descendants of pioneer settlers" – but more importantly: "the dividing line is that the indigenous group was already on the scene before the onset of development" (1997:76). However, Kadir Din's indigenisation of tourism refers as much to coastal resort developments as to mountain villages. In Ngadha, there is no sand and sea to trade, and therefore the tourist comes for the cultural assets of the communities and tourism development is based on selling these.

The Indonesian term *pribumi* means "indigene, one of native stock and not of immigrant blood" (Echols and Shadily 1997:436) and is consistent with the frequent use of indigenous - relying on an uncontaminated bloodline to a perceived historic period. More commonly used in Ngadha is the Indonesian term *orang asli*, literally original person or people, which is used to refer to "someone born and bred in a particular area" (Echols and Shadily 1997:398). This perhaps reflects the local belief that they migrated to the region. The term *orang asli* may also be problematic as it can be used to imply some people are more aboriginal than others, though the historical documentation to support such claims is often not available.

Cultural tourism is one of the specific market segments identified by the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) as predicted to experience above average growth in the first twenty years of the twenty first century. As they note, there are many forms and levels of intensity of cultural tourism, they suggest that the specialist provider will be important in providing services for this sector (WTO 1999a).

MacCannell's (1984) analysis of ethnic tourism suggests that "touristified ethnic groups are often weakened by a history of exploitation, limited in resources and power, and they have no big buildings, machines, monuments or natural wonders to deflect the tourists' attention away from the intimate details of their daily lives" (1984:386).

Furthermore, the economic structure of ethnic tourism is such that most of the money involved does not change hands at the site, resulting in little economic advantage for such groups. Cohen's more recent analysis also stresses lack of development is a group's resource. However, he makes a number of further important points: it is a group's marginality that is their major source of attractiveness, and preservation of their distinctiveness is a crucial pre-condition of the sustainability of their tourism. Their representation tends towards essentialisation as homogenous entities, marked by distinct, easily recognisable traits (2001:28).

In considering the evolution of ethnic tourism, Cohen (2001) suggests that the tourists become active agents, achieving a degree of empowerment while gaining little financial reward, mainly through the sale of crafts. He goes on to suggest that, as tourism matures, some inhabitants accumulate some capital and gain familiarity with the tourists' tastes and increasingly gain a share of tourists' expenditure. Hospitality, performance and the arts then become commoditised or at least re-orientated towards outsiders. MacCannell suggests that, when a group sees itself as an ethnic attraction, the group members begin to think of themselves as representatives of an ethnic way of life, and any change has economic and political implications for the whole group. The "group is frozen in an image of itself or *museumized*"(1984:388). As Butcher (2001) discusses, cultural tourism can create a straightjacket for communities. Their culture becomes cast in stone. Furthermore, levels of economic development are seen as part of culture and inequality becomes reinterpreted as "cultural diversity", tourism can then preserve poverty.

#### **1.4 Tourism, authenticity and cultural commodification**

Greenwood's (1978) initial analysis of the Alarde festival of Fuenterrabia in Spain led him to conclude that a performance for participants was turned into a show for outsiders(133-135) and that tourism turns culture into a commodity, packaged and sold to tourists. This 'commodification of culture' is considered as a negative impact of tourism when the inherent meanings of cultural artefacts and performances are lost, as they are modified to suit tourist markets. Although Greenwood's assumptions were later criticised (Wilson 1993, Greenwood 1989), his work has been influential.

Debates about the commodification of culture are inter-linked with debates about authenticity and identity. Authenticity implies “genuine, of undisputed origin, or established authorship” (Oxford English Dictionary) Since MacCannell’s (1976) provocative work, *The Tourist*, there has been a debate on authenticity among social scientists in tourism. According to Rojek and Urry (1997), the dominant position in the sociology of tourism is that travellers are in search of authenticity. Certainly, some tourists seek cultural authenticity (Ritzer and Liska 1997), including many that visit Ngadha villages.

Abram’s (1996) research suggests that tourists seek nostalgia for earlier historical periods. Selwyn suggests that the search for a “pre-capitalist, pre-modern antithesis to individualism” is to “fill an emotional and intellectual void left by the glacial processes of modernity”(1996: 249-250). The search for cultural authenticity may also serve to reinforce a sense of superiority in the tourist (Greenwood 1989:184). Neither authenticity nor nostalgia have an objective quality: they are socially constructed and therefore negotiable. Authenticity varies according to the tourist and their point of view (Cohen 1988). It is a value placed on a setting by the observer (Moscardo and Pearce 1999). Further differences of perspective between tourist and local community may have important consequences for their relationship (Weaver 2000).

MacCannell has introduced Goffman's (1958) notion of front-stage and back-stage into tourism studies. According to MacCannell, a strategy to minimise the negative impacts of the commodification process is to establish a front and back stage distinction. The front stage is where the tourists normally operate and the back-stage is the private arena strictly for local people only. The authenticity-seeking tourist attempts to get further and further back-stage to see the real authentic culture of the local people.

#### **1.4.1 Crafts and Souvenirs**

The authenticity of souvenirs has been linked to the process of ‘othering’. Souvenirs are tangible representations, expressions of cultural difference between tourist and



tourism (Graburn 1987). The quest for ethnic art objects links the tourist with the traditional primitive life (Dougoud: 2000). Souvenirs are material proof of a tourist's intimate contact with the 'other' (Graburn 1984). It has been suggested that the more educated and status-conscious the traveller, the more concerned they are that their souvenirs are authentic (Graburn 2000:xiii).

Crafts are modified, with or without tourism, by the presence of new tools, materials and even images. Many crafts sold as souvenirs do not differ from local products for local consumption. However, tourism may be an important force for change in craft production. Graburn outlines a non-unilinear evolution of traditional art to souvenirs i.e. from "authenticity to memento" (1984:415). This process included miniaturisation and changes in production methods, to the importation of products made more cheaply by outsiders. If the changes that take place lead to them being alienated and losing their original meaning (Graburn 1984), the crafts are commoditised.

Crafts produced for the tourist trade are modified to make statements about ethnic identity (Van der Berghe and Keyes 1984). Part of their appeal depends on a definable ethnicity and thus the souvenirs become ethnic markers. Frequently, cloth in Indonesian societies is brought by tourists and become ethnic markers, for example, the *ulos* in Toba Batak culture (Causey 1998), the *hinggi* in Eastern Sumba (Forshee 1998) and Jambi Batik from Jambi (Hitchcock and Kerlogue 2000). The cloth produced in Ngadha villages serves as another example.

As part of the process of nation building, the visual and decorative arts of Indonesia have benefited from an unprecedented degree of official promotion (Picard 1996). This is particularly true for textiles, one of the three crafts produced in Ngadha. Craft production in Ngadha villages, like other areas in Eastern Indonesia, is subject to prohibition and specialisation. The production of pottery was exclusive to a few villages at the foot of Mount Inerie (Slamet-Vilsink 1995). This has now been replaced by brick-making as aluminium has replaced earthen cooking pots. As Barnes (1989) found, in the islands off the eastern end of Flores, the specialisation is not only based on

differentiation between villages but also by gender. Females produce ikat<sup>5</sup> cloth in one of the villages in this study, Bena, and males in the other, Wogo, do blacksmithing.

It should be noted that the Indonesian verb '*ikat*' literally means 'to tie'. In reference to weaving, it has come to refer both to the verb i.e. the process to tie a bundle of threads so that they resist the dye, and the finished product of cloth produced using this technique. This common use of ikat as the product as well as the process is probably a direct result of tourism. For example, Sumba style textiles are mass-produced in factories in Java (Hitchcock 2000). These cloths are sold to tourists on the beaches of Lombok as ikats. The tourists have accepted this (incorrect) terminology and it is common to hear ikat used for a variety of woven cloth in Indonesia.

As Smedjebacka (2000) discusses, many of the textiles produced on Sumba are shipped off to holiday centres and sold to tourists or the international art market. Of the textiles to be specifically sold as souvenirs, all the ingredients of the burials tourists see are featured. This incorporation of the tourists' gaze helps to sell the ikats, as they serve better as memorabilia. Smedjebacka (2000) also discusses how men have started weaving and how young women have started to practice ikat and dyeing, where previously this was the preserve of the privileged few. In some cases, women have lost artistic control as men have taken over the creation of the designs and women are left to take care of the less creative stages.

#### **1.4.2 Performing arts**

Performing arts have also become commoditised as a result of tourism. Just as art objects are miniaturised, performances are shortened and made more varied to appeal to tourists (Sanger 1988; Soejono 1997). Performances can also act as ethnic markers.

Living arts have their own special meaning in the development of a national culture and can be a great asset in national tourism. As Picard (1990 and 1997) discusses at length with reference to Bali, culture is simultaneously perceived as cultural heritage that

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<sup>5</sup>Originally an Indonesian term that has entered the international textile vocabulary (Hitchcock 1991).

should be looked after and as tourist capital to be exploited. Cultural shows are listed in the Indonesian government's definition of an *obyek pariwisata* (tourist object or tourist attraction) (Article 4 Statute No. 9 1990) "to be taken care of, developed, safe-guarded and preserved" (Sufwandi Mankudilaga 1996:332). The State has sponsored "cultural studios" (*Sanggar Budaya*). As a result, groups of local people who practice local 'traditional' music and dance have proliferated in the provinces (Erb 2000).

Staged cultural events are criticised on the one hand as "reducing the religious element" (Hutajulu 1997) and "losing customary importance and resulting in cultural poverty" (Lathief 1997). On the other hand, they are celebrated for the opportunities they offer: revitalising traditional culture (Daniel 1996, Sanger 1988, Hughes-Freeland 1993 and Soejono 1997), reinforcing social solidarity and social cohesion and providing the opportunity for travel (Sanger 1988). Furthermore, they provide the setting, time and opportunity for innovation, diversification and creativity (Daniel 1996, Hughes-Freeland 1993).

I consider it necessary to make an analytical division between ritual and performance, that is, between performances put on for tourists, and rituals that tourists observe. Performances are essentially profane or already secularised. It would appear from Sanger's (1988) work that the villagers in Singapadu make this distinction by keeping the most sacred Barong for rituals and not using it for tourist performances. Picard (1997) asserts that the distinction is made by outsiders and not by the Balinese themselves, and that there is a complex interaction between the two. In other societies, varying strategies are developed to preserve the sacred from tourist consumption.

In Flores, separation between performance and ritual is at an early stage. In line with Indonesian policy to develop and preserve traditional practices (Hughes-Freeland 1993), ritual dances are removed from context to be displayed at competitions and festivals. According to Rahyu Supanggah (1994), the Indonesian performing arts (*Masyarakat Pertunjuk Seni Indonesia*) festival in Maumere in 1994 was an attempt "to get society to value its culture and to put Eastern Indonesia on the arts map of Indonesia". Staged

attractions or pseudo-events (Boorstin 1964) have the potential to reduce community disturbance and can provide a forum for local people to take pride in their culture (Murphy 1985).

The attendance of tourists at rituals rather than events staged for them has received less discussion. Adams' (1993, 1997) and Volkman's (1985, 1987) work on tourists attending funerals in Toraja is discussed in chapter 2. Shackley (1999) discusses concerns raised by local people about tourists attending masked dances in the Himalayas. Complaints included tourists' cultural insensitivity, inconsiderate taking of photographs, getting too close to the action, the lack of reverence to ritual meaning and the lack of revenue.

The debates about authenticity and cultural commodification go beyond the literature concerning crafts and performance. Cohen, Niv and Almagor (1992) have examined the photographer-photographee interaction. In the tourists' (photographers') attempt to capture authentic images of tourees (photographees), they do not reciprocate in the social exchange. This may lead to the tourees asking for immediate rewards. The photographer-photographee interaction is then commoditized. Furthermore, the issue of authenticity is allied to questions of identity (Scott 1995). The commodification of identity is examined further below, in section 1.7.

### **1.5 Types of tourists**

Anthropological studies of tourists have focused on two themes: tourism as a form of pilgrimage and how far tourists are in search of authenticity. Graburn (1978) traced the structural similarities between tourism and sacred experiences. Following Van Gennep's *Rites of Passage*, originally formulated in 1908, Graburn analysed tourism as an annual sacred journey that separates us from our ordinary profane lives. "During vacations, tourists are in a liminal (betwixt and between) status and may experience a heightened sense of life or reality which results in a sense of *communitas* or togetherness" (Graburn and Moore 1994:235). The liminal state of tourists whilst on holiday is used to explain their 'inverted' (and sometimes irresponsible) behaviour (Lett 1983, Wickens 2000, Erb 2001b).

According to MacCannell (1976) the tourist searches for authenticity in order to recover the senses of wholeness and structure absent in everyday life. This argument has been challenged on two counts. Firstly, Cohen (1974) has argued that there is no such person as *the tourist* but a variety of different tourist types. Secondly, Urry (1990) has argued that tourists do not always seek authenticity and are happy to accept inauthentic experiences.

The segmentation of tourists into types is considered an important analytical device to deliver a deeper understanding of tourists. Understanding tourists is crucial in the management and development of destination facilities (Laws 1995) and essential in tourism planning (Gunn 1994). Tourist typologies are considered to be a platform to explore relationships between tourist consumption and destination areas (Shaw and Williams 1994). Typologies are a powerful instrument for understanding tourists (Dann 1981) and even “an essential technique for better understanding of tourists” (Wickens 2000:466).

Cohen (1972) divided tourists into the institutionalised and non-institutionalised, while Plog (1974) identified a continuum from psychocentrics to allocentrics. From these early, simple, or dualistic divisions a multitude of typologies have been developed.<sup>6</sup> The most frequently quoted global typologies, and the only ones that deal with tourist behaviour, are Cohen’s (1974) four-part typology: drifter, explorer, individual mass and organised mass, and Smith’s (1978) seven-part typology. Although Burns criticises typologies as “riddled with stereotyping” (1999: 47), I segment the tourists that visit Ngadha villages in order to identify which tourists adapted best or least to the culture of Ngadha villages. As Mc Minn and Cater found, this “enables a means of addressing the problems by targeting the appropriate group”(1998:697), in order to help prevent conflicts between tourists and tourees.

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<sup>6</sup> Boyd identified 90 types of tourist types - in Fennell 1999:54

Cohen's (1974) interactional model deals with the extent and manner of contact between tourists and local people. He considered the key to understanding tourist behaviour is whether or not the tourist is institutionalised. He considered uninstitutionalised 'drifters' and 'explorers' have a more profound understanding of the hosts and their culture than the institutionalised individual and organised mass tourists.

Smith's (1978) typology built on Cohen's four types. Her typology was specifically related to socio-cultural impacts, linking the tourist numbers and frequency with adaptation to local norms. However, she neglected the importance of the tourist-local people ratio. Further, she did not consider experience and sources of knowledge as important factors in tourists' ability to adapt. In the 2001 'revisited' edition of *Hosts and Guests*, Smith adds '2000 market terms' (2001:64) to her original classification. She claims that her earlier classification was patently western but that the 2001 terminology is essentially international. The 'explorer' is redefined as the 'adventurer' and the 'incipient mass' as foreign or domestic independent travel (2001:65).

It is recognised that tourists differ in terms of the experience they seek in cultural tourism situations (Moscardo and Pearce 1999). Zeppel (1993) who studied tourist experiences among the Iban in Sarawak sub-divides cultural tourists into "cultural sightseeing" and "meet the people" (1993:62). The former spent less time in the villages than the latter and concentrated on taking photographs that matched pre-conceived images. For the latter, personal encounters and opportunities to socialise such as sharing drinks and meals were important. Goffman's (1961) divides interaction between that which is 'unfocused' i.e. those interpersonal communications that result solely by virtue of persons being in one another's presence, and that which is 'focused', when people effectively agree to sustain a flow of cognitive and visual attention and an encounter results. Cultural tourists can then be divided between those who seek unfocused interaction, i.e. sightseeing, and those that want focused interaction and want to "meet the people".

## 1.6 Studies of Mediators

Tourism is a thoroughly mediated activity, dependant on mediation by others who are neither tourists nor tourees (Chambers 1997). The mediators in tourism are those that act as go-betweens or culture brokers: they are the agents that interpret and negotiate between the tourists and tourees. Mediators in tourism include guides, governments, tour operators, travel agents and international organisations such as the WTO (Smith 2001). Anthropological studies of the mediators of tourism are less common than work on tourists and tourees and there has been limited analysis of their significance (Smith 2001). Under the broad heading of the semiology of tourism, work has been undertaken by Dann (1996a and 1996b), Selwyn (1996) and Rojek (1997) and others, on images produced by the industry to market tourism.

Tour agents, guides and leaders who act as culture brokers between tourists and tourees are crucial elements in tourism (Hitchcock 1993a). Cohen (1985) is one of the few anthropologists to have studied the importance of guides as mediators of the tourist experience. In his paper "*The origins, structure and dynamics of the guide's role*", he discusses how the modern tour guides role has developed from the "pathfinder" and the "mentor". Cohen divides the guides' work into leader and mediatory spheres and into interactional and communicative components. While Cohen distinguishes between "original guides" and "professional guides", Bras (2000) recognised a number of other divisions. Guides may be licensed or unlicensed, formal or informal. On Lombok, Bras (2000) distinguished between professional, site-related, odd-jobbers and network specialists.

Crick describes the tour guides in Kandy as rough and poorly educated. Frequently, they were in the role for short periods of time and were highly individualistic (1992: 139-140). Dahles and Bras' (1999) work on guides in Indonesia examines the work of guides as entrepreneurs or brokers who manipulate strategic contact with other people for their own profit. Bras (2000) claims that social relations and narratives are sold in the pursuit of profit. Many of the conclusions reached by Bras and Dahles in their analyses of Lombok and Yogyakarta guides are relevant. The guides work in the informal tourism sector, they are inclined toward risk avoidance strategies and imitate

the product and services of others (Dahles 1999). They have both co-operative and competitive relations with each other (Dahles and Bras 1999). They share profits with family and friends instead of reinvesting them (*ibid*), and they do not feel that they have a voice in tourism development (Bras 2000). However, tourism on Flores is less well developed than on Java or Lombok and differs in several fundamental ways. The gigolo scene, for example, does not exist in Ngadha.

Not only has there been very few anthropological studies of guides, the role of a tour guide has also received little attention in tourism development literature (Gurung *et al* 1996)<sup>7</sup>. Probably due to guides' lack of profile and status and therefore visibility to researchers, the impact of guides has largely been glossed over (Weiler and Ham 2001). In the vocational literature, guides are seen as ambassadors (e.g. Mancini 1990), the same stance as is taken by many governments and used in guide training programmes. Guides are important front line employees in tourism, they are often the first (and only) local people that tourists can converse with, and tourists frequently view guides as representative of a place. However, this literature (e.g. Pond 1993, Mancini 1990) is largely functional and service orientated.

Guides regard the dissemination of information as a key feature of their work. Holloway (1981) claims that this is due to their pursuit of professional recognition. Although Cohen (1985) separates information provision from interpretation, in the case of cultural tourism the information to be provided requires interpretation, therefore rendering such a division unnecessary. When discussing national parks in the US, Pond suggests "Guiding and interpretation are virtually synonymous" (1993:73). Interpretation "is seen as an educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects" (Pond 1993:71).

There is an evolving body of literature on nature tourism guides that examines the vital role the guide can play in the management of tourist behaviour (Gurung *et al.* 1996,



Pond 1993, Weiler and Davis 1993). Weiler and Ham maintain that “there is increasing evidence that what a guide says to her or his clients can influence how they think and behave with respect to the places they visit.” (2001:261). Through their ability to understand the culture of both tourist and touree, the guide has a role to prevent misunderstandings caused by cultural differences (de Kadt 1979).

The state plays a crucial role in structuring the tourist encounter (Wood 1997). While state involvement is necessary, as is often the case in less developed countries, the state is riddled with inefficiency, inexperience, corruption, poor policy formulation and implementation. This is often accompanied by low skills levels and “a dire need for trained and educated personnel in tourism” (Harrison 2001:253). Richter's (1993) analysis of tourism policies in South East Asian countries suggests tourism policies are elite driven, centralised and the regulatory frameworks are weak. The governments aspire to hosting luxury international and business travellers and have neglected issues of sustainability.

Tourism is not only seen as a generator of foreign exchange but also a means to promote pride in a country's heritage. In the case of ethnically plural nations, like Indonesia, the government has to strike a balance between forging national consciousness and promoting regional and local identities (King 1993a). The Indonesian state has fostered the recognition of regional identities over smaller ethnic group identities (Picard 1993, Wood 1997). The Indonesian government has used tourism to present cultural differences in a benign and non-threatening way (Sofield 2000). Wood (1984) outlines how the state mediates cultural change through sponsoring tourism and affirms authenticity through the state licensing of guides and the marketing of ethnic markers. The state shares with tourism the presentation of destinations as unique and distinctive.

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<sup>7</sup> A search in 8 years of *Annals of Tourism Research*, *Tourism Management* and the *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* only revealed one article, on the perceptions of Korean guides. Pizam and Gang-Hoan Jeong 1996 *Tourism Management* vol. 17, No.4 pp277-286.

The underlying theme of Taman Mini Indonesia Indah, Indonesia's ethnographic theme park, is that the nations' foundations are its people, its different customs and cultures held together by common traditions (Hitchcock *et al* 1997:228). The park acts as an official repository for culture (Stanley 1998:55). However, "decisions have been made as to which cultures to privilege and which to ignore" (Stanley 1998:59). Some ethnic groups, for example Toraja, get official recognition while others, for example Ngadha, do not.

Picard's (1996) work traces the development of tourism on Bali from colonial times to the 1990s. His analysis demonstrates how Balinese cultural tourism is an outcome of history and a complex series of policy decisions made by the Dutch, the Indonesian State and more recently the Balinese intelligentsia. Not only does his work underlie the importance of the state's role but he takes us beyond the 'impact problematic' by showing that "tourism has neither polluted Balinese culture nor kindled its renaissance"(1996:198). Tourism has made the Balinese self-conscious about their culture, which has been systematically disembodied into component parts, so that custom, politics, religion and art have been separated in the process of touristification. The definition of culture has shifted from one expressed in terms of values, concerned with appropriate social relations, moral behaviour and so on to one that is focused on artistic expression or cultural arts. Culture is then objectified, reified and externalised and detached from the Balinese, in order to be displayed and marketed to tourists (Picard 1996).

The importance of supra-national organisations as mediators in tourism should not be omitted. Foreign governments, global financial institutions and development agencies exert a high degree of influence on tourism policies. However, there has been no significant impact of international organisations in Ngadha's tourism to date, the exception being the World Bank sponsored North Coast road on Flores, which may lead to fewer tourists passing through Ngadha in the future.

Guidebooks also act as mediators although they are not actors. The authors of guidebooks may be said to be mediators, though they are not direct actors. They form a common, little analysed, crucial part of the touristic process, mediating relationships between tourists and their destination as well as between host and guest (Bhattacharyya 1997:373). They are both useful and powerful (Heba Aziz 1999). They help to navigate tourists around an unfamiliar area. Guidebooks not only exert an inordinate amount of power over the tourist experience (McGregor 2000:38), they can also make or break local businesses, depending on how there are written up (Wheat 1999). For many tourists, guidebooks are the chief means of making sense of a country (Abram 2000).

McGregor (2000) discusses how guidebooks affect tourists' pre-arrival images, how they experience Tanah Toraja, and what they gaze upon. He concludes that travellers in Tanah Toraja were tutored by the texts to gaze and experience destinations in a particular way. Guidebooks create a particular type of interest and participation and constitute a form of social control.

Bhattacharyya's (1997) semiotic analysis of Lonely Planet's *India: a travel survival kit* discusses how the language used by Lonely Planet was authoritative, leaving many tourists unquestioning about what they read. As the texts and photographs concentrate on the natural world, historic monuments and the social life of the exotic, to the exclusion of contemporary ordinary life, the book "perpetuates the view of the Orient as spectacle" (1997:587). Bhattacharyya (1997) also discusses how the Lonely Planet guidebook gives visitors virtually no guidelines on culturally appropriate behaviour. Furthermore, there is no presumption that tourists are expected to behave in culturally appropriate ways.

### **1.7 Tourism and socio-cultural change**

Ethnographic studies that have paid attention to the diachronic, dynamic dimensions of culture have examined how tourism has contributed to change in societies over time (for example, Waldren 1996, Kottak 1999). Working on the assumption that the elements of a socio-cultural system are interconnected, change in one element will necessary lead to

changes in other aspects of the system. If this change is induced through contact with another culture, as is the case in tourism, the process is known as acculturation.<sup>8</sup> According to Matheson and Wall, the underlying assumptions of the acculturation framework are that cultural changes occur primarily on the indigenous traditions, customs and values rather than to the visiting group. Furthermore, these cultural changes are leading to a global homogenisation of cultures in which local identity is being assimilated into stronger visiting culture (1982:160).

The 'demonstration effect' is a concept commonly used in tourism to describe a process whereby local people copy visitors' behaviour and aspire to own their material possessions. Although largely reported in tourism texts (e.g. Cooper et al 1993:101, Burns and Holden 1995:84, Burns 1999:101, Hashimoto 2002: 213, Bleasdale and Tapsell 1999: 190, Murphy 1985: 119 Williams 1998:152, Pearce 1989: 221), none refer to the origins of the term. Van Harssel (1994: 189) refers to it as 'the imitation effect'. The writers all make similar claims: that changes in behaviour patterns may be brought about simply by observing tourists; the young people are considered particularly susceptible and attempt to imitate dress, language, and habits since they are thought to be exciting alternatives. Most consider the process to be inevitable or unavoidable. Although some writers (e.g. Murphy 1985, Williams 1998) note that the demonstration effect may be beneficial if it encourages local people to adapt to work for things they lack, most consider it negatively. The notion that purely by observing foreign tourists, local people will want whatever they see must be considered with some scepticism. It masks the locals' ability to choose if and which elements they may wish to copy, and why.

Acculturation, modernisation and global homogenisation are all considered part of globalisation. Globalisation is term that describes the "intensification of world-wide relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by the events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (Giddens 1990: 64).

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<sup>8</sup> Acculturation theory has been long established in anthropology (mentioned in the American anthropologist as early as 1936 with Social Science Research Council attempting an exploratory formulation of the subject in 1954).

Globalisation is conceptualised by some as the export of western values, commodities, priorities and ways of life (Robins 1991, Macleod 1999), i.e. it is part and parcel of the process of Westernisation.

Globalisation can be seen to have its historic roots in the European trading of the sixteenth century or even earlier. For example, Walters (1995) considers the spread of the great universalising religions that offered a generalised set of values and allegiances standing above and beyond the state, as evidence of early cultural globalisation. Scholte (1997) considers the process of globalisation to have begun from the later colonial period when the world began to be interconnected through expanded transport and communication technologies. Over the course of the twentieth century, the pace and extent of globalisation has increased. As tourism involves the massive movement of people and cultural capital, uses high technology, and is supported by a huge media, it is considered by many as an important force of globalisation.

Some (e.g. Howell 1995a) see dangers in assuming globalisation equals Westernisation since the flow of commodities and values is not unidirectional. Even when western goods are transferred, the meanings associated with them may not be (Hannerz 1990). Further globalisation does not necessarily imply homogenisation, merely greater connectedness and de-territorialisation (Walters 1995). It is a differentiating and diversifying process rather than the encroachment of western values and commodities. As Howell (1995b) argues, it is a mistake to over-estimate the extent of Westernisation and correlatively underestimate the degree to which societies are only superficially affected by it.

Tourism transforms difference into the global discourse of consumerism, a process by which 'otherness' becomes a commodity to be consumed. This is "a kind of institutional racism that celebrates primitiveness" (Munt and Mowforth 1998:270) as suffering and poverty have become aestheticised by tourists' accumulation of images of the poor. Human practices are redefined as commodities as tourists are exposed to cultural

differences and local cultural variation is confirmed. This leads to differentiation and a revival of culture and ethnicity (Walter 1995).

There is a paradox central to cultural tourism development in peripheral areas, in less developed countries. To develop is to modernise: if a remote cultural tourist destination modernises, it is no longer 'primitive' and it loses its appeal. The challenge of balancing socio-economic integration with cultural distinction (Li and Butler 1996) is a challenge fraught with conflict. As cultural assets are refined as consumerables for tourists, culture becomes commoditised. As the destination modernises, a process, many suspect, of becoming more like the western tourist's society, it becomes less different and distinct. The destination appears less authentic and so the value of the tourism product is reduced (Go 1997, Swain 1989, Dearden and Harron 1992,).

While cultural globalisation results in the homogenisation of cultures around the world, it simultaneously brings about increasing cultural differentiation. People can use cultural commodification as a way of affirming their identity, of telling their own story and establishing the significance of local experiences (MacDonald 1997). Far from rendering culture superficial and meaningless, commodification can be seen as "part of a very positive process by which people are beginning to re-evaluate their history and shake off the shame of peasantry" (Abram 1996:198).

In order to grasp how culture is changed as a result of globalising forces including tourism, it is helpful to recognise that traditions are creations in the present, socially constructed in an on-going process (Wood 1993). Culture is a tool kit or a template (Wikam 1990) that is used by people to suit their requirements. The questions that need to be asked are not about how tourism impacts on a culture but how tourism is used and how the facets of culture are articulated in the face of increased tourism. As Wood discusses, "the central questions to be asked are about process, and about the complex ways tourism enters and becomes part of an already on-going process of symbolic meaning and appropriation" (Wood 1993:66).

For many commentators, globalisation generates ambivalence and uncertainty and leads individuals to emphasise their identity and security of their location (e.g. O’Riordan and Church 2001). This emphasis on the local or localisation is considered “inextricably bound together” (Featherstone 1996:47) with globalisation. They are two sides of the same coin. The search for identity is pursued in terms of ideas about tradition, history, locality, and community (Robertson 1992).

The affirmation of local identity and the creation of ethnicity is a response to and consequence of difference and “otherness” becoming consumable tourist commodities. By understanding ethnicity as “a set of social relationships and processes by which cultural differences are communicated” (Hitchcock 2000:210), ethnicity can be understood as a resource to be mobilised. Tourism thus has important consequences for identity and ethnicity. "A distinct cultural identity is a marketable resource for a tourism destination"(Scott 1995: 385). Elements of culture may be commodified through tourism, but self-conscious awareness of traditional culture as something local people possess, that attracts tourists, can bring political legitimacy (where traditional culture and the identity associated with it, has hitherto been debased). Tourism can thus provide marginalised communities with political capital to manipulate (de Burlo 1996).

### **1.8 Responsible tourism**

The term "responsible tourism" has been chosen due to dissatisfaction with the concept of sustainable tourism. Sustainable tourism has been the central debate in tourism in the 1990s. Sustainable development, of which sustainable tourism is a sub-branch, was put on the public agenda with the publication of the Bruntland Report (WCED 1987). This report focused the public eye on a debate that began in the 1960s bringing environmental issues from the domain of protest groups to a common frame of understanding (Jamison 1996). The discourse that transformed environmentalism into political ideology (Eber 1996) is seen as a discussion “framed in the West and imposed on the ‘Rest’” (Mowforth and Munt1998: 39).

An important concept at the heart of sustainable tourism is 'carrying capacity'. Conceived as the maximum number of people who can use a site without unacceptable

alterations in the physical environment, tourists' experience or community's attitude to tourism. Various authors have subdivided carrying capacity into a number of types. Williams (1998) considers three: the physical capacity refers to the amount of space available for facilities, the ecological capacity is the level of use the natural environment can sustain and the perceptual capacity is the level of crowding that tourists will tolerate. Cooper, Fletcher, Wanhill and Gilbert (1993) call this perceptual capacity the psychological capacity. These authors also include the social carrying capacity as "the level of development which is acceptable to the host community" (Cooper *et al* 1993:89).

As the carrying capacity is affected by a large number of factors including the type of tourists, their length of stay, their activities and geographic concentration, as well as a host of management techniques, it has been criticised. Considered a woolly concept (Middleton 1997:137) with limited applicability, alternative approaches have become more popular (Williams 1998:117). However, Butler (1997) has argued for the importance of identifying sensitive elements of a destination's carrying capacity.

As sustainable tourism was born from environmentalism, the natural environment has been the central theme. The proliferation of concern and writing on environmental issues overshadowed the important early works on socio-cultural issues. Socio-cultural issues have been given secondary attention (Pearce 1995, Harrison 1996), are weak (Ashley *et al.* 2001), are marginalised (Pearce *et al.* 1998) or are ignored. For example, in seven edited collections on sustainable tourism from the 1990s only 17% of articles dealt with socio-cultural issues (Viken *et al.* 1999).

An important early work that emphasised the community's role was Murphy's (1985) *Tourism a community approach*. The purpose of his book was "to examine tourism development issues and planning options in industrial nations" (1985:118). Murphy focuses on the host community, identifying their goals and desires for, and capacity to absorb, tourism. Using an ecosystem approach or ecological community model and the notion of social carrying capacity, he emphasised that the planning system must extend



down to the micro-level, to the community. A consensus of opinion now exists to suggest that community participation is essential in development (Botes and van Rensburg 2000, Porritt 1998), and that the public have a right to participate in planning (Simmons 1994). However, the community participation paradigm is subject to great debate (Mitchell 2001). Many researchers question how community participation can work in practice due to the heterogeneous nature of communities (e.g. Joppe 1996, Warburton 1998, Braden and Mayo 1999, Harrison 1996).

The approach to defining the community that should participate or have control is subject to a number of interpretations. Murphy's ecological model is one of four basic interpretations of the community (Pearce *et al* 1996). By identifying the community as synonymous with place, this approach fails to focus on decision-making and control. The social systems and interactive approaches likewise ignore power structures. Pearce *et al*'s critical approach focuses attention on the power of key groups in the decision-making process. However, the specificity of scale and context require further consideration. The definition of local and who participates can cause conflict over limited resources and increase the likelihood of tourism development being a divisive force.

This specificity of context is considered here to be crucial: a comparison of two villages in a single region reveal differences that underline the dilemma between the production of regional policy and the importance of very local detail for tourism planning. The national tourism strategy uses Butler's Tourist Destination Life Cycle curve to examine the position of each province (Sofield 1995). The whole province in which Ngadha lies is assigned to the development stage. The case studies illustrate just how inadequate tourism theory is, in its macro analysis of micro phenomena

Participation is also open to a variety of interpretations. As has been identified by Arnstein (1971), and Pretty (1995), a ladder of participation exists, ranging from "being consulted" (often only being told of a *fait accompli*) to being able to determine every aspect of the development process. As Warburton (1998) points out, the need for

participation is not doubted but the empowerment end of the ladder has received little attention in the tourism development literature. The study examines the villagers' level of participation and how this can be moved up the ladder in order to empower the villagers and avoid conflict.

Tourism has the potential to empower communities. Many researchers have discussed how tourism brings about pride (Adams 1997, Boissevain 1996 Cole 1997, Crystal 1978, Erb 1998, Mansperger 1992, Van den Berghe 1992). Tourism can also enhance community cohesion (Sanger 1988, Ashley *et al* 2001). Tourism increases access to information and external contacts (Ashley *et al* 2001), as well as new language skills and globalised media (Williams 1998). Through tourism, communities come to value their cultural assets; it increases their confidence and can strengthen their political identity (Swain 1990, Johnston 1992). These are all signs of empowerment.

In order to bring about the confidence for meaningful participation, many researchers have recognised the need for and value of considerable public education (for example Simmons 1994, Connell 1997, Pearce 1994). As Ashley, Roe and Goodwin (2001) have examined, the poor<sup>9</sup> have a weak capacity in the general understanding of tourists and how the industry works. Kadir Din (1997) considers ignorance as the greatest barrier to participation but that the ignorance is not restricted to residents but “also affects the planning machinery and bureaucracy vested with implementation” (1997b:79).

The term "responsible tourism" generally occurs in the literature in the list of jargon terms, together with 'green', 'soft' and 'alternative' (for example Mowforth and Munt 1998, Swarbrooke 1999). There are exceptions: Davidson (1992) regards responsible tourism as a type of product “designed with a high degree of concern for the impacts...” (1992: 127). Harrison and Husbands, who edited a large volume, *Practising Responsible Tourism*, regard responsible tourism “as a way of doing tourism planning, policy and development” (1996:2). In the same vein, Archer (1996) places the welfare

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<sup>9</sup> In Ashley *et al*'s report on pro-poor tourism, the poor are defined according to the prevailing socio-economic characteristics: widespread unemployment, low per capita incomes or extreme remoteness.

of the community at the centre of his definition. At the World Tourism Organisation seminar on Alternative Tourism in 1989, the participants voted to replace the term with "responsible tourism". It was defined as "relating to all forms of tourism, which respect the host, natural, built and cultural environment and respects all parties concerned: hosts, guests, visitors, tourism industry, government etc." (Lanfant and Graburn 1992: 89).

There is not a sharp line between responsible and sustainable tourism. As Wight (1994) claims, responsible action is required to obtain sustainability. There is, however, an important shift in emphasis. The World Tourism Organisation (1999b) in its preamble to its *Global Code of Ethics for Tourism* uses "responsible" in addition to "sustainable" in its stated goals for tourism development. As Viken, Sletvold and Cole (1999) discuss, values are a central concern in responsible tourism.

Tourism involves encounters between different value systems (Kadir Din 1993). Values are culturally constructed and tourism involves the meeting of different cultures. Values are a dominant cultural variable in differentiating cultures. They specify which behaviours in a culture are important and which should be avoided. Values determine attitudes, behaviour and perceptions (Reisinger and Turner 2003: 79-80). "Barriers arise from substantial differences in cultural patterns and expectations between locals and outsiders" (Blanton 1992:5). What one culture regards as normal another may find insulting or irritating (Reisinger and Turner 2003).

The familiar assumptions, values, behaviour and ideas of residents are constantly challenged while they cope with "tourists' behaviour which is often a product of heightened expectations, deflated hopes, exaggerated fears or frustrated plans" (Blanton 1992: 6). Unskilled in the rules of the tourists' culture, tourists often feel inadequate or embarrassed. They often suffer from anxiety (Crick 1989) and culture shock (Pearce *et al* 1998). The differences in cultural values can result in miscommunications, suspicions, shortcomings, misunderstandings and conflict (Viken *et al.*1999, Reisinger 1997). Misunderstandings frequently occur due to ignorance and arrogance (Krippendorf

1987, Pearce 1995) or a combination of the two. Misunderstandings frequently underpin resentment and conflict. The transitory, superficial nature of the tourist-touree encounter is a primary breeding ground for deceit, mistrust, dishonesty and a lack of responsibility (MacCannell 1984, Hunter 2001, Dahles and Van Meijl 2000)

There is a difference in the cultural values between Asian and Western cultures. As Bhopal and Hitchcock discuss in relation to management, there are some common themes in "Asian values discourse in Asia" (2001: 7). Among others, Asian values include respect for authority, saving face and the avoidance of embarrassment; the desire for harmony and avoidance of clashes; and precedence of the group over the individual.

Reisinger and Turner's (1997) paper examines the cultural differences between Indonesian tourists and Australian hosts. Although it should be recognised that there are substantial cultural differences between Indonesians who are able to be tourists to Australia and those living in Ngadha, some of the points they make are instructive. As they note, the greater the differences in the cultural background, the more likely it is that the behaviour of each participant will be misunderstood and lead to friction.

Reisinger and Turner (1997) identify value clashes between Indonesian tourists and Australian hosts in relation to a number of factors. Firstly, in relation to time: Indonesians see time as stretchable, and being in a hurry is an indication of impatience. By contrast, western cultures focus on efficiency and punctuality. Secondly, in relation to dress: in Indonesia dress expresses respect of other people and must conform to the occasion to a greater degree than in western societies. Thirdly, solitude is perceived negatively by Indonesians, leading to misunderstandings about privacy. Fourthly, in Indonesian society, conflict and disagreement are avoided to assure a conflict-free and psychologically comfortable life. Fifthly, in relation to greetings: in Indonesian culture, on meeting, one must acknowledge the other's presence with a smile and it is advisable to talk for several minutes by inquiring politely about the other person's family and affairs. Finally, with reference to the expressions of emotions: in Indonesia negative or

positive expressions of emotions are avoided and expressions of love are not accepted in public (Reisinger and Turner 1997: 144-145).

Fitzgerald (1998), who is also primarily concerned with training Australian tourism service providers, makes the important point about the difficulty of generalising about Indonesian culture. The important cultural differences that she stresses are that Indonesia is a collectivist culture that stresses deference and harmony, that Indonesians avoid unpleasantness and that public affection and touching between people of different gender brings shame.

Conflicts in tourism do not only arise from differing cultural values between tourists and tourees. As Saremba and Gill (1991) discuss, values may conflict between different user groups. Disharmony and conflict may be "the creation of outcomes of decisions, objectives and activities selected by initiators [e.g. governments and operators] away from the scene of the encounter"[between tourists and tourees] (Boniface 1999:290).

Greenwood (1989) discusses the 'conflictual arenas' that result from claims over rights, ownership and consent. Robinson's (1999) review of the cultural conflicts of tourism stresses how conflict can be between tourists and tourees, the industry and tourees and among the tourees themselves. Importantly, he notes that cultural conflicts can to some extent be compensated for in economic terms and that the extent of the dependency has bearings on that compensation. Robinson's broad-ranging discussion indicates the links between cultural commodification and conflict. We know commodification of culture takes place: "we need to analyse the political basis upon which it occurs, the degree of selectivity involved, whether cultural rights are transgressed and whether owners of culture receive the revenues generated through gazing tourists..." (1999:13).

As Cohen, in one of his earliest papers, suggested, an analysis of the different values, priorities and attitudes of the various parties in tourism "will enable one to pinpoint the

source of the "conflicts of tourism" (Cohen 1979:30). If such conflicts are to be resolved, a rich understanding of each party's position is a prerequisite (Pearce 1995).

An understanding of tourists and tourism is the first stage of empowering the local communities to make informed and appropriate decisions about their tourism development. As Ashley, Roe and Goodwin (2001) report for poor communities generally, and Timothy (1999) and Hampton (1999) conclude with reference to specific communities in Indonesia, further help is required in skills training and capacity building. Considerable investments are required in communication and building trust between actors.

The tourists also need education (Krippendorf 1987, Pearce 1994, Boniface 1999) so that they have reasonable pre-trip expectations, appropriate plans and behave in a fashion that does not offend their hosts. Codes of conduct are a visitor management tool aimed at educating visitors. A number of codes have been devised to promote more responsible tourism (c.f. Mason and Mowforth 1995). The codes of conduct give a number of instructions or a list of advice on environmental and cultural matters. A balance needs to be struck between making the codes easily understood on the one hand and not being patronising on the other (Mason and Mowforth 1995, Malloy and Fennell 1998). Equally, consideration needs to be given to the promotion and dissemination of visitor codes so that they reach their target audience.

## **1.9 Summary**

The literature reveals a number of important inter-linked themes that recur in the literature that relates to the cultural processes of tourism development in remote marginal communities. As tourists seek to quench their thirst for a pre-modern exotic other, tourees' arts, crafts, ceremonies and relationships change. While many analysts have examined this commodification process as resulting in the loss of authenticity, few have regarded it as an essential stage in the refining of cultural assets in order for tourees to gain benefits from tourism.

Many authors have examined modernisation as westernisation and consider the resultant loss of cultural distinction as a threat to cultural tourism development. However, tourism can result in the affirmation of identity, increased pride, empowerment and the provision of a resource to manipulate. While early signs of empowerment have been recognised by many researchers, a number of factors have been identified as crucial to further participation of marginal communities in tourism.

The literature reveals how tourism involves encounters between different value systems and that substantial cultural barriers exist between tourists and tourees. The literature identifies a number of cultural differences between Indonesians (the tourees) and westerners (the tourists).

Much tourism theory offers a macro analysis to a micro phenomenon. Butler's Tourist Destination Life Cycle and the 'demonstration effect' epitomise this broad brush tourism theorising. As King suggests, "the interrelationships between tourism and culture are complex; they are not generalisable and they have to be demonstrated in given cases" (1993b:100). Anthropologists working in tourism have thus called for more ethnographies and more long-term studies. This study answers those calls.

This thesis goes beyond a long-term ethnography of tourism in Ngadha. Using the responsible tourism framework, through methods of action anthropology, this thesis provides a rich understanding of interests in tourism and its development, in order to illuminate real and potential conflicts between the actors involved. Through an understanding of the "conflicts of tourism", potential solutions are sought.

## Chapter 2

### Literature Review: The National and Regional Context

#### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter considers the contextual background for the study. It provides a brief overview of critical aspects of Indonesia's development with specific reference to tourism. This is important in order to establish a base line from which the study unfolds. The chapter then examines the literature specific to East Nusa Tenggara with particular reference to ethnographies. The final section of the chapter examines anthropological studies of tourism in the region.

#### 2.1 Indonesia: development

Indonesian nationalists declared independence on August 17th 1945. The Dutch tried to break off eastern Indonesia by establishing a separate area known as Negara Indonesia Timur (NIT) (Hitchcock 1996), but this was strongly opposed by the nationalists. Most of the vast archipelago of the former Dutch East Indies finally became an independent state in 1949. Although Flores was first colonised by the Portuguese, who brought Catholicism to the island, the colonial legacies are largely Dutch. Dutch legal and political institutions and bureaucratic systems still affect the workings of the state across the archipelago. The extremely uneven patterns of development were begun by the Dutch (Hall and Page 2000).

Under the leadership of the first president of Indonesia, Sukarno, the principles of *Pancasila*, the five principles to safeguard national unity were formulated (Holtzappel 1997). *Pancasila* remained the national ideology under the New Order government of the second president, Suharto, who used it as an ideological justification for authoritarian rule (Schwarz 1999). In order to maintain unity, stability and economic growth, the New Order maintained order and control through authoritarianism, patronage and bureaucracy. Development planning is embedded in the national ideology, which means that Indonesians “should submit to the collectivity and put the needs and demands of the nation before individual, local, regional ethnic and class interests” (King 1999: 61). Furthermore, “the Indonesian culture is highly collectivistic



and group orientated. The focus is on group rights and needs....In all social relations the importance of group harmony and living together in harmony is emphasised" (Reisinger and Turner 1997:142). The government has been heavily committed to a centralised, bureaucratic process of decision-making. Each of these factors has permeated to the lowest levels in the Indonesian state structure, and has consequences for tourism development.

Javanese concepts of power and authority, whereby reverence towards people in power or otherwise high social standing (Anderson 1972), prevail across the archipelago. Accordingly, from high level political jurisdictions, down to the village level, the top-heavy traditional perspectives of power remain strong (Timothy 1999). The authorities make decisions and they cannot be questioned (Reisinger and Turner 1997). Individuals place themselves at the disposal of the nation to support efforts of national development (*pembangunan*) with guidance, support and direction from the government (King 1999). Villagers accept and expect political and social control to be in the hands of the government. There is a belief that the government knows best (Gede Raka 2000).

Unity and nationalism have been the most important aspects of *Pancasila* in the building of the Indonesian state. However, other aspects of *pancasila* have had important bearings on the lives of the Ngadha villagers including how tourism is articulated and how individuals negotiate their position in their daily lives. Belief in one God, the first of the five principles, has resulted in state support for missionaries and Catholic conversion. Catholicism is one of the villagers' realms of social organisation, a discourse of modernisation, which competes for authority in the lives of the villagers.

Social Justice for all, or '*pancasila* equity', has undermined the power of local ethnic groups and affected gender relations "By claiming all its citizens are equal the state undercut local claims to political power based on principles of kinship" (Blackwood 2000:4). In doing so, it has undermined the power of the ancestors, another force shaping the lives of the villagers.

The focus of the New Order government was on economic development, upon which its legitimacy and that of the state bureaucracy was based (Schmidt *et al* 1998). The unity and political stability attracted foreign investors. Development was a national ideology (Hitchcock and Kerlogue 2000) and there is no doubt that national wealth increased. The New Order's record on economic development must not go unquestioned, for a number of reasons. Firstly, the success grew from a very low starting point because under Indonesia's first president, Sukarno, economics had taken a back seat to political struggle. Secondly, poverty indicators are notoriously unreliable. Schmidt *et al* (1998) consider the artificially low poverty line means that statistics given for the numbers of the poor are unrealistic. Thirdly, government policy has exacerbated the very uneven development across the archipelago (Hall and Page 2000, Parnwell and Arghiros 1996). Fourthly, growth has in many cases been at the expense of the environment, for example the loss of forests. Finally, growth has been at the expense of free expression and years of *pancasila* democracy, infused with fears of national disunity (Schwarz 1999), have resulted in a society politically ill-prepared for involvement in the decision-making process (Timothy 1999) and frightened of change.

Economic development in Indonesia has followed the top-down authoritarian model, based on Javanese and colonial structures, for the purposes of order and control. "The bureaucracy has positioned itself as the 'prima donna' of economic development at the expense of political development" (Gede Raka 2000: 29). The tendency for decisions to be made by bureaucrats, who then inform the people, is due to a perception among government planners that the population is uneducated (Timothy 1999). Encouraging local involvement in decision-making has then to overcome official reluctance to listen and consult (King 1999).

## **2.2 Tourism in Indonesia**

Tourism to Bali pre-dates the Indonesian state: an association for tourist traffic and an official tourist bureau were opened in 1908 (Picard 1996). An Indonesian term for tourism (*parawisata- para* =many *wisata*= visitor) was first coined in 1958 by the first president, Sukarno, and since then has been part of the nation's development plans

(Gunawan 1997). Considered as a smokeless industry of the future, based on the country's natural assets of a diversity of culture and environment, tourism is seen as a leading sector for promoting economic growth (Weindu Nuryanti 1998). Growth in arrivals from half a million in 1980 (Booth 1990) to over five million in 1997 (Hall 2000) has meant that tourism is the country's fourth most important generator of foreign exchange after oil and gas, timber and textiles (Wall 1997).

Generalising about tourism in Indonesia is dangerous and does not reflect the situation on the ground in Ngadha. For example, Wall (1997) suggests that as Indonesia straddles the equator and gets tourists from both hemispheres, it suffers less from seasonality than other destinations. Further, in general, Asians, with Singapore, Japan, Malaysia and Taiwan contributing more than half the country's arrivals, dominate visitation to Indonesia (Hall 1997, Go 1997). However, these patterns are not reflected in the tourism in Ngadha.

Indonesia has five-yearly development plans (REPELITA), which establish the country's regulations, policies and programmes for its development. The 1994/5-1998/9 plan had ambitious targets to maintain tourism growth at 11-13% per annum in line with the previous decade (Kuntjoro-Jakti 1997). In the same plan, emphasis was placed on regionalisation and the reduction of social inequalities. Tourism was to be used to meet government's goals of economic development throughout the regions (Wiendu Nuryanti 1998, Sofield 1995, Gunawan 1999). Areas of high poverty in Eastern Indonesia were targeted because tourism was seen as an engine to drive overall economic development (Gunawan 1997, Simpson and Wall 1999).

The national tourism strategy utilised Butler's (1980) tourist destination life cycle as a major tool for analysis<sup>10</sup>. It recommended that Bali be used as a 'hub' to encourage 'spoke' developments in regional locations (Wall 1997). The strategy recommends

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<sup>10</sup> According to Gunawan (1997) Flores falls into the region of Lesser Sunda and is in the development stage. The region includes Bali and south Sulawesi. According to Sofield (1995), Nusa Tenggara, the province, falls into the exploration stage, although it receives more visitors than South Sulawesi, which is placed in the development stage.

concentration on the 'beach plus' concept. This, according to Wall, "puts emphasis on the unspecified 'plus', which presumably implies the rich diversity of cultures and their expressions" (1997: 144). The plan supports coastal tourism development and concentrates on high quality, high spend, beach tourism. This is not surprising considering that official figures show that the large scale luxury end of the industry accounted for 60% of the gross income and over half the value added generated in the tourism sector (Booth 1990). *Indonesia's Tourism Vision* suggests that local communities should be given the maximum opportunity to participate in tourism development and that there is a commitment to empowering communities (Gunawan 1999). Furthermore "the community is at the heart of the development plan; local norms and values must be appreciated and respected" (Gunawan 1999: 159).

Indonesia's official tourism policy has either tacitly ignored or actively discouraged backpackers (Richter 1993, Hampton 1998, Erb 2000) although, as Dahles (1999) discusses, the government agreed to encourage small-scale projects, especially in the outer islands. The government's lack of support for backpackers is surprising since they are considered the pioneers in tourism development and, as Oppermann (1997) suggests, it is imprudent to ignore trend-setters. Furthermore, backpacker tourism creates a demand for cheap accommodation and a parallel structure of transport, restaurant and support services. Due to lower capital requirements, facilities for backpackers are more likely to be locally owned, resulting in a greater economic benefit to the local economy. Hampton (1997) therefore concludes that "backpacker tourism is a potentially vital tool for real economic development" (1997: 376).

Backpackers are defined as surviving on less than £10 per day, use local transport, and carry all their belongings on their back. They bargain for goods and services and guard against "rip-offs". They attempt to get away from crowds and discover new places (Bradt 1995). However, this is an increasingly diverse demographic group (Scheyvens 2002) which, some researchers suggest, requires further segmentation (e.g. Hampton 1997)

Ngadha falls into the Lesser Sunda region of the national tourism development plan with Bali's airport (Ngurah Rai) as the gateway. Although Weindu Nuryanti (1998) shows that Nusa Tenggara has the highest growth rate in hotels, this is starting from a very low base level.

Ngadha is positioned between two of the region's primary attractions: Komodo to the west (home of the world's largest monitor lizards) is the main pull factor for visitors to Eastern Indonesia (Erb 2000). Keli Mutu, a volcano with three different coloured lakes, draws the tourists further east. As I have outlined elsewhere (Cole 1997), a cultural attraction between two major natural attractions serves tourists' needs for a varied itinerary.

### **2.2.1 The economic and political crisis**

The South East Asian financial crisis that began in July 1997 "eventually led to the toppling of Suharto's 32 year regime [in May 1998] and Indonesia rapidly became engulfed in turmoil" (Hitchcock 2001) The crisis was both political, with widespread protests across the country and violence in places; and economic. As rice prices trebled, many could not afford to eat more than once a day (Hall 2000).

The crisis did not affect tourism equally across the country (WTO 1998). As Hitchcock (2001) discusses, Bali weathered the storm better than some other regions. Estimates of the impact on tourism vary widely. The government estimates a 35% drop in arrivals to Jakarta in the first six months of 1998 (WTO 1998). The same paper suggests that 8% of the Indonesian workforce have positions in tourism, about 6.6million jobs. Boniface and Cooper's estimate of "a loss of some 6-7 million jobs in the hotel and restaurant sector" alone (2001: 290) must clearly be a wild inaccuracy!

### **2.3 East Nusa Tenggara Ethnography**

The Portuguese were the first European colonisers of the island of Flores. They sent Dominican missionaries to the island for the first time in the 1550s (Prior 1988).

However, the establishment of trading posts and missionary work was concentrated in the East, where obvious Portuguese influences are still strongest. In 1667, Speelman made a treaty with the ruler of Makassar to acknowledge the Dutch East Indies Company's control over Flores and a Dutch post holder was established in Ende. As the island was of little commercial interest, the Dutch influence was negligible and it was not until 1859 that the Portuguese finally ceded their claims (Foreign Office 1919). The Portuguese began the conversion of the islanders to Catholicism and the Dutch continued this. The Dutch authorities had to contend continually with rebellion on the island of Flores and the military did not transfer power to civil control until 1936 (Ricklefs 1993).

The Dutch interest in Indonesia was one of trade backed by military force and thus early studies were carried out by officers who took up posts in the colony. Other important early works came from missionaries who were interested enough to carry out amateur research. Of particular importance is the work of Pastor Paul Arndt, a German priest who wrote numerous publications about the Ngadha (cf. Molnar 1998). However, due to the large volume of work he produced, his motivation (mission-based), his methods (not anthropological) and his informants (not village elders), questions must be raised about his findings (Barnes 1968:6). By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, civil servants and missionaries had training prior to departure to the Netherlands East Indies, which improved their quality of reportage on indigenous peoples and customs (Hill and Hitchcock 1996).

Although anthropology was established at a number of Dutch universities, most training of legal and administrative staff took place at Leiden University (P.E. De Josselin de Jong 1984), which thence became the great centre for Indonesian studies. J.P.B De Josselin de Jong became the first chair of Indonesian and general anthropology at Leiden in 1935. At his inaugural address he developed the concept of a Field of Anthropological study, which was the basis of what came to be known as Dutch structuralism.

Inspired by the work of Radcliffe-Brown (1931) on the “social organisation of Australian Tribes”, J.P.B. De Josselin de Jong designated Indonesia as a field of study (FAS), by which he meant: “a population whose culture appears to be sufficiently homogeneous and unique to form a separate object of ethnographic study and which at the same time reveals sufficient local shades of differences to make internal comparative research worthwhile.” (1977:167-168).

According to J.P.B. De Josselin de Jong, there were four characteristics or phenomena that were fundamental to Indonesian societies. These were: remarkable resilience of Indonesian cultures towards foreign cultural elements; socio-cosmic dualism; double descent; and asymmetric connubium (i.e. restricted cross-cousin marriage).

The theory that Indonesia as a whole was an ethnographic field of study was based on the ethnographic works available at the time and the fact that Indonesian languages are closely related. However, as Blust (1984) opined, this was an erroneous assumption since, although all Indonesian languages fall into the categories of Austronesian language family, so do the indigenous languages of Taiwan and the majority of languages in the Philippines, Micronesia, Madagascar and Polynesia. In terms of a linguistic field of study, Indonesia is either part of a much bigger picture or must be separated into much smaller, more specific fields. Recent work defines Ngadha as part of the central Flores linkage within the Central Malayo-Polynesian (CMP) language speakers (Fox 1998). Further, the concept of an Indonesian field is criticised by Marschall (1984), who saw it failing by having asymmetric connubium as central to the concept.

P.E. De Josselin de Jong (1980) describes Dutch structuralism as comparative structuralism, although it was quite functionalist in some aspects. For example, “to interpret elements...on the grounds of their *effects* or *function*... (P.E. De Josselin de Jong 1984:234) “and then examine what their *task* is in relation to other elements” (Barraud 1984:190, my emphasis). J.P.B. De Josselin de Jong and his followers were primarily concerned with descent, as this was the main issue in anthropology at the time

(Barraud 1984). They were also concerned with symbolism and devoted attention to the analysis of thoughts and actions (Hill and Hitchcock 1996: 27). Although referred to as structural anthropology, symbolic classification was the school's theoretical base.

The comparative structuralism within a field of study (FAS) has evolved from its starting point. In the beginning, from 1935, the fundamental characteristics of Indonesian society were referred to by J.P.B. De Josselin de Jong as the structural core. Anthropologists looked for these elements or resemblances in the cultures they studied and any data that did not fit the model, imperfections, were explained away or data was used to outweigh them. In 1935, Van Wouden published his *Social Structure of the Groote Oost*. The Groote Oost covers the islands East of Bima, Sumbawa; an area that is regarded as occupying an intermediate point between west and east Indonesia. The examination of eastern Indonesian societies used reports from officials and missionaries and became a cornerstone of early Dutch structuralism. Although the Groote Oost covers many ethnic groups on Flores and the surrounding islands, there is no mention of the Bajawa area or the Ngadha speaking people.

In the early Dutch structuralist style, Van Wouden found that "all the different islands are practically all characterised by the possession of clan systems, still fairly intact, coupled with the explicit preference for cross-cousin marriage in the restricted form" (1935:1). However, in his conclusion, he notes that one of the striking facts is that in almost every region "there is a people who are sharply distinguished from their patrilineal neighbours by their matrilineal descent groups"(1935:153). He goes on to note that there are exceptions and that there are groups that have matrilineal descent and matrilocal marriage.

Over time the role of the model became less strong, and it was recognised that 'modalities' (P.E. De Josselin de Jong 1980) existed. With the influence of Lévi Strauss' work, the imperfect resemblances became transformations. Double descent, for example, was recognised not only in terms of lineages but also to describe the transmission of mystical power, or the transfer of weaving skills and equipment (P.E.



De Josselin de Jong 1984). The core elements put forward in the original thesis were transformed and are now considered basic elements for comparison. The field of anthropological study (FAS) has become a methodology based on comparison for analytical sophistication.

Van Wouden's work was influential beyond the Dutch school, particularly influencing the work of Needham. Rodney Needham (1984) made a comparative analysis of fifteen groups in Nusa Tenggara, examining the transformations of prescriptive marriage systems. Although four groups in the Manggarai region (bordering Ngadha to the West) were studied, and three groups in the Endeh region (bordering Ngadha to the East) his study omits any group in the Ngada regency. However, he supervised many theses at Oxford and his interest in prescriptive marriage systems and symbolic classification clearly inspired his students who took up similar studies in the region. Hicks (1976 & 1990) studied the Tetum of Timor, Forth (1981) the Rindi of Sumba and more recently (1998) the Nage of central Flores. James Fox chose the islands of Roti and Savu, and his students remained fascinated by symbolic classification. Traube (1986) studied ritual exchange in Timor, and Lewis (1988) studied the social life and ritual among the Tana'Ai, central eastern Flores. As Fox, in the preface to Lewis (1988), notes, all this comparative research has enabled "a configuration of certain general features of the societies of eastern Indonesia" (Fox 1988:xii).

## **2.4 Placing the Ngadha within Eastern Indonesian ethnographies**

The Ngadha share general features in common with their neighbours. However, the Ngadha share more in common with the Tana'Ai than with many of the other groups, challenging Fox's claim that "the Tana'Ai appear singularly remarkable" (1988:xii). Like the Tana' Ai the Ngadha have houses of consanguineally related women and their brothers, and inheritance that passes through the female line, presenting another case of "house-based matriliney".

The botanical idiom of life is common in Eastern Indonesian societies (Fox:1980), frequently centred around root/tip (or trunk/shoot) symbolism. In Ngadha society, as

among the Rindi (Forth 1981) and Mambai (Traube 1986), it is fundamental to their notions of order. The root or base is female, and the tip is male.

The ranking of people is also a common feature in east Indonesian societies (cf. Howell 1995b on the Lio, Gibson 1995 on the Makassaresse, Hitchcock on the Bimanese and also among the Sumbanese, Savunese, S'adan Toraja and the Tetum of Timor according to Waterson 1990). Waterson (1995) contrasts ranking of people in some societies (e.g. Toraja) with the ranking of houses in others (e.g. Tanimbar and Mambai), but in Ngadha both are ranked.

One of the generalities Fox (1988) noted, “social organisation based on the house as a primary descent group”, is of particular importance here. Following the work of Lévi Strauss, who first drew attention to the theoretical significance of the house (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995), a number of scholars have noted the importance of the house as an indigenous category and principle of social organisation in the societies of Eastern Indonesia (and elsewhere). Although studies have been undertaken by architects and historians, there has been a growth in the anthropological analysis of houses and their role in kinship structures in the region. The work of Waterson (1990) provides a detailed anthropology of architecture and the edited volume by Carsten and Hugh-Jones (1995) links the work of Lévi-Strauss, the anthropology of the house with the anthropology of the body.

The Ngadha clan house fulfils the Lévi-Straussian (1983) '*societas à maison*'. Ngadha houses do endure through time, through holding on to property and through the transmission of names, which are integral to the existence of the houses' identity. Although criticised as too deterministic a model by the contributors to Carsten and Hugh-Jones' (1995) book, both Smedal (1993) and Molnar (2000) note how the Ngadha house fits the model quite closely. As Carsten and Hugh-Jones remind us, the house is not only a ritual construct related to ancestors, embodied in heirlooms and titles, it is also “ a group of people, concerned with day to day affairs, sharing consumption and living in shared space” (1995:45). Most importantly, it is a native category referring to

a social group. As Waterson (1995) points out, house idioms are dominant as ways of expressing kinship in many Austronesian societies, including Ngadha.

The idea that a house is living is the central theme of Waterson's (1990) book. Taking examples from all over the Austronesian world, she details how, through symbolism, ritual and indigenous cosmologies, houses are considered living. In Ngadha, as among the Tetum of Timor (Hicks 1976), body analogy is used for the house as a whole. In contrast to the Kedangese (Barnes 1974) where the house parts are divided into body parts, among the Ngadha the house parts reflect life stages. The inner sacred room, in contrast to Forth's (1991) findings from Sumba, is considered female, as among the Lio (Howell 1995b). As Hicks (1976) found for the Tetum, this dark space is the womb of the house and the door is the vagina.

The "elaboration of a register of dual categories, focusing on the complimentary categories of gender and symbolic space" (Fox 1988: xii) has been recognised by many ethnographers in Eastern Indonesia. While among the patrilineal Rindi (Forth 1981) and Atoni (Cunningham 1964) male equals right and female equals left, the reverse is true in Ngadha society. The tendency in anthropology to classify peoples as matrilineal or patrilineal masks the fluid nature of reality. People are cultural strategists and use relations according to context. The Ngadha once commonly paid bride wealth and children joined their father's clan and House (see section 4.2 social organisation). Now they normally do not pay bride wealth and children join their mother's clan and House, hence they are considered matrilineal. However, they remember ancestors on both sides of the family, are often involved in rituals on their father's as well as mother's side and should therefore be considered bilineal or cognatic (Rodgers 1985). However, the label "matrilineal" and even the more evocative "matriarchal" are used by guides to describe the Ngadha. As Waterson (1990) suggests, the social organisation based around matriliney, combined with matrilineal residence and the association of women with houses provides a social structural dominance of women to complement the official ideology of male dominance.

Houses belonging to a number of clans are found in collections of two parallel lines (Barnes 1972), referred to as *nua*. *Nua* is almost certainly a cognate of the word *banua*, which has a wide distribution throughout Austonesian languages (Waterson 1990). It is usually translated as village but confusion then occurs with the Indonesian *desa*, which is also usually translated as village. The administrative villages (*desa*) subsume a number of *nua*. Barnes (1974) uses "old village" and claims that they are origin sites used for rituals and contain origin houses. Although "old villages" may be appropriate for the Kedangese who have largely abandoned these villages, it is not the case here, as the *nua* in this context are contemporary. Traube (1986) uses "origin villages", Hoskins (1986) uses "ancestral villages", Forth (1998) uses "villages" but also "traditional villages" and "ancient villages". All of these terms could be applied to one of the villages in this study, Bena, which is an original, ancestral, ancient, traditional settlement. The other village, Wogo, however, is not the original site, being only about 60 years old, but is traditional or at least has all the elements that custom demands. Howell (1995) uses the term "trunk villages" to mean that they "constitute the significant locality: geographically, historically, politically, ritually and cosmologically for all the members of the trunk village". However, due to the significance of trunk/tip symbolism, this gloss again seems inappropriate in this case. Lewis (1988) uses the term "domain". While this avoids any confusion with the state administrative village, it does not allow us to distinguish the nuclear settlement from its surrounding land and garden houses. I have therefore chosen to retain the local term in this case, and use *nua* to refer to the nuclear settlement of traditional houses and associated structures: *ngadhu*, *bhaga*, (see section 4.2.2) *lenggi* and other megaliths.

Megaliths are another common feature of Eastern Indonesian, indeed South East Asian, villages. These "structures made of large stones, usually rough and unhewn, which conform to certain well marked types" (Perry 1918: 10) are connected with religious life; they serve as a medium to connect the living with the dead. Although the work of Heine-Geldern (1945) "on migrations and diffusion has limited contemporary applicability" (Hill and Hitchcock 1996:25), his comment that stones become

personified as ancestors, as places to make offerings to ancestors and as places to mark graves, is accurate in this case.<sup>11</sup> The megaliths guard against misfortune (Arndt 1932).

In Ngadha, megaliths reveal a great diversity of forms and purposes (Van der Hoop nd.). Waterson warns against the temptation to label any use of stones as megalithic as the word has “a romantic appeal to Europeans” (1990:23). As some stones are several metres across, the use of the word seems appropriate in this case. The male-female complementary dualism, found throughout the symbolism of this society, is reinforced in the stones. As among the Tana’Ai (Lewis 1988) and the Lio (Howell 1995), upright males stones are found in pairs with flat female stones.

According to Fox (1980), Eastern Indonesia societies are preoccupied with control over the flow of life. Certainly, in Ngadha society the unity between past and present members of a clan and house is constantly maintained. Ancestors are constantly remembered, fed, and referred to, and their approval is sought. In return they protect, bless, and provide food, health and harmony for the living. As in Sumba, “the dead continue to be enmeshed in on-going social relations, becoming more powerful after death as they have the ability to enforce supernatural sanctions and demands on their descendants” (Hoskins 1987:146). The unity between past and present generations is maintained through rituals and particularly through sacrifice. Howell (1996) argues that during sacrifice in Eastern Indonesia direct communication takes place between human sacrificers and non-humans (ancestral spirits) in two ways. First, the utterance of an invocation that precedes a sacrifice and the offering of blood and cooked food is the way in which the living “speaks” to the ancestors. Secondly, an augury after the event is how the living read messages from the ancestors. In Ngadha, this involves reading the lines in the liver of sacrificed animals.

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<sup>11</sup> As the Robo Keri ceremony indicates, villagers feel the need to be close to their ancestors who are represented by megaliths, and will go to the enormous expense involved in moving megaliths to have their ancestors closer to them and in the centre of their present villages, (see section 7.6.1).

As among the Sumbanese, ritual correctness in the form of the offerings, the intricate prayers in poetic parallelistic ritual language, and rules for feasting, is a primary concern at rituals. Proper procedures maintain smooth relations with the ancestors (Hoskins 1987).

The importance of sacrifice goes beyond communication with the ancestors. The size and amount of livestock sacrificed is important for the social standing of the living. A Toraja's<sup>12</sup> worth is validated through sacrifice and every gift of meat contains a message about status (Volkman 1985). Daeng (1988), in his claims of the ecological function of competitive feasting among the Ngadha, noted that the ancestors always favour the host whose feast lasted the longest and was attended by the most people.

Traditional religion has been devalued for political reasons and missionaries were actively supported in the conversion of those supporting minority religions (Dove 1988). As Hoskins points out, "true conversion is not really possible until the nature of indigenous conceptual systems have undergone a substantial transformation" (1987:137). Missionaries believing that local religious practices were satanic and anti-Christian found it easier to proscribe specific actions than to prohibit ideas and thus many local beliefs have remained unchanged (cf. Forth 1998). For example, tooth filing, a common initiation rite for women, was prohibited (cf. Suzuki 1959, Forth 1998). Several scholars report how villagers have been subjected to significant pressure to cut down the number of animals slaughtered at major ceremonies (Daeng 1988, Forth 1998, and Molnar 1998).

Although originally from Arabic, *adat* meant customary law or custom (Wilkinson *et al* 1963), its significance is far wider than that of law in the west and much more binding than mere custom or convention (Caslake 1993). The term is accepted across the Indonesian archipelago to mean custom or tradition (Echols and Shadily 1997), but, as Soemardjan and Breazeale (1993) discuss, it is far more all-encompassing. As Picard discusses, "it is essentially a religious concept, in the sense that it refers to a social order

founded by the ancestors to an unchangeable cosmic order” (1996:12). It has become institutionalised and needs to be understood as the “internal methodology for members of a society to understand and perceive the patterns of social relations” (Zainal Kling 1997: 49). It exists to ensure harmony in the universe. *Adat*, perceived by the villagers in this study as the way of the ancestors, is a map by which people should live. It governs relationships between the individual and community and gives guidance for relationships. As Zainal Kling (1997) discusses, *adat* means consensus, a state of equilibrium, and it means order. Any offence against *adat* disturbs the universal order and produces undesirable results, from minor sickness to major epidemics and crop failure (Caslake 1993). But in practice, as Picard suggests, *adat* “is specific to a particular ethnic group” (1996:153) and refers to ‘ways’ bequeathed by the ancestors. The contemporary meaning has evolved with different emphasis in different parts of the archipelago. Ngadha *adat* has not been subject to desacralisation to the same extent that it has in Bali but the process has begun.

Volkman (1987) details how the mission in Toraja made the decisive strategy of formally separating religion from *adat*. *Adat* was what was secular and social and was deemed acceptable. In a similar vein, Erb (2001a) suggests that the church accepted ritual as culture (*adat*) but not ritual as religion (ancestor worship) in Manggarai, Flores. *Adat* has been appropriated by the state so that it is used not only in opposition to religion but also to administration (Soemardjan and Breazeale 1993). In sponsoring material culture, especially houses and textiles, the state has objectified tradition. The social institutions of *adat* and its religious aspects are downplayed in favour of cultural objects that legitimate ethnic groups (cf. Hutajulu 1997, Allerton 2001).

*Adat* is a contested notion. The government generally uses the term, as an adjective, to mean customary or traditional, hence *rumah adat* (traditional house), *kampung adat* (traditional village), or *upacara adat* (traditional ceremonies). The government uses *adat* for those aspects of tradition that can be separated from religion, rules for life provided by the state, and from values. It is then closely aligned with tradition as culture

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<sup>12</sup> Toraja is not in East Nusa Tenggara but there are many similarities between this society and Ngadha.

that can be commodified. The villagers' notion, usually used as a noun, is closer to Picard's (1996) suggestion of a religious concept referring to a social order or set of rules bequeathed by the ancestors. However, the term and its meanings, the facets of culture pertaining to *adat*, are strategically manipulated to suit actors' needs. Sometimes villagers use *adat* to mean traditional in a way comparable to the government's notion. Sometimes aspects of religion can become *adat* (see for example a priests first service section 9.3.1). As *adat* is generally considered positive, any claim to it can bolster a standpoint. It can be used as a justification for behaviour e.g. men serving food with their hands.

*Adat* has multiple meanings that are socially constructed as Wood (1993) suggests (see page 38). The template (Wikam 1990) can be and is changed. The map by which people should live has major "landforms" that can generally only change very slowly, such as the notion of community consensus. Other aspects of the map, for example funerals, or the socialisation of children, have been subject to more rapid change and development. How the "map of life" is read is always subject to negotiation.

When tourism is added to the landscape *adat* has a commercial value. Tourism has given *adat* a new power. While the government attempts to objectify, externalise and appropriate the tangible elements, the villagers become more self-conscious of their *adat* and its power. The villagers then use *adat* as political capital. As discussed in this thesis, *adat* becomes an arena of conflict. The new economic value of *adat* has important implications for local power relations. Although theoretically *adat* as the social order is unchangeable, in reality the meanings and contents of *adat* are strategically manipulated, socially negotiated and therefore subject to change.

Although the majority of studies on East Nusa Tenggara societies have stressed the normative and traditional parts of culture (Vel 1994), there have been a number of recent studies that have examined the ordinary everyday life of women and men. Vel (1994) focuses on the changing economy of the Uma in Sumba, with special relation to the poorer segments of the local population. Her study concludes that the church will



have the largest influence on Uma economic life. The villagers in her study (like those in this study) made increasing exchanges with strangers in order to raise money required for church taxes, health and schools. Forshee's (2001) study focuses on Sumba and changes resulting from cloth sales and tourism.

Brewer (1979), Hitchcock (1996) and Just (1986 and 2001) have all worked on eastern Sumbawa. Sumbawa is in West Nusa Tenggara but linguistically Bimanese is closely connected to the languages of West Flores. However, historical influences have been very different. Hitchcock vividly documents the material culture of court society in Bima. Although a similar deep cultural core is discernible, the centuries of Javanese influence and Islam brought from Makassar in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century mean that the Bimanese are significantly more orientated towards West Indonesia. Similarities are more apparent with the subjects of Just's (1986 and 2001) work. His examination is concerned with the anthropology of law with reference to the Duo Donggo, a tightly nucleated, endogamous community in the highlands. He argues that the local legal system and conflict resolution can only be understood in the context of the local moral ontology: "an understanding of what human beings are, how they are constituted morally, what accounts for their behaviour..." (2001:136). Brewer's (1979) thesis examines agriculture in the region and is useful as it compares two villages, as does the present thesis. Agriculture and household economies have, however, changed significantly since Brewer's research.

## **2.5 Anthropological studies of tourism in Eastern Indonesia**

Tanah Toraja has been the subject of the most anthropological examination of tourism in eastern Indonesia. Eric Crystal contributed to Smith's (1978) *Hosts and guests*, discussing the early stages of tourism development in Tanah Toraja. As a remote, christianised, mountainous community it shares much in common with the Ngadha. However, tourism began in Toraja much earlier. "From 1969 the rapid efflorescence of the new and pervasive tourist ethic had dramatically influenced the Toraja self-image as well as development planning" (Crystal 1978:118). The preservation of the ritual

system became the goal of the villagers and the urban modernisers, and Crystal reports positive initial consequences: the former negative embarrassment of local culture was transformed into a positive encouragement of ritual practices with a dramatic alteration in self-image. Crystal was less certain of the long-term consequences, expressing concern about the control by outsiders, noting that tourists were an economic burden on some locals, and considering the potential for the commercialisation of religious rites. When Crystal returned in 1976, he discovered a ten-fold increase in tourists, bewildered locals and rituals that had been commercialised as spectacles for foreigners.

Volkman (1985), who examines how the traditional religion of Toraja (*aluk*) and tourism have nurtured one another, takes up the renewed pride theme. Volkman reports how, with increasing tourist interest, competitive funeral feasts “have increased at an extraordinary rate” (1985:169). Further, “tourism has played a role in the recent movement to revitalise...*aluk*” (Volkman 1987:166). Indeed, Indonesia’s “government policy is to develop and preserve traditional cultural practices” (Hughes-Freeland 1993:149). The objectives of such preservation is “to instil feelings of pride” (*ibid*: 150). As Picard (1997) explains, cultural policy is a function of nation building, which Kipp (1993) considers masks imbalances of wealth and power in Indonesia. In a later publication, Volkman expands her theme of tourists as prestigious visitors, honouring (if unintentionally) Toraja ancestors. Having travelled thousands of miles and spent millions of rupiahs to attend, tourists bestow status on their hosts.

Adams has produced a number of publications about tourism in Toraja (1984, 1990, 1993, 1995, 1997). Her 1984 paper examines the role of travel agents as brokers in ethnicity and demonstrates how indigenous ethnic markers that are immediately apparent and carry the most exotic connotations are selected and emphasised. Adams (1995) has made the important point that Torajans are active strategists manipulating global powers to their own ends. Her paper explores how tourism is used to validate and amplify particular versions of Torajan culture.

Both Adams (1993) and Yamashita (1994) have examined how tourism is changing the death rituals of Toraja. Both conclude that death feasts are staged for tourists and the media. Adams' (1990 and 1997) works examine the consequences of tourism on Toraja ethnic relations and the conflicts that have emerged as the Toraja jostle to control their tourism planning. Toraja is situated in the province of South Sulawesi. At the provincial level, political power is in the hands of Islamic Buginese, age-old ethnic rivals of the Toraja. The provincial officials refused to allow unlicensed Toraja guides to operate. Access to licences (from the provincial capital, Ujung Pandang) was easier to obtain for their ethnic rivals, who would deny the Toraja the opportunity to represent themselves to outsiders. Further, their Muslim rivals would be likely to misrepresent the Toraja as pagan and backward.

Erb has produced a number of papers from her work among the Manggarai, a group neighbouring those in this study. Her 1998 paper examined authentic space and the role played by tourists in re-authenticating a traditional style house. While payment to enter a house may diminish its authenticity for a tourist, such payment sacralises the house in the eyes of the Manggarai. The gift of money from tourists becomes a form of legitimisation and authentication. Erb's (1998) findings not only stress the inherent difficulties with the notion of authentic but also the active role that local people play in the constructing of their culture for tourism while at the same time constructing it for themselves.

Erb's 2000 paper explores "who" tourists are for the Manggarai and how they strive to accommodate these strangers into their social world. The tourists occupy an ambivalent position between honoured guests and unpredictable spirits. Allerton (2001), working in the same regency, discusses how tourists' eating habits and ability to communicate in Indonesian are important in the local classification of tourists.

Hitchcock (1993b) examined the implementation of the Komodo National Park (KNP) management plan. The KNP is located between the islands of Flores and Sumbawa. It is an important attraction in East Nusa Tenggara (Gunawan 1997) attracting 30,000

tourists in 1996 (Walpole and Goodwin 2000:561). The park is not only home to the world's largest species of monitor lizard (*Varanus komodoensis*) but also has a unique ecosystem of great scientific interest.

The Ata Modo people, who have a distinct language and social organisation, sparsely populate the park. They come into contact with 5000 tourists a year (Walpole and Goodwin 2000:565) but tourism employment is limited to six boat crew and seventeen wooden dragon carvers (*ibid* :567). Walpole and Goodwin's analysis suggests only 1% of tourist expenditure accrued to people living in the park.

In recent years, there has been increasing anthropological interest in tourism on Lombok. Although geographically Lombok is in eastern Indonesia, for historical and religious reasons, like Sumbawa, it is very much orientated towards West Indonesia. Bras's (1999 and 2000) work on tour guides, discussed in chapter one provides some useful comparative data. Fallon's (2001) work on land conflict and tourism highlights two important issues. Firstly, the difficulties local people have in obtaining land certificates (*hak milik*), and secondly the effects that the political and economic crisis from 1996-2000 had on tourism. Both Hampton (1997, 1998 and 1999) and Cushman (1999) have examined tourism development on the Gili islands off the Northwest coast of Lombok. Both draw conclusions about the importance of examining independent tourists (backpackers) and the real economic opportunities they offer local people.

Bras' (2000) case study of tourism in the village of Sade on Lombok examines how the planners decided to preserve an entire 'cultural village'. By relocating the inhabitants and transforming the place into a museum, the traditional Sasak life could be displayed without risk of change. The provincial government has spent a great deal of effort preventing inhabitants carrying out any changes but not on other aspects of the plan, such as vocational training or building a new village for the inhabitants. The villagers became fed up with being just an object, without getting anything in return. The tourists' clumsy, offensive and rude behaviour led to overt annoyance and even hostility. The urge for the villagers to modernise led to tensions between the villagers and outsiders

working in tourism. The upshot of tensions is that tour operators and guides excluded Sade from tour programs. They take tourists to other villages but often refer to them as Sade.

## **2.6 Summary**

One of the core structures identified by J.P.B. De Josseilin de Jong was the remarkable resilience of Indonesian cultures toward foreign cultural elements. This has been the core structure least studied by Dutch anthropologists but perhaps it is the “peculiar reaction and adaptation of these (outside) influences” (Masinambow 1984) that will be the most informative for this particular study. Will the resilience to foreign cultural elements be the Ngadhas saving grace in the face of tourism? De Josseilin de Jong’s theory was developed before mass Catholicism on Flores. Will this world religion mean their resilience has weakened? Will this and the newer elements of their culture i.e. Indonesian state nationalism be a more dominant ideology than the fundamental cultural core elements?

Following Hitchcock’s (1996) onion analogy as a framework to order the influences that have occurred at different times, it is possible to identify the skins wrapped around a Ngadha cultural core. The Dutch colonisers attempted to unify the group under a lordship centred in Bajawa, which remains the capital and central market. Distance from and accessibility to it remains important. The Catholic Church, which has brought an end to cross-cousin marriage, tooth-filing and initiation into adulthood ceremonies, has reduced competitive ceremonial feasting, has brought taxes and education and remains an important modernising force, is another skin around the cultural core. The Indonesian state has brought bureaucratic structures to the village, increased their fear of authority and lowered their self-esteem, while it drives their belief in the possibility of “development”, is another layer of the onion to be unwrapped. Tourism, and other aspects of globalisation, is the onion’s outer skin.

Tourism has become an important aspect of Indonesia's economic development, and areas of high poverty, such as east Nusa Tenggara, were, until the economic crisis, given priority. The literature on tourism in Eastern Indonesia underscores the questions of ownership and control in tourism. The studies from Lombok, Komodo and Toraja all suggest that the economic benefits of tourism can bypass local people.

The established literature on tourism in Tanah Toraja is especially useful as the tourism product and society is similar to Ngadha. While the literature reveals the reorientation of Torajan funerals towards outsiders, the importance of tourists bringing pride and political power is highlighted.

Finally, anthropologists examining tourism in Eastern Indonesia from an insider's perspective have stressed the active nature of the people and how they use tourism. The people manipulate, appropriate and use the global force of tourism to legitimate local issues.

# Chapter 3

## Methodology

### 3.0 Introduction

Following a brief background to the sub-discipline of action anthropology, the foundation for this study, I consider the epistemological issues necessary for this thesis. After examining the history of my contact with the villages, I introduce my key informants and discuss the ways I carried out interviews and focus groups. The chapter presents a graphic illustration of the ethnographic experience of “going native” and how the views and values of the villagers were obtained. It also examines how the views and values of the tourists and mediators were collected. Following a section on the analysis of field data, the Chapter ends with a short conclusion on the validity of the material presented.

### 3.1 Method and action in anthropology

Since Malinowski's work in the Trobriand Islands, extensive fieldwork has become central to anthropology (Kuper 1983), distinguishing it from other social sciences (Holly 1984). The major aim of the discipline has followed Malinowski's declared aim: to understand 'the natives' point of view' (Rapport and Overing 2000). Through extensive fieldwork and participant observation, the anthropologist is in a unique position to get an insider's perspective of what is going on at the micro-level. In doing so, we have to follow “the twin ideals of empathy and objectivity” (Nash 1996: 12). In order to achieve objectivity, anthropologists have adopted a self-reflective position. By taking themselves and their procedures into account, “a clear eye (is kept) on the potential bias that might come from one's own institutional, class and historical position” (MacCannell 1989:3). Placing the researcher as central to the research process (Humberstone 1997) is emphasised by the use of the first person singular in this and other anthropological accounts. Use of the first person is an attempt to avoid disguising the voice of the researcher as neutral.

Coupled with self-reflective accounts, the importance of the anthropological research has moved beyond its pre-paradigmatic stage (Wilson 1993) of reporting the problems of tourism. The study of tourism by anthropologists has turned to applied issues and addresses theoretical and practical concerns at the same time (Nash and Smith 1991). However, the distinctive research methodology of anthropologists that makes their work so valuable, has drawbacks. In order to act as a “culture-broker”, a bridge between the inside and outside of a culture, “it takes a long time and often considerable expense” (Graburn and Moore 1994).

In order for anthropologists with their actor-orientated, holistic, insider’s perspective to be more widely used in tourism research, there needs to be a trade-off between depth and time. Tourism-induced change can be fast and far reaching for participants in less developed countries who need to be able to derive benefits from anthropological research. Anthropological commitment to the insider’s perspective and citizen advocacy (Preister 1987) can make it the appropriate discipline to work with those affected by, and learning to deal with, tourism.

Applied anthropology is a sub-discipline of anthropology that includes interpreting a culture to outsiders (Firth 1981). This problem-solving anthropology is associated with anthropologists working in development organisations. The applied anthropologists, often needing to work within tightly constrained time frames, conduct short-term socio-economic surveys and rapid appraisals (King 1999), and thus, while retaining their expertise in qualitative rather than quantitative data, have developed a body of data collection techniques (Gardner and Lewis 1996). The view that participant observation is the foundation of anthropological research remains but, as Bernard (1988) points out, it is not really a method but a strategy that facilitates data collection.

Action anthropology is a subdivision of applied anthropology and is associated with Sol Tax, whose goals were “to help people and to learn something in the process” (Tax 1960 in Willigen 1986). Contemporary anthropologists increasingly frown upon the duality of pure and applied anthropology (Abram 1998 quoting Wright 1995, King



1999). Much applied anthropological research is sponsored by outsiders and the researchers are therefore structurally involved in the micro-political environment (Grillo 1985). My case was different. I was not linked to a power-providing agency with an agenda. However, my knowledge – in this case about tourism – put me in a comparatively strong position and this, in turn, will have had a bearing on my research results. One of my objectives was to transfer some of my knowledge to the Ngadha villagers and this undoubtedly influenced the research process. Although MacClancy (2002) claims much contemporary anthropology helps to empower the alienated and give voice to the otherwise unvoiced, there is a lack of data on how this can be done in the tourism literature (Berno 1996). The action ethnography stance is taken here in the belief that "the subject population have the right to the social power that comes from knowledge" (May 1980:2365). A deliberate attempt has been made to help empower the villagers of Ngadha to understand and have more control over their tourism development.

Willigen (1986:46) argues that, in most pure anthropology, the research costs accrue to the researched, whereas the benefits accrue to the researcher. Although the content and goals of the research design were not negotiated with the villagers, the impetus of the original research came from them and the process and methods were discussed with them. Furthermore, during the research process a certain amount of "piggy –backing" took place in which community<sup>13</sup> topics were investigated alongside the researcher's questions.

Johannsen (1992) suggests that action anthropology should steer a path between applied anthropology, of problem solving, and interpretative anthropology, which is representing a cultural system by one's own writing. Gardner and Lewis advocate this form of post-modern applied anthropology, which provides a means for people in a community to "represent themselves and identify the nature and solutions to their problems"(1996:41). However, they offer no ideas as to how this could work in

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<sup>13</sup> In this case, "community topics" were topics raised by some members of the village, though not defined or agreed by the community as a whole.

practice. This thesis offers some insight into how it might. Brewer (2000) discusses action research as one of a variety of models for applied ethnography. In order for action research to feed back into planning and policy, policyholders must be aware of the information. The findings have to be made accessible to them by presenting them in a format and language they understand. I have translated the recommendations resulting from thesis research into Indonesian (see appendix 8).

As discussed in chapter one, many early studies in tourism were 'spin-offs' of other studies (Wilson 1993). Furthermore, they were snapshot pictures of a particular moment in time and lacked an adequate longitudinal dimension, what Wilson called 'time-traps' (Wilson 1993:36). As Foster, Scudder, Colson and Kemper (1979) discuss, carrying out long-term research differs from once-in-the-field studies. Firstly, because of the enduring ties, long-term research is more likely to be action or advocacy orientated. Secondly, "over time we are accepted into new age brackets and new information becomes available" (1979:331). Further, "the research can make an important contribution to the communities' "self-image" giving the villages a sense of *esprit* that would otherwise be lacking" (1979:346).

By repeatedly returning to the same location, some aspects of research are easier. For example, culture shock is minimised and one is able to engage often only hours after arrival (Foster *et al* 1979: 331). However, returning to the same research site means that there are certain things respondents assume that we know and are therefore difficult to ask about. Some things are more easily discussed with strangers than with respondents we have known for a long-time.

### **3.2 The research process**

The research I have undertaken in Wogo and other villages in Ngadha has been conducted over more than ten years in a number of roles: as a tour operator, conducting a rapid rural appraisal, and as an anthropologist undertaking extended ethnographic field-work.

I visited Flores for the first time in 1984. In 1989, when my ex-husband and I started a tour operating business, we made a reconnaissance trip to the Eastern Isles (Nusa Tenggara). Later that year, we began operating tours for small groups (12 pax). The three-week tour from Maumere in Eastern Flores to Bali included two nights in Wogo. Finding the village, and the success of the tours taken there, and subsequently to other villages in the region, not only influenced the selection of the research site but also the collection and analysis of the data. Many villagers have had a positive experience of tourism as a direct result of my actions, bringing tourists, significant income and piped water to the village (Cole 1997a). This gave me credibility and influenced the research process.

The purpose of the research conducted during the early years was to ensure my company's success. As I had studied anthropology,<sup>14</sup> I had a personal interest in discovering the cultural background of the village. As a tour leader, leading a cultural tour marketed as "led by anthropologists", my business depended on providing detailed cultural information for my clients. My business success also depended on fulfilling the villagers' requirements, so that we would be able to make repeat visits to the village. The villagers' demands were not so much economic as procedural – requiring my clients to behave in culturally appropriate ways (see chapter 7).

Research during these early visits consisted of questions-and-answer sessions. Usually, I was translating questions put to the villagers by the tourists and vice versa. The villagers were keen to provide their own account of their culture. Frequently, they offered more information than was practical to translate or was beyond the interest of many clients. Occasionally, I would have the opportunity for discussions with villagers on my own without the need to translate. We were careful to make question-and-answer sessions balanced by allowing the villagers to question the tourists, too.

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<sup>14</sup> Both as an undergraduate in Indonesia and for an MA at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

During these visits, I established an excellent rapport with the villagers. The relationship between a field-worker and respondents is considered crucial to the research process. If “the process of building an acceptable local persona is a trial and error affair” (Angrosino 1986:66), by the time I came to do my long fieldwork, I had found a persona that was both comfortable to me and non-threatening to my hosts.

The second type of research I conducted was a “fast and dirty” (Hampton 1998) Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) in 1996 to generate data for an academic paper. The purpose of PRA is to generate knowledge and information in a relatively short time (Koning and Martin 1996). Using the background, rapport and language from previous visits, I held thirty questionnaire-based interviews with members of the village. The questions and discussions were to explore ideas and views about tourism. The survey began as a random sample and became non-random in order to get a balance across age, gender and the different clans. The questionnaires, which were used as starting points for the discussion, had three sections. The first examined experiences of tourism so far, the second section related to the “Old Wogo megaliths” and how far they were important for tourism, and the third section was about ideas and aspirations for the future (Cole 1997b). (See appendix 1 for an outline of the questions asked).

Carrying out a structured questionnaire was difficult for a number of reasons. A lack of familiarity with social science research among the respondents meant that many were anxious and worried about giving the “wrong” answers. It was difficult to get a single opinion, as the villagers would gather round to see what was going on. When an elder gave a response, this was taken as the “right” answer and was then repeated by others.

In July 1998, I returned to carry out eight months of fieldwork. Beyond getting a deeper understanding of tourism from the villagers’ point of view, I wanted to triangulate these with the views of tourism mediators (guides and government) and the tourists. As Arksey and Knight argue, “approaching research questions from different angles and bringing together a range of views has the potential to generate new and

alternative explanations, ones that better capture the social complexity the fieldwork explores" (1999:22).

During the eight months, I carried out participant observation and interviews in villages that received tourists. Focus groups were held in two villages: Bena and Wogo. I carried out semi-structured interviews with government departments, (see appendix 2 for interview guides) and conversations with hoteliers and tour operators. My research into guides and guiding involved a focus group, interviews, covert and participant observation. Tourists were observed, interviewed and surveyed at different points during the study.

Since 1989, I have visited the Ngadha villages on numerous occasions. Moving to and from the study site over a period of years has allowed for periods of reflection after periods of fieldwork. Although not normally possible (Fetterman 1989), I have returned for social visits and been able to collect missing pieces of information.

### **3.3 Participant observation**

Participant observation, like ethnography, involves attempting to understand and interpret the meanings and experiences of a group, a task which anthropologists argue is only possible through participation with the individuals involved (Burgess 1984, Silverman 1993, Selanniemi 1999). The anthropological field-worker attempts empathy in order to get an insider's view and then to make sense of it from an external social science perspective (Fetterman 1989). It is clear that the researcher is part of the context being observed and therefore will to some extent modify and influence the data. Rather than seeing this as a negative form of bias, triangulation, contextualisation and reflexivity are used to remind the reader of my influence on the research process.

As I have suggested, frequent visits over a number of years has meant that my influence on this data is perhaps stronger than a once-in-the-field anthropologist. My essentially action-orientated approach, combined with a high level of trust and confidence, sharing of knowledge and experience and personal involvement, has framed the study.

Conversations were often more discussions than interviews because I was asked my opinion or frequently asked to give advice about what should be done. Many people were keen to use the influence they believed I would have on tourism policy.

Following Gold's frequently quoted (for example Hammersley and Atkinson 1995, May 1997, Burgess 1984) theoretical model of fieldwork roles, I had different roles with different informants at different stages of my research. At times with tourists, I was a 'complete participant', joining tours as a tourist and keeping my research concealed (until the tour was over). Also, some of my research on tourists was as a 'complete observer' just jotting down their behaviour and clothing for example. I also took this stance when doing research into the narrative of non-local guides. In both cases, I was trying to avoid problems of reactivity. Tourists reacted differently when they knew I was an anthropologist and non-local guides felt threatened when they knew I spoke the local language and knew about the culture. For the majority of the research, I was a 'participant-as-observer' which, as Burgess (1984) points out, allowed me the freedom to go where the action was.

The ethnographer's role has also been seen as developmental, moving through a series of phases as the research progresses. Bernard (1988) notes seven stages while Burgess (1984) quotes Janes (1961) as recognising five phases and Olesen and Whittaker (1967) as identifying four. During the eight months, three phases could be discerned: firstly, "getting to know you (again)", characterised as being treated like a guest, for example being served first at meal times. The second phase, "acceptance", was characterised by being treated as one of the family, as a labour source to be tapped, and as someone who could be used to achieve political ends. During this phase, it is likely the head of household would be served first but, in the family setting, order was unimportant. I ate from a shared gourd with female members of the family in Bena. The third and final phase, "imminent departure" was characterised by special treatment and an effort to help me out. This phase was somewhat interrupted by Christmas, New Year, *Reba*, and my family visiting from England, at which point I reverted back to guest status.

My age and gender are also important aspects of my role and the nature of the data that I obtained. In Ngadha, men deal with outsiders. As a female outsider, I was in a superior research position to any male undertaking the same study, because as a woman I could also gain the female perspective and, as an outsider, I dealt with men. This ambiguous yet advantageous position has been identified by other female anthropologists (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995). As a married woman, I was not a threat. (cf. Angrosino 1986 on the threat an unattached male anthropologist poses.) I was married and therefore not competition. Further, as a mother I was a “real” woman. Golde aptly describes the problems of being an older, unmarried, virginal anthropologist (1986 79-80). However, as I had only one child, I was considered poor. Considerable sympathy was extended to me for my impoverished status as a mother of only one child.

My gender role changed over the course of the research process. When I visited Wogo before Mira, my daughter, was born, I felt pushed out of some women’s matters – although I only realised this afterwards. I then (mistakenly) repeated local cultural patterns by excluding unmarried, non-mothers but mature women from some aspects of my own research (see section 3.6.2 below).

As other anthropologists have noted (e.g. Hendry 1999), there are advantages in children accompanying anthropological field trips. My daughters’ friendships gave me fruitful new openings that would not have otherwise existed. Further, a child’s mind and line of questioning, often more direct and honest, often had significant benefits during the research process.

### **3.3.1 Access and initial contact**

The first time I visited Wogo, I was with my Indonesian husband. Although not from Eastern Indonesia and not a Christian, he had an anthropological training and considerable experience in adapting to unfamiliar cultural surroundings. I believe my initial acceptance was eased as the wife of an Indonesian. Not only was my status not a threat but I also had the empathy of a shared nation of residence. When I arrived for my longest period of fieldwork, I was more prepared than an anthropologist entering the field for the first time would have been. I knew the necessary ‘impression management’

(Hammersley and Atkins 1995). Although culture shock “is the stock-in-trade of social and cultural anthropology” (Hammersley and Atkins 1995: 102), I did not suffer culture clash, I knew about the toilet facilities, the monotonous diet and the lack of privacy. I therefore worked on my coping strategies: going to town once a week for a relatively private night in a guesthouse, to get a bath and have a different meal. These trips were used for interviews with government officials, hotel staff and tourists. Longer breaks were taken to undertake research at the gateways to Flores (Labuhan Bajo and Maumere) to talk to tourists both prior to and after their village visits.

### **3.3.2 Participants and Key informants**

At the village level, the minimum of formalities was required to access any information: my introduction through the Department of Education and Culture was accepted. Nobody attempted to block my access to anyone else and nobody declined to speak with me (although some were obviously less forthcoming than others). Informants included formal and non-formal village leaders, neighbours and other villagers.

According to Wolcott, a key informant is “an individual in whom one invests a disproportionate amount of time because the individual appears particularly well informed, articulate, approachable or available” (1990:195). Which informants should fall into the category of *key* informant is not defined. In my case, all my hosts became key informants as I spent a disproportionate amount of time talking to them relative to other members of the villages. I have also included two men whom we did not stay with but whose voices are frequent in my notes and many of our conversations were directly relevant to this thesis.

According to Bernard (1988), key informants are selected for their competence. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) note the importance of “gatekeepers” and their impact on the choice of key-informants. Here I would like to stress “the click factor” – that is, bonding with participants. I use this to underline the importance of how well you get on with someone, how well at ease one feels and the importance of this for the selection of who become key informants. The ease with which one can chat spontaneously without it being an effort, an intuitive bond that easily developed and



could be maintained over time are aspects of “the click factor”. With some of my key informants, I could sit and chat for hours, like a good gossip with a friend. Such chats could reveal interesting and important data. I was aware that this may not have been the most efficient way to go about my data collection: the relaxed nature in which the villagers go about everyday life had rubbed off on me.

Following Hollan and Wellenkamp (1994), I present a brief profile to each of my key informants.

### *Pak Anis*

Pak Anis was our initial contact in Wogo: he was a gate-keeper. He worked for the Department of Education and Culture (DIKBUD) as the area’s *penilik kebudayaan*, responsible for recording, monitoring and encouraging traditional music in the local schools. Originally a music teacher, he has composed and translated songs in and out of the Ngadha language. He is a musician and the choir leader. He knows a great deal about the local culture, especially its music, and is very competent at explaining information.

Knowing foreigners brings pride: having them stay in one’s house is even more highly regarded. Pak Anis saw himself as my father and my mentor. From my earliest relations with Wogo, it was Pak Anis who had written letters to confirm bookings for our groups of tourists. It was he who wrote to me to say that the villagers would welcome Mira and I and the research taking place. As it was expected of us, we initially took a room in his house. This was to be the first of our three residencies. Pak Anis lives with his wife and five of his children, one of whom is married with a child. His house is of the ‘modern’ variety, built of concrete with a corrugated iron roof. The floor is compacted earth. The state encouraged the building of this type of ‘healthy’ house but there are a number of difficulties associated with life in these houses. They are cold with no thatch to keep in the warmth, they are very noisy in the rain and it is extremely difficult to keep animals, especially dogs (and their fleas), out.

### *Sipri*

Sipri was fifteen when I first visited Wogo. He had excellent English, self-taught, and good German. He had won a scholarship to middle school and went on to gain scholarships to high school and university. After he left for university on Java, I did not see him for many years until he returned towards the end of my long fieldwork. Sipri had worked as an unofficial guide. While I was writing up, Sipri worked for the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and had access to email. This modern method of staying in touch with informants proved very useful for checking the spelling and meaning of Ngadha terms, as well as being able to bounce ideas off an insider. At times I emailed Sipri sections of my thesis to check my interpretation. Emails went back and forth as we discussed and clarified issues. On occasions, Sipri has translated sections and asked elders, respected for their intimate cultural knowledge, to comment on my analysis. This “respondent validation” of my analysis has been a vital part of the process.

### *Oce*

Oce, Pak Anis’s daughter, had studied for seven years at university in Java and was qualified to teach deaf and dumb children. She had been back in Wogo for two years when I met her. I did not click automatically with Oce: because of my honoured position, she treated me with kid gloves for a while. However, as she was an educated woman of my own age, I developed a rapport with Oce and, through her, acquired a good grounding in social norms, domestic organisation and kinship terms. I also understood Wogo from the perspective of a returned graduate, which a growing number of the village population now are.

### *Nene Yuli*

Nene<sup>15</sup> Yuli was my first host when I took tourists to stay in Wogo.<sup>16</sup> She taught me how to do the local dances. She is a spinster and lives with her niece, Nelly, and great niece, Emi, in a House in Wogo. Nene Yuli was about six when the village moved, in 1932. She was the last woman in the village to have her teeth filed (against church rules). This woman knew the name of each piece of wood in her house, which relative

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<sup>15</sup> Nene means grandmother and grandfather in Bahasa Ngadha: in Indonesian, it means grandmother.

<sup>16</sup> The groups of twelve tourists we took stayed in four houses.

had replaced it and when. She could recount historical events as if they occurred yesterday and would have gone into every clan's history if I had had the time to sit and listen.

My rapport with Nene Yuli seemed always to have existed. She was a perceptive lady who put up with no nonsense and seemed the least interested in making exceptions for Mira and myself. I enjoyed learning from her direct forthrightness and how she would put me right. Mira found her strict and frightening.

### *Nelly*

Nelly was Nene Yuli's niece. We are of a similar age, both single mums with similar-aged daughters. We just clicked. From Nelly, I learnt about divorce (in a Catholic society), about the different power domains of men and women. I learnt about the power of the Church over the many people in Wogo that work at the mission. I learnt about child rearing and cooking, about agricultural tasks and making sales at the market.

Nene Yuli and Nelly lived in a traditional House in the centre of Wogo. Being a member of a House, I had a large extended network of kin. All Nene Yuli's sisters and their families became mine. This allowed me access to a large number of other informants both in the village and over a wide area, including Bena. Any member of the House can turn up at any time and they did. It was hard to ignore them when they came in need, although I never felt explicitly targeted for aid.

### *Mama Mia*

When I arrived in Bena, I was introduced to categorical relatives and to the caretaker's wife, Mama Mia. Nearly all the men were away searching for a suitable new *ngadhu* tree. Mama Mia, an articulate, chatty mother of five made us feel extremely welcome and extended an invitation to stay. Under such circumstances, it is hard to know what to do – to take up an offer to stay with relatives because they were relatives and would therefore treat us kindly out of duty, or to take up an offer with the caretaker's wife for whom I had an intuitive affinity. I did not want to bring shame on my categorical

relatives or at least deny them the honour of foreign guests. During the course of the afternoon, Mira discovered that Mama Mia had a young daughter, a very fluffy puppy and running water at the back of their house. For her, the choice was clear and for me the embarrassment saved, allowing my daughter to take our decision. Mama Mia taught me all about weaving, about the women's co-operative, about Bena's schooling problems, and about the hierarchy of clans in Bena, among many other issues. Mama Mia had the ability to chew over rituals, explaining important details I had missed, and point out variations.

#### *Om Eman*

Om<sup>17</sup> Eman is the caretaker in Bena, Mama Mia's husband. He is also the village banker for micro-credit and chairperson of the tourism management group. Revered as trustworthy and outspoken, Om Eman informed me about the history of tourism in Bena, about the village debt cycle and micro-credit facilities, and he was outspoken with me and at meetings about corruption and the problems it was bringing. Our social life developed around playing cards. With most other members of the village, we played the local version of rummy but Om Eman, especially, enjoyed a challenging mathematical card game that I introduced him to.

Balancing playing cards that Om Eman immensely enjoyed, but of which Mama Mia disapproved, was one of my many balancing acts. Frequently, by day I would chat with the women while helping thread looms or supervise children and in the evenings I would play cards and chat with the men. I was not the only woman to play cards but I noticed that the only other woman that played regularly with the men was a marginal outsider. She was from a neighbouring ethnic group and had married into the village.<sup>18</sup>

#### *Om Alor*

Although I never lived with Om Alor and his family – he was just another member of Bena I spoke with – the quantity and quality of data that relate to conversations with

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<sup>17</sup> Om means uncle in Indonesian, and is used in Ngadha to denote a friendly but reverent relationship with a man older than oneself.

this man means that he should probably be considered a key informant. Om Alor lived in the house-cum-shop at the entrance to Bena and sold the tickets to tourists. He knew most about the coming and goings of tourists and their guides and was well informed and keen to inform me about the misappropriation of funds, although he was related by marriage to the perpetrator. His shop and the terrace that he allowed to be the village bus shelter<sup>19</sup> became the centre for village gossip and always a place to find conversation. It was at Om Alor's that I kept a book for tourists to write comments and thoughts in and Om Alor pointed it out to tourists for me. He also kept a log for me of comings and goings so we could work out how long tourists were spending in the village. He was one of the villagers I asked to note their impressions of the tourists' clothes to attempt to ascertain what percentage of the tourists were impolite in the eyes of the villagers.

#### *Pak Ben*

Pak Ben worked for the Department of Education and Culture. He was our first contact in Bajawa and introduced us to the villagers in Wogo. He accompanied our first and many subsequent tours during the Wogo visits. Although from neighbouring Nage, Pak Ben had worked in Bajawa all his life. He had been responsible for the appointment of village caretakers and the collection of data on tourism from its beginnings. As well as a petty official and informant, Pak Ben was a friend. On visits to Bajawa, I would often pop in and see him as much for a friendly chat as for an "interview". As well as an important source of cultural and historical information, Pak Ben had a range of records, reports, leaflets and books he shared with me.

### **3.3.3 Moving around**

As can be seen from the above list of key informants, most of them were our hosts. We had three homes in the space of eight months, which has a bearing on the data. However, on reflection, I believe that the advantages outweigh the disadvantages. Although establishing rapport with informants is considered essential for good ethnographic research, and I obviously had to do this a number of times, I believe that

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<sup>18</sup> Most Bena men marry out: her husband was one of the exceptions.

<sup>19</sup> Villagers sat on the terrace sheltering from sun or rain, waiting for a truck to town.

in all cases this was relatively easily achieved. In the case of Pak Anis and Nene Yuli, it was a matter of re-establishment. In the case of Nelly and Mama Mia, it seemed to happen without effort. A shared enjoyment in card playing helped with the establishment of rapport with Om Eman. However, the getting-to-know-you process does take time. There is a trade-off between depth – i.e. more time with the same people - and breadth or spread of relationships. By moving and living with three different households, I got to know those families in depth, perhaps at the expense of breadth, in knowing other villagers better. If I had not spent the time moving, and getting to know a new household, I could have invested the time getting to know neighbouring families better, for example.

By moving between the villages, my time frame was chopped up. I left the Ngadha region with the impression that Bena men are less productive than those in Wogo. I saw them hanging around more. This could be attributed to the season in which I spent most of my time in Bena. However, the time spanned half the year.

By moving around, I got to experience the differences of living in traditional houses and in the “modern healthy” homes. I experienced living in the centre of a “touristy” village with onlookers on my terrace on a daily basis. I experienced living just outside a traditional village and seeing how little anything to do with tourism is part of their lives. Routine familiarity, feeling too at home, leads to over-rapport (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995): having three residences prevented this. By moving on, I was (sub-consciously) remaining marginal.

According to Bernard, a participant observer is successful when “informants laugh at what you say, it will be because you *meant* it to be a joke”(1988:148). I felt rapport was established when my informants felt happy to ask me to do for them what they usually did for me. The first time I was left in charge of fire lighting and getting the rice and beans under way in Pak Anis’ house, I felt like a real daughter. My categorical sisters were constantly bossed about and I felt my behaviour directed but when I was requested to undertake domestic duties for the family, I knew true rapport had been established.

In a similar way when Mama Mia left me in charge of the dark inner kitchen I knew I was accepted. No longer just a guest, I had become a marginal family member. I always maintained special status. For example, I would be invited to events that my family position would not have allowed for and entered the inner House rituals for clans I was unconnected with. I stayed longer in Bena than originally intended: being so readily accepted was one of the reasons for this<sup>20</sup>. Moving to new hosts allowed a balance between familiarity and rapport and the chores that went with it on the one hand, and the need to do my work but having to establish rapport on the other.

### **3.4 Interviews**

Interviews, conversations with a purpose (Robson 1993), are subdivided into three types depending on the degree of structure: structured, semi-structured and unstructured (Punch 1998, Frey and Fontana 1991). All types were used at different times during the research process. The respondents were tourists, tourees and middlemen, the three main roles identified by van den Berghe and Keyes (1984).

#### **3.4.1 Interviewing tourists**

Selanniemi (1999) found thematic interviews to be almost impossible to perform on tourists, who did not want to waste their valuable holiday time. He adopted a strategy of "spontaneous chatting", talking to tourists wherever he met them. I met tourists under three different circumstances: in the villages, in Bajawa, the local town, and in the gateway towns. In the villages, my dress and conversation with villagers aroused suspicion among tourists that I was not a tourist. I found that tourists were attracted to me for conversation and to gather knowledge. Unable to converse with villagers, talking to me either filled the awkward vacuum of time or allowed them to feel they were blending in. However, the interest that tourists showed in me detracted from my ability to observe them and to carry out research with the villagers. I found it necessary

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<sup>20</sup> Other reasons were: the new Ngadhu ceremony, a "once-in-a-life time" ceremony not to be missed by an anthropologist. Bena women as weavers were more accessible than the agriculturists in Wogo, Mira was happier, the villagers were keen on my research and wanted me to see and know more as they believed I could affect policy.

to adopt strategies to avoid “spontaneous chatting” in such circumstances. Entering the house (going back-stage) until they had passed by was the easiest avoidance strategy.<sup>21</sup>

In Bajawa, I found it easier to alternate between participant observation, i.e. being a tourist among tourists, to collect data and straightforward interviewing. Unlike the sun-lust tourists that Selanniemi (1999) was researching, there was precious little night-life in Bajawa and tourists readily gave their time. At the gateway towns, it was similar. In Labuhan Bajo, I stayed at a remote homestay<sup>22</sup> where communal meals at large tables gave me the opportunity to provoke group discussion, and, at quieter times, hold interviews with individuals.

My questions began, like those of other travellers, about the direction they were heading. In Labuhan Bajo, I was surprised at the number of tourists that had no intention of heading inland. In such circumstances, we chatted but few became my ‘respondents’.<sup>23</sup> If tourists were heading for Ngadha villages, I questioned them about their motivations, expectations and intended expenditure. I found that, if they knew of my research, they frequently approached me and did the majority of the questioning. If they had already been to the villages, we discussed their experiences.

Interviews with tourists ranged from “spontaneous chatting” to semi-structured interviews. For question guide used in interviews with tourists, see appendix 3. As Selanniemi (1999) points out, unplanned spontaneous exposure to informants, influences the intuition of researchers, and thus guides interpretation. The importance of this is often overlooked in the methodological literature. I have been exposed to cultural tourists in the villages of Ngadha over a period of more than ten years. These years of unplanned exposure to “informants” has, without doubt, influenced my research and interpretation. In the years that I had my company, I did not think of my clients as informants but many of their impressions were discussed in the 14 days of the tour that

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<sup>21</sup> My host in Bena, who made more sales of weaving if I was on the terrace and a tourist came to chat to me, did not appreciate this.

<sup>22</sup> Homestay is an Australian term for a guest house widely used in Indonesia.

<sup>23</sup> Reasons for not visiting the villages were sometimes revealing and thus of importance to record.



followed their stay in Ngadha villages and also in their post-trip letters. For many clients, their stay in an Ngadha village was the highlight of their travels in Indonesia.

### **3.4.2 Interviewing villagers**

Interviewing the villagers was part of the participant observation. Although non-hierarchical relationships between respondent and researcher would have been preferable, this was clearly difficult to achieve. As an educated white researcher, my status was ascribed. However, both self-disclosure and reciprocity were used to minimise the hierarchical pitfall (Reinharz 1992). I attempted to make the interviews non-directive, allowing the villagers to talk at length in their own terms, to minimise my influence (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995).

The choice of informants was essentially fortuitous. Beyond the key informants discussed above, and their relatives, choice was mainly directed by activity. Anyone sitting on their terrace was easy to approach and chat with. When tasks were being undertaken, I could join in and this was used as an opportunity to initiate conversations. My labour went some way towards reciprocating for their time and therefore providing a congenial atmosphere. Occasionally, informants were sought out to collect specific information. Although these interviews remained unstructured and open-ended, my visit made the situation formalised and the respondents less open and forthcoming. As Forth (1998) found among the neighbouring Nage, the casual and undirected approach is best suited to the local ways of articulating and transmitting knowledge.

The nature of the small, enclosed villages meant that, when in my later two residences I was in the heart of the villages, I could observe from a distance, spot the opportunity - domestic, agricultural or craft tasks being undertaken - and then I could approach villagers easily. My move from my first residence was partly to facilitate this opportunistic interviewing.

### **3.4.3 Interviews with government officials**

Interviews were held with officials at the provincial and regency level of government (see appendix 2 for question guides used). The meeting at the provincial Department of Tourism took place in Kupang before my long fieldwork. It was the first structured interview I conducted and the most difficult. It started in a noisy office surrounded by a dozen petty officials. The atmosphere was not conducive to recording the interview and I was feeling agitated that I was not being dealt with by anyone who could help my enquiries. Later, we did move to a more suitable space and permission was given to record the interview with two senior members of the department. Although the interview was useful, I felt that I was given the “official lines” in answer to my questions. Both the interviewees were well versed in tourism language and could articulate “politically correct” tourism theory such as “bottom-up eco-tourism development” as the most appropriate model for tourism development on Flores. However, below this surface veneer lay attitudes and assumptions found in many such Indonesia provincial tourism departments, i.e. that villagers are uneducated and primitive, and that people that were working in an office knew what was best for them.

A second opportunity to ask informal questions arose at a seminar given by the Head of the Department, which I attended part-way through the research. Unfortunately, due to the political circumstances in Indonesia at the time, I was unable to return to Kupang and ask follow-up questions after seeing the situation on the ground.

Interviews at the regency level were held with the Bupati or regency head, the Department of Education and Culture, and the Department of Tourism. In the case of the regency Department of Tourism, interviews were held at the beginning, middle and end of the fieldwork and on each occasion lasted for over an hour. The Bupati gave two hours of his time, reflecting how important he felt that the investigation was.

The Department of Education and Culture was a valuable source of information for a number of reasons. When, in 1989, I was visiting the region in search of a “traditional village” to host tourists, my first contact was made with this Department. A Department

of Tourism did not exist. Due to my friendship with Pak Ben, I have visited the Department on many occasions on return visits to the region. As the Department of Tourism was so new, it was senior members of the Department of Education and Culture that had been involved with the development of tourism since it began in the 1980s. My frequent visits to the Department over a period of years meant that a number of “interviews” were held on an ad-hoc basis and were informal and largely unstructured. When I had forgotten to ask something or required a point of clarification, I would pop into the office again for another chat.

Interviews were held with the head of the Department of Tourism. The nature of the interviews changed over the time I was in Ngada. The first was the most formal, with me asking the questions and getting short formal answers. As the Department was new and its head had only recently been appointed to the post (two years before), he played on his lack of knowledge of tourism (a two-week training course). He saw me as the expert and I often found that he was interviewing me rather than vice versa. He was asking for meetings as much as I was. Although I was “the expert” in his eyes, he was an elder male so I felt bound to provide him with the information and advice he requested. Over time, our interviews developed a reciprocal nature and were apparently mutually beneficial.

#### **3.4.4 Other interviewees**

Although not in a formal sense, I interviewed guides on a regular basis. I met local guides on a daily basis when I was living in Bena, and they usually had ten minutes or so to chat. I also met them in town and would have extended discussions over dinner or a drink in one of the town’s three restaurants where the guides waited to meet tourists to offer tours. Interviewing non-local guides (see section 5.3.3) was more difficult. Those that allowed their tourists to wander around the villages alone could be approached while they waited: those that accompanied the tourists were difficult to interview. On a number of occasions, however, they approached me, an oddity in the village, in which case brief conversations were possible. Hoteliers and tour operators were also interviewed on an informal basis.

### **3.5 Focus groups**

The use of focus group interviews is a research technique that collects data through group interaction on topics determined by the researcher (Morgan 1997). Focus groups are a type of group interview but there is not the reliance on alternation between researcher and participants. Instead, it is the interaction between the participants that provides the data and insights. They are organised to explore a specific set of issues, such as peoples' views and experiences on certain topics (Kitzinger 1994) and are particularly suited to the study of attitudes, perceptions and feelings. They are a planned discussion to understand how people regard an experience, idea or event (Krueger 1994). This type of research began in market research and has since seen a rapid increase in use in the social sciences, particularly in health and housing studies in the past twenty years. To date, the literature on focus groups and how to use them for social science research is culturally bound to their use in westernised developed countries (except Khan and Manderson 1992).

As Morgan (1997) points out, focus groups may be used on their own, as a self-contained method, as a supplementary method or in multi-method studies. Ethnography has typically involved a mix of methods and focus groups were used in this study to complement other methods. Morgan is a proponent of an inclusive approach to focus group methodology<sup>24</sup>. He acknowledges the need for discussion on focus groups as a social science research method. Focus groups used in a non-western setting need adapting to make them appropriate to the context.

#### **3.5.1 Rationale for using focus groups**

Focus groups are considered useful as a time-effective method of data collection. However, the rationale in this study for the use of focus groups was not for time and ease. There are a number of reasons why I tried the method, found it to be successful and thus repeated it.

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<sup>24</sup> In comparison to Frey and Fontana (1991) for example, who narrowly define focus groups as a type of group interview where the setting is formal, the questions structured and the interviewer directive.

Focus groups felt socially appropriate because they were an extension of *arisan*<sup>25</sup> gatherings. *Arisan* is a communal savings system found all over the Indonesian archipelago and is widely used in the villages. A communal meal is held, every participant pays a subscription and on each occasion someone takes all the proceeds. In some cases, the 'winner' is chosen randomly, in others by need and in others by formal rotation. Whichever method is followed, the principle is the same: each week or month, a payment is made and on one occasion each participant gets to take all the contributions. It was while attending *arisan* where many villagers were participating in a discussion in a social setting, sharing a communal meal that the idea of focus groups came to me. When I suggested to Pak Anis (my categorical father and key informant) that I could provide a meal and palm toddy and the topic of conversation, he was sure that the idea would be well received and an effective way to gather data.

I was interested to find out the opinions from different sectors of the village population. The villagers were also keen on this aspect of my work. However, the only way to find out the women's opinions was to separate them from the men because they would be unlikely to openly contradict the men's opinions. As Stewart and Shamdasan (1990) point out, there is a difference in group dynamics and outcomes between single sex and mixed sex groups. Likewise, young people would be unlikely to contradict the views of elders.

According to Morgan (1997), groups should be composed of homogeneous strangers. My groups were homogeneous but not strangers. It has been suggested that acquaintances rely on taken-for-granted assumptions about what the researcher is trying to find out (Agar and Macdonald 1995). However, as Kitzinger (1994) points out, interaction between clusters of people who already know each other approximate to "naturally occurring" data and it is useful to work with such groups because "they provide one of the social contexts within which ideas are formed and decisions made" (Kitzinger 1994:105). Although it is recognised that being in a group can act as a brake on expression, when the participants comfortably discuss the topic, it is useful to the researcher.

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<sup>25</sup> *Arisan* = "regular social gathering whose members contribute to and take turns at winning an aggregate sum of money" (Echols and Shadily 1989)

Although some villagers were keen to offer their opinions, others were shy. One reason for trying focus groups was that shy people might find the interviews easier in a group situation even if their participation was limited to agreement with some of the opinions expressed by other members of a group. Indonesians have a concept of *malu*, which is a culturally sanctioned expression lying somewhere between shy, ashamed and embarrassed. It is often used as an excuse not to confront formality (Draine and Hall 1996). Indonesian villagers easily feel embarrassed or belittled by authority and are much more relaxed in a group than on their own. Due to “safety in numbers”, focus groups enable “less inhibited members of the group [to] ‘break the ice’ for shyer participants ... but also being with other people who share similar experiences encourages participants to express, clarify and even develop particular perspectives” (Kitzinger 1994:111-112). “ People may need to listen to opinions of others before they form their own viewpoint” (Krueger 1994:11). This is particularly important in the Indonesian village situation, where strength in numbers made it easier for members of the group to express themselves. For example, holding on to another women’s leg while speaking provided a speaker with the physical security of not being alone.

Not only did shyness inhibit individual interviews, but also accessing individuals was difficult. Villagers in Wogo are rarely found alone except when working on agricultural tasks. When carrying out informal interviews while participating in such tasks, I felt I was hindering their work. During social time, any interview with an individual became a group interview, as social spaces are communal and it was not socially appropriate to exclude anyone who felt inclined to join in.

Conflict existed between my being adopted and having membership in the village, and being a researcher. I wanted to recompense the villagers for their time in some way but paying participants was out of the question as I was considered as family. Providing special meals seemed a culturally appropriate way to reciprocate for time given up participating in my research, but would have been unreasonably burdensome in shopping and cooking time if it had been carried out for individuals. By having focus groups, I could provide a special meal for a number of people at the same time.

### 3.5.2 Conducting the groups

The conduct of the focus groups varied considerably from recommendations made in the literature. Most focus groups have been conducted in America but in the 1990s began spreading to Europe. However, their use in the less developed world has been exceedingly limited. The work of Stewart and Shamdasan on how to make contact with participants (1990:54) illustrates the western cultural assumptions in the literature. On the location, for example, they suggest “shopping malls ... provide a set of cues for participants that suggests professionalism, comfort, and purpose.” (Stewart and Shamdasan 1990: 57) The method had thus to be adapted to a village in Eastern Indonesia.

As I have suggested, food and drink were used as incentives to recruit participants. The process of gaining a sample was adapted to local circumstances with the help of a local informant. The main criteria were a willingness to take part and to like talking. However, an effort was made for all groups to be representative of the village population, achieving a balance across age and clan membership. In both villages, three groups were held: one for women, one for men, and one for young people aged 15-20 (see appendix 4 for topic guides). A further focus group was held for the guides that work in the villages, to which all guides were invited (appendix 5 has the topic guide).

Morgan (1997) and Stewart and Shamdasan (1990) suggest that “the common rule of thumb is to over-recruit by 20%”. Intuitively, the villagers also suggested over-recruiting in case of drop-outs. As it happened, they underestimated the enthusiasm of the local populations. This resulted in larger than expected groups. Having aimed for groups of six to ten, I got groups of nine to fourteen. There was a problem with over-willingness to be involved in Wogo and minor problems relating to people who wanted to be included but were not. For example, women in their twenties who were not married felt excluded from both the women’s group and the young people’s group. This was partly due to my adoptive sister, who aided me with invitations and was unsure which group they should belong in. This was both because these women were between

the villagers' social categories, and for logistic reasons (i.e. too many people wanted to participate).

Focus groups are more controlled than participant observation because the researcher defines the questions. However, the level of control varies depending on the interview structure and the involvement of the moderator or interviewer. As I wanted to be able to make comparisons across groups, some structure to the questions was required and approximately the same question guide was used (see appendix 4). The questions were largely open-ended. Some were deliberately designed to be provocative and thus stimulate discussion: others were designed to be probing. Moderator involvement varied considerably across groups: in some (the womens' groups and the young people's in Wogo for example), it was hardly needed. By comparison, the young people in Bena needed so much moderator involvement that the group bordered on not being a focus group at all but was more of a group interview, in that interaction between participants was minimal. Although I have suggested that my gender was generally an advantage, I found the men's groups hardest to moderate. In Wogo, my role was superseded by a male I felt unable to direct (see below). In Bena, the group rather took over, taking the opportunity to interview me much further than the other groups.

Morgan (1997) suggests that a compromise between structured and unstructured approaches to focus groups is the "funnel strategy". He suggests beginning with a less structured approach that emphasises free discussion and moves towards a more structured discussion of specific questions. In contrast, Krueger (1994) suggests that the opening questions should be factual as opposed to opinion-based and should be followed by introductory questions that are designed to foster conversation and interaction among participants. In my particular context, I found Krueger's (1994) strategy the most useful. Asking the more structured questions first allowed participants to make more formal responses, giving them time to settle. Once they had settled, they spoke freely and openly discussed topics that were generated by the researcher and also others that had not been anticipated.



Further differences that result from the cultural setting are also important. Morgan claims that “the most important element for the site is a table for participants “ (1997:55): we sat on the floor as always. Both Morgan (1997) and Kitzinger (1994) suggest writing something down as a useful way to start the discussion and to encourage participation. This would have been humiliating for some villagers and entirely inappropriate culturally. Finally and most importantly, Morgan (1997) considers ensuring the quality of the recorded data to be crucial to the focus group method, and that conversation that is not recorded represents a loss of data. One of the reasons all researchers suggest that 6-10 participants is the right number is to discourage people breaking into small groups and talking over one another, as this also constitutes a loss of data. None of the researchers describe how to deal with crying babies, barking dogs and squealing pigs as major sources of noise interruption. Although I found recording the group’s discussions useful, I also had to take notes. The tapes, or what could be gleaned from them, were transcribed the following day in all cases. Due to the layers of sounds and voices on the tapes, word for word transcriptions could not be produced but interpretative summaries of the data were made when the information was still fresh. Furthermore, my participants were all readily accessible so we could clarify bits of conversations that were not clearly recorded. One of the successes of the focus groups was that issues were raised that could then be discussed at other opportunities. This further discussion was a two-way process: the focus groups were as important for the villagers learning about tourism as for my learning. I will return to this point later but first I would like to evaluate the method by examining the differences between the groups.

### **3.5.3 Dynamic and direction of the different groups**

As noted by other authors, each discussion session has its own dynamic and direction and “some groups often take on lives of their own and ... agendas are dictated by the natural flow of discussions” (Stewart and Shamdasan 1990). I will discuss the focus groups in the order that they occurred. All, except the guides group, were held in November 1998, in the middle of an eight months’ period of research.

The group of men in Wogo was the first when I was least experienced in organising a focus group, which may go some way to explaining why I found them hardest to moderate. Further, having known these men over a period of years meant that there was very limited researcher 'stranger value' (Simmel 1950 in Burgess 1984). As I was not a stranger, I was not free of commitments and I found it very hard to organise my categorical father and men whose relation to me can be roughly described with the gloss 'uncle'.<sup>26</sup> The discussion was very useful in finding out issues that were important to this group and it continued for nearly three hours. The men took over moderation and steered questions about tourism to their issues, which related to internal village politics. They clearly had an agenda for my research and discussed this with more enthusiasm than attitudes to tourism. They did, however, engage in discussions about *adat* (local customs), which was one of my discussion topics. In a sense, this was my pilot and I made changes to my interview guide in light of this group.

The second group was the young people of Wogo and again it went on for over two hours. It was a very social occasion and there was plenty of laughter as well as discussion. Many of these youngsters had known me since they were pre-school age and there was again little 'stranger value'. However, although my age commanded enough respect for sufficient moderation, there was limited need to direct the discussion as the youngsters generally spoke freely without going off the topic. To my surprise, internal village politics was an important issue for this group and the youngsters were openly critical of the present village powers, even though nephews of the "self-appointed leader" (see section 7.8) were present. The explicit discussion can in part be attributed to the spirit of reform (*reformasi* Ind) that was strong in the nation at the time. The "collective moan session" experienced by other researchers was evident here. As Geis *et al* (1986 quoted in Kitzinger 1994) pointed out, the situation "allowed each participant to reinforce another's vented feelings of frustration" about local politics.

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<sup>26</sup> When I started visiting the village, I used Bahasa Indonesia to communicate with the villagers and used terms such as *om* (uncle) with the corresponding categorical relatives in my adoptive family. The use of these terms continued for subsequent trips except where I was specifically requested to use Ngadha terms.

The women's group in Wogo also produced a good group discussion on my topic areas. Women were less keen to discuss many of the *adat* matters and initially referred me to men for further details but, with a little probing, this area was also discussed. The subject of village politics came up but discussion was much more muted because the "self-appointed leader's" sister was present. As Kitzinger (1994) points out, it is important to consider what information is censored by particular group compositions. Many women said afterwards that they did not speak openly on some areas due to this one woman's presence and others criticised me for inviting her. These women were very frank and open. They appreciated the evening as a social event and women who did not attend requested I held further groups because they had heard such positive comments about the evening.

The first group in Bena consisted of the male members of the tourism management group. They were having a meeting and I requested to extend it. Although the sample was perhaps less random than for the other groups, and the make-up of the group may have influenced the discussion, this was a group of the village's most talkative men and it was also a sample across clans and ages.

In a similar way to the men's group in Wogo, significant discussions surrounded politics and criticisms of the local power structures. However, the discussions in Bena went further than discussing the immediate village politics to a lot of criticisms of the Regency powers and how they affected the village. In contrast to Wogo, there was greater stranger value: thus, I was more easily able to moderate this group and re-steer discussion to my topics. What stood out as very different in this group was the way the discussion turned into the villagers interviewing me. For every topic, they wanted to know what I thought, wanted to probe into my knowledge, ask my advice and glean from my experiences elsewhere in Indonesia. It was during this group session that I realised how important these focus groups were for the villagers, not just as social events and meals but also as a way for them to access information from me. The members of the management group were very keen to emphasise their lack of knowledge about tourism, their basic lack of education but more importantly their desire for information and to learn about tourism (cf. Cole 1999).

The women's group in Bena produced lively discussions and raised topics and information that no others to that point had. Like the Wogo women, they were keen to field *adat* matters to men and probing was less successful, although individually women would provide detailed accounts. As with the Wogo women, the group was very social and relaxed and I felt very much at ease. Like the men in Bena, the women used this opportunity to ask me a lot of questions. Also, like the men of Bena, they emphasised their lack of knowledge and wanted to use me as an important source of information about tourists and tourism.

The final focus group I held in the villages was with the youth of Bena. This was the least successful focus group, perhaps it did not even fulfil the criteria of a focus group as Morgan states "the hallmark of a focus group is their explicit use of group interaction to produce data and insights" (1997:2). In contrast to the equivalent group in Wogo, the males and females in this group sat separately. Most of the girls, although still under the age of twenty-one, were already chewing betel nut while none of the Wogo girls did<sup>27</sup>. The participants were self conscious and reserved and not very forthcoming. It was difficult to get anybody to say anything, let alone get a discussion going. If this had been the first group, I would not have been surprised and would not have continued with the method. I am glad for my research and the benefits that this research method provided for the villagers that this was my penultimate focus group.

The last focus group I held was with the guides that take tourists to Ngadha villages. This group was different. At the beginning of the focus group, a questionnaire was given to the guides to complete individually (see appendix 6). The guides were asked to use the Likert scale to express agreement with 14 statements, some in English, some in Indonesian. Some were facts: others were statements of opinion to form the basis for our discussion. Extra space was provided for those who wanted to make additional

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<sup>27</sup> Betel nut chewing is not considered modern. Only elderly men chew betel nut: nearly all other men smoke. Virtually all older women chew betel nut and many younger women do. It is common to begin during pregnancy but is becoming less fashionable. Few girls who continue their education chew betel whereas those that remain in the villages do.

comments. The questionnaire was taken seriously – complaints were made that not enough extra space was provided for their comments – and it proved an excellent way to provoke discussion.

Although focus groups are most frequently used as part of preliminary research, to be followed up with questionnaires, asking respondents why they answered questions in the way they did is an established use of focus groups. This variation of approach resulted in a long and sometimes heated debate. It was clear that there were many burning issues about the development of tourism that the guides had not previously had a chance to discuss. These front-line workers had strong opinions and lacked a forum to bring them to the attention of decision-makers.

Balancing the applied and interpretative aspects of my research proved more of a challenge than I had expected. As the communities accepted me more, I felt that they increasingly made use of me. I wanted the research process to be reciprocal but balancing the giving and taking of knowledge proved increasingly challenging during my stay. The process whereby *my* interviews would be turned into *their* interviews, and I would be the giver rather than the taker of knowledge, extended beyond focus groups to interviews with various officials in government departments, and the guiding association.

### **3.6 Analysis**

The use of anthropology as description and to inform the interpretation of detailed patterns of social life is found in the use of the term “thick description” (Geertz 1973). Beyond establishing rapport, selecting informants and collecting a mass of data, the ethnographer “inscribes” social discourse: he writes it down (Geertz 1973:19). What is inscribed is only a small part of what I, as a researcher, have accessed. I condensed, organised and coded my data to make sense of it. In doing so, I selected what appeared to me to be most important and meaningful, which is a discriminatory process (Wickens 1999).

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The term “thick description” implies layers, many and varied layers, which in turn represent voices. One of the voices is mine, how I heard and interpreted the voices of the participants. The analysis of ethnographic data involves a multiple array of tasks, which often lack a coherent order. At times, I relied on memory. On other occasions, I took condensed notes. Much of the time, on-the-spot interpretation took place. Frequently, gathering and analysing data occurred concurrently.

Participant observation involves two activities concurrently: the dual roles of participation and data collection. Although I tried to keep my notebook with me at all times and unashamedly took notes when I could, frequently I couldn't. Whilst cooking, threading a loom, picking coffee, de-seeding maize or playing cards, it is not possible simultaneously to take notes. I, therefore, had to rely on memory and write up when I could. Sometimes I would break off from a task, perhaps briefly, to jot down a key word or two to remind myself to take more detailed notes on a subject. When playing cards with Om Eman, I would play my turn and then jot something down while he thought about his next move. However, if I asked a question, he would accuse me of attempting to distract him from the cards. Once or twice when making notes at meal times, Pak Anis would exclaim “Eat first: you can catch up (with your note-taking) later.” At times, when important new information was being revealed, my head felt as if it would explode as I was trying to carry so much in my memory.

I often sought help in translating Ngadha terms. Many of my notes are in a mixture of three languages. A challenging aspect of writing ethnography is translating. Problems occurred when I made rough translations and failed to record the original terms. Being able to maintain continued email contact with Sipri has been invaluable in enabling me to recheck translation and spelling of Ngadha terms. Sometimes, it is not possible to translate local terms and glosses have to be used. Sometimes, I am able to translate from Ngadha into Indonesian or at least Sipri and I can compromise on an Indonesian gloss, but then moving into a third language takes the feeling too far from the original. For example, the variety of terms that people in Ngadha used that can be glossed as *malu*

and/ or *segan* cannot then be translated into the English shy, ashamed or bashful. A classic example of this is the Ngadha term *woe*, which translates into the Indonesian *suku* and then the English “ethnic group” and thus guides say there are nine ethnic groups in Wogo! While the English gloss clan is used by anthropologists, there are problems with this translation (see section 4.2.1).

Usually at the end of the day, but also as an opportunity arose, I turned rough notes into more coherent notes under subtitles. This process was part coding as I was going along, part checking my recording of data, and part analysis. I asked informants to help me check and recheck data as I tried to make sense of my observations and analysis. I believe that my informants’ patience to back-track over the same ground was made easier by the action orientation of my research.

During my long fieldwork, I collected multiple perspectives on tourism development. There was much I still wanted to learn from the villagers’ perspective but I was keen to triangulate this with data from tourists and mediators. When attempting to analyse the data I collected from tourists, I very quickly found that to treat them as a single homogeneous group of participants was to miss much of the depth of my data. I therefore developed a typology to assist with the analysis of tourists’ perceptions.

Two points about the data analysis for this thesis are worthy of particular attention. Firstly, the data has been collected over a ten-year stretch, during which time I have undertaken research in a number of guises. Since my formal academic research began, I have been able to return to the field and talk over my analyses with the villagers, to double-check my interpretation of their voices, and to fill in gaps in my data. Secondly, with the advent of global communication and with my (categorical) brother, Sipri, getting a job for the UNHCR, regular email contact has been frequent with this key informant, allowing for “respondent validation” as I have tested my accounts and analyses with him.

The nature of ethnography implies a certain level of subjectivity, opening it to criticisms of lacking “representativeness” and “replicability”. Focusing on tourism development and triangulating the villagers’ perspectives with the tourists and the mediators meant that I neglected some traditional areas of anthropological research, such as collecting genealogies. The research was more focused than a traditional ethnography.

The selectivity involved in ethnography and in focusing the research does not have a bearing on the validity of the data presented. Through a long-term relationship with the participants, triangulation and respondent validation, representativeness has been achieved, and I believe any similar study in the villages concerned would reveal similar findings.

### **3.7 Concluding remarks**

The longitudinal nature of this study has had important bearings on the nature of the research. As a successful tour operator, I have been able to appreciate the tourists’ and mediators’ points of view. This has not only affected the analysis but also my relations with the villagers. As a consequence of my actions, the villagers in Wogo had positive experiences from tourism and trusted my knowledge of tourism. As relationships developed so did trust, rapport and respect. The enduring relationships meant that the respondents’ needs and desires became important to me. Over the period of the research, it changed from research on the people (for my company) to research for the people.

My long history of contact with the villages gives the research a longitudinal depth but also means that I struggled with over-familiarity. I felt so at home in Wogo that, at times, it was difficult to maintain the objectivity of an outsider. This was one of the reasons for my move to Bena several months into my long fieldwork. The idea of a favourite society (Nash 1981) and the dangers of subjective attitudes did not however result in “a dread for any change in the society” (Sandiford and Ap 1998:5). The intention was to help affect change but my empathy with the villagers was such that, for example, I felt angry like them when a tourist appeared scantily dressed.



The explicit intention for my research to be useful to the villagers will have had an effect on the research process and data collected. A mixture of data collection techniques was used. The focus groups proved not only a place for the villagers to learn from a trusted tourism practitioner, but also an opportunity for them to discuss the nature and solutions to their (tourism) problems.

## *Part two*

### **Chapter 4**

#### **The villages**

##### **4.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents a background to the two villages central to this thesis. The research took place in the nucleated heart (*nua*) of the villages, which is where tourists visit. The *nua* are part of a much wider region where the villagers have land and extended family members have homes. The villagers referred to here are those that live in the *nua*. The first sections provide the backdrop to the villagers' livelihood, social organisation and belief system. The villagers' involvement in the market economy, opportunities for education and social activities are then presented before a background to tourism. The two villages share a similar social organisation and belief system but, although only twelve kilometres apart, they differ substantially in terms of agriculture, livelihood and opportunities for education. Where there are differences, these are pointed out in the relevant sections.

##### **4.1 Livelihood**

###### **4.1.1 Agriculture**

Both Bena and Wogo are essentially agricultural villages. Farming is un-mechanised (although a tractor is available to hire for ploughing in Wogo) and no pesticides or chemical fertilisers are used (except on wet rice and vanilla). However, as altitude, rainfall, topography and soil type between the two villages are different, their agriculture will be described separately. Wogo is higher (approximately 1100m<sup>28</sup>), wetter and flatter and supports significantly more intensive agriculture than Bena, which is lower (approximately 700m), and has much steeper sloping fields, which are more

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<sup>28</sup> Altitude is given for administrative villages, which cover a large area across which altitudes vary considerably, no indication of where the readings are taken is provided in the data.

easily eroded and receive less rainfall. The land in Wogo supports a significantly denser population than Bena, 196 to 98 people per square kilometre respectively (*Ngada dalam angka* 1996).

In Wogo, land holdings vary tremendously between households. On average a household will have usufruct rights over about half a hectare of garden, which is planted with maize inter-cropped with beans, twice a year. In the dry season, kidney beans are planted between the maize plants and in the wet season either kidney beans or soya beans. This half a hectare yields between a tonne and a tonne and a half of maize and four to five hundred kilograms of beans. Since this is more than enough to feed an average family, the surpluses are sold. The beans are largely sold to buy rice.

At most meals, the family will eat a mixture of maize and rice, often with a few beans mixed in. The villagers grow progressively little amounts of un-irrigated rice and other grains, such as millet and sorghum. Older members of the village referred to the seven grains that they used to grow. Two of these have totally disappeared and it is now not possible to buy the seeds. As less grain is grown, the sparrow problem is intensified as the birds scavenge on scarcer resources, thus those farmers who do grow grain have the arduous work of bird scaring for the entire time the grains are maturing. Furthermore, the sale of kidney and soya beans yields sufficient cash to buy rice. Unfortunately, the purchased rice is of poor quality and far less nutritious than the variety of grains that the villagers used to grow.

The villagers also have an average of half a hectare of land for tree crops. Coffee, which was introduced in the 1950s, is the most popular cash crop. Recently, vanilla has been introduced as a cash crop. Candlenuts (*Aleurites sp*), a native plant on Flores, whose commercial value has only recently been recognised, are increasingly important. Vegetables are grown around the house; the most important of these are root crops, which form an important part of the diet. An important vegetable is a type of gourd locally known as *labu jipan*, (*Sechium edule*), of which both the fruit and young shoots are edible. This plant grows with almost no labour input and, together with cassava

leaves and papaya leaves, represents the main green vegetable eaten by the villagers. Bananas, papayas, and other fruit are also grown.

Around both houses and gardens, hairy palms (*Arenga saccharifera*)<sup>29</sup> are tapped for their juice. The tree sap is collected in bamboo tubes, where it ferments through the day or overnight. This slightly alcoholic drink is an important part of the villagers' diet. The importance of this drink is underlined by the ritual process undertaken for the tapping of the trees. The first time a new tree is tapped, preserved pork must be eaten, the second time, a chicken is slaughtered, and the third time, a ceremony called *kolu keo* is performed. This involves three young but menstruating girls from the different ranks receiving fermented tree sap (*moke*) directly from the sap collector. Their position, one above the other, also serves to reaffirm their rank. Following this ceremony, rice is cooked in bamboo over an open fire. This ritual is now infrequently performed. Some fermented tree sap is distilled locally.

As the villagers of Wogo pointed out, they are blessed with fertile soil and no one goes hungry. With the minimum of work a balanced and varied diet is accessible to all those prepared to invest the effort. It would appear that the decision to grow crops for cash and buy rice and thus move away from self-sufficiency is becoming more and more common.

In Bena, a household will also have an average of half a hectare of annual crops. However, rather than their land being harvested twice in a year, it is often only harvested an average of once in three years. Generally, the same patch will be cultivated for 2-3 years and then left fallow for 5-6 years. Maize and beans are important crops but Bena is much more dependent on root vegetables (*Dioscoreaceae sp.*, *Colocasia sp.* and *Manihot sp.*), which form a larger proportion of the diet. The villagers generally have more land under perennial crops and the government has provided incentives to reforest 400 hectares in the village with useful tree crops. Coffee is less suited to the soil and climate although some villagers have planted it with success. Cocoa, pepper and, recently, cashews have been planted. The prices for all

these cash crops are unreliable and fluctuate in accordance with international markets. The situation is exacerbated by poor communications and restricted access to the market. The villagers of Bena do not collect the sap of the hairy palm: they purchase the distilled version from other villages.

As compared to villagers in Wogo, where wealth is considered a consequence of agricultural diligence, those in Bena are disenchanted with the results of their agricultural labour. In the case of cashew nuts, they are growing a crop whose use they are ignorant of. Tourists represent a potential market for cashews, but the villagers are unaware of how to process this crop.

Villagers keep water buffalo, horses, pigs, dogs and chickens. Buffalo are becoming less common as more land is cultivated but their slaughter is considered essential for some ritual occasions, such as a house building final ceremony (*Ka sa'o Ng*), and the funeral of an important person. Nearly all villagers keep pigs, either under or behind their houses. The constant exchange of pigs forms an essential part of ritual life and is essential in maintaining relations within and between villages. Horses form the traditional payment for house carving, divorce and other settlements. This payment is frequently made in the cash equivalent. Horses provide an additional source of meat at rituals, but are not offered to the ancestors. Although once an important form of transport and used for hunting, they are now frequently kept as a hobby for racing by young men. Dogs were also used for hunting, but are kept now as pets, as guards and for food. Villagers rarely eat their own dogs but buy and sell them for food. They are not offered to ancestors or used for ritual purposes, except when a new *ngadhu* is 'planted' with a live red puppy, piglet and chick. In 2000, nearly all dogs were killed due to a serious outbreak of rabies. Chickens are required for ritual purposes and are kept by villagers around and under houses. The high market value of chickens not only reflects their use in rituals but also the constant battle against an airborne virus called

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<sup>29</sup> A number of palms are grown in Eastern Indonesia. The palm used for toddy in Wogo is a different genus from the palm used in Savu and Roti and the subject of Fox's (1977) book *Harvest of the palm*. In coastal areas of Ngadha *Borassus* palms are tapped for their juice; this is locally known as *moke koli*.

Newcastle's disease that sweeps through Flores on a regular basis, killing a large proportion of chickens.

Income and occupation outside agriculture is very different in the two villages. In Bena, weaving is the most important income generator outside agriculture. Most of the women are involved in the production of ikat cloth (see below). In Wogo, the Catholic Church is the biggest employer. Twenty members of the village work at either the local seminary or the convent. In Wogo and Bena, villagers also work as teachers in state schools and as merchants (who buy small amounts of cash crops from the villagers, until they have the bulk to sell them on to Chinese merchants in the local town). Both villages support two small shops, which sell sugar, cigarettes, sweets, cooking oil, dried fish and soap etc. In Wogo, there are several blacksmiths. They specialise in making the long knives (*parang* Ind) used by all villagers and occasionally sold to tourists. Other villagers specialise in toddy (*moke* Ng) collection for sale to other villagers, some in distilling the liquid, and one man ploughs land with his buffalo. Another raises money through the use of his grinder. In Bena, one man and his son are wood carvers, contracted by villagers all over the area to carve house decorations. This specialist job is passed down through certain blood-lines.

#### **4.1.2. Craft production**

The difference in craft production is an important factor in Bena's greater dependence on tourism. Before examining the development of weaving and the sale of crafts to tourists, a brief examination of the weaving process is necessary<sup>30</sup>.

Fabrics in Bena are produced by the following method. The warp of a cloth is wound around a rectangular frame. Sections of the warp are then tied together before the warp is dyed. The sections that are tied together will resist the dye and retain the original

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<sup>30</sup> For a more in-depth discussion of ikat textile production in Indonesia, see Hitchcock (1991) and (1985).

colour of the warp. The dyed warp is then transferred on to a back-strap or body-tension loom for weaving. The tying process is inherited and passed from one weaver to another and is the preserve of only a few Ngadha villages. Any female can undertake the weaving process, once it is on a loom. In Bena, experienced, busy weavers tie the warp, dye it, and thread up a loom, then they pass it on to other younger, less experienced women to complete the weaving for a fee.

Ritual dress in Ngadha is black with a white pattern (sometimes with gold threads). There are three different white patterns, one for each of the ranks (see the section on social organisation). The smallest and simplest represents a chicken's foot, and is worn by the former slave rank. The commoners' design consists of the outline of a horse in a variety of different sizes. The design for nobility is referred to as an elephant; the pattern is in fact the same as a horse but bigger and filled in. The warp threads that are tied together to create the patterns are always an odd number<sup>31</sup>. When women learn to ikat from an elder female relative, they begin with only the chicken's foot; as they progress, they make bigger and bigger horse designs. This progression from one level to another involves a ceremony where a chicken sacrifice is made. Only one woman in Bena is at the stage where she can produce the elephant pattern. Her traditional ikats are in demand. Other women who are capable of producing these designs would not do so. As they explained, "it isn't appropriate to progress to that stage if you are under fifty", "people who progress too quickly are punished by the ancestors, they get stiff hands or bad eyes and have to give up weaving altogether" and "it's not worth it; we cannot make bigger designs without a ceremony or we will anger the ancestors". As a result of this custom, the larger the design on an ikat the more expensive it will be.

Bena is more dependent than Wogo on tourism revenue and this is mainly due to the sale of ikat. As has been pointed out, Bena is traditionally an ikat-weaving village, whereas Wogo never was. The only weaving in Wogo was plain or stripy cloth and none of the women now continue this craft. The tradition in Bena has been partly

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<sup>31</sup> As among the Kedang, odd numbers are auspicious (cf. Barnes 1974)

maintained due to tourism but also for two other reasons: initiatives by the Department of Industry and the adoption of traditional textiles as formal wear.

The Indonesian government has recognised the role played by handicrafts in regional development. The Department of Industry has worked through the family welfare program (PKK) to develop home industries for women. The establishment of home industries for women is useful as such work can be combined with women's responsibilities of childcare, housework and seasonal activities (Hitchcock and Kerlogue 2000).

In 1983, before tourists started visiting the villages of Ngadha, an industry group<sup>32</sup> was created in Bena. This regional government initiative trained one woman from the village in group motivation and finance and gave the group a grant to buy equipment, such as large pans for dyeing, and a stock of dyes and thread. Women were encouraged to join the group and one day a week they would work together using the group's facilities. Men were also allowed to join so that looms and other equipment could be made and repaired. Each member who joined the group paid a small fee, so that the original capital was recouped and used for further purchases. Revenue from sales was shared out once a year.

When the annual revenue was shared out, women were able to invest in their own thread, dyes and pans and could produce their own ikats for sale. In fact, the group remains to this day and is an important part of the weavers' social life. Once a week, each member takes a small donation of food to be cooked communally for the mid-day meal. More experienced weavers are able to teach those with less experience. The women work together to thread the looms, a task that requires two people, and at the same time plenty of gossip can be exchanged. All the women in the group admitted that they no longer needed the group in terms of the facilities that it provided, but that they continued in the group for social reasons and because it was a source of loans in time of

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<sup>32</sup> *Kelompok Industri*



need. Group funds were loaned out as credit to members. This appeared to be the incentive for the men that had joined the group.

In 1994, the governor of East Nusa Tenggara, recognising the importance of ikat, decreed that the Thursday uniform for all government employees was ikat.<sup>33</sup> This rule included waistcoats for senior high school pupils. This decree not only created a demand for ikat but also sent out an important message that ikat was not traditional and outdated but was appropriate formal wear, worn at the highest level of government. In Bena, fifty percent of sales are to locals, much of which is to government employees in Bajawa. The remaining fifty per cent is sold to tourists.

Long-knives<sup>34</sup> are the villagers' basic tools, used both in agriculture and in the kitchen, as well as a weapon. Long knives are produced in Wogo, where the blades are forged from scrap iron on an anvil, handles are carved and sheaths made from wood and buffalo horn. The knives produced in Wogo are mainly sold at the local market in Mataloko.

The traditional craft of weaving slithers of bamboo or other grasses to produce bags, mats, and baskets is an important handicraft practised by some of the older women in both Bena and Wogo. A Ngadha woman's handbag consists of a multi-layered, box-shaped basket called a *bere*. It is used to carry their betel nut chewing paraphernalia, combs, and money etc. Decorated baskets are worn as part of the traditional dress. Traditional meals are always served in an eating basket and four<sup>35</sup> different sized and shaped baskets are involved in the rice preparation process for rituals. Baskets are also used in the house for storage of both sacred and profane objects.

Basketry is a time-consuming craft and many women no longer make things although they occasionally repair mats and baskets. Most of the young girls in both villages

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<sup>33</sup> All Indonesian government employees wear uniform and it is normal for these to vary with the day of the week and of the month.

<sup>34</sup> *Parang* Ind.

claimed either not to possess the skill or were ashamed by their poor ability because they could do only plain weaving and none of the decorative parts. Most women did not consider basketry as an income generation option. In Wogo, agriculture was preferred and in Bena basketry was considered to be too similar to weaving; the women wanted an option that was different and “not all hands and eyes”. The old and disabled women who did maintain the craft in Wogo were able to sell all that they could produce. In a third village, an industry group for basketry has been set up. When, on one occasion, a group of tourists visited the village during a group activity, sales were considerable.

Other craft production in the villages includes: kitchen equipment, such as gourd bowls; wooden and coconut shell ladles, serving spoons and draining spoons; bowls and draining spoons made from coconut and bamboo. Of these, only coconut shell drinking vessels are already displayed and occasionally sold to tourists in Bena. One man in Bena and one woman in Wogo make ceremonial bags from leather and white horse hair and tourists occasionally buy these too.

#### **4.2 Social organisation**

Ngadha social organisation is shaped by three conflicting sets of rules associated with the Indonesian state, the Catholic Church and customary law (*adat*). Since all of these impinge in some way on the local peoples’ relations with tourists, it is necessary to clarify their essential features. This division is somewhat artificial since all these sets of rules exert an influence at the same time. The importance of these three forces and how they interact with tourism is discussed in detail in chapter 9.

Administratively, the Indonesian Republic is divided into provinces (*propinsi*), which are further subdivided first into regencies (*kabupaten*), then into districts (*kecamatan*), and further into villages (*desa*). The system is based on the Javanese model, which was introduced throughout the Dutch East Indies in colonial times. Villages are further subdivided into hamlets (*dusun*), which are further subdivided into neighbourhood

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<sup>35</sup> *Wati, ripe, sole and bhodo.*(Ng)

organisations (*Rukun warga, RW, and Rukun tetangga, RT*). Each subdivision has a head and the smallest, the RT, consists of only 12 houses.

The two villages that are central to this study are not far apart (12km as the crow flies) but they fall into two districts. Wogo is part of the administrative village (*desa*) of Ratogesa, Golewa district. Bena is part of Desa Tiworiwu in the Airmere district. It should be noted that an Indonesian administrative village can cover a large area (Ratogesa is over 8sq.kms and Tiworiwu is 11sq.kms) and the studies took place in one *nua* (traditional heart of a village, see below section 4.2.4), at the centre of these administrative villages. In both cases, the administrative villages contained more than one *nua*. A *nua* is equivalent to a hamlet (*dusun*) in the administrative structure.

The church's structure reflects the government structure. A parish (*paroke*) is in fact equivalent to a district, with a population of approximately 20,000. Each *paroke* is divided into stations (*stasi*), environments (*lingunan*) with the smallest sub-division consisting of prayer group (*kelompok doa*). Although the state and church divisions are equivalent in terms of size they do not necessarily coincide in terms of area covered.

**Table 4.1 State and church administrative divisions**

	<b>Government division</b>	<b>Church division</b>
<b>District</b>	Kecamatan	Paroke
<b>Village</b>	Desa	Stasi
<b>Hamlet</b>	Dusun	Lingungan
<b>Neighbourhood</b>	RW/RT	kelompok doa

The influence of the church has varied from one village to another. Wogo is less than two kilometres from the mission at Mataloko, an important centre for the Catholic Church on Flores. Bena is, however, 1-2 hours walking time from a much smaller, less influential, parish church.

In accordance with custom, Ngadha society is organised around the following principles: social rank, membership of clans, Houses<sup>36</sup>, and *nua*.

#### 4.2.1 Rank

In common with the societies of Eastern Indonesia, there are three ranks in Ngadha to which the following glosses may be applied: *gae*, the nobles, *gae kisah* the commoners and *ho'o*, slaves. Some informants claim that originally four ranks existed but that the fourth has been combined with the slaves. Social rank is a traditional institution, which would appear to be decreasing in importance, under the influence of the church and state. When I first visited Wogo, the villagers were keen to tell me their society was divided into three ranks. However, ten years later I was advised not to discuss rank<sup>37</sup> and few villagers would openly discuss the subject, except to claim it was antiquated, unimportant, or not modern. Only one House in Wogo openly boasted their noble status. In Bena, the villagers claimed only two ranks existed, there was nobody of slave rank in the *nua*, I was told.

For some of the villagers, rank is still important in relation to choice of spouse. However, there are a number of reasons why rank has lost its importance as an organising principle: Firstly, some of the villagers in both Bena and Wogo maintain that “modern people” don’t worry about rank. An elder from Bena told me that, with increasing education, educational level would in the future be more important than rank in spouse choice. Secondly, under the influence of the Catholic Church, some villagers feel rank is unimportant and claim “we are all equal in the eyes of God”. Thirdly, many of the villages believe that human rights considerations do not allow for people to be considered as slaves (*ho'o*). Slavery was abolished under the government of Sukarno, the Republic's first president. The view that the slave rank was antiquated was frequently raised in 1998, partly due, no doubt, to the political climate at the time with frequent news reports about human rights. Older women claimed that rank used to be obvious during rituals due to the different designs worn by the different ranks (see above). They told me, “now they wear what they want, and we cannot admonish them

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<sup>36</sup> House with a capital H is used to identify traditional houses that are named (see below section 4.2.3).

<sup>37</sup> Adams (1995) also found that it was a sensitive subject among the Torajans.

or they say 'You have not bought me, there are no slaves"'. Although those of slave rank were likely to dress as commoners, the commoners did not dress as nobility. Fourthly, for some villagers, the influence of status rules is less influential than economic standing.

Finally, the principle may become less important because it is unsustainable (Smedal 1998.). According to the principles of hypergamy, men can marry down but women cannot. This leaves women at the top of the hierarchy unmarried and without available partners. This research revealed that there are a relatively large number of unmarried highborn women in Ngadha. According to the young people of Wogo, rank is still important in their choice of spouse. When asked about the risk of highborn women remaining unmarried, they claim that high rank women will take a husband from outside the area, of no rank, and therefore will not lose rank through a wrong marriage (*la'a sala Ng*).

A single House belongs to people from more than one rank (usually all three). Houses are therefore not used as a means of differentiation between different ranks. Further, the social hierarchy in Ngadha society has not led to large buildings as it has in other Indonesian societies where the political power of nobility has led to impressive constructions (Waterson 1990). Houses in Ngadha are all approximately equal in size.

#### **4.2.2 Clans**

The second customary organising principle is the clan (*woe Ng*) and each village is made up of a number of them. Smedal (1998) challenges this common gloss because clan implies descent as the sole principle for recruitment and, in Ngadha, it is not the only principle. In Ngadha, it is possible for a wealthy and powerful individual to create a clan. Invitations to potential members do not have to follow bloodlines. However, recruitment and organisation of these groups has little bearing on tourism development and the gloss is widely used, so I will continue with it. Each clan is made up of a number of Houses and is represented in the village by a *bhaga* (house in miniature) and *ngadhu* (a sacrificial post). This pair of emblems represents the unity of clan members

both past and present. They have also become emblematic of Ngadha culture as it is represented to tourists (see section 9.2).

*Bhaga* are miniature houses, identical in construction with the inner sacred rooms of Houses. These emblems of founding female ancestors and clan unity are found in pairs with the *ngadhu*. A clan must have a *bhaga* before it can have a *ngadhu*, according to some villagers; others said they must come together. The *bhaga* are the responsibility of the clan's central House while the *ngadhu* is associated with the clan's second house. However, the *bhaga* is central in rituals involving the whole clan, revered as the clan's original womb.

*Ngadhu* (pronounced Madhu in Wogo, and frequently spelt without the 'h') are a central feature of a *nua*, an important visible material element of Ngadha culture. These carved tree trunks, with three roots and conical thatched roofs, represent the original male ancestor of a clan. They indicate the coming into being of a clan and thereafter the unity of it. Not only are *ngadhu* important signifiers of clan unity and maleness, they are also personified as male. Each clan will have a *ngadhu* and some will have two. Having two *ngadhu* can result either from wealth and numbers i.e. as a clan becomes large and can afford the costly ceremony, they may build a second *ngadhu*, as a major land owning clan (Ngate) in Wogo have done. In Bena clan Deru have two *ngadhu*; this is because a disagreement resulted in the clan splitting in two. They are referred to as clan Deru A and B and both strongly deny that there is any hierarchical order between them.

#### 4.2.3 Houses

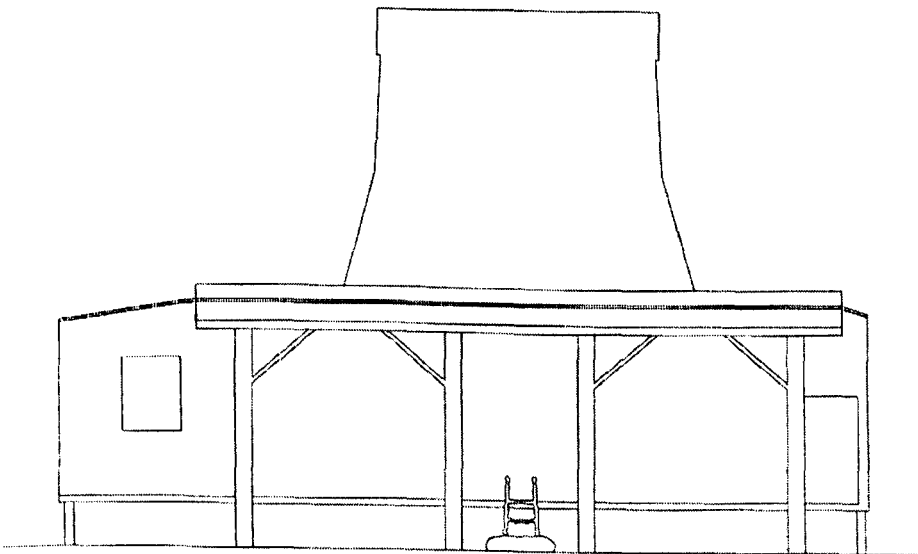
*Sa'o* is a term used locally to refer simultaneously to the entire traditional house and its inner sacred room.<sup>38</sup> I will use House with a capital H to refer to entire houses. A true House has a name carried in a sacred dibbling stick belonging to the House. There are a

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<sup>38</sup> The inner sacred room is more formally called the *one sa'o*.

number of traditional houses in Wogo and Bena that have no names and are therefore not Houses. Becoming a House is a long and expensive process. A house begins life as a small bamboo dwelling. Upon rebuilding, if funds allow, a house is built partly of wood. Eventually a fully wooden house is built, though at this stage the type of wood is unimportant and the house is referred to as a *sao tede* (Ng). The next stage is a house of at least coconut wood with a small amount of carving. This is called a *sa'o bale* or *weti segere* (Ng). A true named House (*sa'o ngaza* Ng) is built of *lontar* Ind (*Borassus flabellifer*), and it has a name and a carved entry step (a *kaba pere* Ng) into the inner sacred room<sup>39</sup>. The growth of a house into a true named House is likened to life from babyhood, through childhood and adolescence to adulthood and maturity.

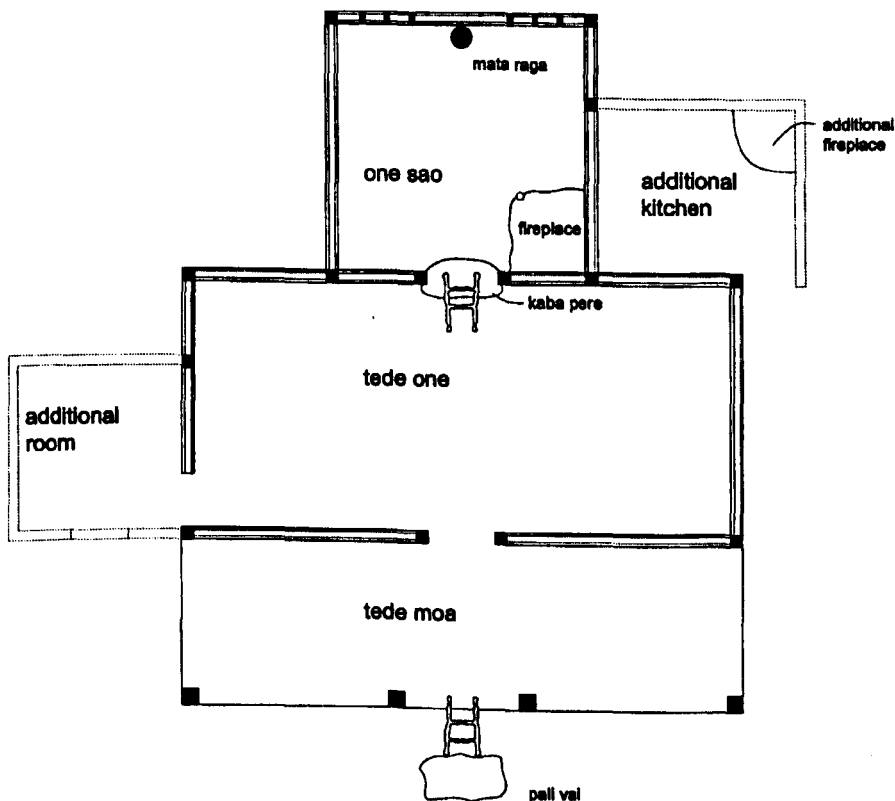
The House's layout (see figure 4.2) and the way it is conceived reflects the same analogy, of growing up and going through life stages, as the process of houses maturing into true named houses. The construction also reflects the three tiers common in Austronesian dwellings.



**Figure 4.1 Elevation of a House**

<sup>39</sup> According to some sources, each time it is renovated from this stage on it gets more and more carving. According to other sources, the carving remains the same as in the original *sa'o ngaza*.

The stones at the base of the step (*pali vai* Ng) lead to an open terrace (*tede moa* Ng) 'the childhood of the house' used during the daytime for children to play and for tasks undertaken at home such as shelling corn, threading looms, making baskets or weaving. A door leads to the main room (*tede one* Ng), which is likened to adolescence, where teenagers and guests sleep, where non-family guests eat and which also serves as an extension to the inner sacred room in times of need.



**Figure 4.2 Plan of a House**

From the main room, there are steps leading over a carved threshold to a small door that opens into the inner sacred family room (*one sa'o* Ng). This part of the house is the only part that is sacred. In villages where concrete house have been constructed, this part of the original house may be kept behind a 'modern ' house.



This sacred room is thought of as female, the womb of the house. The shape of the entry step is said to resemble a vagina. Carvings of horses with bucking legs pointing towards the door serve to remind men that misdemeanours would cost them a horse.<sup>40</sup> Children are born in the inner sacred room and, after a period of segregation, have a symbolic second birth<sup>41</sup>. Leaving the house's womb, the new mother and her baby sit on the entrance step, while a female elder cuts a lock of the baby's hair. The baby is then reborn, entering into the world of its gathered family, by being passed into the central room<sup>42</sup>.

The doorway into the inner sacred room is small, requiring the entrant to bend and bow in respect to the occupants. Elements of the life cycle theme expressed in the construction of the house are also found here. The difficult entrance was likened to the fraught passage of moving from being a carefree teenager to becoming an adult. On a more pragmatic level, the sliding door provides good security: from the inside the door is slid open with the left hand, leaving the right to hold a weapon. An intruder attempting to enter is thus unable to open the door while holding a weapon in their right hand.

Once in the adult house, the space is differentiated on gender lines. The hearth, the female domain, is on the right of the door and women sit on this side of the room during rituals. Opposite the doorway is the centre of sacredness (*mata raga* Ng), where heirlooms<sup>43</sup> are hung, including the sacred dibbling stick, which carries the House's name. During rituals this is where the eldest male sits with the eldest female (often his sister) at his side.

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<sup>40</sup> A horse is paid by a man to women in settlement if a relationship is begun but the couple do not get formally married.

<sup>41</sup> In a ceremony that strongly resembles that of the Tetum (Hicks 1976)

<sup>42</sup> Both mother and father's kin attend this ceremony, underlying the bilineal nature of this society.

<sup>43</sup> The *mata raga* is the place used to hang a *sua* (dibbling stick), *sau gae* (a sacred long knife), (*gala gae*) a sacred spear, and *bere kobho* (a hanging basket containing a special coconut shell and small basket with a lid).

The 'living nature' of Ngadha Houses is also reflected in how seniority, both in terms of age and rank, use House space. Informants suggested that during the annual harvest ritual<sup>44</sup> (*Reba* Ng) people of low rank should sit on the terrace, commoners should sit in the main room, and only nobility should sit in the inner sacred room. This theory was not necessarily borne out in my observations but seniority, mainly through age but also through office, was displayed in seating arrangements.

Houses are not only symbolically living through indigenous cosmologies but they are given life force through rituals required for their construction (Waterson 1990). Public ceremonies and rituals make up an important element in attracting cultural tourists and the selling of destinations for tourism. House construction rituals are still widely practised in Ngadha and play an important part in the villagers' lives on a number of levels. Firstly, the house-based organisation of this society is continually reaffirmed when members of the House that live elsewhere collect in the House for the duration of ceremonies. Secondly, the link between the living and the ancestors is maintained as the ancestors' approval is sought throughout the house-building rituals. Thirdly, the mutual indebtedness and reciprocity (the glue of the society) through pig exchange is continued, as pigs are donated and repaid at most house construction ceremonies, and donations of pigs are frequently between Houses. Fourthly, a large part of disposable income is used for these ceremonies, underlining the importance that this society places on these rituals. Fifthly, outsiders (state, Church and tourists) view of this society as "traditional" is particularly prominent during rituals. Finally, ethnic identity is celebrated through rituals whilst the House is a strong cultural symbol for defining identity.<sup>45</sup>

Traditional houses are one of the potent symbols of Ngadha society: the others are the *ngadhu* and *bhaga*<sup>46</sup>. Each symbolises an organising principle in this society and the

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<sup>44</sup> And at other rituals according to some informants.

<sup>45</sup> Taman Mini Indonesia Indah presents the diversity of Indonesian cultures through the construction of "traditional" dwellings from the provinces.

<sup>46</sup> The *bhaga* is inseparable from the *ngadhu* for the Ngadha people but less often used as a symbol by outsiders e.g. in tourism advertising.

interconnection between the two<sup>47</sup> is complex. Each clan will have a number of named Houses and these Houses have a hierarchy<sup>48</sup>. The central House, often referred to as such (*rumah pusat* Ind), is called the *saka pu'u* (literally root or trunk rider). This is the first house of the first female ancestor and house of direct line females and their families. In Bena, and many other villages, a miniature house (*ana-ye* Ng) on the roof indicates this central House. In opposition to this is the *saka lobo* (literally shoot rider). This, the second House in the hierarchy, has a miniature warrior on the roof.<sup>49</sup> Lower down the hierarchy are support Houses (*rumah pendamping* Ind). Known as *sa'o kaka* (Ng)<sup>50</sup>, these Houses support first the central house and then the second house. In theory, each central House and its opposite will have two support Houses each. In reality, the main Houses have any number of support Houses according to the number of clan members and wealth.

Each House is headed by a *dongo sa'o* (keeper)<sup>51</sup>, a woman chosen by her extended family. In theory, the eldest daughter of the present keeper will inherit her mother's position to remain in the House, look after it and its contents, i.e. family heirlooms. However, if the eldest daughter is unsuitable, another woman will be chosen. A *dongo sa'o* must smile easily, be a good cook, be hospitable, able to organise, able to take responsibility, and not get angry easily. They are special women, indeed. The fact that Houses in the *nua* are occupied by an extended family's most hospitable woman, who is used to comings and goings and acting as host, has an important bearing on tourism.

In Wogo, the task is considered burdensome but women chosen never refuse, as considerable honour goes with the task. Several women in Wogo admitted that they wish they had not been chosen and that they hoped the job would not fall on their daughters' shoulders. The reasons given by younger women were the responsibility, the costs that are not compensated for by the benefits, and the distance of the House from

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<sup>47</sup> as Howell (1995b) found among the Lio.

<sup>48</sup> as they do among the Tana wai (Lewis 1988).

<sup>49</sup> Waterson (1990) reports that Forth, in a personal communication, claimed that the Ngada had no explanation to offer for these symbols on house roofs. Waterson suggests that in other areas they are intended as resting places for ancestral spirits.

<sup>22</sup> and sometimes *saka die* Ng

the gardens. The costs involve the taking of rice (and now sugar and coffee) to any other house that has any ceremony. They must entertain guests: any House member can arrive and expect to be fed and stay. Family members who live in the gardens should bring produce and share the burdens but not all do. In Wogo, many people still live in their gardens so House life is contrasted with living close to one's produce and not having a long walk carrying produce from the garden.

There are clear disadvantages to life in the *nua* but all women were keen to point out the advantages as well. Living close to one's neighbours means that life is very communal, very shared. It is normal to pop next door to ask for coffee or sugar or for embers to re-light a fire. There is always a friend close at hand to share some betel nut and have a chat. Children always have friends to play with and someone to comfort them. Help is always at hand.

In Bena, the same opinions were not expressed. Due to stronger government pressure villagers have been moved from remote garden locations to homes along the roadside to ease government administration. The alternative to life in the *nua* is roadside homes (*dena Ng*): both locations have the walk to and from home and gardens. Also, there are the advantages bought by tourism to offset some of the costs.

#### 4.2.4 The *nua*

The *nua* ( see figure 4.3) combines all the traditional houses in a complex and gives the tourist a feeling of "being enclosed in antiquity" (Cole 1997a and 1997b). This provides an experience beyond visiting single traditional dwellings, which is the norm in other "traditional villages" across the archipelago. Moni, central Flores, Tana Toraja, Lingga, near Berastagi, North Sumatra, Todo, Manggarai, Western Flores, all have traditional houses that attract tourists. Simanindo, on Samosir, North Sumatra is one village where the tourist is surrounded by traditional dwellings, in the same way as

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<sup>51</sup> *dongo* = to live for; *sa'o* = House.

in Ngadha. However, this small village has now become a museum holding daily dance performances.

The *nua* is a collection of houses belonging to between two and fifteen clans, arranged in two parallel lines or along four sides of a rectangle<sup>52</sup>. They were traditionally built

on the top of spurs overlooking the valley below, providing them with excellent security. All the members of a *nua*, as with the Houses, will not live permanently in the

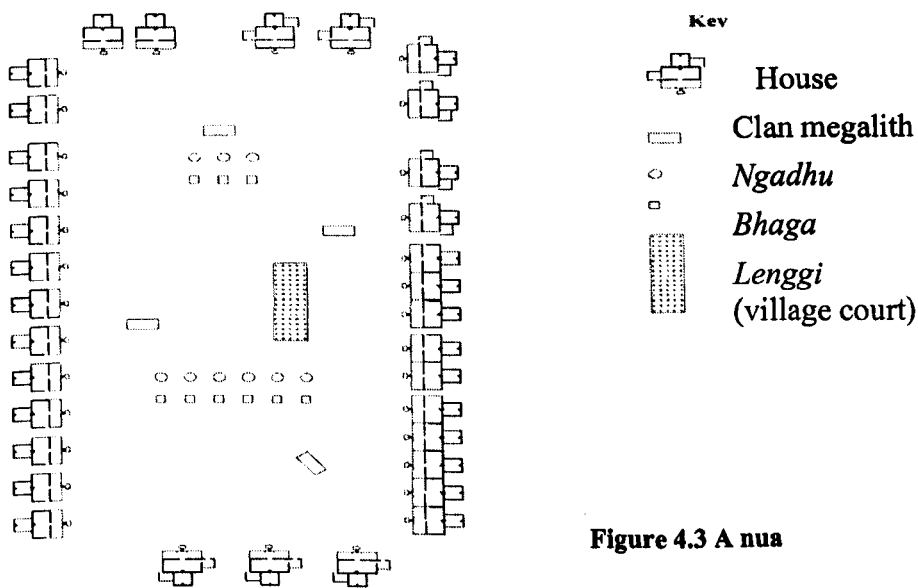


Figure 4.3 A *nua*

*nua*. Many villagers stay in houses in the gardens but are members of a *nua* just as they are members of a House, which is part of the *nua*. The central area or plaza should be kept free of weeds<sup>53</sup>. Social pressure is applied on villagers to keep the patch in front of their house free of weeds. In the centre of the plaza are the *ngadhu* and *bhaga* for each clan, facing one another in ordered pairs. Each pair is accompanied by a *peo*. These stones are used to tether buffalo before they are slaughtered. They are considered as the children<sup>54</sup> of the *ngadhu* and *bhaga*.

<sup>52</sup> Originally two parallel lines, as they are described as such in older literature, e.g. Barnes (1972), but due to increased numbers of houses the two shorter sides of the rectangle have been filled.

<sup>53</sup> "thereby accentuating it as an ordered cultured space in contrast to wild natural spaces." (Waterson 1990:99).

<sup>54</sup> Some informants claimed they were the original ancestors of the *ngadhu* and *bhaga*, not their child. A discussion about the symbolism of *peo*, as parents or child of *bhaga* and *ngadhu*, became heated. When

Each *nua* will have a first stone (*Watu wai Ng*) recognised as belonging to the founding clan. At the centre of the *nua* is an area made up of a number of flat stones and used as a meeting place to settle inter-clan disputes, often referred to as the village court (*lenggi Ng*).<sup>55</sup> Other stones found in the centre of *nua* include clan stones (*tureh ulu toli Ng*)<sup>56</sup>, stones used to mark important members' graves and stones that form table-like formations.

The *nua* across the region are hierarchically ordered. According to myth, this is based on the order in which they were settled. The first child or *ana wunga* (Ng) in a Ngadha family or the first to open land in a village is considered superior. The first child is referred to as *ie gae*, which means highest or supreme fruit. These children are also referred to as *tora koba*<sup>57</sup>, which implicitly means pioneer or initiator. 'First' thus has associations of supreme and pioneer: hence, the first *nua* to be settled is considered superior. This superiority is reaffirmed by the order in which each of the villages hold their annual harvest gathering. The primacy of Bena, the first village to have been settled, is particularly important and a controversy has arisen in relation to this (see section 9.4). Bena is not only the "eldest sibling" village but is also 'original'. 'Original' is an important concept in Ngadha (as in many Eastern Indonesian societies) associated with fundamental (or principle), strength and foundation. To stress the importance of original, the Ngadha make reference to both age (*olo Ng*) and *tedhe*, which has connotations of both steady and legitimate. Bena is original: it has always been on the same stunning site. Wogo, in contrast, moved to its present site in 1932.

Megaliths found in Ngadha villages, as they are throughout South East Asia, are connected with religious life as a medium to connect the living with the dead. Terminological confusion arises from the borrowing of archaeological terms for the

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the *ngadhu* was replaced in Bena (see section 7.6.3) the *peo* also had to be replaced. A new father would mean a new child, I was told.

<sup>55</sup> *Lenggi* means to oil, the same synonym being used for peace-making as *kelaneo*, said to oil or cool ceremonies. The *lenggi* is referred to as the *lenggi jawa* or *lenggi nua* interchangeably. *Jawa* means peace according to some respondents.

<sup>56</sup> *Tureh* = stone *ulu* = head. *Toli* = death by murder.

<sup>57</sup> *Toro* = to cut down *Koba* = dense forest

various stones. Constructions consist of flat stones (dolmin)<sup>58</sup> measuring about two metres by one metre, with a number of named upright stones (menhir)<sup>59</sup>. The male - female symbolism is also used when discussing these village megaliths. Flat stones are female and uprights are male. They are found together as couples, like husbands and wives. According to local myth, a giant called Dhake transported the megaliths found in Ngadha villages to their present sites.

Considering the romantic appeal of the term megalith (Waterson 1990), it is not surprising that it has now been embraced by the local Department of Education and Culture, guidebooks and tourists alike in reference to the stones found in and around Ngadha villages. The word is printed in bold type in the 1999 *Rough Guide to Indonesia*.

All stones are referred to generally as *tureh* (Ng). However, village members know the names of important stones or collections of stones. Many of the stones mark the sites of important members' graves, assuring the occupant social immortality, the height of stones marking the relative importance of the individual. Gardens also have megaliths, as a place to lay offerings and as a mark of ownership. Further megaliths are found at the base of some palm juice trees as a place where men meet, drink and make plans. These *tureh loka* (Ng) are still occasionally used. Each clan has its own ancestral megalith, used for ceremonies.

Megaliths form part of the attractiveness of these villages to tourists and are protected by law as historic/archaeological remains<sup>60</sup>. Some tourists visit the old site of Wogo without visiting the new site. The old site consists entirely of un-interpreted large stones in various arrangements. In Bena, the megaliths lie in the centre of the village, although many of these have been reconstructed and renovated in the past 15 years. Their maintenance has consumed about 30% of the villager's tourism income. It was one of the issues raised in discussions about the management of tourism. Villagers in

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<sup>58</sup> *nabe* = Ngadha term

<sup>59</sup> *watu lewa* = Ngadha term

Ngadha<sup>61</sup> use the table-like structures to dry coffee beans or other products. This profane use of these apparently sacred relics is a source of cultural confusion for tourists. The idea that heritage must be conserved without being used is challenged by the everyday lives of the villagers.

### 4.3 Belief system

For some anthropologists (eg. Needham 1972), the notion of belief is not a discernible experience and therefore not a useful category. However, I am using belief as a literary convenience. I shy away from using religion because in Bahasa Indonesia this has monotheistic connotations (see below). There are two central aspects to the villagers belief system: Catholicism and ancestor worship /veneration<sup>62</sup>. The distinction is made locally, at least when speaking in Indonesian, ancestral respect and the complex of belief and rituals that go with it are referred to as *adat* and Catholicism is religion (*agama* Ind). These two aspects have to some extent been syncretised. They also compete for importance in the villagers' lives. When I first visited Wogo villagers were keen to point out that many aspects of *adat* were "only remembering their ancestors" "Like you keep photographs of your grandparents we have our megaliths", I was told. In recent years, villagers have been keen to point out that they had a god (*ga'e dewa*<sup>63</sup>) before the missionaries came. In this sense the villagers are deliberately blurring the *adat*/religion distinction. (cf. Forth 1998 who points out the same among the neighbouring Nage).

The Indonesian word *adat* is usually used to refer to non-Muslim customs. In this Catholic society, it is the Indonesian translation of both *uku adha*,<sup>64</sup> rules of respect; and the longer fuller parallel poetic expression *epo po, nusi pera*,<sup>65</sup> the advice and teachings of the grandparents and great grandparents. For the villagers *adat* is 'the way of the

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<sup>60</sup> UU No. 5 1992 Pemeliharaan Benda Cagar Budaya.

<sup>61</sup> as in Nias (Suzuki 1958), and Sumba (Hoskins 1986)

<sup>62</sup> Since the villagers are Catholics they prefer for their old beliefs to be described as respect or veneration rather than worship.

<sup>63</sup> Literally supreme or highest God.

<sup>64</sup> Uku = restriction/rule. Adha = showing respect



ancestors'. I use the pan-Indonesian expression not only as a shorthand but also because the use of the word has become incorporated into tourism discourse in Indonesia. For example, the villages in this study are frequently referred to as *kampung adat* (in which case *adat* can be translated as traditional).

The villagers are firm believers in God and are regular church-goers; most pray before meals and many make the sign of the cross before drinks are sipped. Alongside this most observant and punctilious Catholicism, the influence of the ancestors remains equally important.<sup>66</sup> The value of traditional beliefs for attracting tourists has only recently been recognised at an official level. Tourism is therefore one of the forces changing state attitudes, which in the past devalued the belief system and, together with the church, have tried to curb sacrificial slaughter.

Feasting remains competitive, boasting about rituals relies on the number of animals slaughtered and the number of guests who attend. The distance guests travel is also important. This in part explains why tourists are welcome at rituals. Beyond this, tourists provide a source of photographs, entertainment and finance.

Families join together in their Houses for *Reba*, the villages' most auspicious festival. This annual ritual, an essential component of the villager's *adat*<sup>67</sup>, has become a matter for both the Church and the state, (see discussion section 9.4). After *Reba*, the most important ceremonies surround House building and renovating. Two Houses in each village are renovated every year.

Rituals performed for rites of passage have been the most changed by Catholicism. Birth is celebrated with a traditional ritual performed particularly for the first born in the

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<sup>65</sup> Ebu = grand parent. Po = advice. Nusi = great grandparents. Pera = teachings.

<sup>66</sup> Young people in focus groups were insistent that rituals for the ancestors remain an essential part of their lives and that, without them, the ancestors would cause harm, sickness and bad luck in their lives.

<sup>67</sup> In discussions with the villagers, all named *Reba* as the most important ceremony and all mentioned *Reba* first when we discussed which aspects of *adat* would remain important in the future. The fact that

family. Baptism is important, but babies receive their *nua* name (*ngaza nua* Ng) at home before their Christian name in church. After baptism in the church, a family will sacrifice a pig and request acceptance into the family and good health, from the ancestors.

Several elders blamed the increasing frequency of teenage pregnancy on the lack of teeth filing ceremony, a female initiation ceremony banned by the church. They also claim that skimpily clothed tourists, who cause arousal, are an additional factor.

Most people also get married in church, although it is not unusual for this to take place months or even years after a couple have been cohabiting. The customary ceremony, which theoretically takes place at the annual harvest festival, *Reba*, serves as the marker of when a couple can start cohabiting. In an attempt to cut down on excessive feasting, the Church has taken to marrying many couples on the same day at mass weddings. The plan does not appear to have been successful as continued feasting and pig exchange remains common for weddings.

It is during death rites that the syncretism of the villagers past belief system and Catholicism are most clear. The nine-part ceremony takes four days and involves Catholic prayers as well as intricate rites to wish the dead a good journey to the second world and request that they do not return to bother the living. Like many Eastern Indonesians, the Ngadha distinguish between good and bad death each with their own distinct rituals (cf. Barnes 1974).

Ritual life is costly but all the villagers were keen to point out that they have cut down on the number of animals slaughtered for sacrifices. Many villagers discussed the need to balance the demands of ritual slaughters with the costs of modern life. Whereas in the past many buffaloes would have been slaughtered for a final house building ceremony (*ka sa'o* Ng), nowadays it is common for only one to be sacrificed (together

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discussions about *Reba* in Bena, a ritual held in December, had begun when I visited in September and

with 20-40 pigs). Many people slaughter only a handful of pigs rather than a buffalo for the final funeral rite (*ngeku mata Ng*).

Villagers explain that their ancestors had only to think of *adat* (custom) whereas now there are competing expenses of school, tax, health and the church. The villagers have been subject to significant pressure from the church and state to cut down the number of animals slaughtered at major ceremonies. This was enforced through a punitive slaughter tax. The church insisted that poverty could only be alleviated by stopping excessive slaughter at ceremonies.<sup>68</sup>

In an attempt to assimilate cultural revival, the church is insisting upon a new theme, *inculturisasi*<sup>69</sup>, which refers to the acceptance of some customs into the church. For example, at a ceremony for a newly ordained Catholic priest, a large pig was sacrificed in accordance with custom, for the priest's ancestors (see section 9.3.1). The church has encouraged the choir to wear traditional clothing and sing hymns in the local language at important church services, in an attempt to incorporate custom.

For every major ritual, pigs will be donated by Houses, family and in-laws. Pigs will be returned when the donors hold a similar ritual. In 1998, for a final House building ritual, twenty to forty pigs were donated, and for funerals three to eight. Pigs are also donated for weddings but this is a new phenomenon, since marriages have taken place in the church at various times of the year, and not just during *Reba*. The donation of pigs depends on relationship and previous exchange but all houses in the *nua* take a hanging basket of rice (*bere eko Ng*) regardless of relationship. The constant exchange of pigs (*wado lima Ng*) is one of the ways family ties, both on the female and male side,

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became so heated serves to illustrate how important this ceremony is.

<sup>68</sup> The poverty referred to by the church was the economically determined poverty seen through western eyes. The people of Ngadha have very low net disposable incomes but they are very rich in culture and family relations. As Dove (1988) points out, this myth of economic deprivation is also held by the state. As he notes, many have a better diet than in highly developed urban areas. However, if resources are used for ceremonial expenditure, they are not spent on purchases that would contribute to the income of the national entrepreneurial classes.

are maintained. The hanging baskets of rice (and now sugar and coffee) maintain relations between the inhabitants of the *nua*.

Pig donating and receiving is an important public demonstration of relationships. Pigs are carried trussed up on bamboo poles and carried into a village for all villagers to inspect, the bigger the pig the more important the relationship between donor and recipient. Pig jaws, donated for house building rituals, are kept and displayed above the door. The number and size of jaws signifies the number of relationships and amount of goodwill. Past ceremonies are remembered through the number of animals slaughtered.

#### **4.4 Involvement in the market economy**

The majority of villagers would call themselves *petani* (Ind), which could be translated as peasant or farmer. The former seems more appropriate due to the negative construction used by the villagers<sup>70</sup> and because they resemble peasants in the sense Redfield (1960)<sup>71</sup> and Scott (1976)<sup>72</sup> described. The agriculture is entirely unmechanised. The move from self-sufficiency to the commodification of time and the social construction of work, which only counts if it is paid for, is a recent phenomenon in these villages. As many villagers explained, the need for money for schools, health care, taxes and church "tithes" are new demands. The need for cash and involvement in the market economy is an issue bemoaned by many villagers.

However, as many explained, it is still possible to live for long periods in Wogo without cash. Constant cropping of maize and vegetables keeps food on the table, hairy palms give sap for toddy without money and the bamboo in which it is collected is grown locally. Family members that need cash generally go and pick some produce, take it to

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<sup>69</sup> Translated as enculturation by Erb (2001a) and Allerton (2001). Sometimes spelt inculturation this term is used in missionary writing to mean the blending of Christianity with indigenous culture, see for example <http://eadi.admu.edu.ph/bodega/inculturation>.

<sup>70</sup> The villagers would say "saya hanya petani saja" (Ind). The use of double only (*hanya* and *saja*) indicates a negative connotation. "I'm just a simple peasant".

<sup>71</sup> In *The Little Community and Peasant Society and Culture*, Redfield (1960) describes peasant society as one which has some field of economic activity that separates them from a primitive community. Peasants are small-scale agricultural producers organised into households that rely on a subsistence-orientated economy but one that is weakly or partially integrated into a larger state/world system.

<sup>72</sup> In *The Moral Economy of the Peasant* Scott (1976) suggests that the desire for subsistence security results in patterns of reciprocity, forced generosity and work sharing to ensure subsistence in rough times.

market and sell it. A market is held in Mataloko only two kilometres from Wogo, twice a week. Villagers without paid work would sell between Rp10,000 and Rp 40,000 (\$1-\$4) worth of produce a week. Sugar was the most frequently purchased commodity, followed by cooking oil. Petty merchants come to Wogo to sell fresh fish several times a week. This or dried fish is the villagers' source of animal protein between feasts. The village shops sell dried fish.

Villagers in Bena are more dependent on cash because their gardens are less productive. In the past, villagers used to collect firewood and sell it in Bajawa. As firewood has become scarcer and as townsfolk used more kerosene for cooking and the demand for woven cloth has increased, textile sales have become the villagers' most important source of income.

Although now peripherally involved in the market economy, the villagers are only weakly integrated into the cash economy. In most homes, hand-made hanging woven baskets of various sizes are used as containers for agricultural products, clothing and any possessions. Coconuts and dried gourd skins are still used as receptacles in the kitchen (although supplemented with plastic goods). Kitchen implements are made from bamboo and coconut shells. Rope is still produced with a local tool made in the village. Some villagers own a small amount of furniture but usually villagers sit and sleep on mats they make themselves. Most people in Bena wear sarongs made by women in the village. Many villagers, the young people included, claim that feelings are more important than economy; the costs of rituals and helping out relatives and neighbours are more important than material possessions. A popular material possession is a stereo system. Young males, in particular, aspire to possess one and compete to acquire larger and more powerful systems.

Many villagers own ceremonial costumes as prized possessions. Many villagers sold off these black ikats, with white (and sometimes gold) motifs, together with many other family heirlooms (*pusaka* Ind) e.g. gold earrings (*bela* Ng) and chains (*rante* Ng) during the 1970s when the church and state purged tradition. Since the traditional revival in the

1980s, villagers consider it important to possess at least one traditional dress<sup>73</sup>. Some men also have a head-dress (*boku* Ng). However, these hand-spun naturally dyed ‘scarves’ are hard to find and costly to purchase. Women are very fond of beads and may have a string for ordinary days or Sundays. Long strings of beads are worn across the shoulder during rituals. Many villagers own accessories to the ceremonial costume, including bags and headbands. Villagers who do not own traditional dress hire them from other villagers for ceremonies. It is not permissible to dance in non-ceremonial clothes. On a number of occasions when I asked people why they were not participating in the dancing, they explained that it was for a lack of appropriate dress.

One disabled woman in Wogo makes ceremonial bags that she hires out for ceremonies. Some villagers still have ivory bracelets; many others have fake ivory, white wood or plastic, bracelets. House-based rituals are an opportunity for hosting houses to display any heirlooms. During the new Ngadhu ceremony in Bena (see section 7.6.3), several women wore their antique gold earrings and at a new entry step ritual a man wore a long heavy gold chain.

#### **4.5 Infrastructure.**

Wogo lies two kilometres from the trans-Flores highway. Public transport (buses and minibuses) is frequent down the busy highway, especially when there is a market in Mataloko. The branch road, which leads past the entrance to the *nua*, was a rough track in 1989 but has since been up-graded and tarred. Public transport (trucks and minibuses) goes past the *nua* entrance several times a day. Bena lies about 15 kilometres down a branch road. Although the road has been tarred, it is very steep in places and very windy and prone to landslides. It is not uncommon for it to become impassable during the rainy season. Bena is served by two or three trucks a day. They are nearly always filled to capacity and often leave villagers standing by the roadside as demand outstrips available space. The wear and tear on vehicles is such that it is not commercially viable to run minibuses on this route. However, minibuses are used to transport tourists.

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<sup>73</sup> Male = *lue*                      Female = *lavo*

Wogo has had electricity since 1991. The poles were erected following the shortest route, which was straight through the centre of the *nua*. Tourists, villagers and the Department of Tourism alike lament their position. Bena does not have any central electricity facilities. However, two villagers have generators that supply several houses each with electricity. Diesel for the generators has to be purchased and transported from Bajawa, the regency town.

In Wogo, water is available at two points behind houses that make up the *nua*. Water must be queued for and collected for all household use. Bathing frequently takes place at the river or at hot springs located a couple of kilometres from the *nua*. Water facilities in Bena are similar although the Department of Tourism has provided “squat” toilets at two points in the *nua*. Water to both of these is unreliable and they are not supposed to be for the use of the villagers. As can be seen from the section on the benefits of tourism (section 7.2), the provision of water in both villages can be directly linked to tourism.

#### **4.6 Education**

Children attend local primary schools from age six to twelve<sup>74</sup>. Post -twelve education is far more accessible to the children of Wogo than Bena, and differences in educational levels between the two villages reflect this. Middle and high school children in Bena have to board (at parental expense) either in Bajawa or Jerebuu. This is not only an expense some parents cannot afford but it also removes the student from the informal schooling in the technical aspects of his local economy and ecology (Dove 1988) and *adat*. Several high school students who returned to Bena bemoaned their lack of knowledge and said that they did not have the opportunity to sit around with elders to hear the narratives on customary matters. Furthermore, parents lose control over their children and are unsure what their children are getting up to. This was a constant source of worry for some parents. In Wogo, there is a choice of several middle and high schools within walking distance.

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<sup>74</sup> In Bena, two schools exist. As enrolment numbers are declining, some children have started school at five years old rather than the norm of six years.

A very high value is placed on formal education and relatively large proportions of disposable income are used to educate students as far as their potential or will takes them. Daeng (1988) argues that villagers' resources have been concentrated on education since competitive feasting came under pressure from the government and church. One member of Bena has a university degree and several are studying at tertiary level at present. In Wogo, there are eight graduates and several others who have had tertiary education. Educational opportunity is well balanced across gender lines. Whereas in other Indonesian societies boys are offered more educational opportunities than girls, in Ngadha mothers told me that "boys will leave to join their wife's family; it is my daughters that are the future of this family so they must continue school as far as they can". In Bena, many mothers wanted their daughters to weave but claimed that, if they showed potential at school, they would be supported to continue.

#### **4.7 Social activities**

Music in the village is played on instruments made from bamboo and on iron gongs. Local music is very popular and it is common to hear the villagers spontaneously singing their own songs. Music and songs from House building ceremonies are recorded and frequently replayed on sound systems. The sound systems in Wogo are also used to play Indonesian and Western music. In Bena, the young girls tend to sing the local songs whereas the boys sing Indonesian songs to the guitar.

Volleyball has been popular since the 1970s. It is played routinely in Bena every Sunday and also after communal work. During the warm-up, men and women play together; then the women play alone. Men then play and these games often involve gambling. Five hundred to a thousand Rupiah (US\$ 5-10 cents) is paid by each player to be split by the winning team. Men and women both play cards although more men play. Sundays, the day for relaxation, is the day most card games are played and also most gambling takes place. Women rarely gamble and many disapprove of the men doing it, mainly, it seemed, because the card playing would go on for longer if gambling was involved.



Villagers take part in *arisan* (Ind)(communal meals for savings groups). This method of saving and socialising is popular all over Indonesia and according to the villagers has local origins (*muvu* Ng). In Wogo, the church uses it as a way to raise money. On Sundays, villagers meet in their prayer groups (see section on church organisation) and share in a meal. Each member contributes to a fund, which one member wins, by drawing names from a hat. Once a member has won once, their name is not entered at the following sessions until all members have won. The winner hosts the next meal and has a sum of money sufficient to pay large church tithes, and maybe has some towards other needs. This formalised gambling allows the church both to collect sums that would otherwise be difficult for villagers to raise, and to combine it with a social event. *Arisan* are not only held for the church. The teachers hold an *arisan* once a month for teachers to get to know each other's families and to save for their own children's education. Clans also hold *arisan* on a monthly or tri-monthly basis. In the case of large, well-scattered clans, this is considered an important way for the different members to stay in touch. However, the costs of *arisan* are a financial burden to the villagers. Often a family would have more than one *arisan* to attend on a Sunday. The fees are variable from Rp2,500 for a weekly *arisan* to Rp50,000 for a monthly meeting, to Rp300,000 for a tri-monthly meeting. The later would be raised collectively by members of a House. Sundays, as a day of leisure, are also a day to start drinking *moke* in the morning, usually with a group of friends, while roasting corn.

#### **4.8 Tourism**

Occasional back-packers began visiting Wogo and Bena in the 1980s. When my company started taking tourists to Wogo in 1989, the villagers had seen a dozen or so tourists pass through the village. Table 4.2 below provides figures for tourist numbers to Bena and Wogo through the 1990s. The Department of Education and Culture provided these figures and they are different from those provided by the Department of Tourism. The figures for Wogo are far less reliable than the Bena figures. For the latter, figures relate to ticket sales. In Wogo, not all tourists fill in the guest book, which is falling to pieces, torn, and used as notepaper.

Collecting statistical information about tourism in Ngadha was difficult. As discussed further in chapter 6, the visitor books belong to the Department of Education and Culture, which is not interested in the nationality of tourists or group size. Furthermore, although in theory all tourists are requested to fill in visitor books, not all do. Frequently, only one of a couple would and on some occasions the guide would fill the book in once for a group of four or five. Even ticket sales in Bena do not provide an accurate base for tourist numbers as local guides are charged (and given tickets) on the basis of 'one per group free'. Thus, for example, a local guide would purchase four tickets for a group of five.

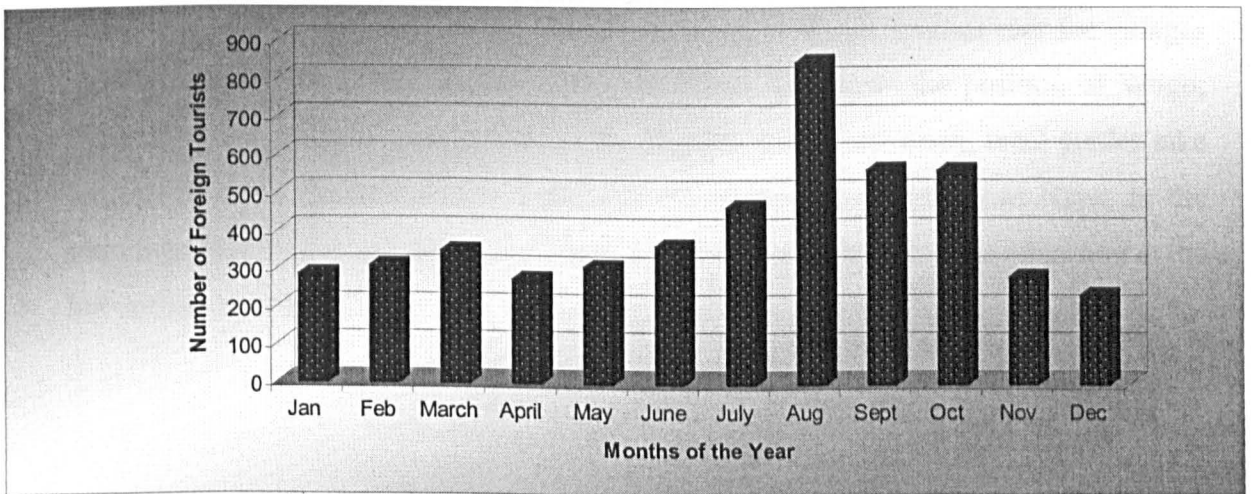
On three days, I kept my own record of tourist numbers and compared them with those recorded in the book. On October 8<sup>th</sup> 1998, there were seven entries in the book but I counted twenty-one tourists. On the 9<sup>th</sup>, an out-of-area guide (see section 5.3.3) filled in the book, including noting his impression, "good", and his nationality, Indonesian, and did not note that he was accompanying eight Caucasian tourists. The following day, I noted five tourists but three were recorded in the book. The figures in table 4.2 can therefore be regarded as low estimates of reality.

As suggested in section 2.2, tourism to Flores is subject to marked seasonal variation. The classic pattern for both villages is evident from figure 4.4 below, which shows foreign visitor numbers each month to Bena. This figure is based on statistics provided by the Department of Education and Culture. The total does not, however, tally with those provided in the table above.

The nationality of tourists who visit Ngadha villages does not reflect those that visit Indonesia in general. Due to the difficulties noted above, there is no reliable data on the nationalities of tourists. Figure 4.5 is developed from counts from those that filled in the visitor books in September and October 1998. In several cases, it is known that a single tally represented a group (of unknown size). As the majority of groups are Dutch, the percentage for that nationality could be even higher.

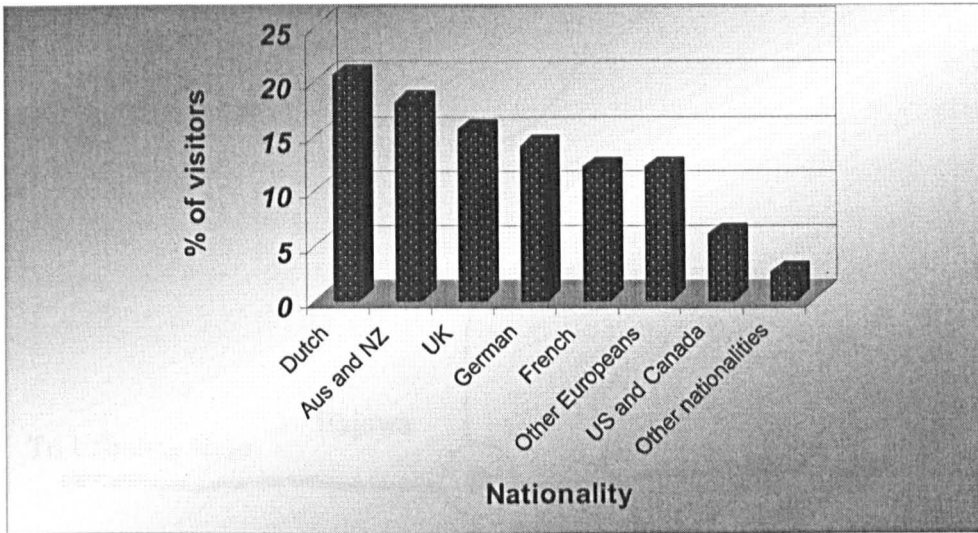
**Table 4.2 Foreign Tourist visits to Bena and Wogo**

YEAR	BENA	WOGO
1991	3293	666
1992	4323	1318
1993	4228	980
1994	5729	900
1995	6456	1019
1996	6874	1100
1997 <sup>75</sup>	5949	966
1998	5121	1287



**Figure 4.4 Seasonal visitor variations**

<sup>75</sup> The fall in foreign tourists in 1997 reflects the political crisis that affected tourist numbers to Indonesia from that year to the end of the decade. The drop-off is not as severe as experienced in other areas (e.g. Lombok) as there were minimal disturbances on Flores. However, many tour groups cancelled trips to



**Figure 4.5 Nationalities of tourists to both villages**

With a few exceptions, such as the tour groups I took to Wogo, tourists visit the villages as part of a day tour. The schematic map in figure 4.6 shows the position of Wogo, Bena and other villages tourists visit in the Ngadha area. Most often, local guides take tourists to Bena via Bela and/or Luba and sometimes they continue to Nage, in the morning. They return to Langga or Bajawa for lunch and then spend the afternoon at the hot-springs near Soa.

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Indonesia, regardless of region, due to fears that the violence, experienced in some areas, would spread across the archipelago.

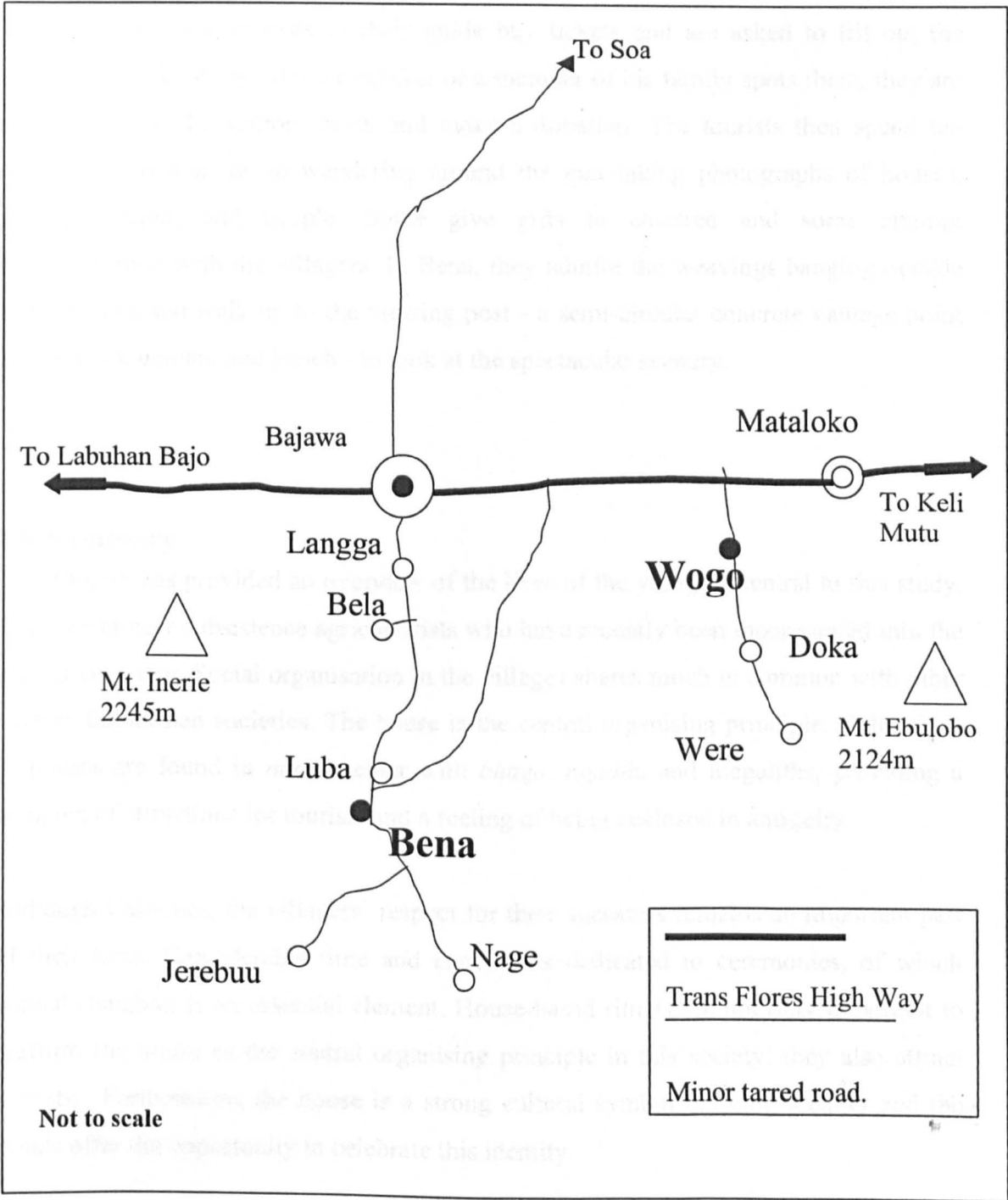


Figure 4.6 Map of the villages

On arrival in Bena, tourists or their guide buy tickets and are asked to fill out the visitors' book. In Wogo, if the caretaker or a member of his family spots them, they are asked to fill in the visitors' book and make a donation. The tourists then spend ten minutes to an hour or so wandering around the *nua* taking photographs of houses, *ngadhu*, *bhaga*, and people. Some give gifts to children and some attempt communication with the villagers. In Bena, they admire the weavings hanging outside many houses and walk up to the viewing post - a semi-circular concrete vantage point with a mock *ngadhu* and bench - to look at the spectacular scenery.

#### **4.9 Summary**

This chapter has provided an overview of the lives of the villagers central to this study. They are largely subsistence agriculturists who have recently been incorporated into the market economy. Social organisation in the villages shares much in common with other Eastern Indonesian societies. The house is the central organising principle. Collections of houses are found in *nua* together with *bhaga*, *ngadhu* and megaliths, providing a complex of attractions for tourists and a feeling of being enclosed in antiquity.

Although Catholics, the villagers' respect for their ancestors remains an important part of their lives. Considerable time and expense is dedicated to ceremonies, of which animal slaughter is an essential element. House-based rituals are not only important to reaffirm the house as the central organising principle in this society: they also attract tourists. Furthermore, the house is a strong cultural symbol defining identity and the rituals offer the opportunity to celebrate this identity.

Tourists began visiting the villages in the 1980s. Most visit as part of a day trip. Although the statistics are very unreliable, there is more seasonality in tourism in Ngadha than other parts of Indonesia. Also, the nationalities of the tourists who visit Ngadha do not reflect national statistics.

This chapter reveals some of the differences between Bena and Wogo. The former is more dependent on income from textile sales and tourism while the latter is more fertile and supports more intensive agriculture. Wogo lies closer to the Trans-Flores highway and the mission at Mataloko. This provides better access to markets, education and employment.

## Chapter 5

### The mediators of tourism in Ngadha

#### 5.0 Introduction

As identified in the literature review, tourism is a thoroughly mediated activity. A number of go-between actors or middlemen structure and mediate tourists' experiences and their encounters with tourees. The first section of this chapter examines the role of the Indonesian state, specifically at the provincial and regency levels. As well as the actions of the government bodies the data reveal the values, attitudes and priorities of these actors. The second section examines the role played by guidebooks as mediators of tourists' behaviour and experiences. The third and final part examines the work of guides, a key group of bridge actors that mediate between tourists and tourees.

#### 5.1 The government and tourism

Governments can play an important role in mediating tourists' perceptions and behaviour in tourism. From the issuing of visas, provision of infrastructure and marketing material, to the information provided by tourist information centres, governments are involved with attracting, directing and structuring the tourists' experience. Two different government departments, at two levels of government, provincial and regency, have been important in the development of tourism in Ngadha.

The area under consideration falls into the economically poorest regency, of one of the economically poorest provinces (Corner 1989, Umbu Peku Djawang 1991). It is important to stress the economic aspect of the poverty for two reasons. Firstly because the *raison d'être* for tourism development, from the government's point of view, is to reduce this poverty (cf. Umbu Peku Djawang 1991); and secondly, it is the rich culture of the region that attracts tourists.



### 5.1.1 Views of the provincial level Department of Tourism, Kupang.

Discussions with the two interviewees at the Department of Tourism in Kupang were based around cultural tourism (*wisata budaya*), one of three types of tourism that the Department claims to be targeting (beach tourism and eco-tourism being the others). The Department is specifically targeting back-packers, special interest tourists and eco-tourists as the most appropriate type of tourists to come to the province. These are indeed the present tourist types that visit Flores.

The Department's staff firmly believe that culture can be sold for tourism. The head of the Department actually used the words "*kebudayaan bisa dijual*" (culture can be sold) and his staff made numerous references to people and their culture as tourist attractions (*obyek pariwisata*). "Tourists are interested in ceremonies, customs and everyday activities that have been passed down for generations and the villagers are happy for the tourists to come because they know tourists don't bring any problems". "The negative side-effects of tourists can be dealt with; guides are trained to handle tourists and communication with the villagers. We can stop the youngsters from becoming westernised (*ke-barat-barat-an* Ind) through education programmes. For example, tourists like to put holes in their ears. For boys to do this is against our culture, so schools have refused to accept boys with pierced ears. This will stop the young people copying the tourists".

The Department's attitude reflected the view that the culture of the province, and specifically Ngadha, is a commodity to be sold. Further, ways could be found to deal with negative impacts, mainly regarded as westernisation as a result of the 'demonstration effect'.

Other negative impacts of tourism were considered to be "price wars of handicrafts between villagers and/or villages", which could be dealt with by "the department fixing prices"; and "information provision by tour operators or unscrupulous guides that was incorrect and offensive". This could be dealt with by "insisting that tour operators use licensed guides and by these guides discussing the official version of culture with the

villagers. The information provided could then be true, correct, clear and be based on a source" (*benar, tetap, jelas dan bersumber*).

The Department of Tourism commissioned a Tourism Development Master Plan for the province, which was undertaken by the Institute Teknologi Bandung (ITB) and published in 1995<sup>76</sup>. The report itemises assets in terms of existing accommodation, restaurants and attractions, and details possible areas for expansion. As the document deals with the entire province, cultural tourism in Ngadha is given very little space. The north coast of the Ngada regency received much more detailed attention. It had just been designated a natural tourist park (*kawasan wisata alam*), as several of the seventeen islands off the coast are home to large monitor lizards<sup>77</sup> and the reef is fairly intact. The north west of the regency has since been designated an economic development zone and there are plans for a large airport and major luxury hotel construction along the coast.

Bajawa, the regency capital, is listed as a town that should be developed as a resting-place, due to its location between Labuhan Bajo (gateway to Komodo national park) and Ende (gateway for Keli-Mutu national park). The report notes that "besides its luck of location, it has the additional attraction of the traditional village of Bena". From reading the report, one would imagine that there are only two traditional villages in Ngada, and only Bena in the Ngadha area<sup>78</sup>. Members of the Department explained that, due to budget limitations, their efforts had been concentrated in one village, Bena. This village development was to act as a showcase for other villages to learn from. The development plan had two central elements: the building of the homestays and the 'development'<sup>79</sup> of the villagers.

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<sup>76</sup> Pusat Penelitian Keparawisataan ITB Bandung. 1995 Rencana Induk Pengembangan pariwisata Daerah NTT. Laporan akhir.

<sup>77</sup> These may be the same species as Komodo dragons (*Varanus komodensis*) or may be a different species.

<sup>78</sup> The other traditional village that is noted is Soa, a village known for its hot springs and traditional boxing matches that attract tourists. However, this village lies to the north of Bajawa and does not fall into the cultural area under consideration here.

<sup>79</sup> *Membina* = to develop or cultivate (Echols and Shadily 1989)

In 1993, the provincial tourism department funded the building of three traditional style houses as homestays and another as a souvenir shop, a concrete viewing post at the top of the village, next to the villager's shrine, and two toilets. Through negotiations with the village headman, a ticket system was introduced. The receipts are divided as follows: 5% to the ticket seller and of the remainder, 30% to the Department of Tourism, 50% to the administrative village and 20% to the *nua*.

Since the opening of a tourism department office in Bajawa, in 1996, the responsibilities had been delegated. The Department had hoped that the success of the homestays in Bena could serve as a model for other villages, who would be able to get loans for building similar facilities once the success of those in Bena had been proved. The Department indicated a range of possibilities for sources of credit including private banks and government funding for small tourism projects.<sup>80</sup> They were unaware of any problems and claimed that the guesthouses were functioning under the management group.

The homestays in Bena are not used for tourists but have become temporary homes for village members. This indicates a lack of follow-up work undertaken at the provincial level. The failure of the homestays provides a useful example for reflecting on the government's mismanagement of Ngadha tourism development. Firstly, the Department of Tourism worked with the elected village headman, rather than the elders, on a project that affected the *nua*. All issues that affect the *nua* should involve an open meeting (*musyawarah* Ind)<sup>81</sup> with the village elders (and any 'listeners' who wish to take part). Secondly, the traditional style houses were not built using labour from the *nua*. This led to early resentment of the project. Thirdly, no interior furnishings or kitchen equipment were provided so the homestays were not ready for use. Fourthly, no training was provided for the villagers. Some claimed not to even understand what homestays were or their purpose. Fifthly, the fact that there were three homestays, each able to accommodate eight or more guests, implies that they were for groups to use, but no

links were made with tour operators to inform them of the homestays. If individuals or couples were to overnight in the village, then the villagers would find it easier to accommodate them in their own homes. If women had been involved in the decision-making, they could have explained the potential difficulty of cooking in two places at once. Finally, the question needs to be asked whether homestays would provide the authentic back-stage focused social interaction sought by the kind of tourists who wish to stay in Ngadha villages.

The viewing post that was built has been important in the structuring of the tourists' experience in Bena. The viewing post is at the far end of the village. Beyond being a vantage point from which to view the spectacular landscape, it gives tourists a birds-eye-view of the village. It also gives them a place to head for, a place to rest and a place from which tourees can be observed from a distance. The viewing post structures the tourists' visit as it encourages them to walk up along one side of the village and back down the other. The viewing point, therefore, gives them a purpose beyond gazing on tourees. There was no indication from the Department of Tourism that this structuring of the tourists' visit was deliberate. The post was built to make a safe place from which to view the spectacular scenery.

The Department's staff were keen to point out how tourism would be beneficial for the villagers. "It would provide an outlet for their handicrafts, specialist regional foods and vegetables, eggs and chickens". However, to date there has been no help for the villagers in making these linkages. Souvenirs and village sales are a potential area that has yet to be exploited in the villagers' favour. The Department was also keen to point out that cultural tourism (*wisata budaya* Ind) was dependent on the villagers "maintaining their traditions"<sup>82</sup>. The Department had worked with village 'cultural officers' (*penilik kebudayaan* Ind) in the hope that these local people would 'cultivate and develop' the villagers' culture. Village cultural officers, appointed by the

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<sup>80</sup> IDT Instruksi Desa Tertinggal: finances for the least developed villages in Indonesia was considered a good source of credit by both this department and the regency department. Funds are allocated per head to villages in the poorest areas of Indonesia for villagers' projects. A lot of the funds go unused, I was told.

<sup>81</sup> Ngadha term = *utu bhuo*

<sup>82</sup> *Budaya harus dipertahankan*

Department of Education and Culture, are responsible for recording local culture, such as noting the position of megaliths, recording local songs and listing traditional buildings. The Department met with these officers and asked them to transmit the importance of the villages' cultural assets to the villagers and ensure that it is not eroded.

When I asked the staff if and how they had ascertained the views of the villagers for the guesthouses and other plans, they said that they had worked with the head of custom (*ketua adat*). From my long experience in Wogo, I had never come across such a position and could not quite believe such a position could exist. However, as the staff were talking about Bena, I took it that this was a difference between the two villages. They were in fact working with the administrative head of the village, who created, and appointed himself to, the position of *ketua adat*. The lack of village level agreement lies at the centre of the non-use of the homestays. The villages of Ngadha have many elders (*tua tua adat*), not a single head, who understand customary matters (*adat*). This misunderstanding (deliberate or not) of the local culture was an essential flaw in the provincial development plan for their show cultural village.

The provincial Department of Tourism suggested the creation of a tourism management group (*kelompok pengolah* Ind) in Bena. This was done and has had significant success. Although the initial set-up of the group was organised by the provincial tourism department through official village structures, the make-up and organisation of the management group was decided by the villagers. They decided that it would be made up of one representative chosen by each clan. The group then elected the various officials such as security, cleanliness, chair, secretary, accountant and so forth. These posts are unpaid. The group is entrusted with the authority to make decisions concerning tourism and the allocation of tourism income. As a group, they have a powerful voice in the village and have taken problems of corruption to the regency.

### **5.1.1 Regency level perspectives**

Information at this level came from three sources: the Bupati or regent, the regency Departments of Education and Culture, and of Tourism. Bupati was a Javanese title,

extended by the Dutch across the archipelago. These 'little kings' had extensive personal and feudal bonds and the power to control rural areas (Van Niel 1979). Under the New Order government, these men were increasingly recruited from the military (Crouch 1979). This local level of government is based in the regency capital of Bajawa.

#### ***5.1.1.1 The Regent's perspective***

The importance attached to tourism and to this study was reflected in the time (over two hours) that the regent set aside to discuss issues of tourism development. He concentrated on the importance of tourism, as it is Ngada's second most important industry after agriculture. This is especially the case since the regency possesses limited natural resources and has land that is hard to cultivate intensively. Tourism is then seen as a key to economic diversification.

Most of the regent's narrative was about the recently designated economic development zone in the north of the regency, and how tourism development is a major part of the plan. The capital of the regency has been moved from Bajawa to Mbay on the north coast where there is room for urban expansion, including an airport. Thus far, the move has been in name only as all the administrative buildings are still in Bajawa and many of the staff are reluctant to relocate. The move of an old mountain town in one cultural area to a new coastal location in a different cultural area has raised a lot of friction in the past few years.

Since 1998, Indonesia has been in a deep political and economic crisis so, although the official title of regency town has been transferred, it is a matter for speculation how fast other aspects will follow. The building of an airport closer to the area of study will have an impact on visitor numbers but it is unlikely that this will happen for another ten years, at least. Plans also include luxury hotel developments on the north coast, which, in combination with better road links, could result in the future in the villages of Ngadha becoming excursion attractions for mass tourism.

### ***5.1.1.2. The Department of Education and Culture's perspective***

As the Department of Tourism's office in Bajawa is so new, it is senior members of the Department of Education and Culture who have been involved with the development of tourism since it began in the 1980s. Efforts to preserve the villages' material culture resulted from this Department's initiatives, as did the appointment of village caretakers (*juru kunci*) and the use of visitors' books, all of which are essential in the understanding of tourism development in Ngadha villages.

As Pak Benidictus Toda from the Department of Education and Culture explained, the original culture of the area and its material symbols were considered pagan and irreligious by the Catholic Church, were not preserved or maintained and began to disappear. Villagers were encouraged to move out of their traditional homes as these were considered unhealthy. Villagers that cleaned and maintained *ngadhu* and *bhaga* were considered infidels. But, as he went on to explain, the symbols of the ancestors had important bearings on customary social organisation. Without them, status in society was unclear: conflict over rights, responsibilities and ownership resulted from blurred clan make-up. The Department of Education and Culture felt that conflicts in the villages were due to the lack of observance of custom, and that the preservation of the remaining material symbols could help prevent further conflict.

In 1982, the Department of Education and Culture began its restoration program. This involved appointing village cultural officers (*penilik kebudayaan*) to record and report on the cultural assets of the villages and the appointment of caretakers (*juru kunci*) in selected *nua*. One of the cultural officers, when recording local songs, managed to persuade villagers to set up a cultural studio and obtained government sponsorship. This group has since played at provincial and international music festivals (held in Bali) and for tourists. Their recent success has been limited, as discussed in section 7.7.

The job of the caretaker is twofold: firstly, to organise the preservation of the villages' material cultural assets i.e. the megaliths, *ngadhu*, *bhaga* and houses, and, secondly, to be responsible for the visitors' book. Caretaker appointments were made according to three criteria: completed primary education, rights in the village (i.e. born to a woman in the village, not married into it, so that they would feel the responsibilities and have the authority) and ability to motivate other villagers. Not all *nua* had caretakers. It is a paid position and the Department could only afford to appoint a limited number of caretakers. This is recognised as a problem by the Department.

The restoration program was initiated for the benefit of the villagers but it was quickly realised that it was also of benefit to researchers and visitors. It was for this reason that the caretakers were issued with visitors' books. Visitors entered their name, occupation, origin and purpose of visit and could also make a donation towards the restoration of the village. The mutuality of restoration and visitor attraction is well understood by the Department of Education and Culture. The only village that received financial help for its restoration program was Bena. This was because of the small amount of restoration needed, access was relatively easy<sup>83</sup> and funds were extremely limited.

The Department has never concerned itself with the funds the villages receive. As one representative told me, "The funds are for the villagers to use as they see fit and their allocation should be decided by village elders (*tua tua adat*)". Conflict has arisen in both villages as a result of fund allocation. In Bena, the conflict is over the allocation of funds from tickets and corruption at the administrative village level. The Department of Education and Culture approves of tickets. "Tickets mean that, although less money goes into the village, it is clear how much there is and there is less potential for conflict". However, members of the Department of Education and Culture thought that the present percentage allocated to the administrative village in Bena did not reflect what had been spent in the *nua* and was bound to cause ill-feeling.

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<sup>83</sup> In comparison with Nage but not with Wogo.



In Wogo, the caretaker appointed initially came into conflict with a man who considers himself the landlord of Wogo. The caretaker felt "powerless to carry out his task" and that his job "led to too much bad feeling, ...so it was easier to give it up". The self-appointed landlord took over as caretaker and has collected all the donations from tourists but has not redistributed them. The Department of Education and Culture was aware of the problems in Wogo but felt "it is a matter that needs to be dealt with further up". Deference to higher forms of authority is a common way to avoid dealing with issues. Placing responsibility for thorny decisions in the hands of a higher authority avoids the possibility of being blamed for making the wrong decision.

Data on visits to the villages is still derived from the Department of Education and Culture visitors' books. Although the Department of Tourism can ascertain the number of visits in Bena (and Bela) from the number of tickets sold, they cannot get this information from other villages that do not use tickets. Further, other information that should be useful for the Department of Tourism, such as tourists' origins, is collected in the visitors' books but not analysed or used by the Department of Education and Culture. The management group in Bena have been requested to break down visitors by country of origin for the Department of Tourism, but, as they pointed out, "they give us nothing so why should we do that for them?" The caretaker, appointed by the Department of Education and Culture, is paid an honorarium and is therefore willing to collect and provide visitor information requested by that Department. However, the analysis is limited to total numbers of foreign and domestic tourists as the Department of Education and Culture is not interested in a breakdown by nationality.

The staff at the Department of Education and Culture have been personally engaged with tourism on an ad hoc basis but have no formal training. They are well aware of what is going on at village level and, through experience, have useful insights into the working of tourism in the area. However, since the Ngada regency now has its own Department of Tourism, this is no longer their area of responsibility.

### ***5.1.1.3 The Department of Tourism's perspective***

The head of the Department of Tourism had only been in the post for two years at the time of my long research. His training in tourism consisted of a two-week intensive training course in Bandung, West Java. Very little information could be gleaned at our meetings as this man and his staff clearly had little idea of the dynamics of tourism, rarely visited the villages, and had little rapport with the villagers. For example, it was their opinion that “all the villagers want is for tourists to come and pay the ticket fee. The villagers are not interested in tourism beyond this.” “I have never heard of any problems about driver-guides from Labuhan Bajo (see section 5.3.4 below). Perhaps this is a problem because it means lost opportunities for local guides”. It is clear from these statements that the Department of Tourism staff lack a full understanding of the situation.

The department is based in Bajawa but is responsible for all of Ngada. More interest was clearly being given to the developments on the north coast, where there is hope for large investment, than for the villages close to the town where tourism is already established.

The Department of Tourism has vacancies but government departments do not appoint their own staff. Thus, they were unable to appoint a young woman from Nage who had just returned from university in Java with a first class honours degree in tourism from a prestigious institution. She had wanted to work in tourism as she saw this as the best potential for her village's development. It is reasonable to assume that the lack of expertise in the department will negatively impact on tourism development in the villages, especially when we consider how the villagers look up to authority and have been directed from above for so long.

The centralised system of government in Indonesia meant that the Head of the Department felt bound to above authorities and lacked autonomy to take locally appropriate decisions. He is issued with instructions from Kupang and is obliged to carry them out. “Following instructions from Kupang” was frequently given as the

rationale for the Department's actions. Thus the guides' training course which the department ran in its first year of operation included half a day on immigration and quarantine matters, of importance only where there is an international air or sea port. As Ngada has neither, the information was largely irrelevant for the trainee guides. "But," said the head of Department, "we were told to include it. Something about local culture might have been useful but we only had two weeks and there was so much we were told to cover".

In its first two years, the Department ran education programs for local guides and for the villagers of Bena. The villagers' education program followed a provincial instruction to "develop the villagers"<sup>84</sup> through the tourism awareness campaign (*sadar wisata*). Tourism awareness was a training program initiated by the Minister of Tourism in 1989-1990. At the heart of the program was a seven-point formula to be disseminated through government departments, community groups and youth organisations (Joop Ave n/d). The seven-point formula (*sapta persona*) consisted of "security, orderliness, cleanliness, comfort, natural beauty, friendliness and memories" (ibid:46).

The training program consisted of a presentation given by the regency tourist office to the villagers of Bena in 1996. The material presented included an explanation of what tourism is, how it benefits the area and its potential negative impacts<sup>85</sup>, how far tourism had come in the last national Five Year Plan, and the above seven point formula for successful tourism. The presentation was open to all the villagers, but initially was so badly attended that elders, members of the management team and others were persuaded to attend. The program provided an overview of the reasons why tourists visit their village and why preservation of both material and non-material culture would serve to develop economic rewards.

In 2000, another training programme was organised. Three members each from four villages were invited to attend one and half days training in Bajawa, the regency town.

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<sup>84</sup> *Membina masyarakat* (Ind)

<sup>85</sup> *dampak negatif*. (Ind)

Each was paid expenses. Three members of the Bena tourism management group attended. "The same again, just like what they said last time, protection of culture, preservation of our material assets, be good hosts. Nothing new, no help, we did not learn anything" is how the head of the management group described it to me.

Following the success of the ticket system in Bena, the Department of Tourism is keen to introduce a similar system in Wogo "that would ensure accountability and would be the right way to begin development". They wrote two letters to the caretaker in Wogo and tried to visit him three times in a matter of months. Having failed to make contact or get a response from the caretaker, a member at the Department said, "We do not know how to deal with someone who rules like they did in feudal times". In a similar vein to the Department of Education and Culture, they claimed "The only way this can be resolved is if it is sorted out above us". Again, the Department used deference to a higher level in the Indonesian bureaucracy as an excuse for inaction.

### **5.1.2 Government and marketing**

The government has produced very little marketing material, and what is produced is not well distributed. I was given two booklets produced by the provincial department, a photocopy of a third and one produced by the regency department. One of those produced by the province was clearly aimed at local investors. Entirely in Indonesian, it provides "basic data" (*data dasar*) on six tourist regions in the province including Riung in the north of Ngada. Bena is included as an "*obyek*" in the area with great potential - a photograph accompanies a sentence of commentary: "A beautiful panorama, customs and culture make a deeply enjoyable tourist attraction"<sup>86</sup> (Dinas pariwisata prop. Dati 1 NTT 1998:12). No mention is made of any other villages in the text. In the list of events, Reba in many villages is included. In the list of attractions, megaliths and traditional houses in several villages are included.

The second brochure from the province entitled "Flores and Alor" (no publisher or date but co-ordinated by the head of the Manggarai tourism department) is a 32-page glossy

booklet. Four pages are dedicated to Ngadha. The information, which is incomplete and incorrect (for example, "Bena has three tiers of bamboo houses"), again only gives details of Bena as a traditional village in the Ngadha region. The limited text is interspersed with photographs<sup>87</sup>. At the back of the booklet, along with town maps is a section on practical information. A subsection, travellers' tips, says "Conservative dress and behaviour are an expression of courtesy here", and "Be prepared for a lot of attention and remember tourists are welcome". To date, beyond this, there has been no government initiative to educate tourists about appropriate behaviour or dress when visiting Ngadha villages.

The photocopied information sheet I was provided with contains a large map of air transportation to and from the major towns in the region. In the paragraph of background, the leaflet claims that "the name Ngada can also be found in the Urdu language of India. Faith in a Supreme Being still exists among the Ngada people although the majority professes to be Catholics...Most of the inhabitants use primitive farming methods". The local crafts of weaving and "making bags from plaited straw" are mentioned. Again, under the list of interesting places Bena is included to the exclusion of other villages.

The high gloss brochure provided by the regency department is an A2 folded sheet in Indonesian and English. In the Ngadha region "the traditional place of Bena and the former village of Wogo" (*Dinas Parawisata Kabupaten Daerah Tingkat II Ngada n/d*) are listed. There is no attempt to inform tourists about appropriate dress or behaviour.

Although I managed to acquire copies of these brochures, I never saw any tourists with them. The Department of Tourism in Bajawa does not act as a tourist information centre. The lack of promotional material and information for tourists indicates an area in which the government could do much more to mediate the tourists' experiences in

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<sup>86</sup> *Panorama alam yang indah, adat istiadat dan kebudayaan yang merupakan obyek wisata yang dapat dinikmati.* (p12)

<sup>87</sup> By Kal Muller

Ngadha. Furthermore, the marketing material that has been produced to date illustrates just how Bena is marketed to the exclusion of other villages.

## 5.2 Guidebooks

As discussed in the literature review, guidebooks, mediate tourist experience. The authors of guidebooks, who are often reliant on information supplied by tourists, may be regarded as distant actors who influence events locally. Lonely Planet guides were the most common guidebooks to be used by tourists visiting Ngadha. Lonely Planet publishes three relevant guidebooks: one to South East Asia, one on Indonesia and, since 1998, one specifically on Indonesia's Eastern Isles. They all follow the same format. Aimed at the back-packer, they provide a wealth of information on routes between islands, towns and attractions, together with listings of places to stay, places to eat, and things to do and see.

Covering a large area, the Lonely Planet guide to South East Asia deals with Ngadha in a couple of hundred words. Following about 60 words on the geographical setting and a hundred words on *bhaga* and *ngadhu*, the guide states that Bena is "19km north<sup>88</sup> of Bajawa" and "one of the most interesting and traditional villages". Four other villages, including Wogo, are listed as "worth visiting" (Turner 1997: 645). By 1997, the incorrect directions had not been rectified.

The Lonely Planet Indonesia guide and Eastern Isles guide have virtually the same background to Ngada (*sic*: incorrectly spelt without the 'h' see page 3). Approximately eight hundred words are used to provide details of history, tradition, the importance of the *bhaga* and *ngadhu* and the preservation of animistic beliefs.

As Anderson (2000) discusses, Lonely Planet guidebooks encourage a highly frugal mentality in the visitor. The 1990 edition of their guide to Indonesia advises travellers to negotiate about entrance fees and bring gifts of cigarettes "to start off on a friendlier, less commercial footing" (Wheeler 1990: 615). General advice about responsible

behaviour is limited but it is possible to discern a slight improvement when comparing the various guides Lonely Planet has produced in the 1990s. In their 1990 edition to Indonesia, advice on conduct was hidden within the 36 pages of 'facts for visitors'. Tourists were advised to take photographs with discretion and women were advised to dress modestly. The section on time is about time differences and there is no mention of different perceptions of time. There is also no mention of begging. The 1997 South East Asia guide has a specific section titled 'society and conduct' but the information given in 400 words is still extremely limited when compared with other guidebooks e.g. Bill Dalton's *Indonesia handbook*. Lonely Planet's 1998 guide to Indonesia's Eastern Isles makes one specific but important reference to conduct in its section on Ngadha. "Taking photos is usually not a problem, but ask and remember entering a village is like entering someone's home" (Turner 1998:247).

Guidebooks do little to educate tourists about their behaviour in Ngadha villages because they do not give specific advice to tourists and the general advice (presented in the introductory chapters and possibly read many weeks earlier) is too general and very limited. However, there are a number of ways in which guidebooks direct the tourists' experiences. Firstly, the listings influence where tourists stay, where they eat, where they visit, and in some cases which guides they use.

As the manager of the Anggrek guesthouse in Bajawa explained, "We used to be the top *losmen* (guesthouse); we were always full of tourists. Then we installed a TV. Some guests, including some tourists, like to watch the television, but it also for our staff who live here. When someone from Lonely Planet came to check out the hotels, there must have been something popular on and someone might have turned the volume up. In the next edition we were described as 'very noisy' and tourists started going to the Elizabeth or the Kornia". The drop in popularity of the Anggrek had an effect on the business of two guides that are based at this establishment. As the Anggrek is one of the few places to eat in town, the guides now approach tourists that eat at the Anggrek. But as one of them told me "It was much easy when they stayed here, we could help them out, and have a little time to get a bit friendly before talking about the tour".

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<sup>88</sup> Bena is south of Bajawa.

Some guidebooks e.g. *The Rough Guide* (Blackshall et al 1999), Periplus' *East of Bali* (Muller 1991) and Bill Dalton's (1995) *Indonesia Handbook* recommend particular guides. This can have an impact on guides' work and put those not mentioned at a disadvantage. The most used guidebooks - those produced by Lonely Planet - do not mention specific guides. The Eastern Isles edition suggests "a guide is well worth it - instead of awkwardly fronting up yourself at a village, a good guide will provide an introduction, explanations of local custom and give insight into village life" (Turner 1998:247).

Guidebooks are likely to determine where tourists visit. As discussed, Bena has been given precedence in tourism development and marketing by the government. The guides were also more likely to take tourists to Bena (and other villages) than Wogo. The question must be asked how much impact the guidebooks have on the continued preference for Bena over Wogo. All the guidebooks mention both, but all mention Bena before Wogo (although the lists are not in alphabetical or geographical order). Bena is given at least twice as much space as Wogo and other villages. Bena is variously described as the most beautiful, traditional and even the best. The *Rough Guide* suggests that it is the ritual centre of the area and the place to see festivals. The Lonely Planet guides imply that Reba is only held in Bena. It is therefore no surprise that tourists ask their guides to take them to Bena. As one guide told me, " They believe what they read in the guidebooks, they all want to see Bena for themselves. Transport is too expensive and it takes too long to go to Wogo as well. Most tourists have made up their mind from what the guidebooks say".

In decisions for my tour company, I was influenced by the guidebooks. In our search for a village to take tourists to, I asked our contact to take us to a village but specified that we did not want Bena. As Bena was in all the guidebooks, it was on "the beaten track" and our tours were sold to clients as "off the beaten track". On my previous visit to Flores, I had not visited Ngadha and, due to the time scale and the difficulties with transport, I was not able to visit Bena to form an opinion for myself. For a few tourists (and some tour operators), guidebooks serve to delineate the "beaten track" and serve to



specify where not to go. However, for the majority of tourists that visit Ngadha, this is not the case.

The local guides also read guidebooks. We must question, therefore, whether the guidebooks get their narrative from the guides or vice-versa. For example, the Lonely Planet's 1998 guide to Indonesia's Eastern Isles states that the model houses and small warrior statues (*ana ye*) represent "the female and male clan houses respectively" (Turner 1998:249). This was also heard as part of the guides' narrative to tourists and was one of the questions put to them at the beginning of the focus group (see appendix xxx). Three out of eight of the guides thought it did, another four agreed with the statement and then clarified what the *ana ye* stands for. These symbols serve to indicate a clan's first and second house respectively, the house of the clan's founding female and founding male respectively. Some tourists I chatted with were confused about seeing men in "women's houses" and women in "men's houses" and thought this meant that the villagers were no longer sticking to tradition. Furthermore, could it be that the view expressed by seven out of eight guides, that Bena receives enough tourists in the high season has influenced this remark in Lonely Planet's 1998 guidebook "Bena is far and away the most visited village... It is touristy... and it can be crowded" (Turner 1998:249)?

Both the guides and Tourism Department employees expressed the view that the electricity poles in Wogo spoil it. Does this come from the reading the guidebooks? The Periplus guide specifically mentions how "the district's best set of *ngadhu* and *bhaga* sit amidst bright green electricity poles" (Muller 1991:151), others mention which villages do not have electricity yet. Will implied celebration of pre-electricity/ pre-modernisation work against the villages getting electricity?

### **5.3 Guides**

Nearly ninety percent of tourists that visit the villages of Ngadha do so with a guide. The guides that bring tourists to the villages cannot be considered as a homogeneous group. They can be subdivided into local Ngadha guides, out-of-area guides, driver guides and tour leaders.

### 5.3.1. Local guides

This section is about guides who come from the Ngadha region and work in the villages. Although there are 30 members of the regency guiding association (HPI<sup>89</sup>)<sup>90</sup> only fifteen were working as guides. Ten of these were working in the villages. None of these guides came from the tourist villages. They originated either in the town of Bajawa or a large village close to the town, called Langga<sup>91</sup>. The association meets on an *ad hoc* basis about three times a year; usually when there is information to be disseminated from the regency Department of Tourism.

In theory to become a member of the association a guide must be licensed. A licence is issued on completion of a training course, open only to high school graduates. In practice, not all members are licensed or high school graduates. Neither of these factors appeared to have a significant impact on the guides' skills. One of the well-regarded guides was disabled and had dropped out of school at the end of his primary education. As the head of the Tourism Department felt sorry for him he was allowed to attend the training course regardless of the fact he did not have a high school certificate. One of the trained guides who had a high school certificate was one of the guides most regularly complained about. The guiding courses run at regency and provincial level are discussed in section 5.3.2 below.

All the guides are self-employed, working as much or as little as they please and often combining guiding with agricultural or other work. They take as few as one tourist and up to twenty in a group in the high season. On average, they take four to eight tourists and charge US\$4 (Rp40, 000)<sup>92</sup> per person. The rate was not standard or fixed and they

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<sup>89</sup> Himpunan Pramuwisata Indonesia, a local branch of a pan-Indonesian professional association.

<sup>90</sup> For a discussion on the development and politics of this organisation see Dahles (2002).

<sup>91</sup> This is important because of the way the guides are talked about by the villagers and it also indicates how identity is drawn and redrawn. The guides from Ngadha are less disliked than guides from further afield, but they come from a different village and local people say, "they cannot really know our culture".

<sup>92</sup> Average exchange rate in 1998.

would try for more if they could. From their fee, they would pay for transport and entrance tickets. This could earn a guide a very good salary in local terms if they could find work everyday or even be sure of work three times a week.

The local guides resemble the network specialists described by Bras (2000). Representing a transitional position between Cohen's (1985) pathfinder and mentor, many had much more than a smattering of a foreign language. One of them spoke fluent English, Dutch and German and some Japanese. Most had attended a guide training course at the regency level and several had attended an advanced training course at the provincial level. They would offer more than the facts and figures of a professional guide and flavour their tour with a personal touch and interpretations of the local culture. They were freelancers who would make contact with tourists at their points of arrival. Formerly, they used to wait at the bus station for tourists but, more recently, due to the tourists' increased use of hired vehicles, they usually approached them in the guesthouses and restaurants in Bajawa. Their work involved guiding tourists who often formed temporary groups in order to keep costs down. As the groups are very transient, and with the guide only for a day, the social components within the leadership sphere in Cohen's model, e.g. tension management and group interaction, were not important roles played by these guides. Some of the Ngadha guides worked alongside European tour leaders, accompanying the day tour in the Ngadha region. In these circumstances, the guides would often be responsible for local administrative tasks, such as hotel bookings and meal payments.

Most of the guides' work involved taking tourists on a day 'package' from Bajawa. This would include visiting between one and three villages in the morning, lunch, either with relatives, or at a restaurant in town, and a visit to the hot springs north of Bajawa in the afternoon. Occasionally, the guides worked as 'path-breakers', leading tourists to villages with no vehicular access and not normally visited by tourists. A new periphery to this peripheral tourist area was therefore being created over time. Working as pathfinders on hikes made up a very small proportion of the guides' employment since few tourists enjoyed the arduous walking, in the heat, that was involved. Occasionally tourists would hire a local guide to lead them up the volcano. Few of the guides enjoyed

this type of work. Expressing a common view, one guide said, “It is too hard and tiring. We have to set off at 4am. It is exhausting, and tourists do not pay that much”.

Nearly all guides offer very similar standardised day tours. They have both co-operative and competitive relations with each other. They compete for the tourists but, in a similar way to the guides of Lombok and Yogyakarta, “they use each other's resources, pass on jobs to each other, share each other's income. In this way they establish ties of reciprocity” (Dahles and Bras 1999: 276). They share profits with family and friends instead of reinvesting them. The guides discussed the problems of working in such observable work. “My family or friends can see if I have tourists, they know when I have a big group, they know I will have cash. Someone in the family always has some kind of pressing need, it's impossible to refuse.” Few of the guides appeared to be amassing any wealth from their profession due to family obligations and pressures to redistribute wealth. The one guide that withstands redistribution pressures is unpopular as a consequence. Work satisfaction was as important as financial reasons for their choice of occupation. Being able to practise their language skills was another important reason for their choice of work. One, Sipri, learnt English through listening to the BBC World Service; he then worked as a guide while he was at high school to practise his skills. This has enabled him to get a job with an international organisation - the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR).

Strategic relations with the drivers of private vehicles are central to the success of Ngadha guides. Public transport to Bena, on the back of trucks, is irregular and hard for tourists to access, and they rarely wish to walk. The Ngadha guides work with drivers to facilitate access to the most popular villages. Rarely would a tourist be able to access transport to Bena without paying for guiding services. One of the guides arranges transport for tour groups on the trucks. This, he said, gave them a more authentic experience. However, transport to Bena and other villages on this route is exceedingly limited. Tourists' use of the truck takes it out of service for villagers. At the time of the long fieldwork, the guide only used it once a month in the high season. Further use could cause resentment among villagers.

Although there were many similarities between Ngadha guides and those analysed by Bras and Dahles, tourism on Flores is less well developed than on Java or Lombok and differs in several fundamental ways. The gigolo scene, for example, does not exist in Ngadha, so it is normal for tourists to be taken to the guide's home, usually for meals, with little suspicion developing from friends and family. Ngadha guides, though not tainted as gigolos, are marginalised and deemed untrustworthy by more conservative members of their community: their western hairstyles, clothes, friendly relations with female tourists and tour leaders set them apart. Some guides have moved away to avoid this prejudice.

Ngadha guides mediate between the villagers and the tourists and organise services for the tourists. The communication component of a guide's work can be divided into selection, interpretation, information and fabrication (Cohen 1985). As already noted, the guides did little by way of selection as they were providing a fairly standardised product. It is the area of information provision and interpretation that was important according to all the stakeholders. The work of Ngadha guides is principally concerned with cultural issues. They provide information about the livelihoods, rituals, social organisation and arts of the villages. Like anthropologists, they translate the strangeness of a foreign culture into a cultural idiom familiar to the audience. Consequently, cultural knowledge was required and disseminated by the guides.

In terms of socially responsible tourism development and the prevention of conflict, the guide as go-between has the role of bridging the cultural gap between tourist and touree. From the villagers' perspective, the responsibilities of the guides fall into two areas: the dissemination of the correct information, and the management of tourist behaviour.

#### ***5.3.1.1 Guides' knowledge and narratives.***

The villagers thought the guides' cultural knowledge of Ngadha was insufficient and /or "guides are not interested in telling the 'right' narratives, only in getting money".

The worst offence was caused when a guide claimed that a *ngadhu* was for chickens to roost in and a *bhaga* was a child's playhouse! These are extreme examples but I became aware of a variety of different narratives about various features of the village, while eavesdropping on guides' narratives. I then confirmed my suspicions, using a questionnaire at the beginning of the guides' focus group (see appendix 6).

The results did show clear differences in understanding about certain aspects of Ngadha culture often explained to tourists. The meaning of miniature houses (*ana ye*) on the roofs of some houses provides a good example. Some guides thought it identified "the women's house", some thought it was "a spirit house" and some correctly agreed that "it served to identify a clan's central house". Although there are elements of truth in all three responses: miniature houses are associated with women<sup>93</sup>, and the central house is responsible for the *bhaga*, a female symbol. The ancestors are considered to reside in a number of places in clan houses, including the *ana ye*, so a rough translation could lead to it being referred to as a spirit house. The guides blame the variation in their narratives on the lack of a published book on the culture of Ngadha and the lack of dissemination of cultural information at the guides' training course.

Much of the discussion during the focus group with the guides ended up as discussions on various aspects of Ngadha culture. Marriage was an area that provoked debate and interest among a group of bachelors keen to learn local marriage rules from the two respected, elder, married guides.<sup>94</sup> Much of the discussion focused on minute inter-village variations. Various strategies were discussed about how best to overcome the problem of the shortfall in cultural knowledge among the guides. The guides, the villagers and the Department of Tourism recognised this as important in the future management of tourism.

The guides agreed that their knowledge of their own culture was insufficient to accurately answer all the tourists' questions. However, these guides could not admit to

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<sup>93</sup> The clan's second house has a small warrior on top.

<sup>94</sup> This is another example of how focus groups were used by the participants.

their clients that they did not know: it would cause them loss of face (*malu*). In order to avoid this, the guide's solution lay between 'keying' (Goffman 1974:45ff) and fabrication. Keying, the overemphasis of some aspects at the expense of others, was used to enhance the guide's narratives. Aware that tourists are attracted to the villages by their difference from the tourists' culture, guides would emphasise differences. For example, they would talk about family size using examples from the adult generation to point out large family size instead of pointing out the smaller size of many families in the present generation. Guides would talk about the large number of buffaloes slaughtered at rituals when pointing out horns displayed on houses. However, few of them would point out that usually a far smaller number of buffalo are now slaughtered at rituals.

Falsification and fabrication were used less frequently. Tourists interviewed were unaware of either. One tourist I met in Labuhan Bajo read from his diary what he had written about Ngadha culture, as learnt from his guide. He had had "a fantastic day" and thought he had learnt so much, and found it "hard to believe that such a primitive society still existed". He recounted much false cultural detail that his guide had told him e.g. "annual festivals where scores of buffalo are slaughtered". Clearly some guides falsify their cultural narratives more than others do. In many cases, tourists expressed greater satisfaction with a guide who had provided an enjoyable day, (even if it was full of falsification of which they were unaware), than with a guide who lectured them on Ngadha culture beyond their capacity to enjoy it.

The guides' work as culture-brokers involves translating the villagers' culture to the tourists. The villagers' culture is complex and tourists' level of understanding and desire to learn is variable. As Crick (1992) discusses, guides have the insight to read a social situation, and the Ngadha guides attempt to read the level at which to pitch their narrative. A continuum exists between the guide as entertainer and guide as educator. Part of the role of a guide is to assess their clients quickly and adapt their pitch, communicative talents and performance skills accordingly. Dealing with transient groups of tourists, who had a variety of demand levels, challenged the best guides' attempts to provide accuracy and entertainment.

### 5.3.1.2 *Managing tourists' behaviour*

The second element of the guide's responsibility that is central to the role as go-between or bridge actor is that of managing tourists' behaviour. All the Ngadha guides agreed that they should prevent their tourists kissing in public but, beyond this, there was little agreement on how to go about managing tourist behaviour.

Although they all claimed to agree that guides are responsible for telling tourists what clothes are appropriate<sup>95</sup>, in practice this does not happen. Tourists reported that they were not told, even if they asked. The guides explained the gap between theory and practice in the difficulty they had in expressing anything to the tourists that might put them off. If they were to become authoritarian in any way, they feared it would result in a bad reputation and fewer clients. They did not feel that they had the appropriate language to explain the concept of 'conservative dress' to tourists and were uneasy about pointing out the problems they had with women's' clothing. Tourists would be offended, embarrassed or angry, they thought, if they pointed out that, according to the local culture, they were revealing 'too much flesh' or 'private body parts', including navels. Just as they avoided loss of face (*malu*) themselves, by keying, they should not cause a tourist to lose face. It is not culturally acceptable to chastise someone in public in case they are caused to feel *malu*. It is very unlikely that the guides would have an opportunity to mention such subjects in private with female tourists.

The guides in Ngadha agreed that the situation would be aided by the display of codes of conduct in the guesthouses in Bajawa. In this way, rules could be established and the codes of conduct could be pointed out, without any potential for causing offence.

Discussions about gift-giving were extensive and heated at times. The guides felt that pleasure was derived by tourists when they gave gifts to children, and that tourists could not be blamed for village children's bad behaviour i.e. begging. They were, however, aware that begging by children led to tourist dissatisfaction because villages were

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<sup>95</sup> Because they knew that it was one of my "pet" subjects, I suspect.



described as “spoilt” where children demonstrated such behaviour. The tourists’ right to give gifts was considered by some of the guides to over-ride considerations that such tourist behaviour leads to begging and that it was better to educate the children not to beg than to educate the tourists not to give.

### **5.3.2 Guide training courses**

The guides’ training course provides an official certificate: “an outward measure or symbol of achievement, (and) the essential foundation of a certificate is education” (Pond 1993:98). However, the guides believe that they learn on the job and that the training course is purely a formality, not providing them with the necessary education. Certainly, there is no examination or summarative assessment in order to measure the education gained. Unlike in Lombok, there was no examination for extensions to guides’ licences (Bras 2000). According to Pond (1993), guide training requires two essential elements: subject and skills. As will be seen from the analysis of the training programme these guides attended, the course falls short in both these elements.

When the Department of Tourism office was established in Ngada, one of the first things the head of the Department did was to run Ngada’s first guide training course. Some of the guides were already working at this time. In order for the course to be seen as a success, students that attended were paid by the Department. This resulted in some people attending to receive the payment rather than the course material and licence. According to national legislation, only high school graduates are allowed to attend these courses. This ruled out several of the active guides. The course material used for the training was made available to me, for my analysis.

The course lasted ten days and covered twenty-two subject areas. Subject matter included aspects of law, the history of Indonesia, state philosophy and the constitution, national consciousness, quarantine for animals and plants, earth science, safety and hygiene. With such a variety of subject areas, little depth was given to any. A lecture

was given by the Department of Education and Culture but the terms of reference were 1) Indonesian culture and 2) the laws pertaining to the preservation of historic monuments. The most thorough coverage was on guiding technique from the perspective of guides as ambassadors (cf. Bras 2000). It covered the importance of guides, as the first and often most influential Indonesian tourists will meet, and the need to be prompt, polite and friendly.

The guiding course made no reference to the importance of a guide as translator of culture, i.e. as a go-between. As Steege *et al* researching guide training in Lombok found, “the local community is ignored.... Being a ‘bridge actor’ ...is not regarded as important in government courses.” (1999: 124). . As Gurung notes in reference to Nepal, “the prime focus of guide training is meeting the needs of clients rather than safeguarding the resource base” (1996:125). As tourism is a service industry, priority is given to clients’ needs.

The management of tourist behaviour was considered by the villagers to be a very important role for guides and a contentious issue by the guides themselves. If the guide-training course is representative of the official government view, management of tourists’ behaviour is conspicuous by its absence. There was no mention of the responsibility of the guide to educate and inform the tourists about appropriate behaviour and clothing when visiting the villages. It did not include the need for a guide to introduce himself, and the tourists, to the villagers nor the importance of polite and friendly relations with the local people (Cole 1997b). Many guides bemoaned the lack in the course of information about local culture. Further, no training was given to further the guides’ business management or entrepreneurial skills.

In 1998, six of the Ngadha guides had a provincial licence, issued in Kupang by the provincial government. Although I have not personally been able to evaluate the Provincial Government courses, the guides who have attended tell me it is little different from the regency course. “No different, Stroma, the same boring nonsense, with more about immigration rules” is how one guide described the course on his return.

The course was even further removed from the guide's needs. It dealt, for example, with issues of immigration, which may be useful for a guide working in a town with an international airport, but not for those whose work is confined to Ngadha. Guides who hold a provincial licence are allowed to work as guides anywhere in the province. This allows guides from further afield to work in the Ngadha area.

### 5.3.3 Out-of-area guides

These guides fall on a continuum between amateurs and professionals with typical out-of-area guides lying between the two. Out-of-area guides cause more ill-feeling with villagers than local guides. The descriptions below illustrate the three types of out-of-area guides I met.

*La'a dulu*<sup>96</sup>(Ng) /'Cowboy guide'<sup>97</sup>. Many tourists begin their trip through the Eastern Islands in Bali or Lombok where they may, especially if they are younger women, find a local companion (cf. Dahles and Bras 1999). These men then lead their new-found friends through the islands. These men would not admit to not knowing about the local culture. They are, however, frequently less knowledgeable than western tourists and they are keen to imitate western behaviour. It is these 'guides' that have been known to kiss in front of *bhaga*, to hold hands in public and to demean local cultural values as primitive.

A second trip may be made once they "know" the Eastern Islands well enough to sell themselves to tourists that are "fed up with the hassle" of Bali and Lombok. The self-appointed 'cowboy guide' wants little more than to cover his costs. He takes a large bag of sweets for the children and cigarettes for the men so that the villagers will be friendly. When I have suggested to such guides that they could engage locals as guides, and translate for the tourists, they stated that the locals are "too primitive" and that there were no signs indicating that such local guides were available.

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<sup>96</sup> *La'a* = travel *dulu* = together. The expression implies only together for their travels.

<sup>97</sup> Term frequently used by local guides when speaking in English and 'Cowboy' has entered Indonesian colloquial language.

'The typical guide' could be characterised as a male in his twenties with a high school education and perhaps a semester or two at college. They can converse in English and/or another foreign language. They work for national tour operators such as Ramayana or Mega Buana and have probably entered the profession through a relative or close family friend. Their clients arrive at either Maumere or Labuhan Bajo and travel to the other end of Flores via Keli Mutu in between 3 and 6 days. These guides will readily admit their shortcomings and are embarrassed by their own lack of knowledge. They successfully hide this from the tourists, who expect little else from their 'third world' guide. Some are less self-effacing and, as one informed me, "I'm native Flores, so I know". However, I frequently heard flawed accounts given by these guides.

'Professional guides' do exist on Flores. These guides have excellent language skills and take large groups of tourists, and thus fulfil the criteria set by Cohen (1985). However, the tourist type that they guide, and particularly the schedule they are working to, leads to its own set of problems. They don't explain the weaving process in Bena:<sup>98</sup> the tourists are told that "it is the same as in Maumere<sup>99</sup>". They don't use a local to explain the culture because "They take too long. We must stick to the schedule". They concentrated on the fluent operation of the whole tour to the detriment of detailed interpretation of local phenomena or developing relations with villagers. One such guide, who called himself an activist, is a member of Contours and a follower of Tourism Concern on the Internet. He said "I'm ruining the culture, but I have to separate idealism from reality. I earn my living doing this". Professional guides may be indistinguishable from Indonesian tour leaders. Some accompany tours that visit a variety of destinations and some work alongside local guides or site-specific guides.

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<sup>98</sup> Bena women are aware that sales are greater when guides make the effort to explain the process. They claim to know that tourists ask for information about the weaving and are unhappy that explanations are not forthcoming. They also claim that guides do not quote the correct prices, or warn the tourists that Bena ikats are expensive without pointing out the reasons why.

<sup>99</sup> The principle of ikat is the same all over the Eastern Islands of Indonesia. The motifs, colours and yarns are quite different.

#### **5.3.4 Driver-guides**

These men are strictly speaking not guides and many will tell you “I’m not a guide, I’m just a driver”. Indeed, many work purely as drivers, together with guides from any of the above categories. However, increasingly, and particularly since the economic crisis, tourists form groups and hire a car and driver in Labuhan Bajo or Maumere to take them across the island. The drivers become familiar with the tourist routes and deliver the tourists to the villages. Many park at the entrance and remain in their cars (or the shop in Bena) and leave the tourists to walk around. Their English is limited and their cultural knowledge likewise. They were rarely heard providing false information to tourists but the villagers and guides dislike them. The guides lose business because of them and the tourists wander around on their own without any interpretation at all. The villagers are most perplexed by these tourists who show little respect for the villagers’ way of life. Villagers frequently asked me: “Why do they come? They know nothing from just looking. What do they want?”

Driver-guides are not licensed to guide tourists around the villages. However, as members of the management team in Bena said, “How do we know if he has a provincial licence? He could get angry if he has”. Or, “ He could be a local tourist if he buys a ticket. How do we know he is a ‘wild guide’ (*guide liar* Ind)?” When a driver was new, the villagers were unable to distinguish if he was a provincial guide, a domestic tourist, or an unofficial (wild) guide. Driver-guides that came regularly rarely attempted to guide tourists around the villages. However, they frequently dropped off poorly dressed groups of tourists who were unaware that their dress and “horseplay” were causing offence.

#### **5.3.5 Tour leaders**

Tour leaders also work to mediate the tourists' experiences and behaviour in Ngadha villages. They differ from guides in that they are usually staff from countries where tourists originate or are Indonesians leading tours to a variety of provinces. In many cases, they work alongside local guides. I worked as a tour leader taking tours to Ngadha for six years. I also had long chats, over dinner, with the tour leader of a Dutch-

based tour company that brings the most groups to Ngadha and a Danish couple who were planning to operate tours in the area. Only my own company arranged for tourists to stay in the villagers' homes. All the other tour operators stay overnight in Bajawa and take excursions to the villages.

The tour leader from the most used tour operator works alongside a local guide. The tour follows the same path that the local guides take. The leader told me "We try to visit villages that do not receive many tourists. We still go to Bena but we spend much more time in Bela, Luba and Nage". My own company also thought it was important to stay in a less visited village. However, the Danish couple thought it was important to "consider the capacity of a village to take tourism pressure".

On the subject of managing the tourists' behaviour, the leader from the Dutch based company said, "We certainly do not allow our guests to give out sweets to kids or wear inappropriate clothing". The Danish couple has meetings with clients in Denmark in winter "They are more about instructions than information and we provide a 50 page booklet which includes general and specific do's and don'ts".

One of the successes of my own tour company was that both a western and an Indonesian tour leader accompanied tours. When we first visited Wogo, the villagers stressed to my Indonesian partner the importance of the tourists being correctly dressed, if they were to stay in the village. As a Western female, I was able to be strict with the groups and strongly direct what clothing should be worn, in a way that an Indonesian would consider to be causing offence.

When I suggested to one of our Indonesian employees that he should take a very small group alone, he said "Yeah, but I cannot possibly explain to tourists what clothes are unacceptable the way you do. What happens if on a village visit they dress in a mini skirt? We always get some clients who like exposing themselves". When I suggested it

was his duty to explain he stared at me - surely I knew - "for an Indonesian it's too difficult".

On their exploratory trip, the Danish couple used a local guide. They did not think he was informative and thought that local guide improvement was essential for upgrading tourism in the region. "They need to provide more deep information, more stories from the local people. I don't think we would use one except perhaps for translation.

### **5.3.6 The SMIP students (High school trainee guides)**

While I was in Wogo, 180 students from a tourism high school (SMIP) in Maumere came to stay overnight. Field trips for the tourism students are arranged throughout the students' 3-year course. One weekend is spent in a Ngadha village, which, according to the school's head teacher, is arranged "in order for them to know the local traditional culture". The journey from Maumere takes eight hours each way, leaving little time to learn about the culture, even if these non-Ngadha students were so inclined. Most of the guides-to-be were more interested in being on holiday themselves than doing any serious learning in the village. In fact, they partied until dawn and had a question-and-answer session a few hours later.

Their enthusiasm to use English, "the language of tourism", led to misunderstandings that I heard repeated by guides, time and time again. For example, translating the local Ngadha term *woe* as 'ethnic group' led to guides telling tourists "there are nine ethnic groups in Wogo". It was clear from the type of questions that the students asked that they did not have any deep interest in the local culture. All they really wanted were sound-bites that would impress tourists, culture rendered into a few memorable phrases that could be regurgitated when passing through the area.

The head teacher was keen that data were collected: "it is important that someone goes to the hot spring and gets the data on what's there so we know what "objects" there are in this area". The term for tourist attraction in Indonesian is *obyek pariwisata* (tourist

objects). All attractions are recorded and listed: a lake, a view, a traditional house, a traditional village and so on. The head teacher's data collection reiterated and reconfirmed the objectification of attractions in Indonesia.

## 5.4 Summary

This chapter has examined the actors that mediate tourism in Ngadha. The actions (and inaction) of government departments, the narrative in guidebooks, and the words and deeds of guides influence the way tourists and villagers experience tourism in Ngadha.

Overall, it can be seen that the government's perceptions of tourism follows a well-documented pattern of tourism in less developed countries. Tourism is seen as important to generate income and diversify the economy. As with other highly centralised new nation-states, power from the centre comes down through the bureaucratic structures. There is little or no co-operation between departments and few mechanisms for the flow of information from the bottom upwards. Those lower down the structure are fearful of authority and not empowered to act on their own initiatives.

The provincial government has provided physical structures in Bena. The homestays and souvenir shop, which are not used for their original purposes, serve to illustrate how not to manage tourism in Ngadha. The viewing post is used daily and is important in structuring the tourists' experience in the *nua*. The creation of the tourism management group and the use of tickets in Bena have been important actions in the management of tourism in Bena. The government's minimal marketing efforts have marketed Bena to the exclusion of other villages.

The appointments of caretakers and cultural officers have encouraged the preservation of the outward signs of the villagers' culture and have thus been important aspects of tourism development. The Department of Education and Culture employs one or two members of some *nua*, and provides the visitors' books but does not involve itself with the donations and the allocation of funds.



The recently established Department of Tourism has run educational programmes for guides and villagers. They have failed to persuade Wogo to set up a tourism management group, establish a ticket system or deal with the villagers' problems concerning the allocation of tourist donations. The department requires data on tourists and tourism but is not obtaining them. No government department has taken any action regarding the education of tourists about appropriate behaviour. Management of tourists' behaviour is also conspicuous by its absence from the government's guide training program.

Guidebooks influence where tourists stay and which villages they visit but do little to influence tourists' behaviour in the villages. Guidebooks contain incorrect information, inaccuracies and myths. Some of these may directly or indirectly influence the guides and the government, as well as the tourists.

Guides are the most visible bridge-actors or go-betweens in Ngadha tourism. There is a variety of different guides. The local self-employed guides offer a standardised day package. They take more tourists to Bena than Wogo because the former has a reputation and tourists want to go there. The guides' work as culture-brokers requires translating the strange culture of the village into an idiom familiar to a range of tourists. Many guides did not feel they had the cultural knowledge to satisfy the demands of some tourists. The guides had a tendency to over-emphasise some aspects of Ngadha culture. Markers relating to the material aspects of tradition (e.g. megaliths, and traditional houses) and the past (e.g. large families, and large numbers of buffalo slaughtered) presenting a romantic, frozen unchanging image of culture were used at the expense of explaining contemporary aspects of the villagers lives. Guides found the management of tourists' behaviour, especially with regards to appropriate dress, a difficult aspect of their work.

## Chapter 6

### The tourists and their perceptions of tourism in Ngadha

#### 6.0 Introduction

This chapter examines tourism in Ngadha from the perspective of the tourists. The tourists' values, attitudes and behaviour are not homogeneous. Although they are all cultural tourists, seeking the exotic other, they vary in a number of fundamental ways. In order to get a deeper understanding of them, I have developed a tourist typology. The factors that affect the tourists' perceptions are examined and their attitudes to commercialisation and attending rituals are analysed. The final sections of the chapter examine tourists' varying desires for social interaction and the factors affecting their behaviour management.

#### 6.1 Some tourists in Ngadha

Margaret was in the first group I took to Wogo. She was an experienced tourist in her late 50s. Despite the problems she reports in her diary, she described her stay in Wogo as "the best bit" of her "most fantastic trip". She suggested that we rename Wogo as something else in our marketing material so that no one else finds it. "It's such a special place it would be terrible if it was spoilt by tourists".

"Immediately surrounded by youngsters, we rather hesitantly got off the bus. With great ceremony we were ushered to sit on mats on the terrace of one of their splendid houses... Sitting like royalty on the platform ever increasing numbers of children and adults packed the compound in front of us. Fingers started pointing at cameras and then back at themselves. Having sought permission from Stroma we began to take photos. The youngsters clapped and cheered with delight every time the flash went off. Tea and coffee were made and passed around (eventually without sugar!!) They were amazed we don't like sugar.

I was longing to spend a penny but did not know where to go. The welcome speeches were going on and on. As we sat cross-legged on the floor we thought our legs would go numb.

We had to bed down on a wide woven mat on the wooden floorboards. Our hosts watched as we prepared for bed. Staying dressed and donning jumpers we were most uncomfortable and freezing! Huge wafts of cold air rose through the slatted floor. It was impossible to sleep, with our hosts chatting and rustling noises in the rafters. Jane said she saw a rat run along the rafter above her head!"

Extracts from Margaret's diary (1989).

Bernard, a 31 year old German, was travelling across Flores as part of his six months travels. He wanted to go to Bena because it was in his guidebook (*South East Asia on a Shoestring*) and joined a group with a guide mainly to facilitate transport to Bena. With his local guide, he had visited Bela, Luba, and Bena. They had returned to the guide's house in Langga for lunch and spent the afternoon at the hot springs in Soa. Bernard thought that the trip visited too many places in too little time. He had wanted to leave earlier in the morning and spend more time in one village. "You need to spend more time in one village to have a good cultural experience. I took photographs of the people, they didn't mind, but it would be better if I could have communicated with them. My guide didn't help us talk to the people."

The guide did not advise the group about clothing and Bernard was uncomfortable about how some of the tourists were dressed. "Maybe in Bali it's OK to dress like some fashion show but I think the people respect you better if you wear a bit more", he said. Bernard had already spent three months in Indonesia but rated his stay in Ngadha highly: "It is a fascinating culture, the way they mix animism and Catholicism. I would like to have learnt more about the way they live and how they interact with nature."

A driver dropped off Sophie, Katy, Steve and another couple. They paid for their tickets but complained about paying the parking charge (\$0.05) for their minibus. They filled in the visitor's book and wrote comments ('great') on their initial impressions. Steve described himself to me as a "post-traveller tourist - I'm not a traveller - that's 'ponsey'. I'm here (in Indonesia) because it's cheap, the beer, the fags – it's great. I'm learning the language. I love it here! We're on our way to Labuhan, where I'll hang out till my visa runs out again"

While Steve and I chatted, Sophie and Katy walked up one side of the village to the viewing post and back down the other. Both were wearing shorts and vests. Sophie's vest was short and tight stopping some inches above her shorts. Katy's was baggy displaying her bra underneath. Twenty minutes later they returned and sat in front of the shop, smoking, sunning themselves, and chatting while they waited for the other couple to return. As a villager entered the shop, he attempted to greet them "*Selamat pagi* (Ind)" (good morning) but they did not respond.

The other couple was taking photographs of the villagers' graves when a few children began edging towards them. While rummaging through their bag, the tourists began trying to communicate with the children "What's your name?" "How old are you?" The exchange was concluded with the passing round of lollipops. The couple examined some ikat cloth but negotiations did not result in a sale. They were going to buy a drink before continuing their journey but said "We can't stand warm Sprite, we'll wait till we get back to Bajawa".

## **6.2 A typology of tourists in Ngadha**

As discussed in Chapter 1, the segmentation of tourists into types is an analytical device to deliver a deeper understanding of tourists. I have built on Smith's (1978) typology of tourists as it deals with tourist behaviour, adaptation to local norms and socio-cultural factors. The typology is constructed to help examine what behaviour is attributable to the different types of tourists. My typology has been designed as a means to better facilitate addressing which tourists behave in ways that conflict with the villagers' value systems, and why, rather than to examine life-style data or psychographics, which provide little understanding of tourist behaviour in destinations (Manenec and Zins 1994).

I discovered that sources of knowledge and previous travel experience were important factors in tourist behaviour, so these have been incorporated into the typology. The level of knowledge indicated in the typology was ascertained in three ways. First, from pre-visit questions put to tourists; secondly, from questions tourists asked me, when we met in the villages (these frequently demonstrated whether or not they had an understanding of the villagers' livelihood and culture); and thirdly, from post-visit questions. (Questions put to tourists can be found in Appendix 3).

Adaptation to local norms is indicated for each of the tourist types. This judgement is made according to the clothing worn and behaviour displayed by tourists and how it

accords with villagers' values. To facilitate the categorisation, the villagers were asked to indicate if tourists were polite, impolite (or indecent) or rude (or offensive)<sup>100</sup>.

Where appropriate, Smith's (1978) categories are maintained: elite, incipient mass and mass. Unlike in Smith's typology, the order of the groups does not reflect the volume of tourists, although the elite tourists were fewest in numbers. Shoestring tourists are the most frequent tourists to Ngadha. I have divided this group in two according to direction of travel, eastbound and westbound, as there were differences in their perceptions, behaviour, and adaptability to local norms. There are no self-drive cars for hire on Flores so if a tourist used a car they also had a driver.

Elite tourists have travelled extensively in less developed countries and have often visited Indonesia on more than one occasion. Usually travelling as individuals or in couples, this type of tourist often used more than one guidebook and had high levels of knowledge. While some used local guides, many could speak Indonesian and did not feel the need to. Most of them used a car. These tourists adapted well and I met two who were repeat visitors to the village.

In Smith's original typology (1978: 9) the independent or back packer tourist fell into one category- the "off-beat" tourists. This type of traveller has become increasingly common. This large group is then subdivided into Eastbound, and Westbound shoestring tourists and Bali-Lombok strays. Flores falls on a well-worn track for Europeans heading to Australia and back often as part of a "gap year" before or after university<sup>101</sup>. Shoestring tourists were longer-term travellers than Bali-Lombok strays. The former were travelling for three months or more.

The Eastbound shoestring tourists had travelled through west Indonesia and/ or Sulawesi before arriving in Flores. They had visited other villages and "knew what to expect". However, as Flores was often at the end of their travels they were running out

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<sup>100</sup> *Sopan, kurang sopan, tidak sopan.* (Ind)

of visa time and in a hurry. Many were travel-weary and looking forward to home-comforts. They "couldn't wait to get back to civilisation" and some were not inclined to make the same effort to integrate with the villagers as they had been earlier in their travels.

Although Eastbound shoestring tourists often used the most general guidebook- Lonely Planet's *South East Asia on a shoestring*, they had a reasonable understanding of village life in Indonesia and many adapted well. This type of tourist nearly always travelled by public buses before the economic crisis, but since then they have increasingly formed groups in Labuhan Bajo and hired cars.

The westbound shoestring tourists were travelling from Australia. They had little previous experience of visiting villages in Indonesia and some were still suffering from culture shock because their visit to Ngadha fell into their first week of travelling in a less developed country. Most used buses, either because they did not know how economical it was to hire a car or because arduous bus journeys were still a novelty. With the help of local guides they formed a group for the day. This type of tourist lacked the knowledge to adapt but were more likely to prolong their stay or adapt their travel plans to include attending a ritual.

The Bali-Lombok strays were usually on long holidays rather than career breaks or gap years. Usually travelling for between three and six weeks this group includes young back-packers "doing Indonesia". They often did not intend to get further east than Bali or Lombok. In fact several Bali-Lombok strays were "doing Bali and Lombok" but "got irritated by the hassles" or "tempted by the Lombok-Labuhan boat"<sup>102</sup>. Frequently they had formed a group on the boat and then used a driver guide to travel to Keli Mutu. This group includes women travelling with companion guides. Many of these tourists use Lonely Planets' *Indonesia: on a shoestring* guidebook. Most had poor levels of knowledge and did not adapt well.

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<sup>101</sup> Many fly to and from Indonesia out of Bali and miss out the on Indonesia's Eastern Isles.

<sup>102</sup> A four day boat trip from Lombok to Labuhan Bajo via Komodo and other islands.

The special interest tourists' category are largely small groups of middle-aged tourists but also includes school and college groups from Australia<sup>103</sup>. The tour leaders or teachers of these groups had high levels of knowledge, which they shared with their clients or students. These tourists adapted their clothing and behaviour accordingly.

In Smith's (1978) typology the incipient mass are a 'steady flow' in Ngadha they are more like a trickle. Travelling with national operators and their guides these large (fifteen plus) groups do not carry guidebooks. They spent the least time in the villages and it was difficult to have more than a two-minute conversation with them, so it was hard to gauge their level of knowledge. However, they were not only disappointed that there were no post cards for sale, but considered this epitomised the "villagers' backwardness".

There is no "continuous influx of visitors" as Smith's typology suggests of mass tourism. However, in 1997 a German ship carrying 202 passengers used 16 buses to get to Bena. Although to date this has only occurred once the potential exists for a more massive form of tourism in the area, without any great infrastructure changes.

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<sup>103</sup> I met one school group and one college group in 1998 and was told a few such groups visit each year..

**Table 6.1 Types of tourists in Ngadha**

<p><b>Elite</b></p>	<p>Older age group, make return visits.          Travel as individuals or couples.          Often use a car and driver.          Sometimes use local guides, but may speak Indonesian and then frequently travel without a guide.          Have travelled extensively.          Often carry more than one guidebook.          High levels of knowledge.          Most adapt well.</p>
<p><b>Eastbound Shoestring tourists.</b></p>	<p>Young, travelling long-term (3 months or more), often en-route to Australia.          Form groups to share a local guide, or employ a driver guide.          Have visited other Indonesian villages.          Use Lonely Planet's <i>South East Asia on a Shoestring</i> guidebook.          Reasonable levels of knowledge.          Adapt reasonably well.</p>
<p><b>Westbound Shoestring tourists.</b></p>	<p>As above: young, long-term travellers but heading West from Australia.          Form groups and use local guides          Use Lonely Planet's <i>South East Asia on a Shoestring</i> guidebook..          Have very little previous experience, some still culture-shocked.          Do not adapt well.          Poor level of knowledge</p>
<p><b>Bali/Lombok strays</b></p>	<p>Includes young back-packers 'doing Indonesia'          Frequently have formed a group on a boat and use a driver guide, or are travelling with a 'companion guide' from Yogyakarta, Bali or Lombok.          Use Lonely Planet's <i>Indonesia on a shoestring</i> guide book          Poor levels of knowledge.</p>



	Do not adapt well.
<b>Specialist group tourists</b>	Usually middle aged tourists, but also includes school and college groups from Australia. Travel in small groups (8-20) people with 'concerned' operators. Have a tour leader or teacher but some use a local guide as well Have a good level of knowledge. Adapt reasonably well / very well.
<b>Incipient Mass</b>	Mostly middle-aged. Travelling in groups of fifteen plus, with companies that have offices in Labuhan Bajo and Maumere. Use national or out-of-area guides. Do not use guidebooks. Little knowledge. Adaptation variable.
<b>Mass</b>	In 1997 a German ship carrying 202 passengers used 16 buses to get to Bena. A one-off that indicates the potential for a more massive form of tourism in the area.

### 6.3 General perceptions of Ngadha Villages

General perceptions were deduced from comments written in the guest books in both Bena and Wogo, in a notebook I left in Bena for additional comments from tourists, post-trip interviews, and numerous opportunities for spontaneous chats. The tourists thought "the villages were beautiful", "the people were friendly" and many commented that "the children were nice". They frequently made comments that the villagers should keep their villages as they were and their traditions alive. Tourists had favourable impressions of their experiences. Some thought that the trip was a highlight of their travels, "worth coming all the way to Flores for"; "the most beautiful villages we have visited in Indonesia" "the least spoilt villages we have seen"; and "the most traditional culture" they had observed. Beyond these general comments, tourists' perspectives of their experiences were dependent on a number of factors and differed in relation to which village(s) they visited. The factors affecting tourists' impressions will be examined first before an analysis of issues that underlie their perceptions.

## **6.4 Factors affecting tourists' perceptions**

As discussed earlier, the guidebooks used by tourists affected where they stayed and which villages they visited. The guidebooks are also likely to have affected their pre-trip images and what tourists focused their gaze upon in the villages. As the majority of tourists used similar guidebooks, or were presented with very similar information about Ngadha, it is unlikely that guidebooks can account for the differences in tourists' perceptions. Shoestring tourists, who used a single guidebook for all of South East Asia, were furnished with the least detailed information to form their pre-trip images. The major factors in determining the different perceptions held by the different types of tourists were previous experience of Indonesian (or possibly other South East Asian) villages, the variable amounts of human activity in villages from one day to another, and the use of guides.

### **6.4.1 Previous experience of Indonesian villages**

If tourists had not visited other traditional villages in Indonesia (or other places in South East Asia) such as in Tanah Toraja, Nias or Toba, the villages seemed "too good to be true", "too perfect", "unreal" or model-like. Tourists who had visited other villages in Ngadha that contained both concrete and wooden houses with a mix of both tin roofs and thatched roofs were more inclined to voice the opinion that Bena and Wogo were "alive only for tourism" "like walking into a show" "like a picture postcard". For some tourists, these views were expressed about Wogo because "There was nobody around, it was dead, alive only for tourism". For others, the same views were expressed about Bena. Due to the sales made to tourists, the village appeared "unnatural, a model for tourists".

Tourists' pre-trip perceptions of cultural villages varied according to previous experiences. Eastbound shoestring tourists expected the villages to be less well preserved. They had visited other parts of Indonesia and were more likely to compare Ngadha villages with other similar experiences. Westbound shoestring tourists, in contrast, had little previous experience on which to base their expectations.

Experience from other villages in Indonesia prepared tourists for the mix of Catholic and pre-Catholic symbols in the villages, as this is common in a variety of areas across the archipelago. The Westbound, inexperienced, tourists knew little about the syncretism of Indonesian belief systems and were confused about the existence of Catholic and pre-Catholic belief system symbols. They were confused about Catholic graves alongside megaliths and concluded that the latter were preserved for the tourists' sake or, in the case of one tourist, that the Catholic graves were put in the village for show.

The tourists that were new to Indonesia were more likely to conclude that the villages were preserved for tourists. They did not believe that what they were seeing were real authentic living villages. These tourists denied or doubted the authenticity of the villages.

#### **6.4.2 Variation in visible human activity from one day to another**

Sometimes, when tourists visited the villages, there were few people around; on other occasions, the tourists arrived in the middle of a major ritual and the villages were full of people and activity. Wogo is more dependent on agriculture, so during the day, when tourists visit, villagers are often in the fields, and the *nua* is frequently devoid of villagers (except a few very old and very young). "There was nobody there. I've seen the houses and megaliths in other villages. It was like walking around a museum..." "It felt weird, walking around but there were no people, just one old lady..." "It's much better when you can see how the people live, just seeing their houses doesn't give you much of an impression". "We really like to meet the people; that's why we hired a guide – hopefully he will help to translate". On viewing a seemingly unoccupied village, the tourists were at once disappointed and quick to conclude that the village is "a dying village, preserved for tourists".

In Bena, tourists frequently viewed women on their terraces weaving. However, this was not always the case. When a ritual was being prepared, women stopped weaving in order to participate in community activities, some of which tourists could observe. On Sundays, although there were no weavers to observe, the village volleyball matches that

took place in the *nua* would provide a focus for the tourists' gaze. On a few occasions, such as when there was a funeral in the neighbourhood and a large proportion of the villagers attended, tourists found, as in Wogo, a largely unoccupied village. For the greatest proportion of days, there was much more human activity to be viewed in Bena than in Wogo.

Tourists want to view human activity as part of village life. The number of villagers present in the *nua* during a tourist's visit affected their perceptions. To see the stage without the actors did not fulfil their expectations of a cultural village visit. With the exception of the incipient mass tourists, authenticity, beyond the physical props and touristic spaces, was sought. The desire for focused social interaction suggested by other authors (for example, Hughes 1995, Moscardo and Pearce 1999, Cohen 1989) is discussed further below.

#### **6.4.3 Guides' impact on perceptions**

The vast majority of tourists visit the villages of Ngadha with guides. Local guides accompany some elite, some shoestring and some specialist group tourists. Local guides manipulate their good relations with the villagers in Bena, to facilitate understanding of the villagers' lives for tourists. For example, on a quiet day, a guide used a few handfuls of macadamia nuts, left to dry on a stone, as an entry point into an explanation of the villagers' livelihood. Having offered the tourists a taste, the guide entered into a conversation with a villager about how much he could earn from the crop and then translated this for tourists. Frequently an old man, who sat on a terrace producing *lega* (bags worn by men at ceremonies), was used as an entry point to discuss a variety of rituals in the village. Guides would ask him, and translate to tourists, how long it took to make the bag, how much he would sell it for and the significance of the bag worn in ceremonies. Some guides would use the example of washing being dried on megaliths to explain that this does not reduce the sanctity of the stones, that the villagers use the stones for profane as well as sacred purposes.

Through the explanations provided by guides, tourists would have a better understanding of the villages. The megaliths for example, would be understood, not as

relics of a pre-Catholic past preserved for tourism, but as part of the villages on-going belief system. The guides could explain the apparently empty village and the few villagers that remained could be engaged in conversation. Tourists that use local guides are subject to less cultural confusion and were less inclined to view the villages as “models for tourists”. The Bali-Lombok strays and some shoestring tourists (more often Eastbound) that used ‘driver guides’ were less likely to be provided with the necessary narratives or to be accompanied on their walk around the villages. They were, therefore, more likely to view the villages as “unreal”.

### **6.5 Perceptions on commercialisation**

Many tourists, usually from the elite, shoestring or specialist groups, described Bena as “spoilt” “a bit spoilt” or, as one put it, having “a veneer of commercialism”. The reasons given for these opinions were the ticket sales, the Coca-Cola sales, the large number of houses displaying ikats for sale, the fact that children asked for sweets, and the requests for money to take photographs (especially when they were asked for money to photograph the new *ngadhu*).

Tourists’ views about the sale of tickets to visit Ngadha villages were expressed as follows: “Paying for tickets feels like a set-up”, “It’s fake to pay for something so beautiful”, “We would pay more if we knew where the money was going”. Tourists thought it was unreasonable to charge for entry for what they considered to be public spaces.<sup>104</sup>

These comments reveal that tourists see the sale of tickets as the commercialisation of culture, spoiling a village by making it “touristy”. When a village uses tickets, it indicates that it is used to tourists, and is on the beaten track. Shoestring tourists who strive to stay “off the beaten track” view this form of commercialisation particularly negatively. For this reason, many tourists preferred Nage, a village that does not sell

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<sup>104</sup> The same unwillingness to pay for public space is expressed with regard to the use of the British countryside. (Sharpely 1993).

tickets (but was planning to). Specialist tour groups also wish to avoid villages spoilt by tourism. As the tour leader said, “Our company wants to visit villages that don’t have tourists”. My own company stopped visiting Wogo when guides brought tourists to see performances we had sponsored. We moved to a remoter village in the hope that our clients would have a unique experience, exclusive to our group, unspoilt by the presence of other tourists.

Tourists claimed that they preferred to make voluntary donations. As local guides paid entrance fees, many tourists were unaware of the ticket price paid in Bena. When I told them, tourists were surprised how little they cost - US\$0.25 in 1998<sup>105</sup>. The tourists did not feel over-charged but viewed the use of tickets negatively. I asked tourists how much they would have paid if making a voluntary donation (before telling them the ticket price). Indeed, many would have paid more than the ticket price. In Wogo, as elsewhere, the amount tourists donate is recorded in the guest book. Frequently, the donation was more than the ticket price in Bena. In Wogo, the average was US\$0.50. Following the example of previous visitors, a standard is developed<sup>106</sup>. When a couple in Wogo donated US\$0.50, they said that larger donations were pointed out to them, as if to suggest they should pay more. “He (referring to the caretaker) subtly applied pressure to give him some more, but we didn’t. We knew (from a visit the previous day) that in Bena tourists pay US\$0.25 each, so we thought our donation was fair. A standard ticket price clearly affected these tourists’ perceptions about what was a fair price to pay.

Several tourists suggested that they would be happier to pay if they knew what the money was for and some said that they would pay more if they were donating to a specific project. Contributions by my own clients towards the water project in Wogo were twenty-five times the going rate for donations to visit the village. This in part reflects the socio-economic class of specialist group tourists and it cannot be assumed that shoestring tourists would be so generous. However, further information about the

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<sup>105</sup> The exchange rate was particularly favourable for tourists at this time.

<sup>106</sup> Erb (1998) observes the same phenomena in Manggarai.

economic situation of the villagers and specific projects for tourists to donate to, are likely to raise more revenue from tourism than the standard ticket sales.

Although tourists believed that the “villagers should keep their traditions” and “preserve their culture”, many explicitly commented that it was the government’s role to provide the necessary finance.

The sales of other products meant Bena was “touristy”, according to many tourists. The sale of Coca-Cola is clearly tourist-related, as is the sale of bottled water. Tourists also sometimes purchase biscuits sold at the shop. The villages’ shop that sells these products is at the village entrance, so all the tourists pass it. It is here that vehicles are parked and tourists convene to continue their journey. The shop doubles as the “bus stop” where guides, driver guides and villagers wait. Some guides have a late breakfast of noodles while their clients walk around the village.

Many houses in the village display ikat cloth for sale to tourists. Although the fabric is hand made, bright synthetic yarn is used. The colours do not correspond to the tourists’ notion of “traditional and primitive” and the fabrics are therefore considered inauthentic. The cloth frequently failed to fulfil the desires for a memento of the tourists’ visit to an exotic and ‘primitive’ village. The villagers are aware of this and have tried to incorporate more browns and reds as primitive colours. However, the synthetic browns and reds do not correspond to the tourists' expectations either<sup>107</sup>.

Westbound tourists and elite tourists who have visited parts of Nusa Tenggara Timor may well have visited places that still use vegetable dyes e.g Watu Belapi, near Maumere and Jompu near Ende. The ikats that result are less bright and more fitting with tourists' expectations. Several tourists made comparisons, and some that had not already bought an ikat were regretful that they had not bought a nicer one further east.

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<sup>107</sup> Forshee discusses how Balinese design galleries refused cloths that were "too chemical in appearance" (2001:170)

Westbound tourists were often aware of more authentically coloured ikats from the galleries in Bali and wanted to buy an ikat memento that better met their expectations.

The bright colours were popular with the Australian high-school tourists. It may have been co-incidental that the colours popular in the village, purple and green, were also fashionable at the time, or, perhaps this group of tourists had fewer preconceptions of ikats that would serve as souvenirs.

A few houses also display other souvenirs such as coconut shell bowls and woven baskets and long-knives. Bena was considered spoilt because villagers appeared to be money-minded. As one tour leader said, "In Bena, they are economically minded. When they know I can speak Indonesian, they ask me to suggest to my clients that they buy an ikat". As a tourist said, "They want our money in this village. Look, nearly all the houses are trying to sell ikats". "These people have become money-minded because of tourism". In comparing Bena with other villages, tourists pointed out, "Nobody tried to sell us ikats in Nage", "Bela and Luba are less spoilt. The villagers are not selling to tourists".

The view that the villagers in Bena are more economically minded than in other villages needs to be questioned. The villagers of Nage do not produce ikats and therefore do not sell them. When the women of Nage helped me to buy coconut oil and palm spirit produced in the village, they added a small profit margin for their efforts. The economic necessities of life in Ngadha villages mean that villagers seek opportunities to make money. As Bena receives large numbers of tourists (relative to the other villages), they use this as an opportunity to gain an income.

According to the incipient mass tourists, the villagers were not economically minded enough. "They do not sell postcards? Really? Everyone sells postcards!" one woman exclaimed. When one incipient mass tourist asked how much one of Mama Mia's ikat cloths was, Mama Mia replied "eight-five" (meaning Rp.85,000), showing eight fingers and then five. "Very expensive", retorted the tourist. But her friend asked "Is that in guilders or dollars?" Seeing Mama Mia's face contort with incomprehension, I could not



help intervening and explaining that the cloths cost about eight dollars. The tourists bought three of the four Mama Mia was displaying.

It is common in many parts of the developing world that children ask tourists for sweets and pens. It is a clear sign that tourists have been before. Although I was asked for sweets by children in all the Ngadha villages and in the town of Bajawa, tourists used this as an example of why Bena was spoilt. Although tourists viewed requests for sweets from children negatively, many tourists and out-of-area guides did give children sweets. Several tourists pointed out that the children in Bena were not offensive when their requests were unfulfilled, unlike their experiences in other areas of Indonesia e.g. Tanah Toraja and Nias.

Many elite, shoestring and specialist tourists visited more than one Ngadha village. They usually preferred villages that were less used to tourists and made little attempt to make money from tourism. Authenticity is a value sought by cultural tourists to Ngadha villages, and commercialisation was equated with the loss of authenticity. Villages that were less commercialised were preferred. Further, tourists preferred villages that appeared economically poorer, e.g. Nage and Bela. In seeking experiences as far removed from their own life-style, tourists seek “primitive” culture. Poverty is related to primitive in the minds of tourists, as is not being “economically-minded”. Although I did not investigate these views specifically it would appear that: tourists preferred poorer villages as these were considered the most primitive and therefore the most authentic.

## **6.6 Tourists’ perceptions of rituals**

Tourism to Ngadha is seasonal. The August peak season coincides with many house-building rituals. It is therefore common for tourists to see villagers preparing for, or engaged in, rituals. Most tourists only spend one day (two nights) in the area. When they hear of a ritual happening the day they have planned to leave they experience stress and anxiety. They are torn between taking in some other sites or prolonging their stay

to witness a ritual. Tourists do not want to feel they have missed something but many have ambitious and inflexible travel plans. Elite and Westbound shoestring tourists were the most likely to change their travel plans to attend a ritual.

Negotiating changes to travel plans with other members of temporarily formed groups and drivers led to additional stress. Sometimes, Eastbound shoestring tourists would try to attend a ritual in the morning and continue their journey to Moni in the afternoon. This meant that they were clock-watching and became anxious when rituals did not begin at the times they had expected. The fact that tourists are anxious and stressed not only affected their own enjoyment but also their interactions with villagers.

At rituals, just as the slaughter is the highlight for the villagers; so is it for the tourists. Tourists commented “It’s great to see their real culture”, “We used to do this: it’s amazing to be somewhere it still happens”, “I feel so privileged to see true tradition”. Some tourists (more often women) clearly have a dilemma of whether or not to watch a slaughter. The majority do choose to watch. As male villagers crowd around the beast to be slaughtered, tourists that want a good view compete for “front row” positions. Female villagers do not attempt to get close. Slaughters of buffalo are considered dangerous, as a buffalo could get away and run amok. Women remain on terraces with the children. Many female tourists join their male companions close to the slaughter action. At the Robo Keri ritual in Doka (see section 7.6.1), I was told that I should remain on a terrace. A number of male villagers offered to take photographs for me so that I could get photographs without transgressing norms and upsetting the villagers. I was asked to tell the tourists, which I did. One woman said she was glad because she was unsure if she wanted to watch anyway. Another said that she had come all this way, wanted the photographs and did not trust the villagers with her camera. The third initially stayed back on the terrace. However, when all attention was on the slaughter, she edged closer to watch over the heads of the villagers only to turn her head away after the lethal blow. Women on the terrace nudged me and tutted. Turning away or

burying their faces was behaviour displayed by a number of (usually female) tourists who had thought they wanted to watch but at the last minute were unable to<sup>108</sup>.

Women tourists, having decided to watch, take up “male-space” close to the slaughter. Some were unaware of the gendered division of space, others did not think it applied to them as tourists, and many used photography as an excuse to transgress local norms. The body language of the tourist that turned away expressed shock and upset at an occasion intended to be proud and happy. Tourists, lacking appreciation of the villagers’ emotions associated with slaughter, transgress norms by displaying opposing emotions.

Although most westerners would not choose to witness an animal being butchered in their home environment, on holiday in Ngadha they make particular effort to see animals being slaughtered. Regarding holidays as taking place in sacred time (Graburn 1978), the reversal of normality can be explained, following Turner’s notion of *liminas*. The normality of shunning direct observation of animal slaughter when at home in the western world is overturned in the tourists’ betwixt and between state, during their sacred holiday time.

Observing rituals adds to the authenticity tourists strive to experience. Visiting a village allows the tourist to stand on the stage of the exotic culture. Visiting a village during a ritual allows the tourists to stand shoulder to shoulder with the actors, to be extras in the play. Most tourists, like many villagers, do no more than observe the slaughter. In this point in the ritual, observation is part of the action, and some tourists are able to share the sense of excitement, and perhaps even partake in the villagers’ *communitas*.

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<sup>108</sup> One vegetarian woman turned away from watching a buffalo slaughter, only to accidentally witness a horse being killed by a single blow to the head. She fainted and the villagers’ attention was immediately turned away from their ritual to the well-being of their guest.

Observing ritual slaughters performed by (preferably) a single blow to a buffalo's throat, or pigs' skull, the tourists' confirm their view that the villagers are primitive. The crude, unsanitised slaying of numerous beasts in public, which are then rapidly and roughly chopped up with long knives, on leaves on the ground, contrasts with the modern, hygienic preparations of meat in their home lives. Tourists that observed rituals did not think that the villages were preserved for tourists. The rituals served as proof that the villagers were primitive and their villages were authentic.

### **6.7 Tourists' desire for social interaction**

Tourists spend as little as five minutes and as much as forty-four hours (in the case of our clients) in Ngadha villages. Tourists usually spend more time in Bena (average one hour<sup>109</sup>) than in Wogo (average 20 minutes). During this time they wander around looking at the obvious cultural manifestations: Houses, *ngadhu*, *bhaga*, and megaliths; they take photographs; some play with the children and give gifts of sweets and pens to them; some, with or without the help of guides, enter into conversations with the villagers. In Bena, they may additionally examine and negotiate to buy ikat fabrics and other souvenirs, rest at the viewing post to take in the scenery, rest at the shop and buy drinks and biscuits.

From the observed behaviour of tourists in the villages, only playing with children, negotiating for souvenirs and conversations with villagers involve focused social interaction. Some tourist types - the Bali/Lombok strays, the more travel-weary Eastbound shoestring tourists and the incipient mass - entered into the least social interaction and were content with unfocused social interaction. The Bali/Lombok strays used their visits to gaze and as a means of socialising or sharing experiences with other travellers. Learning from other travellers was as important as learning about Ngadha villages. After twenty minutes looking around Bena they would lie in the sun and chat to fellow travellers for an hour or more. The cultural village was a back-drop for a

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<sup>109</sup> The time of arrival and departure for all tourists in each village was recorded for several days to establish these approximate averages.

conversation that could have taken place anywhere in the world. In these cases, their consumption of cultural tourism fulfilled a focus of interaction with other tourists rather than the experiential characteristics (Sharpley 2000) frequently associated with cultural (ethnic) tourism (Harron and Weiler 1992, Wood, 1984).

Frequently, it was observed that elite tourists, some shoestring tourists and specialist tourists wanted to engage in focused social interaction with villagers. In Wogo especially, if tourists just looked at the village, the visit was over too quickly. If they lingered in the centre of the *nua*, the tourists were exposed and uncomfortable (and in direct tropical sun). Tourists employed strategies to prolong their stay. Some would sit, uninvited, on empty terraces, in which case they might be approached and communication may ensue. More often, tourists would approach children or communicate with children who approached them. They could use their basic Indonesian with less embarrassment with children. Giving out sweets, pens or balloons was frequently a strategy employed to open exchanges with children.

Tourists that used local guides either experienced more focused social interaction, facilitated by the guide, or at least hoped to. As one tourist, working as a volunteer English teacher on Java, said, "Although I can speak some Indonesian, I employed a guide because I thought he would introduce me to the villagers, to make communication easier, to feel less awkward. I thought he would tell me where to go and where not to go and what not to do." His disgruntled partner interrupted, "He doesn't. He's ripping us off: all Indonesians do. They charged us Rp.40, 000 to hire a car to get here."<sup>110</sup>

A Dutch couple met an elderly man in Bena who could speak reasonable Dutch<sup>111</sup>. In their language, he explained much about the culture of Bena. The tourists could have got similar information from a guide but, as they explained, "It's incredible to be able to talk to the villagers about their lives; it made the visit really special. Getting to know

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<sup>110</sup> This was US \$4 for a private charter 25km return on a bad road. The locals would have paid US\$3.50.

<sup>11</sup> He had lived most of his life in Java but had returned to his village for his old age.

local people is important for us when we travel. It's not just seeing places, but meeting people, that makes travelling like this worthwhile."

The different types of tourists exhibited different levels of desire for social interaction and different levels of cultural capital they could employ. The westbound shoestring tourists were keen for social interaction but some were still in a state of culture shock and most lacked the cultural capital, built up from Indonesian village visits, which the eastbound shoestring tourists had. Of this latter group, some were travel-weary and, having met villagers in other areas, were no longer keen to invest their energies. Those that were less jaded had built up tools and skills, transferable from other village visits. They knew how to ask banal questions (questions to which the answers are obvious but are commonly used to open conversation, see section 7.5.7) or were prepared for the questions of socio-cultural location in order to enter into communication with villagers. Elite tourists, likewise, had enough experience to facilitate the high level of social interaction they desired.

As Iso-Ahola (1982) suggests, the fear of embarrassment or incompetence is a limiting factor for some tourists who desire social interaction in an unfamiliar culture. This is especially acute for tourists who were new to Indonesia and still experiencing aspects of culture shock. Although fascinated with the new culture, they faced greater barriers as the signs and symbols of social intercourse are so unfamiliar (Furnham 1984). Without the facilities of a competent guide, tourists were unsure of how to engage with adults. Communication with children was used as a substitute for more meaningful social interaction with adults. Children were easier to approach and attempts at conversations with them were less threatening than potentially embarrassing exchanges with their parents.

## **6.8 Knowledge and adaptation**

As I have suggested, some tourists adapted to the villagers' culture better than others. Those who had previous experience of cultural tourism in Indonesia and had visited

other villages were more likely to have the cultural capital required to adapt. Those who travelled with a local guide (or some tour leaders) were furnished with the knowledge that helped them adapt.

Those least able to adapt were tourists new to Indonesia, not travelling with a local guide. Many of these were westbound shoestring tourists who were very keen to learn about the local culture. Many would not have made social *faux pas* if they had known the correct behaviour. The inappropriate behaviour they displayed was a result of ignorance.

Those travelling with a local guide were usually given some information that prevented some behaviour that villagers found offensive. For example, guides warned tourists that villagers dislike public displays of amorous relations. However, local guides did not provide information on dress codes and sweet-giving. Table 6.2 below summarises the interplay of cultural capital built up from previous village visits and guides as a source of information on behaviour management and the different tourist types.

**Table 6.2 Sources of Knowledge leading to behaviour management of different tourist types.**

		Cultural capital accumulated from previous village visits	
		Yes	No
Information gained through using local guides	Yes	Elite and some Eastbound shoestring tourists.	Some westbound shoestring tourists and specialist groups
	No	Eastbound shoestring tourists that use driver guides	Bali/Lombok strays and Westbound shoestring tourists using driver guides.

Although knowledge was important for a tourist to be able to adapt his or her behaviour in the villages, it was clear that not all tourists adapted their behaviour even when they had the knowledge.

Tourists were observed pushing away ritual food even after their guide had told them it was impolite to refuse it and that it was diplomatic to accept a token amount. In this case the guide provided the tourists with the information but they chose to ignore it. Tourists were also observed pushing villagers out of the way in order to get their desired photographs.

From observation and talking to tourists it appeared that the majority of behaviour that caused offence to villagers arose out of ignorance. If tourists were provided with more information, much offensive behaviour could be avoided. However, some tourist behaviour is caused by attitudes that could perhaps be more accurately described as arrogance. As Pearce explains while some rule breaking by tourists is unintentional, cultural arrogance is "disregarding the sensitivities and reactions of the local community...behaviours which knowingly break moral, religious and social codes" (1995:144 my emphasis). As Pearce (1995) indicates such cultural arrogance presents a barrier to responsible tourism development.



On two occasions, tourists refused to pay for their tickets or make a donation. Their view was that the *nua* was a public space and anyone could walk through it. In 1994 two women tourists who refused to pay for their tickets in Bena ended up in a physical fight when villagers tried to prevent their entry due to the non-payment. Although I did not witness the fight, I met these women some days later, on a ferry to Sulawesi. Both were badly bruised. One woman's nose appeared broken and she had a black eye. The other woman's shoulder was severely swollen and she thought she might have broken her collarbone. Despite the apparent severity of their injuries, they chose not to seek medical advice and were in a hurry to leave Flores. The only common aspects between the villagers' and the women's story was that the fight occurred in Bena and was provoked by the women's refusal to pay for their tickets. Since this occurrence, in order to prevent disagreements escalating into violence, villagers ignore tourists that refuse to pay for tickets.

### **6.9 Differences in the consumption of tourism in Wogo and Bena.**

Physical differences between Bena and Wogo result in differences in the way tourists gaze in the two villages. As suggested, the viewing post provides a structure for tourists' visits in Bena. It provides an end-point and a place to make for, giving tourists a purpose to their walk. It also provides a vantage-point so that tourists can gaze on the villagers without their knowledge.

The bench outside the village shop, where tickets are sold, provides tourists with a second place to sit and view village life. Although it is a poor vantage-point for the *nua*, this neutral space was regularly used by tourists to take some views of exotic life. A woman balancing large bundles of vegetables or animal fodder on her head as she walks past, a pig trussed up on bamboo poles or children returning from school in their tenth-hand uniform held together with safety-pins are examples of village life that were noteworthy for tourists.

By comparison, Wogo does not have any neutral safe spaces. Tourists must either walk, stand in the *nua* or sit on a villagers' terrace. As indicated, by walking around the *nua*, the visit is concluded too quickly. There is no end point or place to make for in Wogo.

Tourists can view one similar house after another but there are no ikat fabrics to examine and compare from one house to another. Standing in the village leaves tourists feeling exposed (and hot). While many tourists used the camera to hide behind, all photography was overt with very limited opportunity for concealed shots. Sitting on a villager's terrace clearly involves 'invading another's private space'. Eastbound tourists who have built up the cultural knowledge to know that Indonesians do not have the same views on private space and thus do not regard sitting on their terrace as an 'invasion' and have learnt enough Indonesian to sit and chat could turn this into an opportunity for social interaction. Many tourists, however, felt too awkward and vulnerable to sit on a villager's terrace uninvited.

The tourists' experience in Bena is therefore easier. There is more to look at and there are two places, the viewing post and the bench, where tourists can absorb the exotic at a safe distance, with little need for social interaction and resultant feelings of inadequacy.

### **6.10 Summary**

Tourists rated their visits to Ngadha villages highly. The *nua*, houses, *bhaga*, *ngadhu* and megaliths provided the tourists with a feeling of being enclosed in antiquity, a 'primitive' stage to stand on. There were usually more actors on the stage in Bena providing more activity to be viewed and gazed upon by the tourists. For some tourists, the villages were too unreal and felt like a model rather than a real village. The authenticity of a tourism setting is not a tangible asset but a judgement or value placed upon it by the observers (Moscardo and Pearce 1999). The perceived authenticity of the villages was affected by a number of factors. Tourists who had little experience of Indonesian (or other South East Asian) villages doubted their authenticity. When tourists visited an empty village, it was considered to be just a model for tourists. Tourists travelling without local guides were also more likely to deny the villages' authenticity. Similar doubts were expressed by "young authenticity-seeking tourists" in Northern Thailand (Cohen 1979: 27).

The villages were, however, perceived as authentic if the tourists' visit coincided with a ritual. Not only was the 'primitive' stage full of actors but it also gave the tourists an

opportunity to share an experience with them. The tourists' behaviour at rituals expressed *liminas* and inversion as they chose to observe the crude slaying of pigs and buffaloes.

Attempts by the villagers to make money are viewed negatively by tourists. Villages that sell tickets are "touristy" and therefore less authentic. Although some tourists want to drink chilled bottled drinks, for many the sale of such drinks indicates modernity and therefore inauthenticity. While some tourists wanted to buy postcards, most saw villagers' attempts to make sales to tourists as signifiers of "being spoilt". In seeking a contrast with their own culture (Rojek 1997), tourists have notions of how the villages should be: rural, poor, primitive, dirty and traditional in contrast with their urban, rich, sophisticated, clean and modern lives. In the case of the Ngadha villages, judgements by tourists of authenticity were related to poverty, lack of obvious evidence that the villagers were interested in deriving economic benefit from tourism, lack of begging children and evidence of traditional culture without it being too well preserved.

Some tourists, in particular the Bali-Lombok strays, the incipient mass and the travel-weary eastbound shoestring tourists, wanted unfocused social interaction. They were happy to gaze, take photographs and share experiences with other travellers. The other tourists displayed the experiential characteristics of cultural tourists and wanted focused social interaction. Sometimes local guides facilitated this. Sometimes the tourists used children as entry into conversation. For tourists that sought focused social interaction their visit to the villages was over too quickly if it just involved looking, especially in Wogo, where there is less to look at. When tourists got the social interaction they desired, for example, sharing in the villagers' excitement at a ritual or being able to communicate with the villagers or joining in a volley ball match, this was a highlight of their visit.

In order to develop a deeper understanding of the tourists, a typology was developed. Although Smith's (1978) typology was a useful basis for understanding which tourists adapted best in the villages, sources of knowledge and previous experience were considered important factors and were therefore incorporated into the model. An important difference was found between East and West bound shoestring tourists. The

analysis of the tourists' knowledge and adaptation to the villagers' culture also revealed that the majority of inappropriate behaviour was due to tourists' ignorance. However, sometimes, when the tourists knew of how to behave appropriately, but did not, their transgressions were perhaps caused by arrogance.

## Chapter 7

### The villagers' perceptions of tourism

#### 7.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the villagers' perceptions of tourism. As discussed in the previous chapters, Bena is not only more economically dependent on tourism than Wogo but it has also been subject to more state intervention and is more 'touristy'. As a result, perceptions of tourists and tourism differ between the villages. However, as this chapter discusses, there are more similarities than differences. Following a brief description of tourist-villager interaction, I will evaluate the overwhelmingly positive attitudes towards tourists before discussing the problems villagers have with some tourists and tourism. The final section of the chapter examines the perceptions of tourism in the socio-political context and how tourism reflects the political disquiet and disillusionment with the local political system.

#### 7.1 Tourist - villager interaction

Villagers usually see and meet tourists when tourists visit the villages. Some villagers also see tourists when they are in Bajawa. In Bena, the vehicles hired by tourists pull up next to the village shop. When more than one vehicle arrives at once they park in an area created for parking at the bottom of the steps. Local guides often let tourists enjoy the gentle walk down hill from the neighbouring *nua* of Luba, in which case the tourists arrive on foot. Either the sign of transport pulling up at the shop or tourists walking down the hill would result in the villagers hanging out their ikats and putting other souvenirs on display.

Tourists climb the steps and 'enter' the *nua*. They walk around, take photographs, examine and sometimes purchase ikat and other souvenirs, occasionally engaging in dialogue as they pass the villagers' homes. They make their way to the viewing post at

the far end of Bena and take in the spectacular views of the surrounding scenery and look down on Bena.

Nearly all tourists arrive in Wogo by car; a very small number walk from the Trans-Flores highway. The cars park at the entrance to the village where tourists disembark. They then wander around the village in the same way as in Bena. However, there are no souvenirs on display. Whereas in Bena souvenirs provide an opening for conversation, this opportunity does not exist in Wogo. The viewing post in Bena gives the tourists a place to head for and thus a structure to their visit. In Wogo, visits are less structured. Sometimes tourists would get half down Wogo and would cross the *nua* and return to their vehicle. Villagers sometimes try to engage with tourists through greeting and banal questions. Often tourists begin their communication with children.

This pattern of tourist -villager encounter is a typical version of the majority of tourists' visits in the villages. The villagers' perceptions of tourists and tourism are largely based on these short (ten minutes to one hour) visits. The tourists I took, as explained in the introduction, spent two days in Wogo. This represents the other extreme - the rare longer stay. Two or three times a year, a single tourist or a couple request to stay overnight in Bena or Wogo<sup>112</sup>. No other tour company has made arrangements to stay in the villages. However, some groups do turn up and make spontaneous arrangements, for example a group of Austrians arrived in Wogo and arranged to stay as a *kabe pare* (entry step) ritual was under way (see section 7.6.2).

## 7.2 “We like tourists”

There are six general reasons why villagers like tourists and tourism in both Wogo and Bena. Tourists make the villages lively; they provide entertainment, information and status. Tourists help strengthen cultural values, bring development (or have the potential to do so) and have led to the improvement of village facilities. The variations that exist between the perceptions of villagers in Wogo and Bena are examined under each of the general headings.

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<sup>112</sup> When tourists were asked if they would like to stay in villages, nearly half said they would.

### 7.2.1 Just more guests

All the villagers living in *nua* are used to playing host. As the occupants of Houses, the villagers are constantly receiving friends and relatives to stay, from the gardens. Having been used to constant visitors from birth, the villagers like guests and see tourists as an extension of this. Like most Indonesians, “the villagers like life to be noisy, crowded and lively” (*ramai* Ind) (Just 2001:55).<sup>113</sup>

As discussed in Chapter 4, the House hostess (*Dongo Sa'o Ng*) is chosen for her hosting skills and is therefore the perfect person to deal with the constant stream of visitors. This sense of duty is extended to tourists. They are not family members with rights to be in the house, but they are “*tamu negara*” (Ind guests of the nation). It is a duty to the state to show them the utmost in hospitality.<sup>114</sup> It is unusual for members of the village not to extend hospitality to tourists. All members claim to like tourists, not to be bored with tourists, to want more tourists and wish to strengthen and extend their hospitality to tourists. Resoundingly, most tourists are liked because more visitors make life more crowded, noisy and lively.

### 7.2.2 Tourists as Entertainment (*Hiburan*)

In Wogo, the term *tamu* (Ind guest) is normally used to refer to tourists. In Bena, tourists are usually referred to as tourists (*turis* Ind) which according to Hughes-Freeland “is coming to replace the formerly ubiquitous *londo* (Dutch person) as something to yell at Caucasian foreigners” (1993:140). It was the women of Bena who pointed out that tourists provide them with entertainment (*hiburan* Ind), something to look at and gossip about. All guests’ comings and goings in the *nua* were noted and talked about and tourists are no exception. The women of Bena were not bored with seeing tourists. Hair-styles, dress, and body shape combined with the tourists’ origins and which guide they were with (if known), provided eternal conversation starters. On numerous occasions, anyone (including me) sitting on the terrace would be persuaded to

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<sup>113</sup> As Sanger reports, villagers in Bali “miss meeting their friends” in the low season (1988:95).

<sup>114</sup> Similarly the Balinese hospitality offered to tourists is an extension of their tradition of accepting strangers (Sanger 1988).

stand up and stare at “such a fat”, “such an old” or “such a strange” tourist<sup>115</sup>. Villagers that visited the *nua* could be entertained on and off all day by the coming and goings of tourists.

The people of Ngadha have no aversion to being stared at or to staring. On one occasion, I joined the weaving group. As I helped thread a loom, I was not only watched by tourists, but local men and boys passing by stopped and stared at me. Some made comments such as “look a tourist can weave” or “see that *bule* (Ind albino, white skinned person), can they ikat too?” Most just stood and stared. I felt very uncomfortable and asked the local women how they felt. The women disagreed: they felt privileged to be stared at, staring was equated with admiration; it was positive. Furthermore, when tourists stared at them they felt excited and filled with anticipation that they might make a sale.

### 7.2.3 “Tourism will strengthen our cultural values”

In Wogo, liking tourists is linked with increased pride of cultural heritage. They say tourists make them feel proud that their culture is known to outsiders, (*“kami bangga adat istiadat dikenal oleh orang luar”* Ind). The villagers believe that tourism is strengthening cultural values (*“mentebalkan adat istiadat”* Ind) and that the children in the village will have the importance of village custom reconfirmed by seeing tourists come from afar to see it. “If our culture is worth coming all the way from England to see, it is worthy of preservation”, one informant told me. The villagers believe that their reverence and respect of the ancestors can only be helped and not eroded by tourism. Traditions will be maintained because they are a tourist attraction and hence the younger generation will appreciate the belief system. By contrast, in Bena such views were not articulated. Villagers saw no connection between the preservation of custom and tourism. They told me that custom would be preserved regardless of tourism.

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<sup>115</sup> Others note respite from boredom as a reason for appreciating tourists (for example, Hitchcock 1996).



The revitalisation of tradition has been recognised in other areas of Indonesia (see chapter 2 section 2.3). Considering the government's cultural policy, the villagers of Wogo could have been articulating well-absorbed national discourse. However, the inference from the villagers was that this view was learnt from experience rather than repeated nationalist doctrine. Elders used tourism as an excuse to preserve symbols of the ancestors and also claimed that the cultural values would be strengthened by tourists' visits.

#### 7.2.4 Tourists provide a window on the world

The mass media available to the villagers are limited. There are no televisions in Bena and those in the *nua* of Wogo have such bad reception they are rarely watched<sup>116</sup>. Villagers owning radios listen to them only sporadically due to the relatively high cost of batteries. Newspapers are not easily available. A few villagers read *Pos Kupang* (the newspaper is East Nusa Tenggara) but this does not cover international issues. The villagers like tourists, especially those who can converse in Indonesian, or who are prepared to converse through willing guides, because they provide *kakangai otaola* (Ng)), "a window on the world"<sup>117</sup>. This important benefit of tourism is often expressed by explaining that through tourists it is possible to get messages from another world (*Tuku mumu, nunga lema Ng*)<sup>118</sup>. Through conversations with tourists, the villagers learn what goes on outside the area. Most villagers have not been outside Flores – some have not been even as far as Bajawa – and are interested to know what goes on beyond. "We can learn about the world from tourists" was a more commonly cited reason for liking tourists in Wogo than Bena.

A villager's status is raised if they can boast a friend from afar. Just knowing a tourist's name, age and origins will make them a friend and thus a story to be recounted. Increased status due to contact with the outside world is common in Indonesia. "As in Java, guests signify a host's superior status, the greater distances travelled reflect a greater drawing power" (Volkman 1987:167). My choice of residence in Bena was

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<sup>116</sup> By 2000 many children would watch satellite television in friends homes close to the *nua*.

<sup>117</sup> The local expression *kakangai otaola* would translate as ventilation holes on the universe.

<sup>118</sup> Literally to relate lips and bridge tongues.

difficult for this reason. Whichever host I chose would have their status increased (see section 3.4.2).

The villagers liked the idea that they could exchange ideas with people from far afield and reiterated the pan-Indonesian saying: “many friends bring good fortune” (“*banyak teman, banyak rejeki*”Ind). There are two local expressions, both in ‘paired parallel poetic language’ (cf. Forth 1996): “many friends much luck, few friends little luck” (*Hoga woe woso n’oe, hoga woe dhoso n’oe* Ng) and “good friends bring much luck, bad friends bring misfortune” (*Hoga woe modhe ngawu kono one, hoga woe ngesa ngawu ili lema.* Ng). A desire for contact with the wider world combined with a wish for their culture to be known to the world strengthens the villagers like for tourists.

The findings from the villagers were reiterated in a discussion with third year senior high school students. I visited a class, partly as a favour to the English teacher, who was also chair of the guiding association, and partly to further investigate young peoples’ views of tourism. Of class members who wanted to become guides, the reasons given included opportunities to learn about other countries and the opportunity to meet other people from different backgrounds.<sup>119</sup>

As with many societies in the region, travel is valued because it leads to knowledge and respect. This is summed up in another local expression: “wander away, seek knowledge; travel far, seek wisdom” (*la’a ezo, gae go be’o; la’a dada, gae go magha* Ng). In some societies, this is institutionalised, as among the Minangkabau of West Sumatra, whose men leave to *merantau*<sup>120</sup>, and among the Iban of Kalimantan who *bejalai*, a journey to get profit and prestige. As Caslake (1993) discusses, the tradition that a much-journeyed man can command considerable social prestige provides a base for relations with travellers. Tourists are foreigners on *bejalai*.

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<sup>119</sup> Crick (1994), who carried out much more thorough research with high school students in Sri Lanka, found similar responses.

<sup>120</sup> To leave one’s home area. See for example Mochtar Naim (1985), also Blackwood (2000).

### 7.2.5 Economic importance

Being an agriculturally poorer village, Bena's greater dependence on the economic benefits brought by tourists clearly inter-plays with their liking of tourists. Hence, economic importance was the second reason Bena villagers gave for liking tourists. Tourists represent an "outlet for sales" (*pintu jual* Ind) for ikat fabric, and, as tourists walk through the village, women become excited at the prospect of a sale. However, women in Wogo would not consider hanging out their wares in front of their houses. "This is a *sa'o*, not a market, I would be ashamed (*malu*) to hang my baskets (*bere* Ng) outside like a shop," one woman in Wogo told me. Instead, she asked guides if any of their guests needed a basket, and brought them out if requested to do so.

By contrast, such feelings of shame clearly do not exist for the women of Bena, nearly all of whom display their wares outside, on their terraces. These are mainly ikats but increasingly include other items such as long knives, and carved coconut shell bowls. The women of Bena were keen to point out that sales began when tourists started requesting purchases from items hanging on villagers' washing lines and not by women initially offering ikat cloths for sale. Further, the Department of Tourism has provided a souvenir shop so that "all ikat cloths can be hung in one place and not all over the place, as if the village is a market", as a representative from the provincial Department of Tourism said.

### 7.2.6 Facilities

Both Wogo and Bena have gained improved facilities either directly or indirectly as a result of tourism. Tourism has brought piped water closer to the villagers' homes. In the case of Bena, voluntary donations from tourists, before the onset of ticket sales, were used to pipe water to the village. In Wogo, my tour company provided the materials, and the villagers the labour, to bring water and build containers for it, close to the village. Tourism has been a factor in the government's decision to improve the road to Bena. This has meant more and better transport for the villagers and thus eased access to markets in Bajawa and further afield. These fringe benefits have clearly made up part of the villagers' positive view of tourism.

### **7.3 Understanding tourists and tourism**

Alongside the villagers' positive view of tourism is a feeling of bemusement. Frequently I was asked by villagers in Wogo, "Why do they come?", "What do they want?", "They don't ask anything; they don't learn anything; that one didn't even take any photographs", "They just look and take photographs; they do not understand the meanings". Villagers thought I should know why tourists came, looked, took photographs and departed. Similarly, villagers in Bena expressed their lack of understanding of tourists. They are unclear why tourists come and what they want. Villagers in both Bena and Wogo bemoaned their lack of understanding of tourism and hence tried to appropriate my focus groups.

The villagers of Bena had a pragmatic view about their lack of knowledge inasmuch as they felt it was the government's duty to educate them. The villagers' lack of knowledge and confidence in understanding tourists is further reflected in their lack of knowledge of the tourism process.

The villagers' knowledge of tourism processes had been learnt from three sources: the government's tourism awareness campaign (*sadar wisata*), communication with guides and their own experience. The government's campaign taught them, in vague terms, that tourists have come to see the beauty of their village, to see somewhere so different from what can be found elsewhere and that is why it must be preserved. As Adams discusses, the campaign encouraged remote villages to recognise their uniqueness and "to consider their own touristic charms and attracting powers" (1997:158).

Through communication with guides, villagers have learnt that tourists do not like children 'begging' (see section 8.2) and disapprove of villagers asking for money if a tourist wants to take photographs of them. Guides have taught the villagers not to surround tourists or invade their personal space and that some tourists feel nervous when villagers get too close.

From their experiences, the villagers are able to discuss a range of tourist types that visit the villages. As a minimum, three groups are generally identified: the young, dirty, low spenders<sup>121</sup>; the older, fat, high spenders, an increasingly frequent type; and those that want to understand. They know that tourists do not have much time and are, by local standards, impatient; some said increasingly so.

The villagers lacked knowledge about issues of carrying capacity. Several villagers suggested that each of the provincial homestays could accommodate thirty tourists. This was based on their own Houses accommodating in excess of thirty House members at major rituals. However, it is unlikely any tourists would be prepared to sleep in such cramped conditions. Although each homestay could reasonably accommodate eight tourists, only one toilet was provided for all three houses, seriously restricting potential occupancy levels.

Arguably, the psychological carrying capacity of the village of Bena is reaching saturation point during the peak season. Tourists stated dissatisfaction due to too many other tourists. On one day in August 1998, tourists had to queue to get up and down the steps to some of the village's terraces. However, all the villagers but one said they wanted more tourists, including in the high season. Only the chair of the tourism management group suggested that on peak days in August Bena was crowded enough. The environmental carrying capacity also needs to be considered as stone features show increasing signs of wear and tear, for example steps are so worn as to be dangerous in places.

#### **7.4 Tourism and economic development**

In Wogo, the land can supply enough food and cash for the villagers' needs. Villagers said that all that prevented them from earning and producing more was the will to work harder. They are happy and satisfied with what they have already (*puas dengan apa*

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<sup>121</sup> Low/high spenders were identified in Bena but not in Wogo.

*adanya* Ind). However, they are aware that in the next generation shortages will occur and therefore view tourism as a potential vehicle for further economic development. Only 50% of women in Wogo used non-natural<sup>122</sup> family planning and clearly if the population continues to expand at present rates, the land will not meet the needs of future generations to the same extent as it does now. Birth control is much more widely used in Bena (90% use non-natural contraception).

In Bena, tourism has become part of the economic fabric of the village and the villagers are keen to extend this. As in Wogo, all villagers felt that tourism had the potential to bring further development to the village. Underlying the lack of development in Wogo and the slow pace of development in Bena are a number of similar factors: the restriction of entrepreneurial behaviour caused by the importance of community over individuals; the history of outside authority; and the absence of an active marketing strategy. Each of these factors is examined in turn.

Entrepreneurial spirit in individuals is frowned upon because it can lead to envy and bad feeling. Villagers find it hard to rise above the majority. In such a closely-knit community, wealth is known and there is great pressure to share it. This was borne out on numerous occasions in conversations and comments from the villagers. “Don’t grind too much coffee, Stroma, or someone will see it and ask for some”, “There’s no point in having a motor bike because everyone would use it”, “There are differences in wealth but we should not allow them to be seen.” The villagers in Wogo claimed that no project could go ahead without consensus: no individual would be brave enough to go it alone. Community consensus has to be guarded, it is the “the mother of *adat*” (Zainal Kling 1997: 48). It is necessary due to “the density and intimacy of social life” (Just 2001:110). Successful individual entrepreneurial activity can result in an observable difference in the community, leading to envy, resentment and lack of community cohesion. One villager brought groups of tourists to Wogo. His personal gains caused

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<sup>122</sup> Indonesian family planning is divided into two types: natural (*alami*) and non-natural (*buatan*). The former refers to a complex version of the rhythm method. The latter refers to interventions such as hormonal pills, injections, patches and IUD. Natural family planning is backed by all sections of the Catholic Church on Flores. Non-natural methods are considered un-Catholic but many priests do not

such rifts in the village that he has moved to Labuhan Bajo where he works successfully in tourism.

The villagers of Ngadha have experienced strong outside authority from both the Church and state (see chapter 9). They have become used to acting on instruction and do not feel empowered to act without being directed. In Bena, representatives of the state reside both in the village headman's office, a mile uphill, and in the regency town of Bajawa, some 15km uphill. *Atas* (Ind upper/above) was used both as a geographical term and metaphorical term from where the direction had to come. Such external power was resented but, without it, the villagers felt unable to act.

Further inaction resulted from "the need to be asked". The sale of ikats in Bena began when tourists requested to purchase ikat cloths hanging on washing lines. The request came from the tourists. Most long knives (*parang* Ind) are still sold in this way although a few are now hung on terraces, in Bena, in a deliberate attempt to sell them. The villagers make and use rice baskets (*wati Ng*), gourd bowls (*ngeme Ng*), wooden and coconut ladles and draining spoons but these are not offered to tourists. As these are kept in the inner sacred rooms of Houses which tourists rarely enter, tourists do not see them or ask to purchase them. When villagers were asked why they did not sell these items to tourists, I was told "Tourists have not asked to buy them"<sup>123</sup>. The tourists I took to Wogo did enter the inner rooms and requested to buy various items. The villagers were happy to give them away. "Have it, we can easily make another one". It did not occur to them to sell these objects. Later, when recounting their strange experiences with tourists, they would giggle and say, "They wanted our old spoons".

The tourism department endorsed the view of waiting for requests to come from tourists by saying "villagers shouldn't force their wares on tourists but should provide them if requested". This view from the government may be an over-reaction to problems that have occurred in Bali, where over-zealous hawkers on Kuta beach annoyed tourists by

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oppose their use. Although natural methods do reduce family size, they are not as successful as non-natural methods.

forcing their wares on them. Tourists' dislike of being pressured into purchasing souvenirs and services may have been communicated through the Department of Tourism. However, there is a broad area of compromise between forcing items on tourists and waiting for requests from tourists.

The availability of villagers as Indonesian-speaking guides is not advertised. Several men in both Bena and Wogo are available and would like to act as village guides but they are waiting to be asked. On several occasions, I met tourists who, because they could speak Indonesian, were travelling without guides but did not know who to approach in the community (or how to do it). On a number of occasions members of the tourism department (also referred to as *atas*), said "Villagers know nothing; they are not educated enough to act as guides." "Guides know better (about the culture) than the villagers." and "Villagers cannot work as guides because they are not licensed". Villagers were aware of these views and felt angered and belittled by them.

The villagers' lack of tourism understanding is linked to the unfilled potential for further tourism development. The villagers did not have the confidence, knowledge or skills to put ideas into practice. In Bena, the state was blamed for not providing the necessary training. In Wogo, the emphasis was placed on the lack of community consensus and ill-feeling around political control at the village level (see below).

### **7.5 Problems with tourists and tourism**

Although the villagers expressed overwhelming positive views of tourism, they also recognise a number of problems. The most frequently mentioned is tourists' disrespect, mainly through dress but also in their behaviour. Of the tourists that visited Bena in one month (October to November 1998), the villagers described two-fifths of them as impolite, and a tenth were considered rude. Views about indecency regarding dress were collected in detail because so many of the villagers raised the issue and because the appropriate dress code was so hard to specify (from a western standpoint). I assumed the basic problem lay in the lack of clothes worn by tourists, that shorts and vests – common attire for tourists in hot weather – was the cause of the bad feeling.

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<sup>121</sup> Belum ada turis yang minta. (Ind)



The issues surrounding tourists' clothing are in fact far more complex than merely the lack of it. Aspects of clothing considered impolite fall into a number of categories, which, for the sake of clarity, I have separated below. It should be recognised that the separation is heuristic and in fact the different factors interplay and are bound up with behaviour, for example how a tourist sits and how some positions are more revealing than others. Key areas of offensive behaviour are also examined.

The villagers had told me that one aspect of modernisation, brought by the Church, was the wearing of clothes by children. Indeed, one of the most conspicuous changes in Wogo in the years I have been visiting is the decreasing number of half-dressed children. While in the early 1990s many children in the *nua* wore few clothes, ten years later only the smallest of toddlers could be seen half dressed.

As villagers pointed out, in the gardens (*kebon*) children still run around free of clothing but they always wear clothes to go to market or to church. Entering public spaces requires the wearing of clothes. The *nua* is in an ambiguous position: at once people's homes – and therefore private – and at the same time the centre of village sacred space – and therefore public. With the advent of tourism, the presence of tourists would be used as an excuse to pressurise children to put clothes on. “Look, there's a tourist, you should be shy not to have clothes on”; “ I feel ashamed (*malu*) that tourists can see your vagina/penis” relatives would retort to their half-dressed children. Parents always apologised to me if their child was not fully dressed.

### **7.5.1 Unclean Clothes**

Although, due to the nature of their environment and work, being dusty or muddy is normal for the villagers at home, they would not leave the village to go visiting without washing and changing into clean clothes. As tourists are visitors, they should be in their best clothes and these should be clean. It is offensive to your hosts to arrive in unclean

clothes and it would be better not to come than arrive in dirty clothes. Tourists wearing dirty and/or torn clothing were considered disrespectful.

### **7.5.2 Sleeveless Clothes**

Men working in the village may take their shirts off but not when they go visiting. Male visitors, including tourists, should not take their shirts off. Vests are considered undergarments and therefore should not be the top layer of clothing for male or female tourists. Women in sleeveless tops are considered impolite. Body sizes and shape affect villager's perspectives of what tops are acceptable. The fatter a woman, the more important it is for a top to be loose fitting. A tight-fitting vest is indecent and without a bra is considered rude.

### **7.5.3 Types of Shorts**

Shorts are worn by villagers on occasions and are therefore not a problem *per se* but the length and breadth of the shorts worn by tourists was criticised. They were considered indecent if too short or too tight, i.e. if they were revealing. Shorts were considered offensive if the tourists sat impolitely in such a way that undergarments could be seen. On one occasion, when a tourist was sitting in shorts that were short and wide enough for the villagers to see a lack of underclothes, utter disgust was expressed. As with tops, villagers' views were affected by the size and shape of the body under the shorts and by the amount and type of underclothes (which should not be seen).

### **7.5.4 Displaying Navels**

A navel is a person's centre, sacred and revered, and it is considered rude to put it on show. Pierced and adorned navels were met with horrified astonishment. As women said, "We just have to look away", and another added "How could they do that?" On one occasion, a woman turned away as a young female tourist approached. The tourist wanted to examine the ikats on display. As she came nearer, the villager went inside to escape viewing the tourist. The tourist started asking me the prices. From inside, I was

told “Don’t bother” (“*tidak usah, jangan*” Ind<sup>124</sup>). I knew how much the villager was looking forward to a sale as her son needed money for school, and was coming from Bajawa. The imperative to make a sale was, however, over-ridden by not wanting such a rude tourist to have one of her ikats. Cropped tops<sup>125</sup>, the most serious transgression of acceptable attire, were particularly popular in the summer of 1998 and provoked numerous debates about how to tackle the problem of “such rude tourists” coming to the village. The new fashion signalled a new type of tourist for many villagers, a particularly rude type.

#### 7.5.6 Exhibiting Amorous relations

The behaviour of tourists that upset the villagers extended from handholding to all other outward signs of physical relations between men and women. Kissing is now rare because guides warn tourists that this is unacceptable. However, on a number of occasions one tourist would carry another, pick each other up, give “piggy-backs”, swing one another around or hug one another. Such behaviour was considered inappropriate and rude.

#### 7.5.7 Ignoring greetings

Tourists that refused to return greetings were considered arrogant, conceited and impolite. When adults try either a “hello” or another greeting they are offended when it is not returned. There are two words in Ngadha language that translate to the Indonesian *sombong* (arrogant or conceited). *Melo* refers to someone who lacks respect for others or is over-confident and *sobo* refers to an unsmiling face. Both these terms are muttered about tourists. A tourist may also be considered *hunga hanga* someone who shows little interest, little curiosity or care. *Hunga hanga* tourists are the opposite of tourists that ‘want to understand’ (see section 7.3).

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<sup>124</sup> Literally “not necessary, don’t”.

<sup>125</sup> T-shirts or vests that are hemmed some centimetres below the breast and above the navel.

Tourists become frustrated by the constant “hello, mister” that rings from every passer-by on Flores (and other Indonesian Islands). A lot of the time, children will incessantly call to tourists, and to respond to all of them is virtually impossible. When children shout out to tourists they may be “bothering them”<sup>126</sup> as a game. Adults' greetings are different but tourists do not always differentiate. If an adult's greeting or smile is ignored villagers think that tourists are arrogant. On the contrary, when a tourist tries an Indonesian greeting, villagers are pleased and will enter into friendly communication.

Friendly communication always begins with a standard pattern of questions where the villagers attempt to locate the tourists socially. In order to place a tourist both geographically and socially, the following questions are always asked before further communication can take place: “What is your name?<sup>127</sup>”, “Where are you from?”, “What is your religion?”, “Are you married?”, “How many children do you have?” For a tourist, this question-firing feels rather like “the Spanish inquisition”, especially as most Indonesians who attempt communication with tourists ask the same series of questions. Only when these questions have been answered, and the tourist is socially located, can further communication take place. Tourists, frequently bored by the same line of questioning, try variations in their answers. For example, to the question “Where are you from?” They will reply “Bajawa” (from where they have just come) and not their country of origin. In such cases, further communication is unlikely to flow.

Sometimes villagers will ask tourists questions to which the answer is blatantly obvious, e.g. “Are you looking at my ikat cloths?” (when a tourist is looking at one). As Just points out, asking ‘banal questions’ such as asking a woman who is weaving if she is weaving, are “behabitives” “that constitute part of the constant aural and oral backdrop to social life that establish the status of relationships [and] expectations of behaviour” (2001:96). The villagers are attempting to establish a friendly relationship with tourists in a way that communication between villagers takes place. Tourists are usually perplexed and frequently miss this opportunity to enter dialogue

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<sup>126</sup> *menggangu*

<sup>127</sup> The verb to be is nearly always omitted i.e. Where you from? What your name? etc.

### **7.5.8 Taking photographs without permission**

On a few occasions, villagers in Bena complained that tourists had taken photographs without permission. On each occasion, the villagers in question were in ritual clothes and the offence was partly caused by the tourist intruding into sacred space. At profane times, villagers are happy to have their photographs taken. In Bena, some of the villagers are aware that this can be used for economic gain. Requesting money for photographs is very badly thought of by the management team, the Department of Tourism and most villagers. Requesting money to view the new *ngadhu* (see below section 7.6.3) was the cause of heated debates in the village. I witnessed payment for a photograph on only one occasion. An elderly man, failing to sell a long knife, took payment for being photographed holding it.

On one occasion, tourists wanted to make a video of a ritual in Wogo (see below section 7.6.2). Although it is relatively common for tourists to use micro-recording equipment, the use of a large (professional looking) video camera led the villagers to conclude that the video might be used for commercial purposes. Both the fact that no permission was sought, and that a video of a sacred ceremony could bring the tourist financial gain,<sup>128</sup> were raised by villagers when I discussed the issue with them.

### **7.5.9 Refusing food**

To refuse food offered is impolite and to refuse ritual food causes even greater offence. On a number of occasions at rituals, I would be required to eat five meals before mid-day and to refuse any of them would have been unacceptable. Eating a token amount or not finishing all that is provided does not cause bad feeling. Villagers expressed considerable upset at tourists that attended rituals but would not partake in the ritual meals. When tourists departed before a meal was ready, villagers would begrudgingly accept the situation.

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<sup>128</sup> De Burlo notes that steep charges are set for entrance to the *gol* ritual in Vanuatu because the locals believe that photographs and videos will be sold for personal profits (1996:268)

Although there is a range of behaviour that upsets or is considered impolite by the villagers, they are unwilling to take action to prevent it. They were frightened of being assertive and did not feel able to raise issues with tourists directly. Two reasons were cited. Firstly, there is a fear that potential conflict can escalate and that tempers could be raised and fights would result. This has already happened once in Bena. Secondly, tourists are “state guests” (*tamu negara* Ind): this means that they are given a position of esteem and authority and cannot be confronted or rebuffed. The villagers felt “we should only serve them”. And that “they might report us to the authorities”. The villagers brought matters to the attention of guides but generally only after the tourists had departed.

## **7.6 Tourists at rituals**

As I suggested in Chapter One, an analytical division between tourists attending rituals (events for the community and ancestors) and staged performances (for tourists) is required. This section examines tourists at ritual events for the community. I will begin by recounting the events at rituals in three villages.

### **7.6.1 Clan-stone moving ritual**

Soon after our arrival in Ngadha in August 1998, I was invited to attend a clan-stone moving ritual (*Robo Keri*) in a village neighbouring Wogo. The ritual was one of a series of rituals over a number of years to rebuild the villagers’ *nua*<sup>129</sup>. The *Robo Keri* was a ritual of considerable significance, which took four days and involved the slaughter of five buffalo and sixty pigs. Participants travelled great distances, from Jakarta and Kupang for example, to attend. At the end of the first day, I sat with members of the hosting clan and they asked me to bring some friends to attend the following days of ceremony. When it was understood that I didn’t know any other westerners, I asked if they wanted me to find some tourists to attend. This brought smiles of anticipation as the greater the number of guests and the further they travel brings status to the host. I spent the next day going to town to find and invite tourists.

Although initially suspicious of my intentions, five Europeans and a Chilean agreed to come.

### **7.6.2 An entry step installation ritual**

On an occasion in Wogo, the villagers were preparing for a *Kaba Pere* (entry step) installation ritual. Unannounced, a group of sixteen Austrians arrived. The group's intention was to stop to view Wogo before continuing to Bena, but they were keen to stay for the duration of the ceremony, a two-day event, and so changed their plans. After the afternoon's events and arranging accommodation in the village, the tourists departed to buy packaged food in the local town before returning to sleep in a House. Some of them slept outside on the terrace. The villagers thought this was strange, especially as room had been made to accommodate them inside. The next morning the group stayed for the spectacle but not for the ritual meal. The tourists videoed the ritual and took photographs. At times, cameras were within a metre of the dancers' faces and at one point a villager was (gently) pushed aside to get a better photograph.

### **7.6.3 A new ngadhu ritual**

For the major ritual of carrying the new *ngadhu* into Bena (*Bhei Ngadhu*), local guides were encouraged to bring tourists. When a local guide arrived with fourteen tourists just after 10a.m., a young bamboo shoot and an Indonesian flag<sup>130</sup> were evident next to the hole that the replacement *ngadhu* would be planted in. Bundles of thatch lay next to them ready for thatching the *ngadhu*. Behind the houses enormous pans of rice were being cooked on open fires. Although these factors were evidence of the pending ritual, the clan was not yet in ceremonial costume, so the major events were not about to happen.

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<sup>129</sup> The old *nua* had been abandoned when the villages had moved into "healthy homes" in the 1970s.

<sup>130</sup> cf. Visser (1997) for the use of the same symbols used in rituals in Halmahera.

The guide entered the clan's central House and made a donation. In impatient tones, he said, "You asked me to invite tourists. You said it would be happening by 10 am. If you tell me 10 am, I tell them, so why is nothing happening yet..." (The guide was agitated, as it had been hard to get such a large group together and get them to the village for 10 am. Some tourists had to be picked up earlier than they had wanted to allow the guide to pick tourists up from the various guesthouses. The guide was empathising with his tourists who had been awoken early, unnecessarily). The elder that received the guide and his donation had just had a meeting with his clan about the shortfall in funds for the ceremony and was especially put out by the diminutive offer from the guide. The elder assumed (correctly) that one guide, charging higher than normal fees (because of the ritual) for a large group of tourists could afford to donate more generously towards the ritual. The guide was not prepared to give more of his takings or ask the tourists for any more money. The elder then requested a dollar a photo (but was prepared to bargain). When the guide refused, the elder told the guide that none of his tourists were welcome and that none could take any photos without paying. The guide told the tourists he was a "fucking bastard". When the elder understood that the guide was swearing about him in English, the confrontation became heated. Other villagers moved in to bring peace and calm. Such a confrontation would upset the ancestors and was detracting from the ceremony. Furthermore, as the clan was split over raising money from tourists for the ritual, this conflict threatened to spill over and re-ignite clan divisions. Clan disharmony is certain to disturb ancestors. As the ceremony was being held to remember and thereby appease the clan's ancestors<sup>131</sup> any potential for overt disharmony had to be swiftly prevented.

While the guide took the tourists to the viewing post at the top of the village, the clan continued with their preparations. An hour or so later, after a preliminary dance, the clan in full ritual costume departed to the site where the new *ngadhu* trunk was resting. Preparations at the site were elaborate. Some tourists felt uncomfortable taking photographs and refrained. Other tourists arrived with other guides and took

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<sup>131</sup> The clan had wanted to replace the *ngadhu* since it had been damaged in a fire at the beginning of the century but serious planning had started when illness and death had struck the clan in recent years. Many thought the ancestors felt neglected and replacing the *ngadhu* would improve the clan's fortunes.



photographs. Some took photographs of women in ceremonial dress without first asking their permission. This action upset the women (see above).

Villagers were also upset because female tourists got too close to the *ngadhu*. All the village women were keeping well back and observing the preparations from a distance. It is considered dangerous for a woman to get close to a *ngadhu*, personified as a male, until it is planted in the *nua*. During the time the trunk was resting outside the *nua*, girls were constantly reminded that “he can get you pregnant” or “you might not have any children if you see him”. Although the trunk was to be brought into the village and would be seen by all women, it was still considered inauspicious to get too close to him, until he was in the *nua*. Tourists, keen to see the considerable commotion surrounding the preparations, wanted to be close up to the action, to observe what was going on. In doing so, they were not observing *adat* and were causing offence.

When the preparations for the new *ngadhu*'s journey into the village were complete, a meal, served on leaves, was eaten adjacent to the resting-place. Many tourists refused what was offered to them. This also broke customary rules, as one woman put it, “if you are here you have to eat; this is *adat* food” or as another said, “it is not ordinary food; if you refuse it, the ancestors will be angry”. Their anger in part seemed to be about tourists getting in the way, taking up space, and not appreciating the importance of the event. They articulated their annoyance by referring to an obvious contravention of *adat*.

#### **7.6.4 Villagers' perceptions of tourists' attendance at rituals.**

These three cases reveal a number of perceptions about tourists' attendance at rituals. Villagers are not only happy for tourists to attend rituals, tourists are actively sought to take part in them. It is common for guides to be pre-warned of rituals so that they can bring tourists. As has already been discussed, “the more the merrier” (*ramai*) is a strong cultural value and the further people travel to attend a ritual the more importance is attached to it. For this reason, the Chilean tourist attracted the most interest from the

villagers at the *Robo Keri* ritual, introduced throughout the day as “all the way from Chile”.

As I have suggested, contact with the outside world increases status. The news and stories of the festivities would be spread further afield, abroad in the case of tourists, and thus fame would be bestowed on the hosts. When tourists behave according to local protocol, dress up in ceremonial clothes, dance and take part in ritual meals they are fondly remembered. Rituals are identified and remembered as, for example, the one where “that German danced so well”.

Tourists often promise and sometimes do send photographs of rituals to villagers. This used to be the only source of photographs of special events that the villagers had and they appreciated this. This is, however, becoming less important as relatives from metropolitan centres often have cameras.

Tourists’ attendance at rituals does, however, bring stress and incipient annoyance of tourism to the surface. During rituals, villagers have a heightened regard for custom and the wishes of the ancestors. They are less tolerant of the cultural insensitivity that tourists demonstrate. They complained about tourists not partaking in ritual food, about the inconsiderate taking of photographs and about tourists getting too close to the action.

With the exception of some members of the clan in Bena attempting to raise funds for the new *ngadhu*, Ngadha villagers do not expect tourists to pay cash to attend rituals. However, when tourists make donations in compliance with customary rules, for example a donation of rice, they are immediately regarded as a person who understands.

Villagers were happy for tourists to attend rituals spontaneously and are sometimes prepared to put on displays of music and dance for tourists, but disagreed with the idea of staging rituals for tourists. “*Adat* is sacred; it takes blood; it can’t be done just like

that; the ancestors would be angry”. Some villagers considered the staging of the customary marriage ceremony possible. However, as this is largely a discursive event between the bride and groom’s kin and lacks any outwardly observable ceremony (costume, dance, or merriment), it seems unlikely that this ritual would be attractive to tourists.

### **7.7 Performances for tourists**

In contrast to rituals, performances can be shortened, much of the ritual preparation would not be required and punctuality ordered to suit tourists’ needs. The villagers did not show concern about taking dances out of their original context. Nearly all Ngadha dances involve groups of twenty or so individuals (Saju and Sawega 1994). A group from Wogo performed at the MSPI<sup>132</sup>(Indonesian Performing Arts) festival in Maumere in 1994 and at the International Bamboo Music Festival held in Bali in 1995. Enjoying the benefits, as Sangar (1988) points out, of social cohesion and travel, the group established a *sanggar budaya* (cultural studio) hoping to perform for tourists. Erb (2000) claims these cultural studios have proliferated in Manggarai with state recognition and small amounts of financial help. However, in Wogo, as the group was large, remuneration for performances needed to be sufficient to share. Most tour groups are not willing to pay enough. In other regions, dances can be provided by smaller groups and therefore are less expensive. Further, as villagers pointed out, they received no deposit when they were requested to perform and no-shows were not infrequent. The group practised and some of them had to hire costumes. The income was considered insufficient to cover costs. For these reasons, the villagers are not enthusiastic about providing performances for tourists.

In Bena, the villagers were also unenthusiastic about performances for tourists. During my fieldwork, Om Eman, the caretaker (also the chairperson of the tourism management group) turned down a request. “It would work out at a few thousand<sup>133</sup> each: it is not worth it”, he told me. As one woman pointed out, “We don’t enjoy the dancing as

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<sup>132</sup> Masyarakat Pertunjuk Seni Indonesia.

<sup>133</sup> Less than US\$1 dollar

much (as for rituals). It's a job but the money is not worth it". The woman said that performances were not *ramai*, expressing the lack of merriment and sociability she associated with performance dancing compared to ritual dancing. At rituals, there are the added benefits of eating meat, usually in large amounts, and substantial drinking. When they gave performances, all they got was a small amount of money and no associated benefits.

### **7.8 Perceptions of tourism in the political context**

We have seen that, while residents in both Wogo and Bena express the desire for more tourists, there are aspects of tourist dress and behaviour of which they disapprove. At the same time, they are also unhappy at the ways in which tourist expenditure is distributed, an unhappiness which relates more to the socio-political context in which tourism occurs than to the individual or group behaviour of tourists themselves.

In discussions with villagers about their experience of tourism over the past decade, the villagers' deep disillusionment with the village political system became central. At the time of my extended fieldwork, the second president of Indonesia, Suharto, had just resigned in response to mass demonstrations by students and opposition groups. Across the archipelago, corrupt officials were being rooted out. Against this backdrop, it is not surprising that the villagers' narratives so frequently referred to corruption. However, the narratives also reveal important perceptions about ten years of tourism development in the villages. The two villages have had different experiences; they are thus dealt with separately.

In Wogo, tourism has not developed. I first took tourists there in 1989. Two years later, funds from our visits had brought water to two points in the *nua* and the village name had entered the Lonely Planet guidebook. The village was famous and I was sure that, given ten years, it would be "touristic"<sup>134</sup>. A year later, our clients encountered other tourists in "their village". When independent tourists showed up to watch cultural shows that our company had sponsored, I realised that our competitive advantage depended on finding a remoter village. The villagers were extremely grateful that we

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<sup>134</sup> In the sense Picard (1997) uses it.

had put Wogo on the tourist map and I was sure their tourist numbers would continue to grow.

As I have visited Flores over the years, I have seen tourism development continue apace. New guesthouses and restaurants have been opened nearly every year in both Moni and Labuhan Bajo as tourist numbers have increased. The same increase in tourists has not been felt in Wogo. Although the answers to why began to be apparent during my research in 1996, my depth of understanding did not come until my stay between August 1998 and January 1999.

As has been described, Wogo moved from its old site (Wogo Lama) to its present site in 1932. The site of the present village is built on land owned by two clans, the upper third of the village by one clan and the lower two thirds by another. The only direct male descendant (Stephen<sup>135</sup>) of the larger land-owning clan believes himself to be the landlord and “ruler” of the *nua*. All the other clans and the majority of members of his own clan maintain that his ancestors gave over the land for the good of the village and approximately 100 buffaloes were slaughtered in their honour for the village to be united on its present site.

This man’s mother’s brother was democratically chosen to be head of the village and happily served one term. Since then, he has wished to step down (he is old, tired and in bad health), but no one has made any nominations. There is no will to instate a member of the “land-owning clan” and no one from any other clan dares to come forward.

When the Department of Education and Culture chose a caretaker (*juru kunci*) from the village, he was not from the “ruling clan”. Unable to carry out his job, he resigned and Stephen slipped into his shoes. The Department of Education and Culture did not realise the potential problems that this would lead to. As the caretaker, he collects the donations made by the tourists. The money then goes no further, unlike in Bena (see

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<sup>135</sup> not his real name

below) or other places <sup>136</sup> that use tickets. Hence the bad feelings that tourism brings up. All the funds are going into one man's pocket and everyone knows it.

A number of reasons were given that such resentment exists without coming out into the open: "The wounds run deep" and "the conflict would spill over". Already one clan has been forced to leave the village and set up a separate *nua*, another clan remains divided with their *ngadhu* but no *bhaga* in the *nua*. Secondly, "God will deal with people like that", "we believe that this will be sorted out in the next life". "We cannot do anything about it. It is better to ignore it". Pretending that they do not care, the villagers were happier to leave the problem to fate or the next life. Belief in divine retribution is common in eastern Indonesian societies. Just (2001) describes how bad deaths are attributed to improper moral conduct in life. Further views were expressed about why the villagers are prepared to ignore the man's behaviour: "If we try to do anything it would escalate", "Why should we fight over money we have not worked to earn." "If he wants to keep the money, he will live with a bad conscience. It is better we don't get involved." Finally the villagers think "It can only be sorted from above: we are powerless". "Above" here refers to government levels higher than the village.

Although the above quotes from villagers were ascertained during discussions about tourism, on many other occasions similar disquiet was revealed. The peace in the village was often disturbed by loud Western music played on large (50 watts per channel) amplifiers and speakers. Not only was the volume considered inappropriate but so were the times of day, including late at night and early in the morning. Villagers were keen to point out that the perpetrators of the noise pollution were beyond reconciliation: they were Stephen's nephews.

Adults in Wogo do not consider tourism development necessary or possible in this generation, a view that contrasts with discussions in the early 1990s when great excitement and enthusiasm was expressed. "There's no point; there's no unity in the village; we are powerless for as long as that man is here" is a view that summarised the

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<sup>136</sup> For example in Singapadu (see Sangar 1988).

feelings. Younger people in Wogo readily expressed their anger and frustration at the focus group meeting, which included one of Stephen's nephews. He, like other relatives, felt shame and wished the villagers could act.

Stephen was keen to point out that tourism was dependent on the village remaining traditional. He used rank, a traditional form of social organisation, to serve his own interests. Many of the villagers believe that rank is important in choice of spouse, but did not believe that Stephen was due high rank or that it entitled him to the other power he assumes. As I have described elsewhere (Cole 1998), tourism is being used to articulate a position of power based on antiquated 'traditional' structures.

Bena was the first Ngadha village to be "on the tourist map" and has had more external input in tourism development than any other village. In Bena, disillusionment about tourism development centred on state power structures. The democratically elected village headman (*Kepala Desa* Ind) was serving the last year of his first seven-year post when the research was undertaken in 1998-9. Most of Bena's tourism development has taken place during this time and progress has been slower than anticipated by myself (in comparison with other places on Flores) and the villagers.

Backpackers started to visit Bena in the 1980s. The Department of Education and Culture appointed a caretaker in 1982. The voluntary donations made by tourists when they filled in the visitors' book were kept in the *nua* and by 1991 there was enough to bring piped water to two points close to the *nua*. When, in 1993, the provincial level tourism department became involved with tourism, a ticket system was introduced.

The division of receipts from tickets has been the subject of controversy and bad feeling. The villagers in the *nua* are those dealing with tourists on a day-to-day basis, and incurring costs of village repairs, but receive only a small proportion of the receipts. The money that goes into the village is not accounted for and villagers are keen to point out the headman's new motorcycle and shop. The villagers also feel that they get little

support from the Department of Tourism and do not see value for money from the proportion the department receives.

The problem became worse because the money went first to the village, after which the *nua's* 20% was returned. For the year to April 1998, none of the receipts had been returned to the *nua* and the village headman could not explain their loss. At the time of the research, with agreement from the Department of Tourism, the *nua* was keeping all income until the debt had been paid. As can be seen from the section on the government's view, it maintains that it is keen to sort out this problem but claims to be powerless until there has been a change of headman.

The decisions by the provincial Tourism Department to build three homestays in Bena, a souvenir shop and a viewing post were also subject to controversy. Firstly because the decisions were not taken at a public meeting, secondly because the homestays were built but no interior facilities were provided in terms of mattresses, bedding, cooking pots, crockery or cutlery. As the villagers explained, no individual could afford to provide such essentials but, without them, the dwellings could not be used for guests. The provincial Tourism Department had organised the building of homestays without educating the people as to their purpose. Further, none of the villagers had any experience of managing a homestay and many of them did not even understand what a homestay was. The terminology is clearly confusing. These were not anyone's homes for guests to stay in; they are dwellings built in traditional style for use by tourists. No one was made responsible for hospitality to the tourists and, as one woman pointed out, she could not be preparing meals in them and in her own home. It is easier, she explained, to have tourists in her own house, although she could not provide the comfort or privacy that tourists may want. In 1999, members of the headman's extended family were living in the homestay buildings.

Many villagers also expressed discontent about the viewing post. Not only, like the homestays, was it built without labour from the *nua*, but it was also built too close to the villagers' Catholic shrine.



The provincial Tourism Department also set up the tourism management group (*kelompok pengolah* Ind). Although the impetus for inception came from the government, its success in part came from the fact that the villagers were left to organise the group as they felt fit. The group, made up of one representative from each clan, elected the various officials to be responsible for various tasks, such as chair, secretary, accountant etc. The members expressed discontent that their roles were unpaid and resentment that some members did not carry out their tasks thoroughly. However, they thought that such a group was a good way to manage tourism in the village. The group is responsible for the allocation of the *nua*'s share of tourism revenue. I was told, for example, that revenue in 1997 was used to help with the restoration of two Houses (2 x Rp125, 000), their *bhaga* (2 x Rp50, 000) and *ngadhu* (2 x Rp50, 000). Rp450, 000 was spent on sand and cement, food and cigarettes for working parties, to re-lay stones and the remainder (Rp650, 000)<sup>137</sup> was put towards the village's New Year celebrations.

Only one woman is a member of the tourism management group. As women are responsible for finances in Ngadha, the villagers considered it essential that the treasurers' position was held by a woman. As one man said, "It is difficult for men to hold money; women are more responsible for money, we trust women with money matters." Men or women that I talked to did not consider the lack of other female representation on the group to be a problem. However, when discussing issues about the homestays, it was clear that the women had opinions that men did not express.

Underpinning the desire to air issues of corruption in narratives about tourism development are a number of important perceptions the villages have about tourism development that need to be considered for the development of responsible tourism. Firstly, village unity is required for successful tourism development. Secondly, tourism income in Wogo is considered to be unearned income because no effort is required on the part of the villagers in order to reap the financial reward. Although, through their

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<sup>137</sup> This expenditure of Rp 1,550,000 does not tally with 20% of the revenue from 5959 tourists.

experiences of their music and dance group, they are prepared to make effort for financial and other gains, hosting tourists has so far not been equated with work. The tourism management group in Bena would disagree; they consider their efforts essential. They were becoming disillusioned with voluntary work with minimal benefits and were frustrated that they did not understand tourism well enough to make more out of it. This is linked to the third clear perception in their narratives – that they are keen to have more tourism education.

Fourthly, the ticket system is well thought of. Many villagers in Wogo<sup>138</sup> would like the system to be introduced. In Bena, the share of income needs renegotiating. Although the introduction of tickets was a provincial tourism department initiative, their other initiatives have not been well received. Edifices without fittings were considered a waste of the Department's budget. Finally, decision-making about tourism development should be made at an open meeting (see further discussion chapter 9). With representatives across the clans, the tourism management group is considered a successful way to manage tourism in Bena. Potentially, this model could be exported to other villages.

## **7.9 Summary.**

This chapter has examined the villagers' opinions of tourists and tourism. In Ngadha tourists are respected, they bring pride, excitement, knowledge and status to the villagers. Tourism brings money, facilities, cultural preservation and revitalisation, and the potential for further development.

While villagers most frequently expressed these positive views of tourists and tourism, nearly all villagers complained about the clothes of many tourists and the behaviour of some. Tourists that wore dirty, torn or minimal clothing were considered impolite, while tourists who displayed their navels were deemed rude. Tourists that ignored adults' attempts to enter communication were considered arrogant and impolite, while those that refused villagers' food, especially ritual meals, were thought offensive. Although

villagers were generally happy to be photographed, when, at rituals, tourists failed to seek permission first, these were badly thought of.

Tourists were sought out to attend rituals as this brings pride to the host. However, villagers were less tolerant of tourists' cultural insensitivity during rituals as they have an increased concern for *adat* and the wishes of the ancestors at such times. The villagers were unenthusiastic about performances for tourists. The income was too small and benefits too few.

A number of factors have limited tourism development in the villages. The importance of the community over the individual has restricted individual entrepreneurial spirit, and, in Wogo, a lack of community consensus has limited community efforts. The villagers have become so accustomed to only acting on instruction from higher authority that they are apprehensive about following internal initiatives. The villagers lack confidence and wait for tourists to make requests rather than proactively marketing their crafts. In both villages, village unity was considered essential for successful tourism development.

Bena has seen considerably more state intervention than Wogo. The villagers have welcomed some initiatives, for example the use of tickets and the tourism management group. Other initiatives have caused controversy. In both Bena and Wogo, the villagers bemoaned their lack of knowledge and expressed a desire for more tourism education. In Bena, there is resentment that the state has not provided this.

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<sup>138</sup> Also in Nage, another 'cultural village' that has a caretaker and guest book, receives donations but has no tickets.

## *Part Three*

### **Chapter 8**

#### **"Conflicts of tourism"**

##### **8.0 Introduction**

The analysis in chapters five, six and seven demonstrates that the different actors – tourists, villagers and mediators – hold different perspectives on tourism, which relate to their cultural norms, values and positions. This chapter highlights how the differences in values, perceptions, attitudes and priorities, on a number of different levels, between the villagers and the other actors, reveal the “conflicts of tourism”. Contrasting the different views means that some of the findings are reiterated, this is necessary to demonstrate the differences and the conflicts. The villagers not only experience value clashes and conflicts with other stakeholders but also as a result of the processes of tourism development, as the demands of modernisation conflict with the demands to maintain tradition. These “conflicts of acculturation” are also discussed.

##### **8.1 “Conflicts of tourism” between tourists and villagers**

###### **8.1.1 Guests of honour?**

Tourists are valued as “guests from afar”. Contact with the outside world increases status, and status increases with the distance guests travel (Volkman 1987). Travel is considered an important way to get wisdom, and entertaining guests is a paramount objective of Ngadha feasting (Daeng 1988). For these reasons, tourists are welcomed to Ngadha villages and are invited to rituals. However, there are a number of reasons why tourists as guests are in an ambivalent position in Ngadha. When tourists are considered as guests, the villager-tourist relationship reveals conflict on a number of levels.

Tourists that travel to Flores are of a “hardy” type (Erb 2000). Flores is very dusty in the dry season, which results in clothing getting dirty quickly. Many tourists stay only one or two nights at each destination, which means it is difficult to wash and dry clothes before moving on. Many tourists arriving in Ngadha will have been travelling for several days with little opportunity to wash their clothes properly. After travelling for a number of weeks many tourists give up on trying to keep their clothes clean. Although dress codes varied according to the type of tourists, villagers considered tourist clothing disrespectful.

In discussions I had with tourists they commented that they thought that they were like the villagers wearing old, sometimes torn, and not very clean clothes. They wanted to “fit in” in villages and thought being “dirty” like the villagers would help them be less conspicuous. The difference in values results from the villagers’ classification of tourists as guests, reinforced by the state view that tourists are guests of the state (*tamu negara*). According to the villagers, a guest should show respect to their hosts by wearing clean and smart clothes.

The classification of tourists as guests also reveals conflicting values in relation to tourists’ giving children sweets and pens. In Ngadha, guests normally bring gifts when they make visits. However, the presentation of gifts by tourists, as will be explained below, does not fit in with the cultural norms of Ngadha society.

Tourists often give sweets to children as an icebreaker. Not knowing how to communicate with adults, but wishing to proceed from unfocused to focused interaction with villagers, tourists see children as easier targets. By giving sweets, it is possible to enter into focused interaction. Some tourists gave sweets or other gifts as a way of sharing their wealth when faced with the economic poverty of the villagers.

Some guides felt tourists had a right to give gifts and should not be denied those rights. This view differed from the view of the tour operator, who said, “We do not allow our

tourists to give out sweets”. Indeed, when I led tours, I would not allow my clients to give out sweets. My view was that to give sweets and not toothbrushes would cause dental problems, which would be acute as no dental service was available to the villagers.

The villagers’ view on sweet giving has changed over the years of my research. Initially, these gifts were appreciated, as a gift from any guest would be. In Wogo, when older women are left to look after children, while the more able-bodied are in the fields, they approved of sweet giving. It entertained the children, kept them out of their hair and stopped the children nagging their grandparents for sweets. However, as more tourists have visited and children have become used to this source of sugar, the children have begun asking tourists for sweets.

When tourists enter the *nua* children may approach them. Most children will remain a few metres away and some will put out a hand and say “pen” or “*bon bon*”<sup>139</sup>. If the tourist responds, by crouching to the child’s level, searching in their bag or presenting a sweet, other kids will run across the *nua*. Some will snatch the gift, others will join the chorus of requests or join the queue in the hope of a hand-out. Some children that run across the *nua* will remain at a distance, hoping to share an older sibling’s or friend’s bounty.

My daughter, Mira, joined the other children in running after tourists to see if she could get sweets. For her, and I suspect the village children, “chasing sweets” was a game, which like any game had winners and losers, those that got sweets and those that didn’t. Mira usually didn’t like the sweets she got and passed them on. She still took part in the game, as something to do, as fun, as play. “Chasing sweets” was also a game of bravado. Figuring who would dare get close enough, who would dare to ask first, were ways the children assessed each other’s courage. Children asking for sweets were trying to initiate a game that some tourists played and others didn’t, but it was

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<sup>139</sup> The use of French might indicate that French tourists began giving sweets to children.

frequently viewed as begging by tourists and has been transmitted as such to the children's parents via guides.

Both villagers and tourists dislike what they see as 'begging'. As village children do not ask Indonesian visitors for sweets, begging behaviour is clearly linked to tourism. (Other authors have made a clear link between begging and tourism, e.g. Van den Berghe 1992). The reason that the villagers give for their dislike of sweet giving was different in the two villages. In Wogo, villagers said "we spend more time consoling the children that don't get sweets and more money buying them sweets to make it fair. When it was a novelty to get sweets from tourists, there was less fighting: now it always causes fights between the children". In Bena, the reason was "tourists don't like begging children". Indeed, according to tourists, children begging is a symbol of a spoilt or commercialised village. Begging children is a sign that many tourists have passed through the village before, and a visited village is less authentic precisely because earlier tourists have spoiled it.

Some tourists give sweets as a gift in the way that a guest would bring a gift. The sweets (or pens or biscuits) are presented to an adult on the terrace of a house, for further distribution by that adult. These gifts are appreciated as such as they fit into the cultural norms of gift giving. Hosts, upon receipt of gifts, are entrusted with their distribution. However, the majority of sweet (and pen) giving was by tourists to individual children. The tourist remained in control of the distribution. As Erb (2000) discusses, with reference to the Manggarai, the hosts' relationship with a guest is one of power and control. As the tourist guest maintains control, they are, inadvertently, transgressing the norms of guest behaviour.

Tourists' attempts to get focused interaction through distributing sweets were not necessarily successful. When a child gets a sweet, others will try and snatch it, so frequently children who got sweets ran off leaving the tourist without the counter-gift, i.e. focused social interaction. On other occasions, sweets were used to reward children who took part in social interaction. This, however, can be seen as buying the interaction

with payment in sweets. On a number of occasions, non-local guides were observed handing out sweets from a bag large enough to give any children that approached. The rationale for this sweet giving was to stop children from hassling their clients, i.e. a payment for non-disturbance.

An Ngadha guest should return hospitality. Just as guests in Ngadha society bring gifts and receive counter gifts, a guest should also return hospitality. A smile should be returned with a smile, a greeting with a greeting, conversation with further conversation. Villagers often initiated encounters, but, although tourists were keen to have focused interaction, engagement did not occur because villagers' overtures were missed. Tourists failed to understand the need for questions of social location and missed the opportunity to enter dialogue through banal questions. Tourists who ignored greetings and the villagers' efforts to communicate failed as guests.

In summary, although, according to the government, tourists are guests of the state (*tamu negara*), tourists do not behave according to the cultural norms of guests. Tourists do not value clean clothes as a mark of respect for their hosts. Tourists value sweet giving as icebreakers in social interaction, but by controlling their distribution transgress the norms of gift giving. The villagers no longer value sweet giving as gift giving, but as a nuisance. In failing to respond to smiles, greetings and villagers' questions the tourists fail to return hospitality and be true guests.

### 8.1.2. "Tourists' *adat*"

In the neighbouring district of Manggarai, Erb heard villagers refer to the clothing of tourists as "western *adat*" (2000:725). In Ngadha, guides suggested that the tourists' minimal clothing was their *adat*, and this was given as the reason, by some, not to address the issue with tourists. "I cannot ask a tourist to change their clothes for a village visit: that would be asking them to go against their own *adat*." "Tourists want to be free, they are on holiday, that's their way, villagers wear *kain*, tourists wear what they want...Westerners like their freedom".



The most upsetting aspect of tourists' way of dressing was the revealing of navels. Navels are revered as centres of vitality and power in many Indonesian societies (cf. Waterson 1990). Not wearing bras, wearing thongs as undergarments and generally wearing tight or revealing clothing were all considered indecent by the villagers. Villagers' uneasiness about tourists' clothing is also related to body posture, for example how they sit, or how they bend over rather than crouch down or squat. The conflict of values occurs when tourists adhere to their own norms in the villagers' sacred space. The *nua* is the ritual centre of Ngadha villages and, even when no rituals are taking place, behaviour is subject to more restrictions than in other parts of the village. The tourists are transgressing village norms in the sacred centre of village space.

The conflict that is expressed in relation to tourists' clothes and behaviour is about individualistic values versus the values of community. As I have suggested, following Zainal Kling (1997), *adat* regulates individual behaviour to ensure peace and order in the social domain. Community consensus and unity of the community are guarded by the restriction of individual freedom. The wearing of inappropriate clothing causes disquiet not only for an individual who observes the skimpily dressed tourist but upsets the state of equilibrium in the village. The equilibrium is an ideal state rather than a reality, and community consensus "the mother of *adat*" (Kling 1997:48) is constantly being negotiated. Any overt challenge brings the threat of conflict.

For an individual villager, observing too much foreign flesh makes them feel *malu*<sup>140</sup>. As discussed, avoiding feelings of *malu* is an important value in Ngadha and other parts of Indonesia. In the next section I will examine other ways in which tourists cause villagers to feel *malu*.

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<sup>140</sup> Multiple Ngadha expressions are incorporated in this Indonesian term. However, to translate it to merely shy or ashamed misses the subtle nuance in meaning that lies between shyness, shame, embarrassment and loss of face. (cf. Draine and Hall 1991). Another related Indonesian term the villagers used was *seگان*, the feeling that one is dealing with someone that has a higher position.

### 8.1.3 Proud or ashamed

Tourism promotes pride, self-confidence and solidarity among those being visited, pride in being associated with outsiders, pride in their customs and villages, which tourists come so far to see. However, these feelings need to be juxtaposed against the very opposite feeling that tourism also brings, namely *malu*.

The front-stage / back-stage analogy works well in relation to village visits in Ngadha, as the sacred area of Ngadha homes lies at the back of their Houses. Tourists normally wander around the public space in the centre of the *nua*. Sometimes, they will be invited into the outer terrace area, still in public view and thus still front-stage. Occasionally, a tourist will be invited into the non-sacred family space and very rarely they will enter back-stage into the inner sacred space of a house. Thus, the further back-stage is progressively rarely accessed. The inner parts of Ngadha home are dark. Even so, I observed tourists trying to spy through cracks in walls or to peep through partly-open doors to see what lies behind the front stage. In reference to mass tourism in Europe, Boissevain (1996) relates increasing back-stage penetration to a resultant loss of privacy. In Ngadha, the reasons to avoid tourists penetrating back-stage are different: they are bound up with feelings of *malu*.

Villagers feel uncomfortable revealing how little they have to tourists. Due to their humility, villagers do not feel good enough for tourists. A tourist, on the other hand, may appreciate a back-stage visit precisely because it reveals the real, poor life of the villagers. As discussed, tourists equate authenticity with poverty. Although outwardly proud to be hosting a “guest from afar”, inwardly the villager will be dealing with feelings of *malu*. This internal contradiction meant that tourists are rarely offered the opportunity to see inside the inner sacred rooms or stay overnight in the villagers’ homes. Generally speaking, tourists are only put up in villagers’ homes if they are known through a third party (who should have apologised in advance for anything that is lacking, so, at least, the tourist is not shocked) or if they were desperate, for example if the tourist had no way to return to accommodation in town.

One of my categorical nephews worked in a guesthouse in Bajawa and as an occasional guide. I asked him why he did not invite guests to stay at his House in Wogo. He replied that it would cause anxiety for his aunt. “She would be *malu*; she would worry that our food is not good enough to offer a tourist. She would be embarrassed to offer her only mattress to a tourist: it is too old.”<sup>141</sup>

Guides take tourists back to their homes or the homes of their relatives. Guides often provide lunch for tourists in their family’s homes. The lunch, however, is not typical of what others in Ngadha eat: it is a meal appropriate for tourists, and frequently pan-Indonesian dishes such as fried noodles, *gado-gado* and stir-fry vegetables or *tempeh* are served. The guides are aware that their tourists would not enjoy a truly authentic Ngadha lunch. Few tourists would appreciate a shared bowl of highly spiced maize, yam and pumpkin stew, or rice and maize with a slither of salt fish, for lunch. The tourists I took to stay in Wogo for 48 hours ate with the villagers. However, we were provided with two days of meals that the villagers would normally eat only on special occasions. We had meat twice a day, whereas when I lived in Wogo we could go several weeks without eating any meat.

#### 8.1.4 Crowds

As discussed, villagers like crowds. Crowded and noisy (*ramai*) are positive attributes of Indonesian places in the eyes of Indonesians. Lacking an understanding of tourists’ values of not wanting too many other tourists, villagers want to encourage more and more tourists. The tourists, on the other hand, expressed disappointment at meeting other tourists. To be the only tourist or only tour group in a village was positive. Tour operators deliberately seek villages that do not receive back-packers in order to enhance their clients’ experience. Villagers enjoy the presence of many tourists at once, precisely because it makes their village *ramai*. This is especially the case for wedding and first communion parties. “If there are lots of tourists it makes it more *ramai*, more enjoyable”. For tourists, the reverse is true: the fewer other tourists the better.

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<sup>141</sup> *Nanti Nene Yuli malu, segan-kan, mungkin makanan tidak cocok untuk turis, casur kan terlalu tua, tidak baik, bikin Nene malu.*

Tourists sought the opportunity to attend villagers' rituals when villages were most crowded with other local people. Crowds of "the Other" are sought by tourists but not crowds of themselves. The villagers were less discriminating about the make-up of crowds.

#### **8.1.5 Time, process or event**

The final conflict of values between tourists and villagers are values surrounding time. This conflict is most apparent during rituals and more obvious between some types of tourists than others. The structured nature of tours of "incipient mass tourists" meant that, even if their arrival coincided with a ritual, they would still stick to the schedule provided by the tour operator, although more time for photography might be allowed. "Specialist Group tourists" who chanced upon a ritual were more likely to adapt travel plans to incorporate attending part of it. The story of the Austrian group that arrived in Wogo without a guide demonstrates how travel plans can be altered at the last minute. Most groups, however, will not be able to make such alterations at the last moment due to their having accommodation booked. In the mid 1990s there was a lack of accommodation at both Labuhan Bajo (Erb 2000) and in Moni (the village at the base of Keli Mutu, the three coloured lakes). If a group arrived late, they would find their accommodation occupied by other tourists.

According to the villagers of Wogo, only my own tour company arranged tours to coincide with rituals. This involved negotiating a year in advance before brochures went to print. In Bena, no tour company had made arrangements to make visits coincide with rituals.

Eastbound "shoestring tourists" and "Bali-Lombok strays" were the tourists whose values clashed most overtly in the villages. These tourists had little time. The two-month tourist visa or connections with international flights were the main reasons offered for being in a hurry. Flores is nearly the end of the trail for the "Eastbound shoestring tourists" and the limits of "Bali-Lombok strays" journeys. Further, having formed temporary groups, members were frequently adapting their wishes to others in the group whose time was more or less restricted.

Lacking time, but accepting invitations to attend rituals, results in value conflicts between tourists and villagers for two reasons. Firstly, tourists expect the ritual to occur at a particular time, usually suggested by their local guide, who will have informed them of the event. They become annoyed when their plans do not work out. If they postpone their departure to Keli Mutu for half a day, to attend a ritual that their guides say will take place in the morning, and by noon they have been unable to observe significant events, they will become anxious<sup>142</sup>. They will question if they should stay another hour to see if “it” happens or they should cut their losses and get going. Disagreements among group members or between members and their driver can result in bad feeling, which will have a bearing on how they evaluate their experience.

Secondly, tourists expect a particular event, which, in their eyes, requires a recognisable beginning and end. Ngadha rituals begin with a chant or shriek (*sangazar* Ng) and end with a 'cooling' (*kelanio* Ng). These events may be separated by days.<sup>143</sup> A repetitive rhythm played on gongs and drums, used as a calling to the surrounding area, may be heard for some hours before a ritual begins. In rituals involving dance, one or two dancers begin. The number of dancers increases to a peak and then falls again, sometimes with prolonged breaks. Although these are performances (for the ancestors), the rituals do not conform to tourists' expectations of performances, as the beginning and end are not clear to them.

Some aspects of the ritual process are not performances. Attention to the detail of the ritual process (Hoskins 1987) and clothing is regarded as important. In Ngadha, no woman will go out in ceremonial costume until her hem is perfectly straight at the right height just below the knee. A male headdress is tied and re-tied before it is considered perfect. Gold earrings are heirlooms worn by women at rituals. They are kept in a special three-layered purse (*kepe* Ng) and each layer must have “blood”<sup>144</sup> spilt on it

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<sup>142</sup> This anxiety will compound anxiety created from the culture shock suffered from entering an alien environment (Pearce et al 1998).

<sup>143</sup> Or even weeks and months where a disagreement arises.

<sup>144</sup> Often betel juice replaces actual blood (cf. Molnar 2000)

before it can be opened. Some tourists appreciate the authenticity of attending rituals over performances but they are frequently not prepared for the length of time they take. The preparation phase, which goes on inside Houses, can take too long for tourists keen to see action of some kind. However, this phase cannot be omitted or the ancestors will be angered.

Tourists who attended the slaughter day of rituals could witness a slaughter and know they had witnessed *the* event. However, these tourists then frequently caused offence by not sharing in the ritual meal or, worse, watched others eating but did not partake. For the villagers, the ritual is processional and takes prolonged, uncounted<sup>145</sup> time to complete. Eating the meal is an essential aspect of partaking in a ritual, but tourists frequently missed this, due to insufficient time being allowed to attend the ritual. For the tourists, rituals are an attraction, objectified as a (special) thing, on their list of experiences to be “seen and done”.

Guides exacerbate the situation. They attempt to persuade tourists to attend rituals, to get their guiding fee, but do not provide the tourists with full enough information regarding the amount of time it will take, or the behaviour required, to prevent them either becoming anxious and or causing offence to villagers. I observed the potential of this conflict of tourism becoming confrontational on one occasion (see section 7.6.3) and heard about it occurring on others.

#### **8.1.6 Observing or taking part**

Tourists are invited to attend rituals. There is a conflict of values over what it means to attend. Tourists are sought in order for them to take part, not just observe. During rituals, villagers look their most exotic, are most photogenic (see plate 4, used in marketing our tours) but are less tolerant to cultural insensitivity as they concentrate on the needs of the ancestors as well as their living guests. Tourists may attend a ritual to observe the “real tradition” of a “fascinating culture” but they are not invited as just observers but as participants.

Ngadha guests who attend rituals follow strict protocol: they dress appropriately, either in their best clothes, or in ceremonial dress if they are dancing, bring gifts, dance or watch the dancing, and share in the ritual meal. As not all villagers dance, tourists are not expected to, but are appreciated if they do, for the entertainment they provide. In order to dance, a villager or tourists must be in ceremonial dress. If tourists borrow ceremonial clothes from the villagers, they may be denying a villager the chance to dance, unless, with extra foresight, they have hired the ceremonial dress in another village. Only once have I known a guide organise this. It was in Nage where tourists are not allowed to enter the arena where a village ritual takes place, if not in ceremonial dress. In that case, it is not possible to even observe much of the ritual without wearing ceremonial dress.

Few tourists bring gifts to present to their hosts when attending rituals, while all local guests do. Some guides may make donations on their behalf. Villagers rarely complained about this, but were disgruntled about the meagre offerings made by guides when they brought large groups.

Tourists also lacked cultural sensitivity and reverence of rituals in their observations. Female tourists failed to respect gendered space when observing the slaughter of buffaloes and by getting too close to the new *ngadhu* in Bena. Tourists competed for “front row” space in their attempts “to get close to the action”. Tourists’ observation at rituals is frequently through the lenses of cameras. Inconsiderate photography was another area of conflict between tourists and villagers.

### **8.1.7 Making villagers *malu***

Table 8.1 below summarises the value conflicts between the tourists and villagers. Many villagers used the word *malu*, when speaking Indonesian, to express their personal feelings at seeing a scantily clothed tourist; about their children becoming

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<sup>145</sup> The only time I heard villagers make negative comments about the length of time a ritual took to complete was the new *ngadhu* ritual in Bena, which took three and a half weeks!

beggars; and because tourists would not eat ritual food. The villagers felt sad for the tourists who felt they had not seen “the event”, and on occasions used *malu* to express their inability to satisfy the tourists’ desires.

**Table 8.1 Summary of different values between tourists and villagers**

<b>Villagers</b>	<b>Tourists</b>
Expect tourists, as guests, to be respectful and wear full, clean clothes	Some wear dirty minimal clothes as an attempt to “fit in” or without thinking.
Gifts should be given to hosts to distribute	Give gifts as icebreakers, and deny villagers the power of redistribution.
Children want to play	Dislike “begging” children.
Community consensus is important	Individuality is expressed in dress and behaviour
Like crowds of tourists	Like crowded villages but not crowds of tourists
Time is unrestricted, especially during rituals	Time is constrained
Rituals are processional	Rituals are objectified events.

## 8.2 "Conflicts of tourism" between guides and villagers

Many villagers believe that guides’ cultural knowledge is insufficient to provide the correct narratives and that they are more interested in making money than providing the “right” information<sup>146</sup>. Local guides would claim that they knew Ngadha culture because they lived it. The villagers claimed that certain aspects of culture were specific to their village, and that these variations were important. The local expression used to emphasise that each *nua* has different rules or different *adat* is *go'o Wogo, pesa Bena*<sup>147</sup>.

<sup>146</sup> The right information refers to the villagers' view of what tourists should be told.

<sup>147</sup> *Go'o* means different so does *pesa*. The use of the two *nua* names is coincidental, but they rhyme. Often the Indonesian expression *lain ladang lain berlalang* is used, which means different field different grasshopper.



The local guides, they said, did not understand the differences because they came from a different village or they came from Bajawa, the local town, where important cultural details have been lost, by and large. While some guides acknowledge that their cultural knowledge is inadequate, they employ a variety of strategies so that tourists are unaware of this.

The villagers also think that guides should take responsibility for managing tourist behaviour. As discussed, attempted management of tourists' clothing could result in the guides feeling shame (*malu*) and is therefore avoided. Several tourists were critical of their guides who did not tell them what to wear and a few of them felt embarrassed when they realised that their clothing was inappropriate. "We asked our guide about clothing: he said it doesn't matter – you're a tourist". "We took our sarongs expecting our guide to tell us to put them on before we went into the village but he didn't say anything. I wish I hadn't left it in the car. I would have felt much more comfortable with it on."

The guides act between tourist and villagers: they are dependent on both. However, there are many villages in Ngadha that tourists can be taken to. The guides, then, are more dependent on the tourists, who provide their living. Bena is in all the guidebooks, is more commercialised and more visited, and tourists increasingly regard it as "more of a museum for tourists than a real village". Cultural tourists seeking authenticity want to see less spoilt villages. They opt for tours that take in "more authentic" villages as well as the famous Bena. As transport improvements have made the journey time to Bena quicker, changes to the standard itinerary have been made. The tourists stop and look at two *nua* before arriving in Bena, and some tourists continue down the road to others. As the opportunity to spend more time in other villages increases, tourists spend less time in Bena, resulting in fewer sales.

The villagers in Bena were aware that they are largely dependent on guides to bring tourists to the village. Weavers would stop to chat to guides, hoping that their tourists would wait around and take a closer look at their wares and perhaps buy some.

Although critical of guides, villagers generally maintained friendly relations with them. This was a strategy to encourage them to return with more tourists.

In Wogo, villagers were more critical of guides. Fewer Ngadha guides visited Wogo, and proportionately more “driver guides” did. Few Wogo villagers had much social interaction with guides, apart from the woman who sold her bags. Some Ngadha guides have been made to feel unwelcome in Wogo. They have been pressured by the caretaker to extract larger donations from their clients when they fill in the guest book or have been asked for donations themselves. Some have had to put up with verbal abuse when the caretaker has been drunk. The guides therefore choose to take tourists to other villages.

A guide’s position in Ngadha society is to some extent marginal. Their choice of hair style (for example a long pony tail), clothing (for example jeans, a shirt and an ikat waistcoat) and their behaviour (for example, drinking beer alone with a female tour leader or greeting her with a hug) are indicative of this. However, hair and clothing styles were strategies to appeal to tourists, and familiar relations with tour leaders is a necessary strategy to maintain friendship and trust through which they get continuing work. Tour leaders are crucial contacts to get regular work leading tours and making arrangements for the groups while in Ngadha.

By arranging tours that visit more places rather than fewer in a limited time frame, the guides are aligning themselves with the values of the majority of tourists rather than those of the villagers. In doing so, they make themselves marginal within local society. Guides are aware that they transgress local values with some of their behaviour but see it as part of their work. For the villagers, this can mean that guides are not trustworthy. This lack of trust has the potential to lead to conflict.

As the boycott of Sade (Bras 2000) demonstrates, tour operators and guides are able to choose alternative cultural villages. If a village becomes too modern, too commercial or

the villagers too economy-minded or unfriendly, the guides and operators can move on to a new village. The guides' role to prevent misunderstandings and conflict caused by cultural differences is overshadowed by economic imperatives that lead them to play to the wishes of the tourists rather than those of the villagers. Guides, in their role as bridge-actors place more emphasis on one side of the bridge than the other side. Allowing the tourists freedom in behaviour and dress is a strategy to ensure satisfied customers on the tourist side of the bridge. The village side of the bridge is given less support as it can be more easily replaced.

### **8.3 Differing values between State and villagers**

The State has been instrumental in the objectification of culture and the reduction of it to the "cultural arts": dance, music, costumes, handicrafts and architecture (Picard 1997, King and Wilder 2003). Once objectified, culture can be sold. This view is epitomised by the Department's statement that "ceremonies could be sold to tourists"<sup>148</sup>. This view conflicts with the villagers' views. Although the villagers point to the material manifestations of their culture as tourist attractions and welcome tourists to view them, they do not think it is appropriate to stage rituals for tourists.

Fixing dates for rituals can be regarded as part of the process of the commodification of ceremonies. The Indonesian tourism departments are fond of their calendar of events (cf. Yamashita 1994). The provincial calendar of events is available on the Internet ([www.nuas-tenggara.com](http://www.nuas-tenggara.com)). The controversy about the annual ritual, *Reba*, in Bena is detailed in chapter 9. Its date used to be fixed by a specialist according to the moon. If this system is maintained, the date cannot be fixed in advance. The villagers are under pressure from the state to fix the date so it can be put in the calendar and used to attract tourists.

The objectification and, I would argue, appropriation of the villagers' culture by the state for economic exploitation began, inadvertently, with the appointment of caretakers

(*jurii kunci*) in 1982. These officials were appointed by the Department of Education and Culture to facilitate the preservation of material culture in a number of villages. In doing so, the preservation of material culture was state-sanctioned while at the same time the associated beliefs were devalued. As the objects are documented as part of the national heritage under the 1992 Law No.5 "Preservation of Cultural Sites and Objects" (*Pemeliharaan Benda Benda dan Situs Benda Cagar Budaya*), they have become possessions of the state. The material aspects of the villages were transformed from the property of the clans to the State, who became the custodian of their preservation.

Although villagers are proud that their heritage is considered a national asset, the appointment of the official is a cause of conflict in Ngadha villages. The caretaker, who keeps the visitors' book, collects donations made by visitors. Where these donations are kept, and not redistributed, conflict arises. In Wogo, this is the major source of conflict associated with tourism, but the problem is not restricted to Wogo. In all villages with guest books and no tickets, villagers made accusations about the caretaker getting rich at the expense of the village.

Four of the Ngadha villages are *obyek wisata unggulan* (Ind, prime tourist attractions<sup>149</sup>) referred to as *kampung budaya* (Ind) or cultural villages by the provincial Department of Tourism, and locally referred to as *kampung adat* (Ind). The entire villages are regarded as national assets and conflict has arisen as a result. As cultural villages must be kept "traditional", conflict arises over *how* traditional and the villagers are limited in what they can do to their own homes.

Two houses are completely refurbished in both Bena and Wogo each year. Conflict arose in Bena over methods of thatching. Although many reasons were given in discussions about a household's autonomy to decide how to thatch their home, the consensus was that it should be done the traditional way (i.e. by the *wae* method rather

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<sup>148</sup> Statement made by provincial head of tourism (see section 5.1.1).

<sup>149</sup> Literally prime tourist objects.

than the *tusuk* method<sup>150</sup>). A House that was rehabilitated in 1998 was built without any opening wooden windows. The headman's rationale for this was "It is a traditional village. From now on, all houses must be traditional: traditional houses do not have opening windows". Variation occurs across the four villages labelled as cultural/traditional villages. What is traditional is a matter of debate, but as I discuss below, competition between villages is now articulated as conflict resulting from tourism.

The State's direct involvement in tourism has been greatest in Bena. (Ticket sales and management group formation has taken place in Bela but State involvement is limited to this). The villagers are not happy about the actions of the provincial Tourism Department and, although less openly critical, are also discontented with the regency's involvement. Bad feeling continues as the Department of Tourism takes 30% of the income from ticket sales but the villagers feel that they do not get anything in return. The Department maintains that expenditure far outweighs income. Conflict at this level results from the perceived lack of reciprocity as the villagers say "The Department gets money because tourists visit our village, but what do we get in return?"

One further area of conflict between the State and the villagers is centred on perceptions of ignorance. An issue raised on numerous occasions by villagers was the Department of Tourism's assertion that "guides know better" and that the villagers lack the education to work as guides. The villagers are clear that their lack of foreign language skills prevent them from becoming guides, but they object to the idea that they know less, especially about their own culture. Villagers could act as guides for groups who are accompanied by out-of-area guides who could then translate. Villagers could also act as guides for Indonesian-speaking tourists.

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<sup>150</sup> The *wae* (Ng) method of thatching involves bundles of thatching grass being folded over roof struts by a party of villagers. The *tusuk* (Ng and Ind) method involves small bundles of thatching grass being attached to a stake to create sections of thatch. These are then lifted and tied on to the roof during the thatching ceremony. The *wae* method lasts longer, is less labour-intensive and means repairs are easier. However the thatching party is hard to control, takes longer and the resulting roof is less neat. The *tusuk*

A dominant view held across the Indonesian archipelago is that peasants are ignorant. The villagers themselves frequently referred to their ignorance as the cause of unfulfilled tourism potential in their villages. However, the values attached to the type of education the villagers are lacking differ between the State and the villagers. When the State claims that the villagers are not educated enough to act as guides, they are referring to formal education. When the villagers bemoan the lack of education provided by the state, with reference to tourism, they are referring as much to specific types of training. The educational needs for furthering the villagers' tourism development are discussed in Chapter Ten and in the recommendations.

As Robinson (1999) says, the “conflictual arenas”<sup>151</sup> between the villagers and state relate to rights, ownership and consent over cultural property and cultural capital. The appropriation and manipulation of the villagers' culture for the state's economic benefit has been eased through the devaluing of local knowledge and “ignorant peasantry” values. Empowering the villagers is therefore central to successful tourism development in the future.

## **8.4 Further conflict**

### **8.4.1 Inter-*nua* and inter-clan conflict**

Inter-*nua* conflict already exists and there is potential for further conflicts. The best example to illustrate this is the acrimony that exists between Bena and Luba. Luba is a *nua* about 500m from Bena in the same administrative village. Many local guides take tourists to Luba first, to explain about Ngadha culture there, and then walk down to Bena. Ticket sales take place in Bena, where, at present, the money stays. The villagers of Luba are unhappy not to be participating in any of the financial benefits from ticket sales. The administrative head of the village has so far refused to allow the people of Luba to raise money of their own account.

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method is more labour-intensive in preparation but much quicker on thatching day and is a newer innovation that looks neater.

<sup>151</sup> Expression borrowed from Greenwood (1989).

The villagers of Bena say that their village is famous: people only stop at Luba because they are coming to Bena anyway. Further, they claim Bena is original i.e. has always been on its present site but that Luba was formerly located in the mountains and that the present site is not original. They are unhappy that guides spend more time in the quieter village because it means tourists spend less time looking around Bena. Less time translates into fewer sales upon which the villagers are dependent for part of their income. This example of inter-*nua* conflict is the most transparent: others potentially lie in wait. For example, the villagers of Wogo were very upset that a tourist brochure produced by the province had a photo of Wogo that was labelled as Bena. There is further potential for similar conflicts in the administrative village of Dariwali where there are five *nua* but of them, so far, only Nage has got into the guidebooks, has a caretaker and is marketed as a cultural village.

As Bena is the only *nua* to have received direct state involvement, including funds for tourism development, others are envious and rivalry between *nua* is evident. Villagers in Nage and Bela were resentful that Bena had received state help that they also needed. Rivalry between *nua* is not new. However, as Wood says, tourism becomes “an important new resource for inter-group rivalry and status competition” (1997:16).

At a lower level of analysis this inter-group rivalry is expressed at the clan level. This is most obvious in Wogo, where inter-clan conflict lies at the root of non-development and animosity. As explained earlier, the caretaker is the grandson of the original landlord and has assumed a “feudal” landlord position. He openly admitted to me on more than one occasion “This is my village: no-one can do anything without my agreement”. Many of his clan distance themselves from him and some are openly critical of his behaviour. However, other members of the village believe that control must come from within the clan before anyone else can interfere. The lack of community consensus was the most common reason the villagers gave for the lack of tourism development. Many felt that tourism would not develop in this generation.

The structure of the tourism management group in Bena was important in preventing inter-clan rivalry. The group comprises one member of each clan: the original land owning clan has no more say than the others do.

#### 8.4.2 Gendered conflict?

Overt conflict of values between genders was not conspicuous. Focus groups were held with men and women separately in order to investigate similarities and differences in experiences and perceptions. Although views differed in terms of development priorities, perceptions about tourism were very similar. Despite the apparent lack of conflict at present, it seems to me that tourism has the potential to cause conflict between men and women. Without further research, it is only possible to speculate at this stage.

Ngadha women have experienced more balanced gender relations than other groups in Eastern Indonesia. This I would argue is reflected in Ngadha symbolism. “The complementary or creative fusion of male and female pairs” (Waterston 1990:171) reflects less about opposition (as many male anthropologists have suggested, e.g. Van Wouden 1935, Needham 1984) and more about mutual dependence. As men normally marry out, the tie of women to property has resulted in greater economic independence for women. However, eighty years of the Catholic Church and fifty years of incorporation in the Indonesian state have affected gender relations. The patriarchy of Catholicism has favoured male dominance, likewise the patrimony of the Indonesian state. Several older women talked about the more divided roles between men and women in Ngadha now in contrast to when they were young. As Nene Yuli told me “...before, men and women hunted together as a big group (*ramai ramai* Ind): now men go alone.”<sup>152</sup> In discussions about the next village headman in Wogo, several people said the best candidate was a woman. However, many thought that she would not get through the vetting procedure<sup>153</sup> just because she was a woman. “We have heard of women becoming village-heads, but it is very unusual...it is still normal for men to do

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<sup>152</sup> Hunting used to be common but is now rare.

<sup>153</sup> All village head-person candidates have to be vetted by higher levels in the Indonesian bureaucracy, before they can stand for village election.



those kind of things, ... mama Yani<sup>154</sup> might not be strong enough at all those male meetings...I still wish she would stand...”

There are a number of ways in which tourism affects gender relations in Ngadha. For example, the male symbol of clan identity is used more in tourism marketing than the corresponding female symbol. Focusing on a male symbol over a female may give this symbol, and corresponding maleness, prominence in the future.

Echoing State views, villagers consider that males should deal with outsiders, i.e. tourists, and women should deal with internal, family and home matters<sup>155</sup>. However, in my observations I saw more women dealing with tourists on a day-to-day basis than men. Furthermore, women from Bena travel to Bajawa to sell their ikat cloth, again dealing with outsiders. This mismatch between theory and practice could easily lead to men receiving training in tourism when the women equally need it. Since women deal with tourists as much or more than men, they need equal access to discussions, decisions, and training relating to tourism.

Cloth production is largely a female domain. Men produce plying and weaving equipment. Recently, since sales to tourists started, men have begun to help with plying. This is generally undertaken inside the house and not on the terrace. The husband of one of Bena's most successful weavers plies on the terrace. In response to questions about undertaking “women's work” in public and he replied, “Why should I be ashamed to help my wife: we are dependant on her income from weaving.” However, he would not help with threading up a loom or actual weaving. It is much easier for two people to thread a loom<sup>156</sup> and women often seek help from friends, kin and children to carry out this task. The nine-year-old son of the same women would, under protest, still help although his fourteen year-old brother would not. The nine-year-old protested that he was a young man and should not be expected to undertake this female task.

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<sup>154</sup> Not her real name

<sup>155</sup> As King suggests, Indonesian development policies locate women within the home and family (1999:63).

<sup>156</sup> I used the strategy of helping women thread looms as a means of carrying out interviews with them.

As discussed earlier, tying the warp threads, to resist the dye and produce patterns, is dependent on both age and bloodlines. In Sumba, a neighbouring island famed for its ikat textiles, tourist demand for the cloth has resulted in men weaving, and the tying of threads is “practised by almost any young woman” (Smedjebacka 2000:287). Further, according to the same author, “...women have lost artistic control, ... men create the desired designs, and women are left to the less creative stages” (*ibid*: 288). If education about tourists remains largely the domain of men and they better understand tourist desires, it is possible that this loss of female control could occur in Ngadha. Under such circumstances, there is potential for conflict between the genders.

The final potential arena for conflict between men and women in Ngadha villages as a result of tourism is an increase in gambling. I observed both men and women gambling but far more men take part in this pastime, especially on Sundays. In Bena, little attempt is made to hide this activity: in Wogo, it is less easy to estimate the extent of gambling because it is less readily observable. The results of Bena’s Sunday volleyball match and a local version of rummy are the usual forums for gambling. Women expressed annoyance at the amount of time men wasted gambling on card games but said that, at present, this was limited by the small amounts of money that men had. All earnings are usually passed to women so men had minimal amounts of money “stolen from shopping change” to gamble with. I observed ten-hour stints of gambling on several occasions, apparently the same small amounts of money circulating around the village men. The village shopkeeper and his (non-Ngadha) wife frequently gambled and his terrace was the most used space for gambling. Sales to tourists were a significant part of this household’s income. From this one example it is not possible to generalise about the potential impact of further revenue from tourism. However, some women shared my view that if men received unknown amounts of money from tourists then the amount of time “wasted” on gambling could increase.

It appears that, as Sinclair (1997) suggests, gender definitions and the division of labour are being renegotiated, at least in some households, as a result of tourism. Long and

Kindon concluded, in reference to Bali, “tourism development is interacting with systems of gender ideology to strengthen and reinforce the status quo” (1997:114). In Bena, where tourism income is from weaving, a women’s domain, women’s economic independence is reinforced. However, State and Church gender ideology, i.e. that men should deal with outsiders, is likely to result in more male involvement in tourism education and decision-making. Women need equal access if they are to have a voice in decision-making for future developments in tourism.

At present the make-up of the tourism management group reflects the State view. Of nine members, only one is a woman. If tourism liaison and education is enacted through this group, it is unlikely that views of women would be equally represented. However, according to the villagers, both men and women, the men would adequately represent the women's voices. "Their sisters tell them and their wives; they know what we think; they are better at meetings...", one woman told me.

### **8.5 Conflicts of acculturation**

As discussed in the introduction, cultural tourism involves fulfilling the desires of tourists “to access primitive societies... to taste traditional ways of life... to see...exotic practices” (Sofield and Birtles 1996). Tourism, as an important form of globalisation, results in greater socio-economic integration with the wider world. The processes of socio-economic integration result in modernisation, a loss of the “primitive” and result in the tourist product being, from the tourists’ viewpoint, “spoilt”. On the one hand, tourism brings (or has the potential to bring) wealth and modernisation while, on the other hand, for the product to remain attractive, the villages must remain “primitive, traditional and exotic”. These conflicts between modernising and remaining traditional I refer to as “conflicts of acculturation”. In this section, I will examine how these conflicts are manifested.

From discussions with the villagers in Bena and Wogo, the only conflict between modernisation and tradition that was articulated was over the competing demands on their economic resources. *Adat*, conceptualised as the way of the ancestors, manifest in House, clan and *nua* relations and the rituals to maintain them, did not – in the eyes of

the villagers - conflict with modernisation. Modernisation is understood to refer to electricity, education, and health care, all of which compete with rituals for available funds. None of the villagers believed that modernising forces would diminish the value of *adat*. Slaughtering fewer animals at rituals was considered an essential compromise in order to finance modernity.

However, earning an income did involve conflicts with tradition. Villagers in Wogo criticised the use of Bena Houses for sales. According to several women in Wogo, hanging out goods for sale devalued the sacred status of a House. The woman who made bags for tourists in Wogo did not display her wares for tourists. She said, “ this is a House: it cannot be a market stall”.

On days when House-building was being undertaken, women in Bena did not weave. If they were not helping in ritual preparations, they felt uncomfortable to be undertaking private income generation in the *nua*. When House-building or other rituals in the *nua* became protracted, several women expressed frustration at not being able to weave. Behind closed doors they used their time in plying.

Villagers' views conflicted over raising money from tourists to pay for the new *ngadhu* in Bena. Between the planning and the execution of the replacement, the Indonesian economic crisis unfolded and funds were insufficient to complete the rituals. Some members of the clan wanted to raise money from tourists to cover the shortfall. Many members were reluctant to allow for this aspect of their culture to be commodified. *Adat* should not be bought and sold, they claimed. Although proponents agreed “it wasn't really right”, the economic imperative to go against tradition forced a pragmatic solution. The compromise position, after long and occasionally heated discussions, was to charge tourists to view the carving of the *ngadhu*. Some members of the clan wanted to charge tourists to attend the largest ritual. However, other members of the village and guides prevented this. Although the total funds raised from tourists that viewed the carving was insignificant, just \$5, this case and those above illustrate how acquiring income can clash with tradition.

The government's perspective on the conflicts of acculturation is reflected in their reversal of policy. Tradition was seen as a barrier to development and traditional houses as unhealthy. Now, the State, recognising the value of tradition for tourism, wants traditional villages preserved. As discussed further in section 9.5, questions about the power of the state to dictate the use of villagers' space in their own homes needs to be addressed.

Shortly after I began taking tourists to Wogo, electricity was installed. The electricity poles were run, by the shortest route, diagonally across the nua. All tourists we took to the village on subsequent trips commented negatively about this highly visible sign of modernisation as it "spoilt" their village photographs (see plate 3). Further, in discussions with one of the members of the tourist department, the electricity poles were given as a reason Wogo was less visited than Bena. Could Bena then be denied electricity as it would detract from its attractiveness as a prime tourist attraction? The villagers of Bena saw electricity as a high priority for development. Electricity was highest on the priority list for young people, second (after road improvements) for men and third (after water supplies to individual houses and road improvements) for women.

The provincial tourism department built a souvenir shop in Bena in an attempt to stop the villagers turning traditional houses into market stalls. Their rationale was that such sales reduced the attractiveness of a traditional village because it became too commercialised. The interviewees made no mention of the sacred nature of Houses as a rationale. Keeping the village *appearing* traditional was the fundamental underlying value. This value corresponds with the tourists' values, as explained below.

From comments made by tourists both in interviews and written in the visitors' books, there are two views that predominate: firstly, that the villages should keep their traditions and, secondly, that villages that receive fewer tourists and appear poorer are considered more authentic and less "spoilt". Although Bena was liked, due to its stunning scenic position, many tourists thought it was "spoilt". Some even thought it

was not a living village but preserved just for tourism. The sale of tickets, Coca-Cola, ikat fabrics and a few other souvenirs were given as examples of why Bena is considered commercialised and thus spoilt. The tourist dissatisfaction resulted from the villagers not living up to the tourists' image and expectations.

As Bena attempts to increase income from tourism, tourists like it less. Guides already take tourists to other villages and therefore spend less time in Bena. As transportation improves, more villages will be accessible and it is likely that tourists will visit other "less spoilt" villages. Being less developed gives a village competitive advantage. As new (to tourism) villages are visited, it is likely that they will attempt to raise income from tourism and attain the trappings of modernity. Tourism will then have a levelling effect on the villages. As poorer, more peripheral villages become more accessible, they will receive more tourists and if they, like Bena, "become commercialised", by attempting to make sales to tourists, tourists will in turn seek other "less spoilt" villages. However, considering the present economic situation in Indonesia and the districts development plans, it is unlikely that significant road improvements will take place in the short term.

If tourists visited other villages *instead of* Bena, the above scenario would be beneficial from the perspective of the psychological carrying capacity (frequently already reached in Bena in the high season). However, it appears that tourists still want to visit Bena, if only in passing. As I have suggested, less time spent in the village results in fewer sales, so that Bena deals with the negative effects of crowding without increased sales.

Having examined the "conflicts of acculturation" from the perspectives of our three major stakeholder groups, tourist, villagers, and mediators (in this case the Government), it is clear that income generation from tourism conflicts with the tourist and State views of the tourist product to be sold. Initial attempts by the villagers to derive economic benefits from tourism have resulted in the product being commercialised and the resource being "spoilt". Balancing the "conflicts of

acculturation” needs to be considered, together with the stakeholder conflicts, in the policy and planning of further tourism development in Ngadha villages.

## 8.6 Summary

This chapter has examined the real and potential “conflicts of tourism”. It has compared and contrasted the values, attitudes, priorities and perceptions of the villagers and other important actors. Tourists, ignorant of how to behave as guests, transgress the norms of clothing, gift-giving and ritual food consumption. Furthermore the tourists’ perceptions of crowds, time and events differ from those of the villagers. To varying extents, these differences in perceptions cause conflicts. Some of these conflicts are felt on a personal level, making villages feel upset, uncomfortable and angry. Others cause the conflict to be expressed overtly.

Guides, villagers and the government all share the desire to derive economic benefits from tourism. From the villagers' perspective, the guides do not adequately manage the tourists' behaviour. The guides are more dependent on tourists than villages. The latter can be replaced. The guides' strategy to maintain a good reputation is to play to the wishes of tourists rather than those of the villagers. Although friendly relations are maintained between most local guides and many villagers in Bena, conflict has arisen when guides do not give the correct narratives to tourists or when they fail to provide an understanding about the timing of rituals. Several local guides avoid Wogo for fear that the caretaker will be abusive if they do not extract larger than normal donations from their clients.

“Conflicts of tourism” exist between villagers and the State departments empowered with tourism organisation. This conflict is centred on the villagers’ perception that the department receives ticket revenue but does not reciprocate. Furthermore, only one village – Bena - has received financial help with tourism development, causing resentment in other villages. Tourism has also become a new arena for inter-*nua* rivalry.

Although speculative, the data also suggest that tourism may result in conflict between men and women. According to the State, men deal with outsiders, i.e. tourists: however, observations suggest women deal with tourists more. Unequal access to tourism education and training could result from the State view.

The final conflict of tourism that this chapter examined was the “conflicts of acculturation”. The villagers want tourism, to bring economic benefits. However, tourists equate authenticity with poverty. The resource is "spoilt" according to tourists and the State by any overt signs of modernity. In order to remain traditional, villagers are being denied the rights to have windows in their homes. It is possible they will also be denied electricity in Bena as electricity in Wogo is considered to have spoilt the village.

The promotion of traditional culture does not match the government's urge to pursue modernisation, but does serve a role to satisfy the tourists' thirst for authenticity. If the culture in cultural villages continues to be based on markers related to the past, on tradition as unchanging or on fixed material elements, it will work to preserve the villagers' underdevelopment rather than being a tool for development.



## Chapter 9

### Tourism and socio-cultural change

#### 9.0 Introduction

This chapter examines tourism and socio-cultural change in Ngadha. It examines the dangers and ambiguities of equating globalisation with westernisation and the importance of tourism as a localising force in identity affirmation and the commodification of otherness.

The chapter unwraps the onion-skins around the Ngadha cultural core and illustrates how tourism is incorporated within a complex nexus of forces that shape Ngadha society. The story of the ordination of a village priest is used to illustrate how nationalism, Catholicism and *adat* are intertwined, how the beliefs are at once syncretised while also competing for legitimacy and authority in the villagers' lives. The onion-skins are then stripped away for closer examination. A detailed account of *Reba* in Bena, in 1998, is provided to illustrate how tourism is utilised, accommodated and appropriated within the competition for legitimacy and authority in the lives of the Ngadha villagers. The chapter ends with a discussion of how tourism is affecting the balance of power between the competing influences.

#### 9.1 Tourism and globalisation in Ngadha.

Visual signs of globalisation do exist in Ngadha villages. Coca Cola bottles are on sale in the village shops: sales are largely to tourists but also occasionally to locals. Tourists and locals buy biscuits. This originally Western import has little to do with tourism. The Catholic Church introduced the baking of cakes, biscuits and bread into Ngadha. Sponge cakes are prized as they are considered essential at Church weddings (but not at

traditional marriage ceremonies). One of the most frequently purchased items in the village shops is instant noodles. Although now widely available in Western supermarkets, instant noodles are a Chinese, not a Western product. The danger of assuming that globalisation equals westernisation needs to be heeded. As Howell (1995a) argues, the flow is not unidirectional.

Young people of Ngadha strive for clothing that they deem “fashionable”, but linking this with tourism would be inaccurate. Images of a variety of clothing styles reach the villagers from tourists but also from magazines brought home by family members who return from the metropolitan centres of the Indonesian archipelago. As detailed in Chapter Seven, villagers frequently comment on tourists’ clothes. Occasionally a pretty blouse or smart shirt will be commented on in a complimentary manner. However, by and large, the clothes worn by tourists were not admired or considered appropriate to copy.

Dress in Ngadha has changed in the years I have been visiting. Children, in particular, increasingly wore more clothes. Young and old wear T-shirts but to attribute this change in dress style to copying tourists, i.e. “the demonstration effect”, would be false. Tourists do occasionally donate T-shirts to villagers but these do not constitute a status symbol as a clothing style. As gifts, they signify the closeness of a relationship with a tourist and are prized as such. Further, the hard-wearing nature of T-shirts over locally available clothing is the significant aspect of their value. Villagers acquire clothes from the *lulos* (second-hand stall) in Bajawa. Charity shop and jumble sale remainders, exported from the west, provide this cheap source of second hand western clothing. They are purchased for their quality and value for money rather than as signifiers of fashion. Occasionally, labelled products such as Benetton or Gap clothes may be obtained but the fashion status value of these labels is unknown to the villagers. Jeans are valued but I would argue that this has little to do with copying tourists. Tourists visit the villages during the day and jeans are generally considered too warm to be worn. It is more likely that awareness of jeans comes from Indonesia’s jeans industry. There are two shops that sell jeans in Bajawa. Other prized clothing in Wogo includes jackets, jumpers, and sweatshirts. These clothes are sought for their warmth, but – like jeans – are infrequently seen on tourists.

Western commodities, at least our cast-offs, are exported to Ngadha. However, to suggest that the values attached to western clothing are exported must be questioned. The most highly valued clothing in Ngadha is the ceremonial clothes. These black and white hand-woven *ikat kains*, long tubular cloths, are worn for the ancestors and more recently at some church services. For women, the second most highly prized clothing is other *ikat kains*. When I wore a Bena *kain* to Wogo, admiration was shown by women of all ages. All my close friends and categorical relatives wanted to borrow it to go to church, an opportunity used to show off best clothes.

The value of western clothing is in its durability and warmth. Local hand-woven cloth is warm and durable but it is expensive. Villagers who opt for jeans, T-shirts and sweatshirts are frequently purchasing what they can afford and what is hard wearing. This contrasts with the western consumer value of clothes that are replaced every season. Western clothing in Ngada does not signify fashion status but durability and warmth. The commodity is exported but the value placed on it is changed. As Hannerz (1990) suggests, the goods are transferred but not their meanings.

Not only are Western cultural values in relation to dress only superficially incorporated into Ngadha, a flow of Eastern Indonesian dress values, travels west. The majority of souvenir purchases in Ngadha are *ikat* cloth. Although rarely sewn to create ready-to-wear clothing, the appreciation of Ngadha cloth, if not clothing, is clear. The fact that the word “sarong” has become part of international clothing language attests to the flow of clothing values from the East as well as the West. As discussed by Forshee (1998) *ikat* has fashion value and is exported world-wide.

Exposure to western cultural values can also be examined in relation to music. Ngadha villagers enjoy a variety of genres of European music. Again, this cannot be attributed to tourism as tourists will rarely be playing or listening to music during village visits. Tourists do carry cassettes and play them in the vehicles that transport them to the villages, so drivers and guides will hear tourists’ musical tastes on occasions. This, however, is minimal in comparison to the influence of the radio. Dance styles have, however, been affected by tourism. At Ngadha weddings and first communion parties,

western music is played. Most is “old time” ballroom music locally referred to as *dansa*. This music was brought by Catholic priests and is extremely popular. More old and young people know the ballroom dance steps than the majority in the west from where the music originated. In recent years, there is a trend to also play “pop” music at these celebrations. Tourists are invited. Their attendance is not so important as “guests from afar”, for which they are valued at *adat* ceremonies, although this factor may have some significance. They are invited as part of the entertainment. Observing tourists dance is enjoyed and their dance styles are copied by young people in Ngadha.

Older members of Ngadha society consider tourist dance movements too liberated and in some cases erotic. In contrast to the strict movements of *adat* dance and the formal movements of ballroom dance, uninhibited free-style dancing worry village elders. On more than one occasion, village elders attributed teenage pregnancy to young males getting “carried away” and losing their inhibitions “like tourists”. The liberated dance of tourists (combined with their minimal clothing), when copied, was considered to arouse local lads who became “unable to control their natural desires”.

“To speak of individualisation and of modernity is to speak of the same condition” (Bauman 2001:124). Inasmuch as individualism is a consequence and value of globalisation, the change in dance styles can be seen as part of globalisation. Ritual dances are always performed in groups and follow strict protocol. Ballroom dancing, although performed in pairs, is stylised also to a formal set of rules. However, the modern dance style of many tourists is individualistic and hedonistic. The young people of Ngadha enjoy copying tourists’ individualistic dance styles, but whether or not this involves incorporating individualistic values is debatable: the effect may be superficial. Tourism has clearly exposed local people to behaviour from different cultural backgrounds and in the case of dance, the youngsters of Ngadha clearly challenge the norms and boundaries of locally accepted styles. However, the individualistic values underlining tourist dance styles may be incorporated superficially both in aspect and time. Individualism may only be incorporated as part of dance and not into other aspects of their lives or it may just be while they are “teenagers”. It would be dangerous to base any observations of changed values on this group within society, an age group known to push at society’s boundaries.

## 9.2 Localisation and tourism in Ngadha

The other side of the globalisation coin is localisation. An examination of this demonstrates that tourism is an important part of the localisation processes in Ngadha. Having been given an identity, the Ngadha are making use of their cultural distinctiveness as a resource.

In Indonesia, the treatment of populations as homogeneous and bounded units began with the Dutch (Hitchcock and King 1997). The number of “ethnic groups” on Flores has always been open to interpretation. As I have suggested in the introduction, based on linguistic and ethnographic evidence, there would appear to be a continuum of people occupying the west and central parts of the island, rather than a number of distinct bounded groups. The Dutch created colonial districts across the island and named them after the largest local group. A '*raja*' (Ind king) was installed in Bajawa in the second decade of the twentieth century (Smedal 1993). Some groups were subsumed into the regions of others, which – according to Forth (1998) – has relegated certain populations to subordinate status. The Indonesian state kept the five districts on Flores that the Dutch had delineated. The Ngada district includes three, four or five groups (depending on how such groups are defined) within its boundaries, of which the Ngadha are one.

The anthropological endeavour that began during colonial times has contributed to the creation of ethnic groups with the erection of cultural distinctions and borders (Hannerz 1996). The Indonesian state has continued the process but has favoured region and religion over ethnicity (Wood 1997). From the government's viewpoint, Ngadha is part of Eastern Indonesia and Catholic. Moreover, Ngadha is part of East Nusa Tenggara. As Picard (1993) discusses regionalisation has a reductionist and diluting effect. The idea of ethnic groups is also forged in primary schools. The State schoolbooks provide images of traditional costume and dwellings and assign them to particular groups across the archipelago. Certain groups are more prominent than others: certain aspects of the culture of these ‘famous’ ethnic groups is known to school children throughout

Indonesia, e.g. Bali's dancers, Minangkabau's matrilineity, Torajan funerals and Asmat penis gourds.

Tourism is about selling places and cultural tourism is about selling the culture attached to those places. Marketing tourism is simplified where cultures begin and end and where they are specific to places. Just as anthropological maturity is leading to the growing recognition that place is a social construction, many groups desire to construct cultural identities attached to place (cf. Hastrup and Olwig 1997). The use of cultural identity, of ethnicity, and of 'being an ethnic group' is in part a response to, and consequence of, tourism.

The ethnic pride resulting from tourists' visits that is widely reported elsewhere (e.g. Adams 1997, Van den Berghe 1992, Crystal 1978) is apparent in Ngadha; and this is a clear reason why tourists are appreciated. Further, I would argue that an Ngadha ethnicity is being created largely through the presence of tourists. Guides create the image of a fixed, bounded group of people that share a specific culture. They tell the tourists the classical, the historical, the traditional elements of the culture as if they were unchanging, supplanting the contemporary, dynamic aspects of the villagers' lives.

The Ngadha appear to have come into being, in the sense of a discrete bounded group with an identifiable shared culture, as "an ethnic option" (Wood 1997). There is a notion of shared descent among the Ngadha. In the different villages, very similar stories of their origins are told<sup>157</sup>. The villagers claim a number of other criteria that make them Ngadha. Language, frequently an essential aspect of ethnic identity, varies across the region, there are dialects within Ngadha (cf. Grimes *et al* 1997) and the neighbouring languages of Nage, Riung and the languages of Eastern Manggarai are mutually comprehensible.

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<sup>157</sup> The O Luka ceremony and song retold at Nage's *Reba* every year is considered to recount the ancestors' journey from Java via Sumba to Ngadha.

Other criteria are based on what villagers' claim are the fundamental aspects of their customs. The marriage rule "that men marry out" applies in the majority of villages, but not all. The rule has always been, and remains, subject to negotiation (cf. Barnes 1972). In some villages, for example Were, a village neighbouring Wogo, it is the women that marry out, as bride wealth is always paid for them. My adoptive mother was from Were and had moved to Wogo to join her husband<sup>158</sup>. My brother-in-law was also from Were and his parents had wanted to pay for my sister. My father had said that he wanted her to remain in Wogo<sup>159</sup>. By asking for a bride price beyond the means of any villager, his statement that "his daughter was priceless" was clear. Although "marrying out" is a rule that many people claimed to be part of their ethnic identity, in fact the rule varies according to village and family circumstances.

Whenever a guide talks to tourists about marriage in Ngadha, they always contrasted it with other ethnic groups on Flores. "In Ngadha, men marry out" is always one of the first cultural elements recounted about Ngadha culture. This feature combined with children following the rank of their mothers has, with embroidery and translation, led to narratives that the Ngadha are matrilineal, and even matriarchal. When I first visited Wogo, I felt a strong sense that women had more value and power than in other parts of Indonesia I had visited. I wrote in my notes that every house had a female head of household (in fact the *donggo sao* see section 4.2.3). The women were more outspoken in comparison to other village women I had met in Indonesia. The women of Bena all told me how important it was to have a daughter "to stay at home and look after us", because "Our sons will leave us". A local priest told me that the Ngadha are unproductive compared to other groups on Flores because the men marry out and therefore it is not in their interests to clear land or work hard on their own family farms. Further studies are required to investigate male feelings of inferiority, inadequacy or being less wanted than their sisters. If "men marrying out" becomes a defining term of Ngadha ethnicity will the rule become more fixed and less dependent on circumstance and will this feed into gender values?

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<sup>158</sup> In my adoptive family, my grandparents had only three children, the eldest son married out into a neighbouring *nua*. My aunt is disabled and thought unlikely to attract a husband. My grandparents therefore insisted that my father pay bride wealth so he and his wife could stay with them.

The clearest criteria of Ngadha identity are their houses, cloth, *ngadhu* and *bhaga*, megaliths and annual *Reba* gatherings. These criteria are not only identified by the locals but are also the symbols that are taken and used in tourism. They are tangible markers that can be photographed and marketed. These markers have become objectified and externalised and this in itself “tends to make people self-conscious and reflective about the “cultural stuff” which, previously, they may have taken for granted” (Wood 1997: 19).

Traditional houses are used throughout the Indonesian archipelago as ethnic markers. It is hard for tourists to Indonesia to avoid images of traditional dwellings representing ethnic groups. Erb suggests Indonesian houses have become “badges of identity” because they are so readily accessible as tourists attractions (1998:187). Adams (1984) discusses how houses in Toraja have become markers of ethnic identity and Allerton (2001) discusses how the Manggarai tried to transform a house into a tourist site. The majestic, high, thatched, wooden houses of Ngadha are no exception. But they are houses like the others, and very similar in shape to the houses of central Flores and Sumba. The Ngadha, however, have additional obvious symbols: the *bhaga* and *ngadhu*. A *bhaga* is a house in miniature, a photograph of which would look little different from one of a house (just smaller and unfinished). It is for this reason that the *ngadhu* has become the archetypal symbol of Ngadha society.

The carved pole with its conical thatch represents the first male ancestor of the clan to which it belongs; together with a *bhaga* and *peo*, these symbols represent clan unity. The *ngadhu*'s carving and thatch, provide the tourist with the quintessential symbols of art and craft associated with an “ethnic culture”. The *ngadhu* is a “primitive” object that is specific to the Ngadha (the neighbouring Nage have a forked pole but it is not thatched). Used in tourism marketing literature, *ngadhu* are divorced from *bhaga*, separated from their context and their unity.

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<sup>159</sup> Although my adoptive father had eight children, he had a job at the Department of Education and Culture so my mother carried out the agricultural work. My sister was needed to run the house.



The obscuring of the essential symbolic meaning of unity arising from representing *ngadhu* individually is not the only problem here. I am concerned that the male symbol is given dominance over the female. Will this make the Ngadha self-conscious and reflective in an unconscious or sublime way, and lead to a prominence or importance of males? If the male symbol is more photographed, used more in marketing, and if it is used on postcards first, will this feed back into society and give males a new power from tourism?

The Ngadha have never formed a unified political group. Tourism, however, is creating the internal recognition of a defined group based on the above set of markers. Their ethnicity is being reconstructed, as MacCannell (1984) would have it. Differences are re-invented and commodified, to be consumed by the tourist, in their search for otherness (Schelling 1998). The creation or affirmation of an ethnic identity and the importance centred on a local identity- localisation – is a consequence of tourism.

Localisation – the emphasis on the local – in Ngadha, raises two issues that require further discussion in relation to tourism development: firstly to examine what is local and secondly to consider the impact of the 1999 regional autonomy laws.

### **9.2.1 What is local?**

In Chapter One, the inherent complications in the local community participation paradigm, depending on the specificity of context, were raised. Recognising that tourism is a localising force, the question of what or where is local or at what level of abstraction it is best understood and interpreted needs to be raised. The symbols of Ngadha that are used for and by Ngadha people would suggest a bounded and united group with shared traditions. As an inter-marrying group with a shared history, culture, political and economic structure, one definition of community could cover the whole region. However, to do so would be to lose the important details that are pertinent. Important differences exist between villages, and, as discussed in Section 8.3, villagers are adamant that they do not like generalisations about cultural rules. In both Wogo and

Bena, I was frequently told “different village, different cultural rules”.<sup>160</sup> Interpreting local at the micro-level, i.e. that of the *nua*, makes planning and policy difficult. Further, it fuels real and potential conflict between *nua* and villages. Tourist numbers to Ngadha are limited and, for the reasons discussed above, tourists are wanted. As a result, competition between villages to attract tourists exists. Inter-*nua* and inter-village conflict already exists. There is clear evidence of villages laying claim to certain traditions. This exercising of ethnic options, as Wood puts it, “is inherently political and contentious” (1997:19). Defining community at the most local level will increase the likelihood of tourism development becoming a divisive force.

The Ngadha consider the annual *Reba* gathering as an essential aspect of their identity. The order that different villages celebrate *Reba* is vital to the villages’ identity. For example, Wogo must have *Reba* after Bena, Sadha, Doka and Dada Wea (in that order). The ordering of the villages is related to when the villages were originally settled and this is reaffirmed each year. It is important to Bena that their *Reba* is first, as they consider their village to be the first to have been settled. Bena is referred to as “the eldest child of Ngadha”. This primacy is reaffirmed every time the villagers claim it was the first village to be visited by tourists. For the people of Bena, this first position is important<sup>161</sup>.

The Church attempted to appropriate *Reba*, a House unity ritual, and make it a parish unity ritual. The clergy took the central symbolism, the cutting of yams, and claimed they had become the body and blood of Christ, the bread and wine in Holy Communion. The meaning of cutting the yam could change over time, if changed in this way by the priests. However, the root of the major controversy over the date of Bena’s *Reba* celebrations (see below) was not about changing the meaning central to the ritual, or changing the ritual from House to parish. At the heart of the controversy was Bena losing the primacy of their village to the parish as a whole, or even worse to the village

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<sup>160</sup> Sometimes the claim was “different clan, different rules” and even “different house, different rules”. This underscores the house as the fundamental level of social organisation

<sup>161</sup> The expression *Da Wunga, Ngalu Wunga* conveys the idea that the first is eminent.

of Jerebuu where the parish church is located. In considering which village is to hold *Reba* first, the specificity of what is local is important in the Ngadha context.

### 9.2.2 Regional autonomy

As Erb (2001) suggests in reference to the Manggarai, the 1999 regional autonomy laws will compound the process of identity creation and reaffirmation. The new laws will invite intense competition over local resources and political power. With autonomy bestowed at the regency level, the leader who can claim “local” voice will have potentially far-reaching powers.

The Benda-Beckmanns’ findings in West Sumatra suggest that the new laws are resulting in “a process of localism and ethnisation” (2001:5) with heightened emphasis on ethnicity. As the regency of Ngada is occupied by a number of groups, the potential for conflict between them cannot be ignored. The pending move of the regency capital will no doubt become more contentious, as will the possibility of the regency splitting into two. Plans for major coastal resort developments on the north coast could have far reaching effects for the Ngadha.

As Usman (2001), Benda-Beckmann and Benda-Beckmann (2001), and Antlov (2001) comment, with new democracy and autonomy for the regions, comes the power, obligation and responsibility to raise local revenue. This may be especially important in reference to tourism in Ngadha, as it is the Regency's second most important industry, after agriculture. The issues discussed regarding the splitting of tourist ticket revenue in the villages are likely to become more heated. The Regency will see tourist payments as an important mechanism to raise revenue. On the other hand, the village has also been given autonomy in legal terms (Antlov 2001) and may also need to generate its own financial resources (Benda-Beckmann and Benda-Beckmann 2001).

The notion of a bounded, localised, cultural whole of Ngadha is a creation of outsiders. The villagers in this study, in their daily lives, identify local at the *nua* level. Awareness of a delimitable, bounded area of Ngadha is being created, in part at least, by

tourism. Tourism is providing the villagers with the pride of an identity. Minor ambitions, for example to be included in provincial level tourism marketing material, will be an initial step in being recognised.

The cultural commodification of their otherness has led to a recognisable “ethnic group” identity. This commodification is frequently regarded negatively, as the “West’s” objectification of a cultural other. However, this masks the social empowerment that comes with the pride brought by tourism and the political resource that their new definable identity offers.

### 9.3 Competing influences

*Ebu po, nusi pera* or *uku adha*<sup>162</sup> are the rules of respect, teaching and advice from the ancestors (glossed as *adat* in Indonesian). This world view provides a fundamental underpinning in the villagers’ culture to the present day. This cultural core is not static but has changed, and continues to be changed, by more recent influences. The Catholic Church, increasingly influential from the 1920s onwards, has provided the villagers with different rules of behaviour and way of life, rules that frequently conflict with their pre-existing norms and practices. The Indonesian state is a third force shaping the lives of the villagers. These forces compete for authority in the villagers’ lives. The three forces are a triangle of power, which, like a three-legged stool, can be strong and level. However, when more weight is put on two legs an imbalance will result. Tourism, an essential aspect of globalisation, is now being added as a fourth dimension to the complex picture. It is affecting the articulation of power and the balance between the influences. Before examining each of the forces, the story of a priest’s first service will be used to illustrate how the forces are intertwined in the villagers’ daily lives.

#### 9.3.1 A priest’s first service

When a priest is ordained, he gives his first service in his own village. On one such occasion during my field-work, a priest from a *nua* neighbouring Wogo returned to give

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<sup>162</sup> *Ebu* = grandparent. *Po* = advice. *Nusi* = great grandparents. *Pera* = teachings. *Uku* = restriction/rule. *Adha* = showing respect

his first service. A temporary church was constructed in the centre of the *nua*. Work on the structure was organised according to prayer groups while a ritual meal was prepared in the priest's House. As custom dictates, the cooking of the meat was carried out by the men whilst women cooked the rice. In this *adat* ritual, male and female work was divided along gender lines, whilst outside men and women shared construction jobs. The sanctuary of the makeshift church was constructed with a carved wooden entry step (*kaba pere*). Usually reserved for entry into the inner sacred room of a House, the sacred portal was transformed into the entry step into the sanctified area of the makeshift church.

Before the service, the priest was led around the village in a decorated car. Driving slowly, the car followed a procession of dancers, in full costume, that took the same form as in house-building ceremonies, with the men at the front waving swords and the women dancing behind. The only difference was that, on this occasion, many more villagers danced. As the villagers explained, "We love to dance and on this occasion we do not have to be pig donors: anyone can dance". Before the priest gave his service, a pig was slaughtered and, as always, the ancestors were invoked. Even at this Catholic ceremony, the ancestors' blessing was essential. During the sermon, generations of House members were remembered and, after Holy Communion, blessings were given to both living and dead relatives.<sup>163</sup>

For village members, the lunch that followed the service was pork and rice served in customary style: men used their bare hands to serve meat and rice into individual baskets, to be eaten with the hands. The villagers sat in their prayer groups. However, for invited guests from outside, the lunch resembled that of a wedding in Java. A buffet was served, consisting of dishes such as beef in soya sauce, stir-fried green beans and carrots, fried noodles and fried chicken. These dishes are served across the Indonesian archipelago on formal occasions when guests from a variety of backgrounds are expected. Having served ourselves (in strict order, according to status), we ate the meal with a spoon and fork off a china plate.

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<sup>163</sup> The priest laid his hand on the imaginary heads of the dead kneeling next to his live relatives.

Dancing and eating continued into the evening. A family planning van arrived and, parked at the edge of the *nua*, offered advice and information on modern methods of contraception. Its presence on this particular occasion shocked me more than the villagers. Although ordaining a village priest is one of the most important of Catholic rituals, the family planning team overlooked Catholic opposition to family planning and saw a gathering of villagers, who are frequently inaccessible in their gardens, as an opportunity to market their services.

The above story not only illustrates syncretism but demonstrates how the villagers participate in, and their lives are shaped by, nationalism, Catholicism and *adat*. The different influences, in this case, apparently blended harmoniously. Men and women flowed between gendered *adat* roles in the kitchen, where a customary meal was prepared for groups of people divided along church lines while, outside, women and men shared construction work to create a “church” fashioned on a traditional House. The priest entered and left the sanctuary through a *kaba pere*, entry-step or vagina (see section 4.3.2). Traditional dress at church events is not unusual in Ngadha and was often quoted as an example of “enculturation”. Invoking the ancestors and requesting their blessing for the ordination of a priest demonstrates just how far the Catholic Church on Flores has moved to accommodate traditional beliefs.

The Indonesian buffet effectively indicated the influence of the Javanese *selamatan*<sup>164</sup> (c.f. Geertz 1960) and how the presence of State dignitaries is required in legitimising a Catholic/*adat* celebration. To me, the family planning van stuck out as symbolising the dominance of State ideology, but for my friends it symbolised no more than the thick-skinned attitude of the family planning team desperate to increase its clientele.

### 9.3.2 The State

In its peripheral position, with limited resources, Ngadha has, in the main, been bypassed by central government development initiatives. There have, however, been

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<sup>164</sup> A communal feast symbolising the social unity of those participating in it.

important impacts of the highly bureaucratic, hierarchical structure of the Indonesian state system, with state administration extending to very local levels. The Javanese patrimonial system, based on a patron-client relationship in which the patron is the father (*bapak*), the client deferential and obedient, and confrontation avoided, has reached every village in the Indonesian archipelago. In dealings with state officials, the villagers' fear of authority could easily be sensed.

The legitimacy of the New Order government was based on stability and development. In order to achieve development, stability had to be maintained and individual interest had to submit to collectivity, in the interests of harmony (Maurer 1997). Confrontation is avoided at all costs. In Ngadha villages, avoiding confrontation was a recurring theme. Whether it was teenagers making too much noise at night, youngsters firing homemade bamboo cannons during Advent, or the misappropriation of income gained from tourists, villagers always claimed that it was not worth a confrontation. "Our ancestors would have fought, murder would have resulted but that is not the way now," I was told.

The pervasive development ideology of the Indonesian state has meant that all villagers are able to articulate concepts of development and progress (*maju* Ind). In focus groups, the meaning of development was discussed. People said that development involved being like city people, having money, electricity and health-care and children wearing clothes. They also said that in order to be developed one must get an education. State doctrine attributes "underdevelopment in large part to a lack of education" (Dove 1988:7). Both State and Church sponsor the view that formal education is a precursor to development. As a consequence, the value of traditional knowledge has been undermined, leaving the villagers belittled.

Village people in general and peasants in particular say "We are only peasants"<sup>165</sup> They do not feel "developed" (*maju*) and have a low opinion of themselves. When in

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<sup>165</sup> They would use the expression "*Kami hanya petani saja*", which uses two words for "only", before and after the noun for emphasis.

discussions I asked why they had not tried a number of initiatives to raise money, they always said, “No-one has told us to” (*tunggu diseruh* Ind). The authoritarian hierarchy of the New Order appears to have smothered personal initiative. The paternalism of the state system meant that the villagers thought that mechanisms to achieve development came from outside instructions and they lacked the confidence to act on their own initiatives.

The establishment and prominence of Indonesian as the national language has had major impacts. Indonesian is the language of authority. It derives its power in part from mystification. The nuances of formally structured Indonesian can make it barely intelligible to people mostly familiar with colloquial forms. It was used to set an educated opinion above the opinion of the uneducated masses (see below). The national language has primacy over local languages. Some villagers, who could speak Indonesian well, did so at meetings. Others, although able to communicate well in Indonesian, did not feel comfortable enough to use the language publicly. They lack the confidence to challenge the educated users of the language as they had learnt Indonesian informally and not at school.

A good command of Indonesian is an indicator of a person's education and its accompanying status. Education beyond the first two years of primary school is in Indonesian. As it is younger people who gain the ability to speak in Indonesian, authority is challenged. In Ngadha, *adat* authority resides with elders. The influences of *adat* and State come into conflict in relation to language use and authority. As Lutz discusses in relation to Adonara, an island off the East Coast of Flores, “bilingualism has political ramifications” (1998:93). As tourism has a localising influence and as a local language is an essential aspect of local identity, tourism may be a force to protect the Ngadha language. Maintaining the use of their local language may become a strategy to remain traditional, and therefore retain touristic appeal.

Contrary to the villagers' views, one of the contradictions between development and *adat* is education. The requirement for education means youngsters in Bena spending



three to six years out of the village, where they are exposed to a wider range of media, develop greater expectations and find it hard to return and settle in the village. An Australian priest working in Flores wrote “because of the many schools and irrelevant education, our most intelligent and able young people flee the village and do not wish to become farmers” (quoted in Webb 1986:179). Youngsters also find it hard to return to their village with ideas and initiatives. Out of respect for their seniors, they would not like to appear to have ideas above and beyond them.

Government plans for the development of Wogo and Bena include developing tourism. In furtherance of this objective, the villagers were provided with direct education in the form of tourism awareness programmes (*sadar wisata*). This programme was an attempt by the government to gain villagers’ support for tourism development. It represents the bottom rung of Pretty’s (1995) participation ladder. It was not designed to empower the villagers to develop indigenous plans. The essence of the programme was that tourists are the nation’s guests, so the villagers should be good hosts to them. As I have reported, the villagers were dissatisfied with the type of tourism education that they received.

### **9.3.3 The Church**

Although the Portuguese began the conversion of islanders in East Flores in the sixteenth century, the Catholic Church was not brought to Ngadha until the 1920s. Conversion of the villagers in Wogo and Bena began in the late 1920s and early 1930s. The influence of the Church has been great.

The administrative structure of the Church, as described in Chapter Four, closely follows the pattern of the Indonesian state hierarchy in the number and approximate size of subdivisions. However, the boundaries of the units do not coincide. The church then has a hierarchy that both affirms the state hierarchy but also competes with it. The smallest sub-groups of both cut across the *adat* organisation of clans.

The provision of grass for thatching serves as an example of these competing forms of organisation. Grass for thatching used to be provided by the House. Due to the difficulties of collecting grass and the cheap availability of corrugated iron, more and more people started using corrugated iron as a roofing material. In order to encourage the use of thatch again, it was agreed that grass collecting would be shared. In Bena, instead of enlarging the unit of *adat* organisation from House to clan, each member of the RT <sup>166</sup>(state structure) contributes and, in Wogo, organisation is under the auspices of the prayer group (church structure).

The impact of the Church varies from one village to another, and this is largely as a result of the attitude of the local priest. For example, Molnar reports, with reference to the Sara Sedu, on how little change there has been in “the traditional belief system...[as] the local priest’s approach has been very tolerant of local traditions” (1998:53). The influence of the Church also depends on the distance of a village from the parish church. As discussed earlier, the Church’s influence has been greater in Wogo than in Bena due to the proximity of the *nua* to the parish church and mission at Mataloko. More villagers attend church services and other activities organised at the parish church more frequently. Furthermore, the mission is also the biggest employer in Wogo.

The Church has been influential in education development all over the province, building schools long before the Indonesian government did. In 1958 there were 525 mission primary schools and only 75 government schools on Flores (Webb 1986). The church continues to be an important provider of schools in Flores, offering not only primary but also secondary and tertiary level education. The tertiary level consists of a seminary for the education of priests, and teacher training. Although Catholic schools are more expensive than State schools, they are favoured by parents as they offer a more disciplined learning environment.

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<sup>166</sup> Neighbourhood organisation consisting of approximately twelve houses (see Chapter Four).

The Church has also been influential in funding development projects. According to Cook (1986), the economic development of Flores has almost entirely been paid for from Catholic Church (especially German) funds. The Flores-Timor Plan (F.T.P.) was an ambitious socio-economic development project worked out by missionaries and the Catholic Churches Social Institute in the Hague. It began in 1957 with funding from Germany and support from the Indonesian government (Webb 1986). Agricultural development was at the centre of the plans, which concentrated initially on water supply and then on increased agricultural production. The agricultural experts that came from Germany were quick to denounce traditional feasts as a waste of animals and man-hours. In some areas, there was a ban on slaughtering (Molnar 1998, Erb 2001). In spite of the assault on *adat*, the F.T.P. brought many benefits to Flores, including the introduction of credit union schemes that were still flourishing at the time of the research.

By the end of the 1970s, recognising that *adat* still had a part to play in the life of the villages, the Church softened some of its attitudes. This was in part due to the ordination of Flores priests, who recognised that *adat* had too often been ignored. It became apparent that, for development projects to be successful, open consultation is required with all elders and that co-operation will only come from a consensus at such meetings. It is customary in Ngadha to hold public meetings (*utu bhou Ng*) on the *lenggi* (flat stones used as village court). The discussions (*soro mazi Ng*) are to resolve conflict between Houses or clans and to discuss matters of concern to the whole village. Although this is recognised by the Church, the State (or members representing it) appear not to have learnt this, as the Bena *Reba* story below illustrates.

As Webb (1986) notes, the church supports the government and had little to say in criticism against the Suharto government. As a minority religion in Indonesia, the Catholic Church is keen to maintain the support of the State. However, as Fr. Burt (1971 quoted in Webb 1986) suggests, “in Flores there are two governments. The official one and the richer, possibly more influential one is the Church”. The villagers of Ngadha are fearful of the authority of both, as they compete for legitimacy in their lives.

The Church acts as a tax collector on Flores. In 1998, parish taxes were substantial: each month an adult had to pay \$0.70<sup>167</sup>, school leavers for the first two years after leaving \$0.35, and those still at school \$0.08. These were regular payments that all individuals had to pay to the church. The church in Wogo also raised further money, for example for a new roof on the church, using the collective savings (*arisan*) system. This was \$1.75 per individual, including babies, per month. Religious ceremonies conducted by the church, such as baptism, confirmation and marriage, also have to be paid for. The villagers were more worried about not paying Church taxes than State ones. If, for example, you had not paid the Church taxes, the Church would not marry you or baptise your child. The Church keeps records of debtors. My niece was unable to get married in church until her mother's debt of \$40 had been paid. Her (single) mother had an income of \$5 or \$6 dollars a month. Whenever villagers bemoaned the need to be involved in the market economy, the first three factors to be mentioned were school fees, health care and Church taxes (*Yuran Ng*). In some cases, where children were attending a Catholic school, and health services were provided by a mission clinic, virtually all disposable income was going to the Church. The State and the Church compete for the villagers' meagre disposable income and their participation in the services they provide.

By the end of the 1970s, *adat* and religion began to be "enculturated". The words of a priest wearing *adat* clothes, giving a New Year mass clearly demonstrates how the Church deliberately attempts to incorporate *adat*: "Christ came among us not to push out *adat* but to complete and perfect what our ancestors taught us. The yam is the original food of Ngadha, now it is the symbol of our ancestors and of Christ". It would appear that, having failed to obliterate *adat*, the church is trying to appropriate it. The yam was taken from being a symbol of agricultural fertility to being a symbol of Christ. In a similar vein, Erb (2001) recounts how, in neighbouring Manggarai, the diocese attempted to appropriate a village-based ritual.

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<sup>167</sup> Using an exchange rate of Rp 10,000 to the \$1.

#### 9.3.4 The way of the ancestors: *Uku adha Ebu po, nusi pera* (or *adat*).

The Indonesian word *adat* is usually used to refer to non-Muslim customs. For the villagers, *adat* is ‘the way of the ancestors’. In tourism, *adat* is often used to mean tradition: for example, the villages in this study are frequently referred to as *kampung adat* (in this case *adat* can be translated as traditional). The multiple meanings and uses of this single word are representative of the strategic use and appropriation of culture in tourism.

Although in theory fixed and unchanging, in practice *adat* is constantly negotiated. According to the villagers, *adat* is so strong it will endure regardless of external pressure. However, *adat* has been changed both by the State and the Church. Historically, both the Church and the State have undermined the power of *adat*.

As discussed above, the government has devalued traditional beliefs, associating them with being primitive, without religion and an obstacle to development (Dove 1988:1; Koentjaraningrat 1971:202-203). Some government actions in Ngadha have been more instrumental than others in the social dislocation of people from their *adat*. In order to be able to reach villagers<sup>168</sup>, the government has pressurised them to move from their hilltop settlements to more accessible locations.<sup>169</sup> This has resulted in villagers being physically and psychologically removed from their ancestors. Bena claims to be a superior tourist attraction on the basis of its being in its original location and therefore more intact. The conflict between Bena and Luba, a neighbouring *nua* in the same administrative village, results from claims that Luba is not “original”.

The Department of Health was instrumental in moving people out of traditional Houses into “healthy homes” (*rumah sehat* Ind). In the 1970s many of the Ngadha abandoned their Houses and built new homes. Some people placed the inner sacred rooms at the

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<sup>168</sup> To facilitate the Government’s wish to count, tax and school them.

<sup>169</sup> A local law still prevents the construction of permanent dwellings in gardens. All must be built at roadside locations. Although weakly enforced, this law continues to cause problems. The price of roadside land fetches premium prices many times higher than other land, and houses are built on precarious slopes and unsuitable sites in order to conform with the law.

back of their new “healthy homes”, a strategy to enable communication with the ancestors to continue. The villages that now receive the largest numbers of tourists are those that kept their Houses. The government has changed its policy and is now instrumental in keeping Houses traditional. In Bena, considerable controversy resulted from a villager thatching a house by a method not considered traditional. All villagers agree that the houses in the *nua* must be thatched i.e. traditional. However, some would like to specify the method of thatching.

What is traditional is now seen by the government to be attractive to tourists and therefore to be safeguarded. However, many tourists felt that Bena was too perfect. Some even believed it to be a living museum rather than a normal functioning village. Tourists who made the extra journey to Nage, a *nua* with both traditional Houses and some concrete houses, generally preferred this village: “It was more real”.

The Government and the Church have also tried to limit the number of animals that can be slaughtered, justifying this on the grounds that these rituals were impoverishing the villagers. This creates a barrier to communication between past and present generations, given that this communication is based upon ritual sacrifice (Howell 1995b). Feasting is an essential part of maintaining social ties between villagers. Rituals are also important for attracting tourists. Observing a sacrifice is especially prestigious for the traveller seeking the authentic exotic, which travelling to Ngadha potentially offers. If sufficient tourists are attracted to rituals involving slaughter, it is likely that the government’s line will change: rather than being regarded as impoverishing, animal sacrifices may be fundamental to the development of villages as traditional villages (*kampung adat*) and as tourist attractions.

The Church in Toraja, Sulawesi has been one of the more vocal critics of rituals that cater to tourist audiences, claiming that funerals, fundamentally religious events, are being turned into spectacles (Volkman 1987). In Ngadha, while tourists are actively sought to attend house building and other *adat* rituals, weddings and first communion parties, I have not yet encountered tourists being invited to funerals. While it seems

unlikely, owing to the costs involved, that animal sacrifices will be staged in Ngadha for tourists, it does seem likely that the events will be pre-planned and publicised in advance in order to attract tourists, if there are sufficient numbers and/or economic incentives. Should this come about, it is possible that villagers could compete for tourists through the marketing of rituals. If, however, significant numbers of tourists were to start to attend funerals, which involve both animal sacrifice and Catholic religious elements, a reaction from the Church, similar to that in Toraja, could be expected.

Children having to leave Bena to attend school beyond primary level also compromises *adat*. The State and the Church have both emphasised the importance of education and some villagers who are able have followed this option. However, in doing so, they are removed from their village and their *adat*. All Bena youngsters claim that *adat* is a very important part of their lives. However, schooling competes with the less formal education that learning *adat* offers.

#### **9.4 Bena's *Reba* Festival.**

*Reba* is the most important of Ngadha rituals. The annual harvest and thanksgiving festival, lasting three days, is held in all Ngadha villages. Attendance is compulsory for all House members, who share food and make decisions for the following year. All heirlooms held in the House are brought out of their "hiding places", shown to members (proving they haven't been pawned or sold) and ritually cleaned. It is at this time that all engagements are arranged and traditionally all marriages took place. Preparations begin some days beforehand. All *ngadhu* and *bhaga* are attended to, thatch is repaired and stones are realigned. The ancestors are thus at their best to attend the ritual. Family members then gather and male kin bring animals into the *nua* for brides-to-be (*tua mano* Ng). On the first night, in each House, a ritual meal is prepared, where yams are peeled and cut.

The date of *Reba* was traditionally determined according to the moon and in Bena it usually fell in the middle of December. Because of its primary position as eldest sibling,

it is essential according to *adat* that Bena is the first village to celebrate *Reba*. Other villagers hold their celebrations later, over New Year and in early January. Announcing the date of *Reba* is the prerogative of the calendar holder (*pemengang sobe Ng*), a hereditary position passed down through the clan's second House. According to custom, the calendar holder announces the start of *Reba* by entering the *nua*, and holding up the old and new calendars.

However, *Reba* in mid-December meant that it fell during Advent, when it is inappropriate to drink, dance and be merry. Under the influence of the Church, in the late 1960s, the date of *Reba* was moved and fixed for the 27<sup>th</sup> of December. This arrangement ran satisfactorily for thirty years. Although the date of *Reba* was no longer determined by the moon, Bena maintained its primacy, being first to celebrate *Reba*.

The fixing of the date of *Reba* is also important for tourism, so it can be advertised in advance and used to attract tourists. This is particularly important because *Reba* falls out of the peak tourist season and can therefore attract tourists out of season. The provincial tourism department makes comparisons with Pasola on Sumba. This annual ceremony has been successful in bringing tourists to an island that otherwise receives very few tourists.

In 1996, the Church decided it would hold a parish *Reba*, on December the 26<sup>th</sup>. The parish church is 8km away in a village called Jerebuu. The parish *Reba* then usurped Bena's primacy. In 1997, in order to restore Bena's primary position the village headman, a state official, using *adat* as the justification, argued that "the village should return to tradition" and decreed that Bena would celebrate *Reba* on the 15<sup>th</sup> of December. That year *Reba* neither followed *adat*, using the date determined by the moon, nor religion, refraining from merriment during Advent.

In 1998, the date of *Reba* became a contentious issue. The details of the conflict are provided to demonstrate how tourism is added to the three competing forces in the



villagers' lives. Although *Reba* was three months away, I was first alerted to the issue in September.

“Have you decided on a date for *Reba* yet?” an official from the Department of Education and Culture asked the caretaker. “Kupang” (the provincial capital) “wants to know to put it on the calendar of events. Nage and Wogo have their dates fixed... they say it is important to attract tourists out of season.” “It’s difficult, following *adat* means it could be in Advent; the Church want it after Christmas; now there is tourism to consider...” the caretaker replied.

Having been upstaged by the state the previous year, the Church attempted to appeal to the parishioners to return to the previous status quo. The priest, at Mass on the 13<sup>th</sup> of December 1998, asked the villagers to weigh up the advantages and disadvantages of *Reba* on December the 15<sup>th</sup> or the 27<sup>th</sup>. Although no one responded at the time, as the villagers emerged from the chapel, angry voices were heard: “What right has he to interfere with *adat*?”, “He has the right to organise religion in five villages but not our *adat*”, and “He did not follow the correct procedures. How can we as villagers respond?”, “He should have taken his feelings to a village meeting or public deliberations (*utu bhou* Ng) with the heads of clans”, “It’s too late to make a change now”, “I bet very few dance if it’s on the fifteenth. They didn’t last year, how can we be merry during Advent?”

The headman tried to retain authority by announcing that *Reba* would begin on the 15<sup>th</sup>, but many villagers were not ready to celebrate. Others had slaughtered pigs for this purpose and their relations had gathered, so these families were going to celebrate, anyway. Many expressed their confusion: “If we follow religion we must not celebrate in Advent. If we do, *Reba* will not be as it should be. Now the government is getting involved we are even more confused...”

The following day, on December the 14<sup>th</sup>, the village headman invited the calendar holder to a meeting at his wife's house. *Reba* was put on hold until the meeting was concluded. It took all morning. Meanwhile many villagers discussed the issue informally. In an attempt to use tourism as a reason for the latter date a villager asked me, in front of several other people "Would the 27<sup>th</sup> be a better date? Between Christmas and New Year tourists are more likely to be on holiday aren't they?"

At the meeting, the village headman said that the parish had no right to interfere with *adat* and that is why he had decreed *Reba* should return to the 15<sup>th</sup>. The calendar holder said that the state had no right to interfere with *adat* and that he was quite happy to return to *adat*, which would mean following the moon and then the date could not be fixed. The headman stated that the date had to be fixed, the Department of Tourism was insisting on it, to put it on the calendar of events<sup>170</sup>. Finally, the village headman agreed to allow *Reba* on December the 27<sup>th</sup> but said that there could be no dancing on the 28<sup>th</sup> because there was to be a working party.

On December the 27<sup>th</sup> the sound of bamboo cannons could be heard 3kms away. The road was crowded with people making their way to Bena. In the *nua*, extended families were gathered in the *sa'o* having family meals. The sense of build-up for a great ritual hung in the air.

The next day drinking, dancing and merry making were expected to go ahead as usual. The working party seemed forgotten. On their return from Mass in a neighbouring *nua*, villagers began dressing in their ceremonial clothes and gathering on their terraces. The calendar holder then went around the *nua* carrying the old and new calendars and invited the villagers to dance. Many of the villagers began, only to be brought to an abrupt end by the headman, who said that it had been agreed there could be no dancing on the 28<sup>th</sup>.

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<sup>170</sup> Although clearly it was too late to enter it for that year. The necessity for *Reba* to be held on a fixed date was being dictated to the headman by a higher authority.

A spontaneous village meeting began on the *lenggi* (stone meeting place). Some members were in ceremonial costumes, others as yet unchanged in their Sunday best and some were in everyday clothes. The village headman began by saying that, at the meeting in 1997, it had been agreed that *Reba* would return to December the 15<sup>th</sup>. This he claimed had been legalised by the slaughter of a pig at the cost of 1.3 million rupiahs and, if the villagers were going back on the agreement, the money had to be returned. This was met with either laughter that a pig could have cost 1.3 million rupiahs or anger that any such decision could have been taken at a meeting that was not public and did not involve the calendar holder.

As the meeting continued it became more and more heated and threatened to get violent at times. I was standing on the periphery with other women, listening. Mama Mia squeezed my hand and tugged me back. She sensed emotions could boil over at any minute. During the meeting, the village headman claimed to be the regional head (*Kepala Wilaya* Ind), and therefore had the authority to make decisions. He was the father, who should give direction and lead. He likened the villagers to naughty children who had disobeyed their father and made him very angry; and he claimed that he was customary head (*Ketua adat* Ind) and that the villagers were not following *adat* if they did not follow his decisions.

After a couple of hours, villagers began to return to their homes both sad and angry. They had left the village headman appearing the victor. The villagers said that, if a fight had broken out, it could have led to murder: it was better to walk away than let it go any further. Although the village feeling was split, the headman's supporters (the pro-15<sup>th</sup> camp) included the headman's nephew, a university graduate, who was able to articulate well in Bahasa Indonesia and made the villagers feel "small and stupid".

People had travelled some distance at considerable expense. *Reba* dancing only takes place once a year. As one old man said almost in tears "I will pray to God that I will be healthy enough to stamp the ground and sing *O uvi*<sup>171</sup> (i.e. to sing and dance *Reba* style) again."

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<sup>171</sup> "oh yam", the staple food in the past

On the third day of *Reba*, there was little joy and celebration, a lot of anger and bitterness and talk. There was, as custom dictates, plenty of drinking of locally distilled spirit. Late that night, some youngsters began to dance and sing the refrain of the *Reba* song. They stamped around the *nua* to the trance-like rhythms, getting louder and more threatening as they went. Relatives inside their houses were frightened. Some took to praying, some women cried while others directed husbands and elder brothers to stop them. They were sure their youngsters would provoke violence. Through the commotion, I tried to hear the verses between the refrain that were being made up and causing such anxiety. They were sung in a mixture of Indonesian and Ngadha. I caught bits at the time; other bits were filled in when the event was recalled. The verses translated below give a flavour of the youngsters' song. The refrain simply means Oh yam, Oh yam.

*O uvi O uvi*

We want to know *adat*, and we can't learn it,  
We want to learn *adat* but someone is stopping us<sup>172</sup>

*O uvi O uvi*

*O uvi O uvi*

He has stamped<sup>173</sup> on his own authority

He is corrupt, He eats money

He gambles.

*O uvi O uvi*

*O uvi O uvi*

Students can get the president to stand down<sup>174</sup>

We can't even get a leader with primary education out

Come out and face us

What are you trying to hide?

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<sup>172</sup> Having returned from schools in Bajawa this was their opportunity to learn the *Reba* songs that tell of their *adat*. The 'someone', who was never referred to by name, was the village headman (Kepala Desa).

<sup>173</sup> Stamping is part of the *Reba* song, indicating reverence to the ground that provides life sustenance.

<sup>174</sup> President Suharto had been forced to step down following student demonstrations the previous May.

*O uvi O uvi*"

As they became more abusive and threatening, their parents became increasingly frightened. A grandparent prayed that the village headman and his well-educated nephew were well hidden – "or blood would be spilt". The atmosphere became more and more tense. The village headman did not rise to the threats but remained behind closed doors and the youngsters eventually gave up. The 1998 *Reba* thus came to an end in an atmosphere of frustration, sadness and anger.

The youngsters and their reaction probably had a lot to do with the political climate at the time in Indonesia. As students were demonstrating all over the archipelago to rid the country of corrupt officials, the youngsters in Bena vented their own frustrations and directed them at the most local level of the political web. However, the discussions and issues raised during the many *Reba* discussions and meetings in Bena serve to underline the competing power factions manifested at the village level and serve to demonstrate important points about decision-making at the village level.

The church and *adat* have been in harmony over the date of *Reba* for many years, so I was left questioning why this had become an issue in 1997. Part of the reason lies in the importance of Bena celebrating *Reba* first. It is also important to note the impact of both individuals and of practicalities. More villagers were in favour of *Reba* on the 27<sup>th</sup>, although this would surrender Bena's primacy. There are a number of reasons for this: it is easier to be anti-State than anti-Church<sup>175</sup>. Children are on holiday on December 27<sup>th</sup> but not on the 15<sup>th</sup>. Family members coming from further afield can combine *Reba* with Christmas and New Year holidays. Domestic tourism or visiting friends and relatives (VFR) was more important than attracting foreign tourists. The latter however were used as the excuse in discussions. Furthermore, the religious representative in Bena (*ketua stasi*) is from the calendar-holding clan and has therefore influenced them to favour the 27<sup>th</sup>.

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<sup>175</sup> Villagers do not pay government tax but if they do not pay parish fees, the priest will not marry them; without donations made to the church, priests do not turn up for the final rites of family members.

*Reba* is a House unity ritual. In attempting to appropriate it as a parish unity ritual, the Church was not successful because "collecting together" shows unity and many Bena villagers would not attend. As a number of villagers explained, "The parish church is an hour downhill and two and a half hours back again. Nearly all villagers attend mass at Christmas but they will not go again on the 26<sup>th</sup> for the parish *Reba*." For many villagers, non-attendance would be for practical reasons – "We cannot make the children do that walk two days on the trot" – but Bena villagers' non-attendance sends a message to both the Church officials and the villagers of Jerebuu that the first *Reba* takes place in Bena. Bena villagers' absence means non-unity and that will render the ritual meaningless. If the parish family is missing a village, it will show disunity. As with the same ritual held in Houses, all family members should be present<sup>176</sup>.

The Church's involvement during the 1998 controversy did not follow the correct protocol. The priest spoke to the congregation and asked them to weigh up the advantages and disadvantages of the two dates. "We should not have been asked questions about *adat* directly; the priest should have taken the matter up with the elders, not the congregation. We are powerless as individuals, our unity in *adat* is bestowed on our elders", the villagers told me. They all agreed *adat* is a matter to be dealt with by elders (*tua tua adat*).

There is no such thing as a head or chair (*ketua*) in Ngadha customary social organisation. The village headman's claim to be the *ketua adat* is what made many villagers most angry. All meetings about *adat* must be held in the village, preferably on the *lenggi* (a stone space for this purpose). The meeting held in the village headman's office could not have been a meeting about *adat*, due to its location. Meetings in the village are essentially public. Although non-elders are not likely to take an active part, they will attend or overhear what is going on. These are open meetings. As younger members listen, this is an important mechanism for them to learn customary negotiations.

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<sup>176</sup> Fines are paid by villagers unable to attend.

When the village headman did invite the calendar holder to a meeting, it was on his own territory (in fact his wife's, as he had married into the *nua*). This affected the power relations of the meeting: the headman was surrounded by kin whereas the calendar holder was alone. Although the village headman conceded to having *Reba* on the 27<sup>th</sup>, by disallowing the dancing he prevented it from being a real *Reba*. *Reba* is about festivities – eating, drinking, dressing up, dancing and meeting people. To allow the rituals by elders but not the dancing was not to allow *Reba*.

A number of salient issues are illustrated by the story of Bena's 1998 *Reba* festival. In part, they reflect the historical process of change of a remote society's incorporation into the world system. The Christian calendar has become dominant: both as part of Catholicism, and as part of international time, including tourism. The appeal to return to moon date fixing was a call to limit the power of the State representative. Moon time has been supplanted by ubiquitous global time in Ngadha. The calendar holder did, however, want to retain his ritual role, his moment of glory, to parade old and new calendars around the village.

At the same time, the events reflected the contemporary political turbulence in Indonesia in 1998, played out on a local stage. The local youths, aided by Dutch courage, also challenged State authority. The youngsters also used *adat* as their vehicle to vent their frustrations. Between the 'Oh Yam' chorus of the *Reba* song, elders would normally use parallel poetic phrases to remember the ancestors and their stories. Many of the lines are used only during *Reba* songs. By stopping the dancing, and therefore the singing that goes with it, the headman caused the youngsters to miss out on an opportunity to hear and learn 'the songs of the ancestors'.

Both the young and old appeal to *adat* to express frustration and dissatisfaction with the present political structures. While accepting and inviting modernising forces including global time and tourists into their lives, the villagers cling to their central core framework to give them the power to resist unwelcome modern authority. The villagers strategically use *adat* to support their causes. *Adat* has become, and is increasingly, a powerful force that is manipulated by the State, for example in tourism, and articulated by the villagers, who, as the custodians, want to claim the power of ancestral force.

In considering responsible tourism development, Bena's *Reba* story also reveals vital lessons about village decision-making. At each point, after Mass, at the meeting in the headman's wife's House, at the spontaneous village meeting and on numerous occasions during discussions, villagers returned to the *adat* framework for decision-making, as the only legitimate way for village decisions to be taken. A meeting, of the elders, open to anyone else who chooses to attend, on the *lenggi*, is the sole place and procedure for decisions to be made.

Tourism, although the most modern force affecting the villagers' lives, is inextricably linked with *adat*. Although driven by the State, tourism in Ngadha relies on selling images of local culture and customs. Without *adat*, the *nua*, Houses, rituals, weaving and lifestyles, there would be no attraction for tourists. As *adat* lies at the heart of Ngadha's tourism, decisions pertaining to tourism development will need to be made within the *adat* framework if they are to be regarded by the villagers as legitimate and binding.

## **9.5 Tourism incorporated**

The state, *adat* and the Church compete for authority in the lives of Ngadha villagers. They can, as the example of the priest's first service illustrates, act simultaneously in relative harmony. However, when two forces combine, an imbalance results. When the combined forces of State and Church undermined *adat*, traditional villages were abandoned and conflicts over land ownership developed, but the villagers felt no more prosperous. Now that the value of *adat* is recognised both the Church and the State are appropriating it. The central symbols of *adat* now have a new value: tourism. Tourism is thus affecting the balance of the competing forces.

Tourism is a State sponsored activity. If the government did not issue tourist visas, there would be no tourists in Ngadha. Tourists come to Ngadha for its exotic culture i.e. to gaze upon the central symbols of *adat*. In this way, the State is bolstering the *adat* leg of the stool. However, by assigning cultural village (*kampung budaya*) status to the



villages and heritage status to the symbols, the State may be working to preserve the symbols of *adat* for the tourists, but not the values of *adat* for the villagers. As I have suggested elsewhere (Cole 2001), transforming contemporary symbols into heritage assigns them to the past (cf. Bruce 1998 on the roots of the word “heritage” and how it is related to the past.). This may be a powerful yet indirect way to further sever villager-ancestor relations.

The ownership of heritage is also a complex issue (cf. Turnbridge and Ashworth 1996), especially where it refers to a village, its occupants and their customs. Both Bena and Wogo, as sites, have been objectified by the state as cultural villages, and the villagers’ material ritual assets have become objects that the State preserves. The State already dictates activities in the villages, for example that all houses must be thatched. How far will the State be able to control *adat* resources? The balance may well lie with the church. Although all new houses built in Bena should not have opening wooden windows because this is not traditional, they will all have a separate adults’ room. Such rooms are not traditional and many houses in Wogo do not have them but the parish church insists that consenting adults must have their own room and that all houses in Bena have these additional rooms.

As tourism reinforces the *adat* leg, it is used as an excuse to return to past power structures by those whose interest this serves, for example Stephen’s claims in Wogo (cf. Cole 1998). The villagers of Ngadha have suffered from the hierarchical power structures of both the Church and the State and the villagers have been disempowered from acting on their own initiatives and have been made fearful by the authoritarian rule of both. These two external influences have been responsible for belittling the villagers, and devaluing traditional knowledge by placing emphasis on formal education. The State-sponsored tourism management groups that have one member from each clan, chosen by that clan, is an example of a local horizontal power structure that follows *adat*.

*Adat* itself becomes contested. It is essential for attracting tourists, essential to the villagers' pride. It lies at the heart of their new power in identity. How far the State and the Church will use their power to appropriate the villagers' resource and manipulate its meanings remains to be seen. Will the new force of tourism continue the separation of symbols from their meaning? Will the villagers internalise the West's false image of them? Or can the villagers use tourism as an empowering force, a force for socio-economic development, a force to retain the power of the ancestors? The answers must be subject to inter-village variation. Certainly, if the use of disposable income to fund *adat* rituals can be used as a measure, *adat* still retains considerable and potent power in many villages. The answers must also be dependent on the way that tourism is developed. If lessons are to be learnt from tourism development across the globe, some ways have had more local benefits than others have.

## 9.6 Summary

This chapter has unpeeled the onion-skins around the Ngadha cultural core. Tourism is the outer global skin. Any homogenisation that results from this external global force is considered to be largely superficial. Tourism has however been an important force in localisation and a defined Ngadha ethnicity has been created in response to their otherness becoming a commodity. The self-conscious awareness of their culture as a resource has given the Ngadha people pride and could bring them political capital to manipulate.

The analysis has shown how the Catholic Church and Indonesian state compete for legitimacy and authority in the villagers' lives. They compete in the provision of services and the collection of taxes. Both have attempted to undermine the power of *adat* and sever relations between the villagers and their ancestors. Having failed to debase the resilient cultural core, both attempt to appropriate it. Enculturation is the outward sign of how the church now incorporates *adat* elements into church services. The State has taken the material cultural assets of *adat* and redefined them as national heritage. Property of the clans has become property to be preserved by the State.

Tourism is inextricably linked with *adat*. This most recent external force works to counterbalance the powers of Church and State. The in-depth analysis of Bena's *Reba* festival revealed vital lessons about decision-making in Ngadha. If the villagers are to use tourism strategically to retain the power of the ancestors, decision-making pertaining to tourism development will need to be made within the *adat* framework, at public deliberations, on the *lenggi*, in the heart of the *nua*.

## **Chapter 10**

### **Conclusions and recommendations**

#### **10.0 Introduction.**

This action ethnography set out to develop a deep understanding of the interaction between culture and tourism in two villages in eastern Indonesia. Following King's (1999) suggestion, this thesis has studied tourism development internally, through an analysis of the perceptions of the people living with tourism and how the resultant changes affect their lives. It has examined their "cultural values and ideologies and the ways these are constructed, used, debated, sustained and transformed"(1999: 77). It has contrasted these perceptions with those of other important actors in tourism, namely guides, government and tourists. Following Cohen's (1979) suggestion, the evaluations of the different actors' perceptions, attitudes, values and priorities have been presented separately in order to pinpoint the sources of the "conflicts of tourism" (1979:30). This chapter will draw conclusions from the discussion and make recommendations of how to further cultural tourism development in Ngadha villages.

Following a summary of the essential findings of the thesis I will examine how action ethnography contributes to applied social research. I will then discuss how my findings contribute to the literature on cultural tourism development in remote less developed regions. I will address the four areas stated in the aims of the research: micro-level studies, the 'conflicts of tourism', how tourism is incorporated into the lives of the villagers and make some recommendations on ways to develop responsible tourism in Ngadha villages.

## 10.1 Summary of findings

The villagers in this study are subsistence agriculturists that have recently been incorporated into the market economy. They live in a society with the house as the central organising principle. Groups of named houses are found together in *nua*, which provide a complex of attractions for tourists and have been labelled '*kampung adat*' or traditional villages.

Although the villagers are Catholics considerable time and expense is spent maintaining relations with their ancestors. Rituals involving animal sacrifice are attractive to tourists.

Tourists started visiting the villages in the 1980s. Statistics are very unreliable but by the mid 1990s approximately 7000 foreign tourists had visited Bena while less than 2000 had visited Wogo, despite easier access to the latter. The nationalities of tourists that visit Ngadha do not reflect national statistics. While national statistics show the majority of tourists to Indonesia are Asian the majority that visit Ngadha are European with increasing numbers of Australasians.

There are differences between Bena and Wogo, although only 12 kilometres apart. While Bena is more dependent on textile sales and tourism, Wogo supports a denser population on more intensively cultivated land. Villagers in Wogo have better access to markets, education and employment.

The Indonesian government, guidebooks and guides mediate tourism in Ngadha. Government initiatives have had mixed results. The appointment of caretakers (*jurukunci*), by the Department of Education and Culture, has encouraged the preservation of material culture in the villages. However, as keepers of the guest books, these employees have been at the centre of controversy over funds raised through tourism.

The provincial government initiative to set up a tourism management group in Bena has been successful. The use of tickets is viewed locally as favourable but the division of receipts has been a source of conflict. Homestays and a souvenir shop that were built with government funds are not used for their original purpose and serve to illustrate the

importance of decisions about tourism development being taken at open meetings (*utu bhuo*). The viewing post is used by most tourists and is important in structuring tourists' visits.

The education programmes run by the government are representative of the bottom rung of Pretty's (1995) ladder of participation. They have not helped the villagers to act on their own initiatives. The government marketing initiatives have been minimal and have marketed Bena to the exclusion of other villages. The government has not taken any actions to educate tourists.

Most tourists that visit the villages use guidebooks with *Lonely Planet* editions being the most popular. They contain information that influences where tourists stay and which villages they visit. Not only do guidebooks, as Mc Gregor (2000) suggests, comprise a form of social control for tourists, they also influence guides and governments. Lacking guidelines on culturally appropriate behaviour (Bhattacharyya 1997) the guidebooks do little to influence tourists' behaviour in the villages.

A variety of types of guides act as mediators of tourism in Ngadha. The local guides, offer standardised day packages. Lying between Cohen's (1985) "original" and "professional" guide, the Ngadha guides are freelancers that have both co-operative and competitive relations with one another. Like the "network specialists" described by Bras (2000) they strategically manipulate contacts in their pursuit of profit. In Ngadha relations with drivers are central to their success, by facilitating access to Bena.

Guides' narratives tend to overemphasise the aspects of Ngadha culture most different from that of tourists. By using markers related to the past, they present a romantic frozen image of Ngadha culture, at the expense of contemporary dynamic aspects of the villagers' lives.

There are a variety of types of tourists that visit Ngadha. I built on Smith's (1978) typology to deliver a deeper understanding of the tourists. The use of local guides and previous travel experience in Indonesia were found to be important factors in determining how far tourists adapted to local norms. These factors also affected the

tourists' perceptions of the authenticity of the villages. Previous travel experience in Indonesia prepared tourists for the mix of Catholic and pre-Catholic belief systems and symbols and meant they were less likely to doubt the authenticity of the villages.

Some tourists thought the villages were models kept for tourists. When tourists observed rituals, the villages were considered authentic, while if villagers attempted to make money from the tourists the village was considered inauthentic. As Moscardo and Pearce (1999) and Zeppel (1993) have suggested the amount of social interaction sought by tourists varied. Offering sweets to children was a strategy to break the ice and get focused social interaction. However, if children asked for sweets, villages were labelled 'spoilt'. The analysis of tourists' knowledge and adaptation to the villagers' culture revealed that most tourists transgressed locally acceptable norms out of ignorance.

Villagers have positive views about tourists as they bring pride, excitement, knowledge, and status. Tourism brings money, facilities, cultural preservation and revitalisation, and a sense of a potential for development to the villages. However, the villagers complained about tourists, especially in relation to their clothing. The display of navels was considered especially offensive. The villagers also found tourists to be insulting in their refusal of ritual food, by ignoring adults' greetings and taking photographs without permission.

As analysts (e.g. King 1999, Holtzappel 1997, Reisinger and Turner 1997) have suggested, an Indonesian should submit to the collectivity and group harmony is very important. Community consensus is "the mother of *adat*" (Zainal Kling 1997:48). The villagers felt the lack of community consensus and the importance of the community over the individual were the reasons tourism development has not progressed as smoothly or rapidly as the villagers had hoped. The authoritarian nature of the New Order government has meant that the villagers in Ngadha are fearful to act on their own initiatives. They like other Indonesians believe that the government knows best (Gede Raka 2000), and that guidance and support should come from the government (King 1999). The villagers bemoan their lack of tourism education.

'Conflicts of tourism' exist between villagers and other actors, and as a result of tourism processes. The latter are referred to in this thesis as 'conflicts of acculturation'. Tourists' values conflict with the villagers' values in regard to dress and behaviour. Generalised value conflicts identified by Reisinger and Turner (1997) and Fitzgerald (1998) were confirmed in the study. However, more specific conflicts in relation to time, crowds, the exposure of navels and ritual meals were identified. 'Conflicts of tourism' have arisen between guides and villagers as the former do not adequately manage the behaviour of tourists. Tourism is used to articulate villager resentment of the government, both in the lack of education provided and in the distribution of ticket revenue.

While the *raison d'être* for tourism is economic development, the villages are marketed as traditional. This conflict is the central 'conflict of acculturation'. In order to remain traditional the villagers of Bena are being denied the rights to windows in their homes. Further, while the installation of electricity was a development priority for the villagers in Bena, tourists and state representatives considered the electricity poles to have 'spoiled' Wogo. As tourists equated authenticity with poverty, tourism may be a force to preserve underdevelopment rather than promote development as Butcher (2001) and Mowforth and Munt (1998) have implied.

The evidence from Ngadha suggests tourism is a localising force. Tourism is a force creating a fixed and bounded identity: Ngadha (with an 'h') with the *ngadhu* as the central symbol. Instead of viewing of the commodification of ethnicity as negative it can be viewed as a development step on the ladder to empowerment. Tourism provides an identity, which is an essential step towards empowerment (Swain 1990, Johnston 1992).

Tourism, based on tradition, is supporting the power of the ancestors and has the potential to counterbalance church and state powers. The State view of culture is as heritage, dance, music, and material assets etc (King and Wilder 2003), the villages' cultural core is deconstructed, the tangible elements separated from the values; while at the same time the church attempts to incorporate *adat* through inculturation. The villages use tourism to retain the power of the ancestors and underscore the importance of their cultural core.



## **10.2 Action ethnography and applied social research.**

The utility of tourism research beyond lecture theatres and libraries is advocated by Smith and Nash (1991), who suggest, the anthropology of tourism should address theoretical and practical concerns at the same time. This study has taken up that challenge of action research in the anthropology of tourism. Following Berno (1996) the research is intended to be meaningful to the villagers of Ngadha in their cultural context, to inform and empower them of the nature and implications of tourism. I have set out to make the knowledge useful to the actors involved and make the findings of the research translatable into action.

My background in anthropology proved invaluable for my business. In turn my business background allowed me to approach this study from a practitioner's standpoint. As a successful tour operator I had credibility with the villagers, which combined with long established relationships meant that a strong bond of trust developed between researcher and researchees. This enabled the deep understanding necessary to interpret values, views and actions in the villages.

The use of focus groups, adapted to the research setting, started the process of knowledge sharing. The groups allowed information from outside the community to be transferred into it, which as Connell (1997) suggests is necessary for meaningful participation in development. The groups assisted members of the community to articulate, and to seek solutions to their tourism problems. They gave the villagers the opportunity to discuss with and learn from a practitioner. The knowledge exchanged may help to empower the villagers to manage tourism more effectively.

Applied anthropology is intended to empower the alienated (Mac Clancy 2002) and help people seek solutions to their problems (Gardener and Lewis 1996). However there is a lack of data in the tourism literature on how this can be done in practise (Berno 1996). The focus group methodology used in this research provides a practical answer. Focus groups proved a useful method to bridge the academic-practitioner divide. While

increasingly common in sociological research, focus groups should be added to the anthropologist's tool kit.

If tourism research is to be useful the specific contextual details require further attention and analysis. The explicit intention of aiding the villagers resulted in a high level of co-operation from all the local actors. Rich insight at the micro level, does not only inform theory of tourism development, but a deep understanding of values is an essential prerequisite to conflict prevention and resolution (Pearce 1995). The ethnography has exposed the differing values of the actors. When they are able to understand the values and views of the other actors, accommodation can begin.

If communities most affected by tourism are to reap the rewards from its development they must be able to derive benefits from research. As Brewer (2000) suggests the findings of research need to be in a language and format that are accessible. In order for the recommendations, arising from this research, to feed into planning and policy they have been produced in Indonesian and will be widely circulated in Ngadha. The recommendations in appendix 8 are explained in more detail than those mentioned in the discussion that follows. It is hoped that other tourism researchers will follow this example and that tourism knowledge can be shared with those most affected by the phenomenon.

### **10.3 Micro-level analysis.**

Much tourism theory provides a macro-level analysis to a micro-level phenomena. One of the aims of this study was to provide a detailed micro-analysis of tourism development. This has revealed some of the weaknesses in some of the generally accepted tourism theories. The analysis points at the limitations of "the demonstration effect", Butler's Tourist Destination Life Cycle, and global tourist typologies.

Many researchers in tourism have used "the demonstration effect" as a concept to describe the process of local people emulating the behaviour of the tourists. The provincial level government, although not using the concept by name, considered this as

one of the negative effects of tourism that needed to be controlled. They used the example of boys wearing earrings and said refusing boys with earrings entry into school would combat this. This thesis casts doubt on this frequently used concept.

To suggest that local people will want to copy the clothing, language and habits of tourists merely through observing them masks the ability of the villagers to choose if and what they want to copy and why. The simple equation of what tourists have and do villagers aspire to, is not borne out in the ethnography. With regard to clothing, choice was made about its durability, price, and in Wogo, its warmth. Many of the clothes worn by tourists, the villagers thought were thoroughly unsuitable, and indecent.

The only actors that seemed keen to "copy" tourist clothing were some of the guides. Some guides sought fashionable tourist clothing, in order to be recognised as guides by tourists. Their motives were also practical. Like the villagers they are cultural strategists.

Furthermore, the tourism development literature fails to mention tourists copying local people. A sarong has become a common, fashionable item of clothing across Europe. Sarongs are everyday clothing for many Indonesians and other people in South East Asia. Ikat fabric originating in Indonesia is now fashioned into numerous types of clothing for sale to tourists.

The Indonesian Government has used Butler's (1980) Tourist Destination Life Cycle (TDLC) concept, in the production of the National Tourism Development Plan. Each province, assigned to a region, is placed on Butler's 'S' curve. East Nusa Tenggara is placed at the involvement stage. At this stage "local initiatives to provide for visitors and later to promote the destination have begun. This results in increased and regular numbers of visitors... and pressure may be placed on the public sector to provide infrastructure" (Cooper *et al* 1993).

While some of this is true for Bena, for example some ikats and a few other souvenirs are produced for tourists, Wogo would be better described as at the exploration stage.

The TDLC is being used as a planning model by the Indonesian government but is not based on an observable reality. The comparison of the two villages underlies the importance of the specificity of context.

Although, theoretically, a destination passes through exploration, involvement and development before the carrying capacity is reached, in practice, in Bena, tourists expressed dissatisfaction with crowding. This suggests that the village is already reaching its psychological or perceptual carrying capacity. For this reason it is recommended that the guides spread out their clients more evenly and develop more innovative and creative itineraries.

The global typologies of tourists (e.g. Smith 1978 and Cohen 1974) are a macro analysis of a micro phenomenon masking the reality of events in tourist destinations. However, the specific segmentation of the tourists that visit Ngadha villages was found to be useful. It highlighted the differences between eastbound and westbound tourists. The former were more able to adapt their behaviour in the villages, but were often travel weary. The later were frequently still suffering from culture shock. As they lacked experience in Indonesia they did not have the social capital to enable them to adapt to the cultural norms in the village. The analysis also revealed that tourists increasingly travel with driver guides who do not inform the tourists of basic cultural protocol. These tourists then inadvertently cause offence in the villages.

Tourist typologies, in order to be useful in delivering deeper understanding of tourists and their behaviour, need to be made specific to context. The research provided further evidence that context specific typologies "enable a means of addressing the problems by targeting the appropriate group" (Mc Minn and Cater 1998:697).

#### 10.4 "Conflicts of tourism"

The research revealed two types of conflict: conflict between actors and "conflicts of acculturation".

The research builds on the work of Reisinger and Turner (1997 and 2003), Fitzgerald (1998), and Bhopal and Hitchcock (2001) who have examined the different cultural values between Asians and western cultures generally or Indonesian and Australian specifically. This research provides detailed ethnography of the generalised Asian cultural values such as saving face and avoidance of embarrassment, the desire for harmony, the need for questions of social location, and avoiding public displays of affection.

As increasing numbers of tourists visit the villages, the villagers, like people in other parts of the world, develop methods to protect their back-stage regions. MacCannell's (1976) back-stage-front-stage analogy, where the authenticity-seeking tourists attempt to get further and further back-stage, is commonly used in the tourism literature. The analogy works well in this case due to the spatial arrangements of an Ngadha *nua* and houses. According to Ngadha cosmology, houses reflect life-stages. The area of an Ngadha house open to tourists is considered the child. Only those tourists who can adapt, who respond to greetings, willingly answer banal questions, and put the villagers at ease by not transgressing *adat*, can ever penetrate further back-stage. Only when a tourist displays a more mature sensitivity can they progress from the childhood terrace to the adolescent central room of an Ngadha house. Very few tourists ever penetrate the fully mature adult, inner-sacred space at the back of the House.

Differences in values between tourists and villagers in relation to crowds and events were also uncovered. The villagers believe that offending the ancestors by transgressing *adat* disturbs the universal order and produces undesirable results. Some tourists' behaviour, for example the refusing of ritual food and the display of navels are offensive.

In order to manage these "conflicts of tourism" between villagers and tourists the recommendations suggest the use of a code of conduct (see appendix 7). By providing the tourists with information it will enable them to better adapt to the cultural norms of the villages they visit. The guides that accompany most tourists to the villages believed that a code of conduct displayed in the guest houses in Bajawa would be useful as they find it difficult to broach issues of appropriate clothing with tourists. However, as increasing numbers of tourists visit the villages with driver-guides, it is recommended that the codes of conduct be made available in Labuhan Bajo, Moni, and Riung where tourists invariably stay before visiting Ngadha. The code of conduct could be part of a marketing leaflet, sponsored by the Department of Tourism.

"Conflicts of tourism" also exist between local actors in tourism. Contributing to the findings of other scholars the research suggests a lack of trust exists between actors (for example Ashley et al. 2001 and Timothy 1999). The recommendations suggest a strategy to incorporate all the local actors: the local communities, the informal sector for example the local guides, and the different government departments would be the creation of a tourism forum. A local group created to specifically discuss tourism issues on a regular basis with representatives from the above groups. This tourism forum would be an opportunity for the local actors to meet, maintain communication and work together on future development. It would be an opportunity for any group of actors to bring issues to the notice of all other groups. It could also be an opportunity for transparency about funds and their use to prevent appropriation and mismanagement.

The tourism forum would be an ideal group to examine the codes of conduct, suggested above, to ensure they are correct and complete before they are printed for distribution to guesthouses and tourists. The photographs to be used in promotional literature could also be selected by this group.

I have used the term "conflicts of acculturation" to refer to the conflict between socio-economic development that results in greater integration and modernisation and remaining 'traditional' and therefore attractive to tourists. Central to this conflict are the different notions of authenticity between tourists and villagers. From the tourists perspective authenticity was frequently equated with poverty, i.e. signs of modernity

and/or touristification in the villages decreased its authenticity. Tourists considered poorer, less touristy villages as more authentic, aestheticising poverty as Munt and Mowforth (1998) suggest. The villagers' marginality, underdevelopment and poverty, celebrated by tourists, is on the one hand an opportunity to shake off the shame of poverty, while on the other a powerful force keeping the Ngadha "primitive". This is particularly prominent in Bena where, for example, attempts are being made to enforce the building of Houses without windows "to keep them traditional" (*rumah adat* Ind). While the villagers in Bena want electricity, tourists, guidebooks and the government consider the electricity poles in Wogo to have spoilt the village.

This paradox between socio-economic development and the requirement to remain traditional is central to the development of cultural tourism in remote regions. Treading the line between modernity and tradition is essential for the sustainability of the cultural tourism resource.

Villagers in Ngadha have a positive view of tickets. *Nua* that could be 'sold' are considered superior and superiority is linked to concepts of precedence and originality, thus tickets 'authenticate' the villages for villagers but tourists think they diminish the authenticity of the villages.

As the villagers consider ticket sales an important mechanism to prevent conflict and ensure transparency of funds it is recommended that the price should be set higher and changed more regularly in line with exchange rate changes. Furthermore, an explanation should be provided for the tourists about why the money is collected and what it is used for. Donation boxes could be used in addition to ticket sales. These could be used to raise specific funds, for example for water projects, or school equipment. If information is provided for tourists, it is likely that this could be a successful method to raise additional communal funds.

### **10.5 How tourism is incorporated.**

While touristification in Bena is apparent, in Wogo tourism superficially has had very little effect on the villagers' lives. The incorporation of tourism has however affected

their identity, power relations, craft production and the ownership of their cultural resources. These issues are all related to the commodification of their culture, the packaging of culture for sale to tourists. As identified in the literature review this broad concept has been discussed in relation to identity, crafts, performance, photography and hospitality.

This longitudinal study of emergent cultural tourism confirms many of the findings of other ethnographic studies of tourism in Indonesia. The commodification process is at an early stage in Ngadha in comparison to other, more widely studied, areas of Indonesia. As Adams (1997), Volkman (1987), Picard (1996) and Erb (1998), have identified tourism is an important force in the creation of ethnicity and the affirmation of local identity. Tourism is creating a bounded, discrete, identity in this area where anthropologists suggest unbounded, fluid, fuzzy continuums between groups existed (cf Molnar 1998).

This process of commodification of the villagers' identity is bringing them pride and their traditional culture has a new sense of value. Traditional culture has become a resource that they manipulate to economic and political ends. Tourism is used as a rhetorical weapon to underscore the power of *adat*. *Adat* is a state and church sponsored category, which the villagers have accepted and now manipulate. Tourism reinforces this and works to counterbalance the power of the state and church.

While western analysts have regarded the commodification of otherness "as a kind of institutionalised racism that celebrates primitiveness" (Mowforth and Munt 1998: 270) it needs also to be recognised as part of a process of empowerment. Analysts have criticised cultural tourism as leading to the reinterpretation of poverty, suffering and inequality as cultural diversity. This suggests that tourists are passive. While the State may be responsible for 'museumizing' the villages and creating a straitjacket for their visible cultural assets (e.g. architectural styles) tourists' visits per se bring pride, and a self-conscious awareness of their traditional culture, which is a step on the ladder to empowerment. Village autonomy may, in time, give the villages more control, in which case they may be able to circumvent government cultural tourism policies and make more of the political and economic capital tourism brings.



As Adams (1984) and Cohen (2001) have observed the commodification of identity results in a groups' representation tending towards essentialisation. The most immediately apparent symbols of a culture that carry the most exotic connotations become a group's ethnic markers. In the case of Ngadha the most obvious ethnic marker is the *ngadhu*. This symbol of a clan's founding male ancestor is objectified, externalised and stripped of its context. It occurs in marketing literature, alone, separated from its female co-symbol, the *bhaga*, together with which all *ngadhu* stand.

Complete *nua* and the Ngadha megaliths are secondary ethnic markers. The latter are a source of cultural confusion for tourists. Found alongside Catholic graves, these large stones are significant cultural symbols for the villagers. Preserved as heritage by the state, the villagers' megaliths are reified and consigned to the past by government and tourists (cf. Cole 2002). This raises questions over ownership. As the property of the clans is appropriated as National heritage it becomes the property of the State. The ownership of heritage is a complex issue (cf. Turnbridge and Ashworth 1996) especially where it refers to a village, its occupants and customs. The difficulties experienced by villagers in Lombok reported by Fallon (2001) Cushman (1999) and Bras (2000) all suggest that ownership of the resource base is crucial to maintaining control over tourism development. If the state can appropriate the clans' property they could lay claim to other aspects of the villages. In Lombok the provincial government made plans to move the villagers out of a cultural village (Bras 2000). Furthermore, who benefits from the economic growth of tourism is directly related to control and ownership (Gunn 1994). For this reason it is recommended that clarity over *nua* ownership and their legal status is confirmed.

Picard (1996), in reference to Bali, has observed the process of objectifying, externalising and reifying cultural symbols. The touristification process, as he calls it, is at an early stage in Ngadha. The commodification of crafts has begun. Small scarf sized ikats are woven, displaying the *ngadhu* symbol, for sale to tourists. However, at least half the ikats produced in Bena, the most visited village, are for local consumption. Long-knives produced in Wogo, although purchased by tourists, have not yet been changed to appeal to the new market.

Likewise, there has been minimal commodification of the performing arts as these are not considered cost effective or festive (*ramai* Ind) by the villagers. No ceremonies are as yet staged for tourists, but the fixing of dates for village ceremonies can be considered as a first step in their commodification. As tourists confer pride on their hosts, as prestigious visitors, tourists are invited to attend rituals. However, unlike in Toraja as Adams (1993), Crystal (1989), Volkman (1985), and Yamashita (1994) have reported there has not yet been a re-orientation of rituals towards outsiders.

The cultural studio set up in Wogo did result in positive benefits for the villagers initially, increasing social cohesion and offering the villagers a chance to travel as Sanggar (1988) suggests. However, its impact on the revitalisation of traditional culture has been negligible.

The raw materials of cultural tourism exist in Ngadha but their refinement for tourism consumption is at an early stage. The refinement process is critical, without it there is minimum economic benefit from tourism, too much and the resource is spoilt. A potential for further refinement exists. In order for a craft to act as a memento it needs to be a tangible representation of the culture (Graburn 1987). The potential for further modification of Ngadha crafts exists in order to make them more appealing to tourists.

The recommendations make a variety of suggestions. Sales improve where the designs and their meanings on the cloth are obvious (Forshee 2001). Further, where the cloth design can be closely related to the culture tourists have just observed, the cloth will serve better as memorabilia, and is therefore more likely to sell. Narratives from the weaver also help to sell cloth.

The long -knife industry in Wogo has potential for expansion. Tourists frequently buy all those that are offered for sale. If long-knife production was opened up as a "cottage industry" to be viewed this is likely to stimulate more sales. If sheath making was concentrated near the forge, tourists could see both sides of the production. Sales could

be made to tourists directly, to other tourist receiving villages, and to the market in Mataloko, presently the local market place for long-knives.

Micro-credit facilities could be used to develop the long-knife industry into a local craft co-operative. It would also be possible to diversify the products for sale. Tourists would appreciate smaller and lighter knives, as would some locals. Consideration should also be given to the production of 'super-mini' products that tourists who do not want a long-knife could buy as memento of their visit or in-order to support the co-operative.

The villagers could also capitalise on other cultural assets. They possess skills in farming, food preparation, artistic expression and communication that visitors are interested to observe. These skills can be nurtured through tourism. If culture and tradition can be recognised in the activities beyond the *nua*, and tourists are taken to see them, tourists will not see the villages as "living museums... kept for tourists" but will understand the *nua* as part of the village rather than as *the* village. The static image of Ngadha culture could be unfrozen and guides could demonstrate the contemporary and dynamic aspects of the villagers' lives.

Potential exists to mix agricultural production and tourism. In Toraja, Toba and Bali coffee beans are sold to tourists in presentation boxes. In Ngadha the round lidded baskets (*wati* Ng) could be used as presentation boxes for locally produced coffee. In a similar way other agricultural products, such as vanilla pods and peppercorns, grown in the villages, could be sold to tourists.

### **10.6 Further recommendations to create responsible cultural tourism.**

Through the discussion a number of recommendations have been indicated. Two further areas that arise from the research are considered particularly important: education and marketing. Some of the recommendations will be easier to implement than others. The code of conduct for example would be relatively simple but effective, whereas institutional changes such as persuading government departments to give villagers more power will take considerably more time.

"A community which receives more detailed education in the field of tourism will be better able to appreciate both the negative and positive consequences of [its] development" (Pearce 1994:117). The ethnography contributes further evidence that the lack of education lies at the heart of further empowerment (Kadir Din 1997a). The villagers in both Bena and Wogo bemoan their lack of tourism education, limited to the government's tourism awareness programme. The villagers would be better able to participate in tourism development if they were furnished with education on a range of issues and the recommendations suggest a variety of educational strategies could be implemented including action learning and study tours.

Furthermore, the ethnography supports Kadir Din's (1997a) suggestion that the lack of understanding of tourism affects the planning machinery and bureaucracy vested with implementation. Members of the regency level tourism department have had minimal tourism education. As the regency largely receives back-packer tourists, further education about the potential positive outcomes of pursuing back-packer tourism is required.

Much could be learnt by making links with other similar types of tourism akin to cultural tourism. Community based tourism, pro-poor tourism, eco-tourism, alternative tourism and craft tourism would all be useful avenues for the department to examine rather than concentrating their efforts on how to attract big investors and high spend tourists. Using a combination of knowledge of tourist types and the Internet would allow the department to access important information and develop alternative marketing strategies.

Education about the opportunities presented by the World Wide Web to develop destinations in terms of making direct links with consumers, being able to present one's own image, and as a link for craft sales would be useful for the local government. The local government has a role to make links with tour operators to bring additional tourists to the region. Use of the Internet could also facilitate this.

As tourism on Flores develops the proportion of tourists that travel to the villages with or via intermediaries will continue to increase. Tour operators wield considerable power over tourist itineraries and activities. It is therefore necessary to make links with domestic and international tour operators so that they channel their clients through Ngadha villagers and they market the area's cultural tourism potential.

One of the failures of the homestay developments in Bena was the lack of link with operators that would bring their tourists to stay in them. Developed by the provincial tourism department, their lack of use is testimony to the futility of developing infrastructure without markets. Poor marketing was also significant in the demise of the cultural studio in Wogo. Marketing efforts need to be fostered at the regency level as this office can have first-hand knowledge of developments. Further as the 1999 autonomy laws focus at this level in the Indonesian bureaucracy, it makes sense for the marketing strategy to be focused at the regency.

The longer tourists spend in the villages the more chance there is to increase the economic benefits from their visits. As the research demonstrates most tourists' visits are limited to spending time and observing activities in the *nua*. As Cohen (1996) rightly points out work activities are of interest to tourists. Many agricultural tasks are of interest to tourists, especially where they can learn about commodities they regularly consume, such as coffee. Furthermore, most of the *nua* tourists visit, are surrounded by spectacular and unusual scenery which few tourists see. Many tourists would be interested to take walks around the *nua* to see agriculture, human activity, and the local environment.

Up-grading future guide training is recommended. The guides' education did not offer the chance to ask questions about details of Ngadha culture. A more interactive education programme that makes use of members of Ngadha villages, respected for their intimate knowledge of Ngadha culture, would allow guides to further their knowledge.

Knowing the answers in the local language, or Indonesian is only part of the answer. The guides need to be able to translate this into English (and occasionally other languages) in a way that tourists can comprehend. This cultural translation requires significant language skills. Some of the most experienced guides and the head of the guiding association possess these skills and should be encouraged, and paid, to share accurate and appropriate translations of the cultural information most frequently asked by tourists.

The present guide-training programme was found to fail to stress the importance of the guide as a go-between or 'bridge-actor'. Their role to serve their clients, the tourists, was covered to the exclusion of their role to serve the villagers. The training programme should redress this balance and put equal emphasis on both ends of the bridge. As the villagers desire communication with tourists, but in most cases are limited by their language skills, the guide has a role to fulfil, a responsibility to the villagers, to facilitate enhanced communication across the bridge. Facilitating more communication between tourists and villagers would also enhance the tourists' experience.

Not all tourists visit the villages with local guides. Tourists arriving with non-local guides should be encouraged to use villagers to provide cultural interpretation, to be translated by the guides. A notice to advertise this potential could be displayed in the villages to inform the need for and benefits of 'village guides'. If the Department of Tourism endorsed the idea of 'village guides' and provided signs in the villages this would send clear signals that the department believes that villagers have knowledge of their own culture. This would help to restore trust between the department and the villagers. Not all tourists that make the overland trip between Labuhan Bajo and Moni presently make village visits. The production of a leaflet, as a marketing tool, to these potential tourists, by the department, would be useful to demonstrate the productive use of tourism receipts and be a further step in trust building.

The tourism management group instigated by the Provincial Tourism Department has a horizontal structure with one member per clan. However there is only one female member and no younger people are members. Consideration needs to be given to expanding the group and allowing younger members as listeners, as would be the case

at *utu bhou* (gathering for village discussion). The tourism management group in each village could then select members to be part of the tourism forum.

Finally, it is important that tourism development in Ngadha is integrated into the region's development as a whole. It is important to integrate the informal sector into the planning and management of tourism as part of the area's broader development (cf. Hampton 1999). A tourism forum may aid improvements in inter-departmental communication of the regency government and allow for engagement of the informal sector.

## **10.7 Summary of contributions to knowledge and Suggestions for further research.**

This thesis demonstrates that an action ethnography can address theoretical and practical issues at the same time. It provides evidence that focus groups can be adapted to a non-western setting and be a useful method both to add to the anthropologists' tool kit and to transfer knowledge into a community.

This research has made a strong case for micro-level studies that can reveal important details of how tourism and culture interact. Specific details from real cases highlight the inadequacies of a number of accepted tourism models.

This is one of the first in-depth studies that makes comparisons of the perceptions, priorities and values of different actors to reveal the "conflicts of tourism". A number of inter-actor conflicts exist between tourists and villagers. The research also identified "conflicts of acculturation" as a central paradox in cultural tourism development. Using the data in this thesis it would be useful to compare either of these "*kampung adat*" (traditional villages) with unlabelled or non-tourist destination villages to examine if tourism works for socio-economic development or indeed preserves underdevelopment.

This thesis has unpeeled the onion skins around the Ngadha cultural core to examine the way tourism is incorporated into the lives of the villagers. While analysts have regarded

cultural commodification as negative this research has demonstrated that the commodification of identity brings pride, power and a resource to manipulate. Furthermore, the commodification of culture needs to be understood as a developmental step, without it there are few economic benefits from tourism. The study represents base line data of the first fifteen years of tourism development. Further studies in five, ten or fifteen years are required to analyse how far cultural commodification empowers the community or if the process is seen to spoil the villages and denude their resource.

Last but not least this study has led to a broad ranging list of recommendations, which I hope will go some way to answer the villagers' original question. It would be interesting to undertake research to discover which, if any, are followed and how far they help the villagers in their aims to develop responsible cultural tourism.



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## **Appendix 1**

### **1996 questionnaire used in Wogo.**

The questions were formulated in Indonesian and asked in that language.

Name

House

Occupation

#### *Attitudes to tourism*

Do you like tourists visiting Wogo? Why/Why not?

Why do you think tourists come here?

Do you agree with the way tourism is organised in the village?

Do you prefer tourists that stay the night or who make day trips?

Have you received any economic benefit from tourists' visits?

How do you think would be the best way to increase benefits from tourist visits?

#### *About 'Old Wogo'*

What is 'Old Wogo'?

Is 'Old Wogo' important? Why?

Do you agree with tourists visiting 'Old Wogo'? Will problems result?

Do you think tourists should be charged for visiting the site?

Would you like to see a neat garden there?

Do you think there should be an information board?

#### *About Accommodation*

Do you think it is best if tourists stay in Bajawa/ in the *nua*/or somewhere near the *nua*?

Why?

Would you like to be involved in tourism development in Wogo?

Would tourists staying in the village result in problems (for the children)?

## Appendix 2

### Questions asked to the various government departments.

#### **Question guide for interview with the Provincial Department of Education and Culture.**

The questions were formulated in Indonesian and asked in that language.

1. How many ethnic groups are there in Ngada?
2. How far are ethnic prejudices still important?
3. Is ethnicity seen as an asset for the development of tourism?
4. In what ways do you and the Department of Tourism co-operate?
5. What research has been done on the megaliths of Ngadha?
6. What research has been done on the culture and customs of Ngadha?

#### **Question guide for the Provincial Department of Tourism.**

The questions were formulated in Indonesian and asked in that language. These questions acted as a guide, many lead to prolonged answers which raised further questions.

1. Is ethnicity important for the development of tourism?
2. Is the multi ethnic nature of the province considered an asset in tourism development?
3. Has a plan been made for tourism development in Ngada?
4. At what level: regency, district, village have the plans been detailed?
5. How were the views of villagers ascertained?
6. What issues were the most important according to the local people?
7. What type of tourists does the province intend to target? Are there differences between the regencies?
8. What will the future of tourism be for Flores?



### **Question guide for interview with the Regent.**

The questions were formulated in Indonesian and asked in that language.

1. What are the priorities in the Ngada development plan?
2. How far is tourism important in Ngada?
3. Please can you tell me a bit about tourism development in Ngada?
4. What aspects of culture are important for tourism development?
5. Do you think it is important to get village peoples opinion about tourism development, How?
6. What roads are being planned that may have a bearing on tourism development?

### **Questions asked to Regency Department of Culture**

The questions were formulated in Indonesian and asked in that language. Meetings with this department were frequent and informal. These questions were the basis of various meetings and discussions.

When did village restoration begin?

Were funds made available?

Was there a connection between restoration and tourism?

Where did the idea for restoration come from?

How did you choose the villages to be restored?

Why does your department want data about visitors e.g. nationality and profession?

Do you pass the data on to the Department of tourism?

Which villages have a caretaker? Why those villages?

How are caretakers chosen?

Who has right to the money donated by tourists?

Are you aware of the problems in the villages that result from the donations?

Have you been involved in finding a solution?

Would this Department be able/prepared to provide further cultural details? Run a course for guides?

How would you describe your relations with the Department of Tourism?

### **Questions to the Regency Department of Tourism.**

The questions were formulated in Indonesian and asked in that language.

#### **Meeting 1 early August 1998**

Basic background questions about tourism and the Department

- Organisation of tourism
- Number of staff in the department
- Establishment of the department
- Objectives

#### **Meeting 2 late September 1998**

Questions arising from the five year plan given to me at meeting 1

1. Who took the decision to build the viewing post in Bena?
2. Are the homestays used for tourists?
3. Is there a souvenir shop in Bena, and how are the profits distributed?
4. How was the tourist awareness program organised?
5. What was the content?
6. Who was chosen to take part?
7. The report states that back-packers bring negative impacts, how was this conclusion reached?
8. How were the figures on tourism income derived?
9. What is your relationship with the tourism management group?
10. Will this initiative be extended to other villages?

#### **Meeting 3 End of November 1998**

1. Are driver guides a problem?
2. Could villagers act as guides?
3. Have you heard of codes of conduct, would they be useful?

4. How could the guiding association be improved?
5. Tickets: who sets the prices, who decides how the income will be split, who decides which villages should use them, could villages compete on ticket price? In what ways does the department reciprocate for the income from Bena?
6. Why has tourism developed less in Wogo than Bena?
7. Do you think that tourism can be developed to bring significant income to Wogo?
8. What are the challenges that must be faced?

## Appendix 3

### Questions asked to tourists

The following are the questions asked to tourists in Labuhan Bajo or in Bajawa. The alternative questions relate to pre and post village experience. These questions were for my guidance. When tourists spoke English and had time to spare they were used as a spring board for discussions.

1. Nationality
2. Age
3. Length of travels in Indonesia
4. Time in Ngadha
5. Which villages did you visit? Which village/s do you intend to visit?
6. Why that one/those ones?
7. Did you go with a guide? Will you use a guide? Why?
8. How good was he?
9. Did you enter a villager's home? Would you like to see inside a villager's home?
10. Did the villagers give you drinks?
11. Did you offer to pay for them?
12. Did you sign the visitor's book?
13. How would you rate your experience of your village visit compared with your experiences in Indonesia? Is visiting a traditional Ngadha village an important attraction for you?
14. Would you like to stay overnight in a village?
15. Did your guide advice you about what clothing to wear and your behaviour in the village? Do you think your guide will give you information about appropriate dress and behaviour before you visit the village?
16. Would you travel to Ngadha if it were not enroute between Keli Mutu and Komodo?
17. How much have you spent a day in Ngadha on accommodation, food and souvenirs?

## Appendix 4

### Topic guides used for focus groups

#### *All groups.*

The meaning of adat, *maju* = (develop, advance, progress), and modern.

Priorities for development.

Changes in rituals.

The Tourism Department's statement that "ceremonies can be sold".

The difference between living in gardens, roadside homes and the *nua*.

Land and agriculture now and in the future.

Hopes for their children's futures.

Villagers' feelings when tourists wander in the village.

Sweets, pens and gifts from tourists.

#### *Women's groups*

The roles and responsibilities of Dongo Sao.

The division of work between men and women.

#### *Bena women's group*

The relative importance of weaving.

Use of the dark inner *sao* for everyday cooking.

#### *Young peoples groups*

Reasons for leaving staying on at school.

Hopes for the future: peasants, civil servants, live in a House or a modern village home, rural/urban.

The "waste of resources" for ceremonial purposes.

Hopes from tourism.

#### *Tourism management group*

Help from the Department of Tourism.

The connection between *adat* and tourism.

Luba-Bena conflict.

Guides, wild guides and villagers as translators.

Tickets and financial transparency.

## **Appendix 5**

### **Question guide for guides.**

The following are frequently asked questions to guides of all types leading tourists in the villages through out my long field research.

1. Age?
2. Where are you from?
3. Do you have a license?
4. How long have you been a guide?
5. What aspects of the village culture do you explain to tourists?
6. Do you seek out rituals to take tourists to?
7. What advice do you give tourists before leaving their hotel?
8. Do you take tourists into villagers' homes if you have the opportunity?
9. If villagers give you drinks, do you pay for them?

## Appendix 6

### Questionnaires used for guides

The following questionnaires were given to the guides that attended the focus group. They were completed individually by eight guides and then used as discussion points. The guides were asked to indicate their agreement with the following statements from 5 = strongly agree to 1 = strongly disagree. The statements were mixed in English and Indonesian. They are given here in English. Ind in brackets is used to indicate the statement originally given in Indonesian. Some of the statements were used because they were statements overheard in guides' narratives to tourists. These are indicated with an \*. The figures in brackets represent the percentage agreement-disagreement with the statements. Where the percentages do not total 100 either guides missed the question or chose 3= no opinion. For each statement there was space for the guides to elaborate on their answers. Many did provide explanations for their level of agreement/disagreement.

1. Bena is more beautiful than Wogo\*. (50-50)
2. Wogo is more original than Bena (Ind) (25-75)
3. Guides have a responsibility to help villagers get an income from tourism (Ind) (75-25)
4. Bena already receives enough tourists in the high season (87.5-12.5)
5. The miniature houses on the roof of traditional houses identifies the house as a woman's house of a clan\* (87.5-12.5)
6. Suku Ngadha are matrilineal\* (87.5-0)
7. It is up to guides to explain to tourists how to behave correctly. (62.5-37.5)
8. The table-like megaliths are where chiefs sit during village meetings\*( 50-50)
9. Buffalo horns outside a house symbolise it is an important person's house\*(0-87.5)
10. The miniature house on the roof of some traditional houses identifies it as the Saka Puu or central house of a clan\* (50-25)
11. A Ngadhu is split in three parts where each part represents the father, son and holy ghost (Ind)\* (50-25)
12. Megaliths are the graves of ancestors\* (25-37.5)
13. Local Bajawa guides do not have enough knowledge about the culture of traditional villages (Ind). (12.5-50)



14. The miniature house on the roof of some traditional houses identifies it as a high rank household.\* (75-25)

Further topics raised at guide's focus group.

- Numbers of tourists using hired car with drivers
- Relations between guides co-operative or competitive
- Making donations where there are no tickets
- Ticket prices
- The behaviour/dress of tourists
- Gift giving to children
- Use of codes of conduct
- What problems do you face in your jobs
- Guide training course/s

## Appendix 7

### Code of Conduct

In order to be a welcome guest in Ngadha villages the villagers would appreciate it if you observe the following:

1. The villagers appreciate their guests to be appropriately dressed. Please wear long, loose, clean, unrevealing clothing. Avoid wearing short shorts, singlets, tight or dirty clothes.
2. It is offensive in Ngadha culture to reveal your navel (belly button and other terms in other languages for example Dutch, German, and French words) Please ensure your navel is covered.
3. Please do not display amorous relations in public. Avoid hand-holding, cuddling, hugging and kissing while visiting the villages.
4. Villagers like to talk to tourists. Always respond to greetings the villagers make and enjoy trying to communicate with them. Use your guide to facilitate communication.
5. Villagers are generally happy for you to take photographs in the village. However always seek permission before taking photographs of villagers especially if there are in ceremonial costume. Do not offer money for photographs initially refused.
6. Villagers welcome gifts but please do not give to individual children. Gifts should be given to adults for further distribution by them. If children request items from you, try to talk to the children and play games with them. Gift giving, especially sweets, to children may encourage 'begging' behaviour which their parents dislike.
7. Some villages sell tickets to tourists. This is their method to ensure the amount of money received from tourists is transparent and accountable. The funds are used for village projects. Further donations can be made in donation boxes provided.

8. Some villagers sell handicrafts. It is normal to bargain for such purchases. If you want to be sure of getting the 'best price' bargain first and then consider over-paying (5-10%) as a gesture of good will and acknowledgement of your relative wealth.
9. Villagers welcome tourists to attend rituals and actively invite tourists (often via guides) to participate. If you want to be welcomed, take a contribution, as all local people do, and give it to the hosts of the ritual. For example a kilogram of rice or sugar per person would be appropriate.
10. Rituals often take a long time, be prepared to wait around. It is offensive to attend a ritual and not partake in ritual meals. Always accept ritual food that is offered to you (it is not necessary to eat it all).
11. Some rituals involve dancing. If you would like to dance you must be in costume. Consider hiring a costume from another village (your guide can help you). Hiring a costume in the village that is holding a ceremony may mean denying a villager the rare opportunity to dance.

## Appendix 8

### **REKOMENDASI: MENGALAKKAN PARIWISATA YANG LEBIH BERTANGGUNG JAWAB**

#### **1. Pendidikan Menuju Pemahaman Yang Lebih Mendalam dan Mencegah Nilai-Nilai Yang Saling Bertentangan.**

Dalam rangka menggalakkan pengembangan pariwisata yang dapat memaksimalkan manfaat dan mengurangi kerugian maka pendidikan untuk pelaku-pelakunya sangat diperlukan. Ada suatu kebutuhan yang mendesak untuk menyebarluaskan informasi, pendidikan dan pengertian kepada masyarakat setempat. Hal ini dipandang sebagai suatu langkah awal yang penting untuk memberdayakan masyarakat guna mengontrol pariwisata di tengah-tengah mereka.

Persyaratan-persyaratan pendidikan melebihi masyarakat penerima jikalau nilai-nilai yang saling bertentangan di antara para pelaku hendak dicegah. Ada jauh lebih banyak hal yang bertentangan daripada sekedar kepentingan yang saling bertolak belakang. Para wisatawan dan para penghuni kampung dengan budaya yang berbeda memberikan ungkapan berbeda terhadap dan penafsiran berbeda atas tindakan simbolis yang sama. Perbedaan-perbedaan ini bisa menyebabkan pertentangan oleh karena kurangnya kesadaran, standar perilaku budaya yang saling berbeda, dan pelanggaran norma-norma budaya. Para wisatawan seringkali menimbulkan pertentangan oleh karena meremehkan norma dan standar budaya setempat. Oleh karena itu mereka juga memerlukan pendidikan jikalau pertentangan hendak dihindari.

Para pemandu wisata dan pemerintah juga memerlukan pendidikan dengan tipe khusus agar mencegah pertentangan dan menggalakkan pariwisata demi manfaat bersama bagi semua pelaku-pelakunya. Strategi-strategi pendidikan potensial bagi masing-masing kelompok pelaku ditelaah secara terpisah.

### ***1.1. Pendidikan Bagi Penghuni Kampung***

Pendidikan pariwisata bagi penghuni kampung sejauh ini terbatas pada program penyadaran pariwisata. Baik di Kampung Wogo dan Bena para penghuni kampung berminat untuk mempelajari lebih banyak tentang pariwisata melampaui sikap ramah terhadap para wisatawan dan pelestarian kampung. Suatu pengertian pokok yang mendasar dalam pendidikan pariwisata adalah hal yang sangat penting agar para penghuni kampung dapat memiliki kepercayaan diri untuk mengelola dan mengontrol pariwisata. Hal-hal khusus berkaitan dengan pengembangan produk dibahas di bawah ini, yang menelaah bagian-bagian pendidikan pariwisata yang secara khusus diperlukan oleh penghuni kampung, namun demikian terdapat bagian-bagian pendidikan pariwisata lanjutan yang bersifat keharusan.

Nilai keramaian menurut para penghuni kampung dan para wisatawan berlainan. Daya tampung psikologis dari Kampung Bena telah tercapai selama musim ramai; tanda-tanda pemakaian dan keretakan yang berlebihan pada beberapa tangga batu menyarankan bahwa daya tampung lingkungan juga sudah mendekati batasnya. Para penghuni kampung perlu diajarkan mengenai para wisatawan yang lebih menghargai sebuah kampung yang kurang dipadati (oleh wisatawan) dan perlu bekerja memikirkan strategi bersama dengan para pemandu wisata (lihat di bawah) untuk menyebarkan para wisatawan selama sehari.

Mengakomodasi para wisatawan di kampung-kampung di Ngadha merupakan suatu strategi pengembangan pariwisata yang dibahas oleh banyak penghuni kampung, akan tetapi ada suatu pemahaman dasar yang masih amat kurang. Misalnya di Bena banyak penghuni kampung menyatakan tidak memahami apa itu sebuah home-stay walaupun mereka memiliki tiga buah (tak berfungsi) di kampung itu. Para penghuni kampung boleh jadi berminat untuk menarik lebih banyak wisatawan, dan dengan tekanan pemerintah, dan oleh alasan-alasan lainnya, tanggal Reba telah dibuat tetap dan akan diiklankan guna mendorong para wisatawan di tengah apa yang kini merupakan musim sepi. Para penghuni kampung perlu diberikan informasi bahwa hal ini berpotensi menuju kehilangan masa tenang, yang mana di dalam masyarakat lainnya telah terbukti

sangat perlu untuk mencegah tuan rumah menjadi lelah terhadap para wisatawan dan perilaku terhadap mereka menjadi kurang ramah-tamah. Potensi untuk Reba kehilangan maknanya terhadap kampung, seharusnya dijelaskan sehingga para penghuni kampung dapat membuat suatu pilihan dengan pertimbangan informasi yang cukup dalam mempromosikan Reba untuk mendorong pariwisata. Jikalau mereka memang memutuskan untuk mempromosikan Reba hal itu dapat dilakukan selama suatu masa ujicoba, hal mana pengetahuan tentang pencocokan tanggal dengan masa peredaran bulan harus dipertahankan sehingga dapat kembali dipakai bila perlu. Para penghuni kampung harus didorong untuk menjelaskan Reba dalam istilah mereka sendiri dan memutuskan aspek mana saja yang dapat dibuka untuk umum. Pertimbangan-pertimbangan perlu diberikan mengenai apa yang harus dilakukan para wisatawan selama upacara ritual di rumah-dalam nan suci dan biasanya bersifat rahasia, jika upacara ritual ini hendak dipertahankan sebagai upacara yang hanya khusus untuk penghuni kampung.

Informasi di atas dapat diberikan kepada kelompok pengelola pariwisata untuk penyebarluasan selanjutnya. Namun demikian, pertimbangan harus diberikan untuk memperbesar kelompok tersebut. Saat ini, di Bena, kelompok pengelola beranggota sembilan orang. Kelompok ini hanya memiliki satu orang anggota perempuan padahal beberapa informasi dasar akan memberikan sebuah beban langsung terhadap urusan-urusan perempuan, yakni memberi pelayanan-pelayanan keramah-tamahan yang lebih ditingkatkan. Dasar keanggotaan bagi suatu kelompok yang lebih besar harus tetap di dalam bentuk-bentuk perkumpulan sosial tradisional. Bisa saja misalnya diambil satu laki-laki dan satu perempuan dari setiap *woe* atau satu anggota dari setiap *Sa'o* dengan setidaknya-tidaknya terdapat satu wakil perempuan dari setiap *woe*. Juga disarankan agar beberapa anggota yang masih muda juga diundang untuk bergabung, walaupun awalnya hanya sebagai pendengar. Pendidikan pariwisata untuk masyarakat setempat yang terpencil, seperti Ngadha, akan lebih berhasil melalui belajar sambil praktek daripada pengajaran dalam kelas yang bersifat resmi. Perjalanan ke daerah-daerah lain di Indonesia akan memberikan penghuni kampung suatu gambaran nyata baik tentang potensi pariwisata maupun bahayanya. Seperti yang disarankan, bahwa Tanah Toraja memiliki banyak kesamaan dengan Ngadha tetapi memiliki lebih banyak pengalaman pariwisata. Study tour dapat digunakan sebagai perangsang, oleh Departemen

Pariwisata, bagi anggota kelompok pengelola pariwisata yang memiliki jabatan yang dianggap memerlukan daya dan tenaga tetapi tak dibayar, misalkan ketua dan bendahara.

### ***1.2 Pendidikan Untuk Para Wisatawan***

Kode etik telah disusun untuk mempromosikan pariwisata yang lebih bertanggung jawab. Kode etik yang terpampang di wisma wisma di Bajawa dapat mengentaskan beberapa konflik yang muncul dari cara berpakaian dan perilaku para wisatawan yang tak pantas dan kesulitan para pemandu wisata dalam mengemukakan perihal ini terhadap para wisatawan. Namun demikian, sebagian wisatawan tidak bepergian dengan seorang pemandu wisata setempat, atau berkunjung ke kampung-kampung sebelum mendaftar masuk wisma-wisma di Bajawa, atau terkadang tanpa bersinggah di Bajawa sama sekali. Oleh karena itu kode etik harus dipampang di Labuan Bajo, Moni, dan Riung dimana para wisatawan menginap sebelum berkunjung ke Ngadha. Kode etik dapat disampaikan bersama-sama dengan informasi-informasi promosi. Hal ini akan mendorong para wisatawan untuk berkunjung tetapi juga menjelaskan bagaimana cara membuat kunjungan mereka menjadi lebih bertanggung jawab. Informasi-informasi ini perlu diberikan juga kepada sopir-pemandu wisata agar mereka dapat membagikannya kepada penumpangnya. Mengingat para wisatawan yang kunjungi kampung bersama sopir tanpa pemandu lokal diketahui sebagai orang yang berkemungkinan besar akan berperilaku kurang bertanggung jawab. Maka apapun strategi pendidikan yang ditujukan bagi para wisatawan adalah sangat penting untuk melibatkan kelompok ini.

Kode etik tersebut harus meliputi: tata cara pakain, pusar, hubungan asmara, berkomunikasi dengan para penghuni kampung, fotografi, pemberian hadiah, menghadiri upacara ritus, waktu, tiket, dan berbelanja oleh-oleh. Berdasarkan penelitian sebuah kode etik telah disusun. Draf ini harus dibahas dan dituntaskan dalam “forum pariwisata” (lihat di bawah) sebelum dicetak dan disebar. Dibawah ini adalah versi Bahasa Indonesia untuk dibahas di dalam forum parawisata. Untuk dipampang di wisma atau dalam selebaran promosi harus di dalam versi bahasa Inggris. Versi bahasa Inggris terlampir.

### **Kode etik untuk parawisata di Ngadha**

Agar Anda menjadi tamu yang disambut di kampung-kampung di Ngadha para penghuni kampung akan sangat menghargainya jikalau Anda menyimak hal-hal berikut:

1. Para penghuni kampung menghargai tamu-tamunya yang berpakaian secara pantas. Silahkan kenakan pakaian yang panjang, longgar, bersih, dan tak menampakkan anggota badan tertentu. Hindarilah berpakaian *short* pendek, singlet, ketat atau kotor.
2. Adalah suatu hal yang kurang pantas di budaya Ngadha untuk menampakkan pusar Anda (kancing belly dan istilah lainnya dalam bahasa lain misalnya Belanda, Jerman, dan Perancis). Mohon Anda pastikan bahwa pusar Anda tertutup.
3. Mohon untuk tidak mempertontonkan hubungan percintaan di depan umum. Hindari berpegangan tangan, bergandengan, berpelukan dan berciuman ketika sedang berkunjung ke kampung-kampung.
4. Para penghuni kampung suka untuk bercakap-cakap dengan para wisatawan. Jawablah selalu salam yang mereka ungkapkan dan nikmatilah usaha untuk berkomunikasi dengan mereka. Manfaatkanlah pemandu wisata Anda untuk membantu berkomunikasi.
5. Para penghuni kampung umumnya senang jika Anda mengambil foto-foto di dalam kampung. Namun demikian mintalah selalu ijin sebelum mengambil foto para penghuni kampung, khususnya jika mereka sedang mengenakan pakaian adat. Janganlah menawarkan uang untuk mengambil foto yang telah ditolak dari awal.
6. Para penghuni kampung menghargai hadiah tetapi mohon tidak memberikannya kepada anak-anak. Hadiah seharusnya diserahkan kepada orang dewasa agar dibagi-



bagikan oleh mereka. Jika anak-anak meminta sesuatu barang dari Anda, cobalah untuk berbicara dengan mereka dan bermain permainan dengan mereka. Pemberian hadiah, khususnya gula-gula, kepada anak-anak akan mendorong sikap 'minta-minta' yang tidak disukai oleh orangtuanya.

7. Beberapa kampung menjual tiket kepada para wisatawan. Hal ini merupakan metode yang mereka gunakan untuk memastikan bahwa jumlah uang yang diterima dari para wisatawan adalah transparan dan dapat dipertanggungjawabkan. Dana-dana tersebut dipakai untuk proyek-proyek kampung. Sumbangan selebihnya dapat dilakukan melalui kotak sumbangan yang tersedia.
8. Sebagian penghuni kampung menjual kerajinan tangan. Adalah normal untuk tawar menawar dalam belanja tersebut. Jika Anda mau lebih yakin mendapatkan 'harga terbaik' tawarlah dahulu dan kemudian pertimbangkan untuk membayar lebih (5 – 10%) sebagai bentuk niat baik dan pengakuan atas kekayaan relatif Anda.
9. Para penghuni kampung menyambut wisatawan untuk menghadiri ritus-ritus dan secara aktif mengundang wisatawan (seringkali lewat pemandu wisata) untuk berpartisipasi. Jika Anda mau disambut, berikanlah suatu sumbangan, seperti yang dilakukan orang-orang setempat, dan berikan kepada tuan rumah ritus tersebut. Misalnya sekilogram beras atau gula per orang akan terasa cukup.
10. Ritus-ritus seringkali memakan waktu lama, bersiaplah untuk menunggu di sekitarnya. Adalah ofensif (membuat tersinggung) untuk menghadiri sebuah ritus dan tidak mengambil bagian dalam makan ritus. Terimalah selalu makanan ritus yang ditawarkan kepada Anda (tidak harus memakannya semua).
11. Sejumlah ritus mencakup tari-tarian. Jika Anda mau menari Anda harus berpakaian Adat. Pertimbangkan untuk menyewa pakaian dari kampung lain (pemandu wisata Anda dapat membantu). Menyewa pakaian dari kampung itu akan berarti menolak seorang kampung sebuah kesempatan yang jarang didapat untuk menari.

Kotak 1 – Sebuah kode etik bagi wisatawan yang berkunjung ke kampung-kampung di Ngadha.

### ***1.3 Pendidikan Bagi Pemandu Wisata***

Para pemandu wisata setempat menerima pendidikan melalui program pelatihan pemandu wisata di tingkat kabupaten dan beberapa diantaranya menerima pelatihan tambahan di tingkat propinsi. Yang terdahulu termuat satu kali tatapmuka kurang lebih satu setengah jam mengenai kebudayaan Ngadha. Para sebagian pemandu wisata menganggap ini tidak cukup. Pertentangan antara para penghuni kampung dan sebagian pemandu wisata timbul karena uraian pemandu wisata yang tidak benar. Kurangnya pengetahuan tentang kebudayaan ini harus ditangani.

Para pemandu wisata paling tahu pertanyaan-pertanyaan seperti apa yang para wisatawan ajukan. Sebagian terbesar mengakui secara terus terang bahwa mereka tidak mengetahui semua jawaban. Pendidikan pemandu wisata tidak memberikan kesempatan untuk mengajukan pertanyaan mengenai rincian kebudayaan Ngadha. Sebuah program pendidikan yang lebih interaktif yang mendayagunakan anggota-anggota penghuni kampung-kampung di Ngadha, yang dihormati atas pengetahuannya yang mendalam akan kebudayaan Ngadha, akan menyuguhkan kesempatan bagi para pemandu wisata untuk menambah pengetahuan mereka.

Mengetahui jawaban-jawaban dalam bahasa daerah, atau Bahasa Indonesia hanyalah merupakan sebagian dari jawaban. Para pemandu wisata harus bisa menerjemahkan ke dalam Bahasa Inggris (dan sesewaktu juga bahasa lainnya) dengan suatu cara sehingga para wisatawan dapat memahaminya. Translasi kebudayaan ini memerlukan kecakapan bahasa yang matang. Beberapa pemandu wisata yang paling berpengalaman dan ketua perkumpulan pemandu wisata memiliki kecakapan ini dan seharusnya didorong, dan dibayar, untuk membagikan penerjemahan yang akurat dan tepat terhadap informasi-informasi kebudayaan yang paling sering ditanyakan oleh para wisatawan.

Sebuah program pendidikan interaktif yang membantu memudahkan pertukaran informasi dengan memanfaatkan anggota-anggota penghuni kampung dan penerjemah-penerjemah handal harus dimasukkan kedalam program pelatihan pemandu wisata di masa yang akan datang dan disediakan bagi para pemandu wisata berijin pada saat ini.

Program pelatihan pemandu wisata yang ada sekarang didapatkan ternyata gagal menekankan pentingnya pemandu wisata sebagai suatu pengantara atau 'pelaku-jembatan'. Peran mereka untuk melayani klien mereka, yakni para wisatawan, dibahas dengan pengecualian terhadap peran mereka untuk melayani para penghuni kampung. Program pelatihan tersebut harus menata kembali keseimbangan ini dan memberi penekanan yang setara pada kedua sisi jembatan. Mengingat para penghuni kampung berkeinginan untuk berkomunikasi dengan wisatawan, akan tetapi kebanyakan terbatas oleh ketrampilan berbahasa, maka para pemandu wisata memiliki peranan untuk dilakukan, sebagai suatu wujud tanggung jawab terhadap para penghuni kampung, guna memfasilitasi komunikasi yang lebih ditingkatkan melintasi sisi jembatan. Memfasilitasi semakin banyak komunikasi antara wisatawan dan para penghuni kampung juga akan meningkatkan pengalaman dari para tamu-tamu mereka.

Pemandu wisata memiliki sebuah peran untuk mengatur jumlah wisatawan di kampung-kampung di Ngadha. Kampung-kampung tersebut sebagian besar bergantung pada pemandu wisata untuk membawa wisatawan. Pada saat ini pengantaran sepanjang suatu hari tertentu adalah sangat tidak merata. Pada jam-jam tertentu dalam satu hari pada musim ramai, dayaampungnya terbatas mengingat para wisatawan harus berantri untuk menaiki tangga-tangga antara teras-teras yang membentuk Kampung Bena. Pemandu wisata memiliki sebuah peran penting untuk menyebarkan kunjungan-kunjungan mereka secara lebih merata. Walaupun pemandu wisata memiliki kontrol yang kecil terhadap group-group yang dibawa oleh perusahaan-perusahaan tour, mereka dapat bekerja sama secara lebih efektif dalam menyebarkan klien-klien mereka. Jika beberapa diantaranya setuju untuk menyinggahi *nua* kecil sepanjang rute menuju Kampung Bena, sementara yang lain mengunjunginya dalam perjalanan pulang, hal ini akan menjadi suatu cara untuk menghilangkan masalah kepadatan dan meningkatkan pengalaman para tamu.

Salah satu sebab kepadatan di Kampung Bena adalah karena mata acara yang itu-itu saja yang dikerjakan oleh para pemandu wisata. Hampir semua pemandu wisata menawarkan paket-paket standar yang sangat mirip. Pelatihan wirausaha tidak dimasukkan dalam program pelatihan pemandu wisata. Jika hal ini ditangani, dan para pemandu wisata didorong untuk memilah program-program yang lebih inovatif, para wisatawan dapat disebarkan secara efektif meliputi daerah yang ada. Kampung Bena mungkin sebagai sebuah 'situs utama' sebagai akibat dari sejarah, geografi dan pemasaran, tetapi pemandu wisata berada dalam posisi yang sangat baik untuk meyakinkan para wisatawan bahwa mereka dapat memiliki alternatif, pengalaman-pengalaman kurang 'dimanja' (dengan kehadiran wisatawan) dengan menghindari *trek* yang telah usang. Program pelatihan pemandu wisata perlu mengangkat kreativitas dan inovasi sehingga pemandu wisata didorong untuk mengambil resiko menyusun paket-paket baru dan asli.

Pemandu wisata harus didorong untuk bekerja bersama penghuni kampung untuk mengembangkan produk. Pemandu wisata akan menjadi sangat penting, untuk membawa wisatawan, maka, jika penghuni kampung hendak mengembangkan pariwisata selanjutnya, mereka (para pemandu wisata tersebut) berada dalam posisi yang sangat baik untuk memperoleh umpan balik dari wisatawan tentang produk-produk potensial di masa depan. (Lihat di bawah). Komunikasi dengan Departemen Pariwisata juga diperlukan guna membantu pemasaran yang efektif (lihat di bawah).

Menyediakan pendidikan yang perlu untuk pemandu wisata setempat dalam bentuk pelatihan pemandu wisata yang lebih ditingkatkan dan pendidikan interaktif tambahan akan menjadi sebuah cara untuk mencegah konflik dan meningkatkan pengalaman para wisatawan. Lagi pula, konflik yang timbul dari masalah-malah non-guide harus dipecahkan. Wisatawan yang datang dengan pemandu wisata non-lokal (dari luar daerah) harus didorong untuk menggunakan penghuni kampung untuk menyediakan informasi budaya, untuk diterjemahkan oleh pemandu wisata. Sebuah papan peringatan untuk memperkenalkan potensi ini dapat dipampang di kampung-kampung untuk menginformasikan perlunya dan manfaat dari pemandu kampung.

Kebanyakan sopir-pemandu wisata tidak berbicara cukup fasih Bahasa Inggris untuk

bertindak selaku penerjemah. Mereka yang bisa, dapat menggunakan ‘pemandu kampung’. Yang lainnya harus mendorong wisatawan untuk menyewa pemandu wisata di Bajawa sebelum berkunjung ke kampung-kampung. Bahan-bahan liflet yang mengandung informasi, kode etik, yang dibagikan kepada sopir-pemandu wisata untuk distribusi kepada para wisatawan, akan dapat mendorong hal ini.

#### ***1.4 Pendidikan bagi Departemen Pariwisata***

Pendidikan bagi anggota departemen pariwisata kabupaten diperlukan agar mengurangi potensi konflik antara para penghuni kampung dan pemerintah. Pusat pertentangan di Bena adalah pandangan bahwa Negara mengambil persentase pendapatan tiket tetapi tidak memberi balasan, dan kepercayaan bahwa penghuni kampung mengetahui sedikit tentang kebudayaan mereka daripada pemandu wisata. Jika wilayah pertentangan yang khusus ini ditangani, maka sikap saling percaya selanjutnya dapat dikembangkan sembari mengurangi potensi pertentangan di masa depan.

Jika departemen tersebut mengesahkan gagasan “pemandu wisata kampung” dan membuat tanda-tanda di kampung-kampung bagi para pemandu wisata nonlokal untuk menyewa para penghuni kampung, hal ini akan memberikan pratanda jelas bahwa departemen percaya bahwa orang kampung memiliki pengetahuan tentang budaya mereka sendiri. Agar dapat memberikan balasan atas dana yang dikumpulkan dari penjualan tiket, departemen pariwisata harus lebih transparan dengan warga kampung tentang bagaimana dana tersebut digunakan. Produksi liflet yang menyebarluaskan sebuah kode etik akan memasarkan wilayah Ngadha kepada wisatawan potensial. Tidak semua wisatawan yang menempuh jalan darat dari Labuan Bajo ke Moni dewasa ini melakukan kunjungan ke kampung-kampung. Produksi liflet sebagai sarana pemasaran akan merupakan bukti adanya niat baik departemen pariwisata untuk memberikan balasan.

Petugas-petugas departemen pariwisata tingkat kabupaten memiliki pendidikan pariwisata yang sangat minim. Mengingat kabupaten menerima sebagian besar wisatawan *back-packer* (wisatawan non-group bermodal kecil), pendidikan lanjutan mengenai outcome positif yang potensial dari pengembangan pariwisata *back-packer*

sebenarnya diperlukan. Banyak hal lagi yang dapat dipelajari dengan membuat hubungan dengan tipe-tipe pariwisata lainnya yang serupa dengan pariwisata budaya. "*Community-based tourism*" (pariwisata berbasis masyarakat), "*pro-poor tourism*" (pariwisata mendukung orang miskin), "*ecotourism*" (pariwisata lingkungan), "*alternative tourism*" (pariwisata alternatif) dan "*craft tourism*" (pariwisata kerajinan tangan) akan menjadi kesempatan yang berguna bagi departemen pariwisata untuk mengujicoba dari pada sekedar memusatkan upaya mereka pada upaya menarik investor besar dan wisatawan mewah. Dengan menggunakan kombinasi antara pengetahuan tentang tipe-tipe wisatawan dan Internet akan memungkinkan departemen pariwisata untuk mengakses informasi penting dan mengembangkan pemasaran alternatif.

Pendidikan tentang kesempatan-kesempatan yang ditawarkan oleh situs web dunia untuk mengembangkan daerah tujuan wisata dalam rangka membangun jaringan langsung dengan konsumen, kemampuan untuk memaparkan citra daerah sendiri, dan sebagai sebuah jaringan bagi penjualan kerajinan tangan, akan merupakan hal yang sangat berguna bagi departemen pariwisata. Pemerintah daerah setempat memiliki sebuah peran untuk membangun jaringan dengan operator-operator tour untuk membawa wisatawan tambahan ke daerah tersebut. Penggunaan internet akan dapat memfasilitasi hal ini.

## **2. Mengembangkan Potensi Ekonomis Pariwisata.**

### ***2.1. Pengembangan Produk Melebihi Nua***

Pada saat ini para wisatawan memandang lebih tertumpu pada aktivitas di dalam *Nua* tetapi jarang bergerak melampaui pusat kehidupan yang sakral dari perkampungan Ngadha ini. Terdapat potensi untuk para wisatawan dibawa untuk mengamati dan terlibat di dalam aktivitas manusia yang berlangsung lebih jauh ke kebun-kebun. Aktivitas kerja merupakan daya tarik bagi wisatawan. Para pemandu wisata dan warga kampung dapat membuat diversifikasi produk pariwisata Ngadha, dengan membawa wisatawan untuk melihat dan mencoba berbagai aktivitas di kampung. Pengumpulan tuaq berlangsung sehari-hari di Wogo. Memandang orang-orang asli memanjat pohon enau yang berselimutkan ijuk, mengiris pohonnya dan memasang ruas-ruas bambu panjang untuk mengumpulkan sari nira, adalah sebuah aktivitas yang memukau

wisatawan. Mereka siap membayar untuk sebuah keistimewaan untuk mengecap cairan yang manis lembut beralkohol yang dikumpulkan. Dengan cara serupa, menanak minyak tradisional merupakan sebuah daya tarik bagi wisatawan, walaupun nampaknya tak mesti diikuti dengan mencicipinya. Banyak pekerjaan pertanian merupakan daya tarik bagi wisatawan, khususnya dimana mereka belajar tentang komoditas yang mereka biasa konsumsi, seperti memetik dan proses membuat kopi.

Wisata budaya dapat diambil sebagai suatu cara menjual aset-aset yang dimiliki para penghuni kampung. Mereka memiliki ketrampilan tradisional dalam bertani, menyiapkan makanan, komunikasi dan ekspresi artistik yang menarik bagi wisatawan untuk memandangnya. Ketrampilan-ketrampilan ini dapat dipelihara dan dikembangkan melalui pariwisata. Jika budaya dan tradisi dapat ditampilkan dalam aktivitas-aktivitas yang melampaui *nua*, dan wisatawan dibawa untuk menikmatinya, para wisatawan tidak akan memandang kampung-kampung sebagai “museum hidup ... yang khusus dipelihara untuk wisatawan” tetapi akan memahami *nua* sebagai bagian dari perkampungan dari pada sebagai kampung saja.

Kebanyakan *nua* yang wisatawan kunjungi, dikelilingi oleh pemandangan yang spektakuler dan luar biasa, yang sedikit banyak wisatawan berusaha untuk melihatnya. Pada umumnya wilayah sekitar kampung bersifat vulkanis dan juga ada kesempatan untuk mengamati aktivitas vulkanik seperti lumpur mendidih, pancaran air, batu-batu beruap, dan arus air yang mendidih, secara langsung di tempat yang berjarak dekat (kurang dari 1 km) dari banyak *nua*.

Banyak wisatawan akan tertarik untuk berjalan kaki sekitar *nua* untuk melihat pertanian, aktivitas masyarakat, dan lingkungan hidup setempat. Tour berjalan kaki secara aman perlu dikembangkan oleh penghuni kampung dan pemandu wisata untuk membuat diversifikasi terhadap produk tunggal yang kini dijual oleh para pemandu wisata, mengurangi kepadatan di beberapa *nua* dan meningkatkan potensi ekonomi baik untuk pemandu wisata dan penghuni kampung.

## **2.2. Suvenir/ Oleh oleh**

Di kebanyakan *nua* hanya terdapat sedikit tawaran bagi para wisatawan untuk membelanjakan uangnya, dan karena itu kesempatan sangat kecil bagi warga kampung untuk menghasilkan uang dari pariwisata. Sebuah wilayah ekspansi yang potensial adalah souvenir. Industri parang panjang memiliki potensi untuk ekspansi. Wisatawan sering membeli semua yang ditawarkan untuk dijual. Jika industri parang panjang dibuka sebagai sebuah “cottage industry” untuk dipandang, hal ini tampaknya akan mendorong lebih banyak penjualan. Jika pembuatan sarung parang dipusatkan dekat bengkel pandai besi, wisatawan dapat melihat kedua sisi produksi. Penjualan dapat dilakukan kepada wisatawan secara langsung, kepada parga warga kampung yang menerima wisatawan, dan ke pasar di Mataloko, yang kini merupakan pasar parang panjang untuk pemakaian lokal.

Fasilitas kredit usaha kecil dapat digunakan untuk mengembangkan industri parang panjang menjadi koperasi kerajinan tangan lokal. Juga akan memungkinkan untuk membuat diversifikasi produk untuk penjualan. Wisatawan akan menghargai pisau yang berukuran kecil dan ringan, seperti juga masyarakat setempat. Pertimbangan harus juga diberikan untuk membuat produk super-mini (sangat kecil) sehingga wisatawan yang tidak suka parang berukuran panjang dapat membelinya sebagai kenang-kenangan akan kunjungan mereka, atau untuk mendukung koperasi tersebut.

Produk-produk pertanian adalah sebuah wilayah yang dipandang memiliki potensi untuk meningkatkan keuntungan ekonomis pariwisata. Di banyak tempat di Indonesia seperti Toraja, Toba, dan Bali, kopi dijual sebagai souvenir. Tidak ada alasan bahwa hal ini tak dapat dapat ditingkatkan untuk Ngadha. Keranjang berwadah bundar (Wati) dapat digunakan sebagai kotak pemberian untuk sejumlah kecil kopi biji atau kopi mentah. Dengan cara yang serupa, buah vanili dan merica, yang tumbuh di kampung, dapat dijual kepada wisatawan.

Produk pertanian lainnya dapat juga dijual kepada wisatawan. Kacang mete merupakan komoditi yang mahal bagi wisatawan Barat, yang tumbuh di Ngadha tetapi tidak dikonsumsi secara lokal, dan diekspor sebelum diolah. Banyak wisatawan akan lebih suka kacang dan buah-buahan lokal sebagai *snack* setelah berkunjung ke kampung. Saat



ini mereka menikmati biskuit yang dibilas dengan minuman internasional yang hangat. Ada potensi untuk memadukan pertanian dan pariwisata. Tidak semua produk pertanian merupakan daya tarik bagi wisatawan. Lagipula, tidak seperti tekstil, produk pertanian tidak cocok ditimbun selama musim hujan.

Produksi kain merupakan produksi souvenir yang paling berkembang di Ngadha. Kegiatan ini telah menikmati dukungan eksternal dan pengembangan oleh kelompok industri. Namun demikian, kain tenun ikat diproduksi oleh hampir seluruh daerah Indonesia Timur dan Ngadha bersaing dengan daerah lain yang juga melakukan penjualan kepada para wisatawan. Ada berbagai cara agar kain Ngadha dapat dibuat lebih menarik bagi para wisatawan. Kain-kain dimana desain dan maknanya tampak jelas, seringkali lebih laku terjual. Selanjutnya, dimana desain kain bisa jadi sangat erat kaitannya dengan budaya yang baru saja disaksikan oleh para wisatawan, kain tersebut akan lebih laku terjual. Penjelasan dari pengrajin tenun juga akan membantu menjual kain tersebut.

Sebagai kelanjutan dari suksesnya pelatihan untuk satu anggota dan setelah itu pembentukan kelompok industri, *belajar kerja nyata* melalui sebuah perjalanan lapangan, mungkin merupakan suatu cara terbaik untuk mendidik penghuni kampung mengenai potensi yang lebih besar dalam produksi kain.

Perjalanan ke salah satu kampung di Sumba, yang tidak saja menjual kain kepada wisatawan tetapi juga mengeksplor ke Bali, dapat dilakukan. Potensi untuk teknik-teknik seperti perendaman campuran warna kuning untuk memberikan kesan tampak lumpur primitif, juga desain-desain mencolok yang berkaitan erat dengan aset-aset budaya yang dilihat oleh para wisatawan, dan penggunaan narasi sederhana dalam Bahasa Inggris untuk menjual kain, kemudian bisa disebarluaskan melalui kelompok industri tersebut.

### **2.3 Penjualan karcis**

Pada saat ini pemasukan-bersama diusahakan di beberapa kampung melalui penjualan tiket. Pendapatan tersebut selanjutnya dibagi untuk kepentingan kampung. Di kampung-kampung dimana tiket tidak dijual, uang ditarik oleh penanggung jawab kampung dan acap kali tidak dibagikan, yang menyebabkan perasaan sakit hati. Dimana tiket dijual,

harganya ditentukan oleh Departemen Pariwisata dan menjadi standar yang diikuti bahkan di kampung-kampung yang tanpa tiket. Harga tiket bersifat simbolik dan karenanya bukan merupakan cara yang realistis untuk menggali dana di kampung-kampung Ngadha. Para wisatawan tidak menyukai penjualan tiket mengingat mereka menganggapnya sebagai komersialisasi budaya, namun demikian mereka terkejut betapa rendahnya harga tiket (US\$0.25). Para wisatawan juga menginginkan lebih banyak informasi mengenai untuk apa uang tersebut dimanfaatkan.

Jika tiket hendak digunakan sebagai mekanisme terbaik untuk menggali dana-bersama maka harganya seharusnya ditetapkan lebih tinggi dan diubah secara reguler sesuai dengan perubahan nilai tukar. Sebuah penjelasan harus disediakan bagi para wisatawan tentang mengapa uangnya dikumpulkan dan digunakan untuk keperluan apa saja. Kotak sumbangan selanjutnya dapat digunakan sebagai tambahan atas penjualan karcis. Cara ini dapat digunakan untuk mencari dana khusus, misalnya untuk proyek air bersih, atau peralatan sekolah. Jika informasi ini disediakan bagi para wisatawan, tampaknya ini akan menjadi sebuah metode yang berhasil untuk mencari dana-bersama tambahan.

#### ***2.4 Menyediakan Akomodasi Bagi Wisatawan***

Para penghuni kampung sangat berminat untuk membahas tentang menyediakan akomodasi bagi para wisatawan sebagai suatu cara untuk meningkatkan pendapatan pariwisata. Pada jangka pendek tampaknya tidak mungkin bahwa para wisatawan akan datang menginap di kampung-kampung Ngadha dalam suatu skala atau dengan frekwensi yang dapat menjustifikasi investasi dalam mendirikan bangunan-bangunan khusus untuk mereka, sehingga akan lebih sederhana dan menguntungkan untuk menginap mereka di rumah-rumah para penghuni kampung. Rombongan dengan dua belas orang wisatawan yang saya bawa, menginap di rumah-rumah para penghuni kampung, seperti yang dilakukan oleh lebih dari 100 siswa dalam suatu perjalanan lapangan dari sebuah sekolah menengah pariwisata (SMIP).

Para wisatawan tampaknya lebih menyukai akomodasi wisatawan yang khusus, jika mereka akan menginap lebih dari satu atau dua malam dan mau membongkar barang-barang bawaan mereka dan menikmati saat-saat pribadi. Oleh karena itu, kebutuhan

akan akomodasi wisatawan adalah berkaitan erat dengan pengembangan produk yang melampaui *nua semata*. Para wisatawan yang berkeinginan untuk mempelajari bagaimana cara memproduksi sebuah parang panjang atau kain tenun ikat misalnya, akan menyambut baik kesempatan untuk belajar dengan bekerja bersama di samping para pengrajin kerajinan tangan. Suksesnya liburan batik di Yogyakarta merupakan indikasi dari potensi ini.

### ***2.5 Mengembangkan Jaringan Dengan Tour Operator***

Sementara pariwisata di Flores berkembang, proporsi wisatawan yang bepergian ke kampung-kampung dengan atau melalui lembaga perantara akan terus bertambah. Operator-operator tour memiliki pengaruh yang sangat berarti terhadap rancangan mata-acara dan kegiatan-kegiatan para wisatawan. Oleh karena itu, perlu sekali untuk membuat jaringan dengan operator-operator tour domestik maupun internasional sehingga mereka menyalurkan pelanggan-pelanggan mereka melewati kampung-kampung Ngadha, dan mereka memasarkan potensi pariwisata budaya dari daerah tersebut. Operator-operator domestik ternama memiliki kantor-kantor cabang di Maumere atau Labuan Bajo, di Pulau Flores, dan karenanya tidak sulit untuk menjalin kontak. Walaupun lebih sulit untuk menjalin kontak, semua operator internasional menetap di salah satu dari kota-kota gerbang masuk dan karenanya dapat dijalin kontak. Beberapa pemandu wisata lokal bekerja dengan beberapa operator tersebut dan dapat digunakan sebagai sebuah sarana untuk berkomunikasi tentang pengembangan produk.

Salah satu kegagalan pembangunan home-stay di Kampung Bena adalah kurangnya jaringan dengan operator yang akan membawa wisatawan mereka untuk menginap di dalamnya. Dibangun oleh Departemen Pariwisata Propinsi, kurangnya kegunaan homestays tersebut merupakan pengakuan terhadap kegagalan dalam usaha yakni membangun prasarana tanpa pasar. Pemasaran yang sangat kurang juga sangat berarti dalam hilangnya “sanggar budaya” di Kampung Wogo. Usaha-usaha pemasaran perlu diangkat di tingkat kabupaten mengingat dinas ini dapat memperoleh pengetahuan dari tangan-pertama tentang perkembangan yang ditingkatkan melalui forum pariwisata (lihat di bawah). Lebih lanjut, mengingat undang-undang otonomi tahun 1999 berpusat di tingkat kabupaten di dalam birokrasi Indonesia, maka sangat wajar jika strategi pemasaran difokuskan di tingkat kabupaten.

### **3 Menggalakkan Komunikasi Yang Lebih Baik**

Seperti yang telah disarankan, penyediaan informasi yang lebih baik antara para pelaku merupakan sebuah langkah penting dalam mencegah kesalahpahaman dan pertentangan. Saya telah menyarankan bahwa sebuah kode etik akan merupakan sebuah cara yang sederhana untuk berkomunikasi terhadap para wisatawan tentang nilai-nilai yang dianut para penghuni kampung. Para penghuni kampung juga membutuhkan lebih banyak informasi tentang para wisatawan dan rencana-rencana pemerintah supaya dapat mengurangi rasa saling curiga dan meningkatkan kepercayaan.

Komunikasi yang lebih baik juga diperlukan antara departemen-departemen dalam Pemerintahan Kabupaten. Pada saat ini Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan mengumpulkan informasi mengenai pengunjung dan tidak melakukan apapun terhadap informasi tersebut, sementara Departemen Pariwisata tidak memiliki akses terhadap informasi mengenai pengunjung. Mengingat pembangunan pariwisata Ngadha perlu diintegrasikan dalam pembangunan wilayah secara keseluruhan, komunikasi antar departemen perlu ditingkatkan. Selanjutnya, adalah sangat penting memadukan sektor informal kedalam perencanaan dan manajemen pariwisata sebagai bagian dari pembangunan wilayah yang lebih luas.

Sebuah strategi untuk memasukkan semua pelaku lokal: masyarakat setempat, sektor informal misalnya pemandu wisata lokal, dan departemen-departemen pemerintah yang berbeda adalah dengan pembentukan sebuah forum pariwisata. Yakni sebuah kelompok lokal yang dibentuk untuk secara khusus membahas isu-isu pariwisata secara reguler dengan perwakilan dari kelompok-kelompok di atas. Forum pariwisata tersebut akan merupakan sebuah kesempatan untuk pelaku-pelaku lokal bertemu, mempertahankan komunikasi, dan bekerja bersama-sama bagi pengembangan di masa depan. Forum tersebut akan merupakan sebuah kesempatan bagi suatu kelompok pelaku untuk mengemukakan isu-isu untuk menjadi perhatian oleh kelompok lainnya. Juga akan menjadi kesempatan bagi transparansi mengenai dana dan pemanfaatannya untuk mencegah penggelapan dan salah kelola.

Forum pariwisata tersebut akan menjadi sebuah kelompok ideal untuk menguji kode etik, yang dikemukakan diatas, untuk memastikan bahwa kode-kode etik tersebut benar dan lengkap sebelum dicetak dan disebarluaskan ke berbagai penginapan dan para wisatawan. Foto-foto yang akan digunakan dalam bahan literatur promosi dapat diseleksi oleh kelompok ini. Saran-saran untuk pengembangan melampaui batas *nua* dapat dibahas sehingga para penghuni kampung dapat belajar dari pengalaman masing-masing dan bekerja sama, daripada bersaing dengan inisiatif-inisiatif yang baru.

Kelompok manajemen pariwisata di Bena (dan Bela) sejauh ini telah terbukti sebagai sebuah cara yang berhasil dalam mengelola pariwisata di tingkat kampung. Organisasi ini harus diperkuat dan diperluas. Seperti dibahas di atas, masalah jenis kelamin dan usia dari kelompok tersebut perlu dipertimbangkan demi keberhasilan kelompok ini dalam jangka panjang. Kemudian, kelompok manajemen pariwisata di setiap kampung dapat menyaring anggota-anggota yang akan menjadi bagian dari kelompok forum pariwisata.

#### **4 Kepemilikan**

Status kepemilikan tanah di dua kampung tersebut adalah kompleks dan berbeda. Tanah pertanian dimiliki oleh *woe*, *Sao*, dan pribadi. Mayoritas tanah *woe* kini telah dipilah-pilah secara permanen di antara *Sao*, dan beberapa tanah *Sao* telah diberikan secara permanen kepada pribadi-pribadi. Namun demikian, adalah hal yang masih sangat jarang untuk memiliki sertifikat tanah untuk membuktikan kepemilikan.

Sementara di Bena *Nua* berada di atas tempat aslinya dan karenanya, tanah dimana ia terletak menjadi milik semua, atau bukan milik *woe* atau *Sao* tertentu saja; di Wogo, situs kampung baru dibangun di atas tanah yang dimiliki secara tak berimbang oleh dua *woe*. Salah seorang dari *woe* yang memiliki tanah yang lebih besar mengklaim “hak tuan-tanah”, dan klaim kepemilikannya menjadi akar dari banyak permasalahan kampung tersebut.

Penunjukkan kampung tersebut oleh pemerintah sebagai 'kampung budaya' dan obyek pariwisata yang utama membuat gambaran masalah ini menjadi lebih rumit.

Obyektifikasi dari warisan sejarah yang mengacu pada sebuah kampung, penduduk dan budayanya, dipandang sebagai sebuah aset nasional, memunculkan pertanyaan mengenai kepemilikan aset-aset tersebut dan eksploitasinya. Seorang petugas pemerintah (seorang pelaksana harian) telah ditunjuk di setiap kampung untuk menjaga sumber daya tersebut dan melaporkan kepada pemerintah. Dengan demikian, pemerintah secara implisit telah mengambil sumber daya kampung.

Seperti yang telah kita lihat, pemerintah sudah mendikte aktivitas-aktivitas di kampung-kampung. Apakah mereka dapat mengklaim terhadap kampung-kampung tersebut? Apakah di suatu waktu di masa yang akan datang para penghuni kampung dipaksa keluar dari kampung-kampung mereka? Catatan di Indonesia mengenai orang-orang kampung yang digusur dari daerah-daerah tujuan wisata, misalnya Gili Trawangan, Nias, dan Biak (Suwandi Mangudilaga 1996:328) menyatakan bahwa hal ini bukan mustahil.

Guna mencegah kecurigaan, dan membangun kepercayaan antara para penghuni kampung dan pemerintah, harus ada sebuah pernyataan yang jelas dari pemerintah mengenai status hukum dari seluruh *Nua* di Ngadha. Kepemilikan bersama akan membawa kerumitan sendiri tetapi tampaknya merupakan status yang memiliki peluang pertenggaran yang paling kecil dalam jangka panjang. Dalam hal pembangunan pariwisata, kepemilikan lokal dari semua fasilitas akan mamaksimalkan hak untuk menarik keuntungan dan mempertahankan kendali di tangan-tangan lokal. Adalah sebuah keharusan bahwa para penghuni kampung disadarkan tentang hal ini. Mempertahankan kepemilikan terhadap basis suatu sumber daya adalah sangat kritis terhadap keberhasilan jangka-panjang dari suatu pariwisata berbasis-masyarakat. Adalah sebuah keharusan dimana para penghuni kampung disadarkan bahwa menjual tanah mereka kepada orang luar menunjukkan sebuah kehilangan akan potensi mereka untuk mengontrol pengembangan pariwisata di masa depan.

## Appendix 9

### Glossary

#### Indonesian terms

Adat	tradition, custom, the ways of the ancestors, a map of life.
Agama	Religion - monotheistic
Arisan	communal savings group
Atas	above, also used to refer to higher authorities.
Desa	Administrative village
Dusun	a subsection of the administrative village, a hamlet
Hiburan	entertainment
Inculturasi	Enculturation. The deliberate blending of tradition and religion.
Juru kunci	care taker.
Kabupaten	Regency area, headed by a Bupati.
Kain	fabric - locally used to mean woven, tubular garment.
Kebon	Gardens, including cultivated fields.
Kecamatan	District headed by a camat
Kelompok doa	Prayer group
Kelompok industri	Industry group
Kelompok pengolah	management group
Kepala desa	Elected head of administrative village.
Malu	Shy ashamed or bashful
Musyawarah	public meeting
Obyek wisata	tourist attraction
Parawisata	tourism
Parang	long knife used for agriculture, domestic purposes and defence.
Paroke	parish, an area approximately equal to a kecamatan.
Penilik kebudayaan	cultural officer/supervisor
Propinsi	province
Ramai	crowded and noisy
Rumah	house
Sadar wisata	tourism awareness campaign
Sanggar budaya	cultural studio (music and dance group)
Sombong	arrogant, conceited
Tamu	guest
Tamu Negara	guest of the state
Tua tua adat	elders respected for their knowledge of adat
Turis	tourist
Wisata budaya	cultural tourism

## Ngadha Terms

Ana ye	Super miniature house on roof apex that indicates <i>saka pu'u</i>
Bela	Gold earrings
Bere eko	Hanging basket
Bhaga	Miniature house representing first female ancestor.
Boku	Male headdress
Dongo sa'o	Female keeper of a traditional house
Ebu po, nusi pera	Advice and teachings from grand and great-grandparents
Gae	Nobles
Gae kisah	Commoners
Go'o Wogo, pesa Bena	Expression used to suggest each village has its own rules, literally different Wogo, different Bena
Ho'o	Slave
Hunga Hanga	To show no interest, couldn't care less.
Kabe pere	An entry step into the inner sacred room of a house.
Kakangai otaola	Windows on the world
Kelanio	Cooling, to end a ceremony, also spelt <i>gelanio</i> .
Kepe	Three layered purse used to hold <i>bela</i>
Lavo	Traditional dress for a woman
Lega	Ceremonial bag for men
Lenggi	Stone area to hold communal meetings and settle disputes.
Lue	Female traditional dress.
Mata raga	Centre of a houses sacredness. Place to hang sacred heirlooms.
Melo	Lack of respect, usually due to overconfidence.
Moke	Fermented sap from hairy palm ( <i>Arenga sacrifera</i> )
Muvu	Communal savings system ( <i>arisan</i> in Indonesian)
Ngadhu	Carved tree trunk with conical thatched roof associated with first male ancestor. Also spelt <i>madhu</i> .
Ngeme	Gourd bowls
Nua	The ancestral heart of a Ngadha village.
Peo	A stone used to tie a buffalo to before it is slaughtered.
Rante	Gold chain
Reba	Annual harvest festival and family gathering.
Saka Pu'u	Clans central house. Literally root or trunk rider
Saka Lobo	Clans second house. Literally shoot or tip rider
Sangazar	Shriek to begin a ceremony
Sa'o	Named house
Sobo	Unsmiling
Tureh	Stone, laid with purpose (Megalith)
Wado lima	Pig exchange
Woe	A corporate descent group, referred to as a clan.
Uku Adha	Rules to show respect
Utu bhau	Public meeting
Uvi	Yam
Wati	Round, lidded basket



