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arte polis⁴

creative connectivity and the making of place
living smart by design

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Arif Sarwo WIBOWO
Indah WIDYASTUTI
Ahmad Rida SOEMARDI

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School of Architecture, Planning and Policy Development
Institut Teknologi Bandung
INDONESIA



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Proceedings

**Arte-Polis 4 International Conference
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A. Architecture and Environmental Design
for Creative Connectivity

Compromising Territoriality in the Production of Residential Space as Authentic Backstage Tourist Attraction

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ABSTRACT

This article is intended to question territoriality issue related with the production of authentic backstage tourist attraction in Laweyan residential space. Laweyan has been recently developed into a community-based cultural village promoting its batik industry as the main attraction. Laweyan village socio-cultural and physical condition as a batik industry and trade center made significant opportunity for the community to offer valuable mix of tourism attractions, which are into cultural and heritage, handicraft and shopping tourism. Meanwhile, the demand of these kind of tourism is prospectively high, endorsed by the rise of new middle class society and the new form of tourism consumption, called Post-Fordist. The Post-Fordist need new different holiday experiences, which is not only leisure-oriented, but also experiences that can give meanings to their life. Therefore tourists begin to search for authenticity in their holiday experience.

Problem arises in the setting production of the community everyday environment as authentic tourist attraction, against the local's need of privacy and territoriality. There are several questions being marked in this paper: 1) Does the community have to expose their private life as cultural representation in the community to be called authentic? 2) How important it is to produce authentic attraction in Kampung Laweyan as cultural tourist destination? 3) What aspects should be consider in the production of visual environment to be called authentic? And further, 4) What are the territorial impacts of the situation when their everyday lives were commoditized as spectacles? This article proposes two circumstances that appear in the production of space: First, there might be production of simulacra in the where reality is being falsified to represent images of culture or everyday lives; Second, the community might be encountering deterritorialization in their own everyday environment that are being exposed to tourists.

The data gathered for this research were from literatures and field survey, and subsequently being interpreted by qualitative descriptive method. The findings of this research are: 1) that the perception of authenticity for tourists are not always accomplished from the complete form of environment which included people, activities, and artefacts, 2) in Laweyan living spaces as backstage attraction, domestic territory and its meaning is still safeguarded and being preserved. The hosts prefer to provide simulacra for the tourists than being deterritorialized from places they consider as home.

Keywords: *backstage tourism, residential, territoriality, authenticity*

INTRODUCTION

Backstage Attraction in Cultural Tourist Sites: Performing Authentic Experience in The Everyday Environment

Nowadays, international tourist interest have been shifting from generalised, mass-tourism to individualized, flexible, more specificied, small-group tourism. This tendency is also called 'Post-Fordist' tourism. Post-Fordist tourists not only search for pleasure from leisure activities, instead they search for experience to enrich their life. They travel to places they consider different from their daily life, to refresh themselves, then go back to their daily life with new experience and meaning that would reflected on their attitude. Therefore, the development of tourist attractions should consider the changing tourist habits and preferences. Not to leave mass-tourism sector undeveloped, but it is important to create various setting of tourist attractions that could accomodate either mass-tourism and the the new-mode tourism.

The new-mode of tourism, accomodating Post-Fordist tourists, somehow created some changes in the trend of producing tourism sites and attraction. More and more tourists are interested in consuming backstage tourism. It is a notion that is first introduced by Dean MacCannell (1979), and is beginning to be questioned again. Backstage tourist sites expose the hidden aspects of the total attraction. But it cannot stand alone without any front stage. Backstage tourism is becoming popular because it emphasize on the tourists' experience, by providing social interaction with the local community. Post-Fordist tourists prefer this kind of attraction because they want experience that seems real, innocent, and evocative, beyond the attractions that is actually set up for tourist. Backstage tourism most generally appear as cultural, heritage, or craft tourism¹. Richard Grey (2007) said that developing cultural tourism sites nowadays is highly potential, because approximately 37% of the world tourist destination is cultural tourism sites. Moreover, there is a tourists tendency to see other culture that is different or even contrasted from their own culture. On cultural tourism, he also created a slogan "Our everyday life is someone else's adventure".

In Indonesia, one of the potentials on cultural tourism development has been explored along the rise of many tourism villages, offering cultural, eco-nature, or adventure experiences. Indonesian Culture & Tourism government, through PM26/UM001/MKP/2010 on The National Program of Community Development (*Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat*) has been supporting the growth of tourism villages in each regions, because the demand is high, has direct benefits to the community, and can be maintained and developed by the community itself from their own village potentials without much effort. These cultural villages concept generally correspond to the backstage tourism concept, because they are exposing village's community everyday environment with its themed characteristics for the tourists experience. The packages they offer commonly varied from half-day, one-day, to 3-days programme, with various 'everyday activity experiences with the locals'.²

MacCannell in Staged Authenticity theory defined that the production of a tourist attraction site could be made on six stages of setting, ranges in continuum according to how the performance is shown. He developed the theory from Erving Goffman statement on Front Stage – Backstage Setting. The staged settings are: 1). Stage One, is the front region. Performance is displayed in the totally built setting designed to please the audience; 2) Stage Two, is actually the front region. It is designed in some of its particular to appear like a back region. Performance is displayed in a setting that is functionally a front stage in backstage appearance; 3) Stage Three, is the front region that is fully decorated to appear like a backstage region; 4) Stage Four, is the back region that is opened to public view, but is restricted at some places and , 5) Stage Five, is a back region that may be cleaned up or altered at some places to be viewed by tourists., 6) Stage Six, is the back region that is fully opened without any touch up on the setting (MacCannell, 1973: 102).

Following the Post-Fordist tourists preference on real, innocent, and evocative experience, the production of tourist attraction, including performance and its setting, should consider aspects of authenticity. Indeed, authenticity has been on debated in the field of tourism in the recent thirty years following the rise of Post-Fordist tourism tendency. Because commodification in all aspects of life, including tourism, made everything constructed to fit the market. Hence, how actually the authenticity that Post-Fordist tourism seek in backstage tourism is being question again. Later on, Wang (1999) described authenticity into three different types:

- Objective authenticity. This is the same perception of authenticity that MacCannell had formerly stated.
- Constructive authenticity. This is the perception of authenticity that tourists had from gazing on the images, their expectation and preference on destination decision-making, where experience of authenticity is socially constructed and hardly objectively measured.
- Existensialism authenticity. This is the perception of authenticity that tourist had when experiencing tourism activities.

The second first are related to the objects of tourism, while the last is related to activity of tourism. This research analysis will be based on objective authenticity, to give more focus on the objects/elements provided in the site setting.

The case of this paper highlights on the potentials of Indonesian socio-cultural life and heritage as backstage cultural and heritage tourist attraction. A community-based batik village in Laweyan, Surakarta, Central Java is selected to be a case study, with the emphasize on the transformation of residential space function, from living space into backstage tourist attractions. Kampung Batik Laweyan is selected because it has long and dynamic historical background in its heritage and are still promoting their district as cultural, heritage, and craft tourist attraction until recent days. The main problem in this research is how authenticity is being provided in these residential space, since these spaces belong to private domestic territory. This research suggests that there are territoriality issues which are being compromised to provide authenticity for tourist's gaze. The mechanisms of compromising territoriality subsequently lead to transformation in the functional use of residential spaces.

Data collection for this research was prepared by: 1) Literature study on the social-cultural background of Kampung Laweyan, since human territoriality emerged from social interaction behavior that is also being practised in their spatial arrangements, 2) Field surveys on the types of tourist attractions in Kampung Laweyan and how they are being performed. And the analysis method used is descriptive qualitative, based on the theory of: 1). Staged Authenticity (MacCannell, 1973), to classify what stage are found in Kampung Laweyan residential space as tourist attraction, 2). Objective authenticity (Wang, 1999), to define the objects (and their territorial meanings) related to the authenticity found in the residential buildings as tourist attraction. The analysis focused only on the backstage setting and the relation with frontstage setting in the whole performance.

Home Territoriality

Territoriality is one of human nature behavior that is often related to physical belonging, with its defensible domain and boundaries that surrounds it. Territoriality emerged from human affection on their environment. In the case of home territories, human often develop their territoriality from senses of belonging, attachment, rootedness, and identity. Territoriality can be categorized into primary, secondary, and tertiary territoriality, based on the hierarchy of privacy and public accessibility into the domain. He also mentioned that territoriality is often related to control and ownership, identity and social function categorization. In defending territoriality against others, human response arise as defensive behaviors such as personalization and territory marking, domination and

gression. Territoriality is used to defending identity and organizing social system (Edney, 1976). Human articulates the boundaries between territories as symbolic representation of social identities. Therefore, territoriality is a concept of relative space, that is constructed from socio-cultural interaction in each community (Tuan, 1979). Home territoriality is therefore dynamic, it has capability to adapt to the socio-cultural environment and depends on the cognition of people who interacts with it.

LAWEYAN: TRANSFORMATION OF RESIDENTIAL SPACE INTO BACKSTAGE TOURIST ATTRACTION

Laweyan Batik Village: Cultural, Heritage, and Craft Tourism

Kampung Batik Laweyan which is located in Surakarta, Central Java, is well-known for its batik industry. It grows as a center for batik production and trading since 1500s, the era of Pajang dynasty, before Mataram ruled in Surakarta. The name "Laweyan" means threads made from twisted cotton. Formerly, people in Kampung Laweyan were instructed by the palace aristocrats to produce batik exclusively for them. But in the development, Laweyan also produced batik to be worn by the commoners. Laweyan grew as a rich batik industry because the community's creativity to create various alternative batik patterns and techniques, and sometimes were created against the rule and philosophy of batik. Laweyan people were called '*saudagar*' which means rich merchants. Most of them are '*Islam abangan*', which is a religious conviction came from the acculturation of Islam and Javanese philosophy.

Laweyan people clustered exclusively, so that they formed a new society class, a native Javanese middle class society, that is neither aristocrat (*bangsawan*, *priyayi*) or commoners (*wong cilik*). The rest of Surakarta community considered them as odd people because within Javanese belief, the activity of trade, to make a living from commercial activities is abstinence; a deviant lifestyle that only known in Chinese and Arab people. In the development of batik industry and trade, the women of Laweyan (*mbok mase*) in each families played an important role. It is also a deviant character that is not common in Surakarta society, where women were always put in second place after men. Even there was a spreading rumor in the society, that women of Laweyan used black magic power to accomplish their wealth and should be avoided.

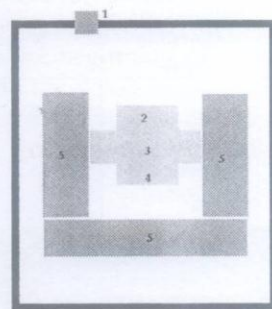
Laweyan community different way of life made Laweyan more isolated from the town native community, but grew more solid inward until the 1900s. Laweyan batik merchants built very large houses with high-rise wall surrounding them which accomodate their living and working space. It is important for the merchants to show off their wealth and status, though they were not aristocrats, through their residential appearance. They even copied the palace aristocrats lifestyle, from the clothes they wore to the use of residential decorative elements to affirm their status.

The rise of mass printed-batik production on the 1970s to 2000s led Laweyan batik industry into a fall-down. Many batik companies were closed down and sold out to Chinese people. Laweyan younger generation then preferred to do other jobs rather than continuing their family batik business. There were only few companies left in the rough time. Then in the 2000s, one of the descendant of batik company owner, Batik Mahkota, encouraged the other Laweyan businessman to rebuilt the splendour of Kampung Laweyan past as batik industry district. They formed Forum Budaya Kampung Batik Laweyan (FBKBL) in 2004 which aimed to promote Laweyan as cultural heritage tourist destination and also batik shopping center in Surakarta. These entrepreneurs has been gradually revitalizing Laweyan based on the community strength and potentials to a batik village for tourists consumption. In 2009, Kampung Laweyan community received Upakarti award from the government for their hard work in revitalizing the district.

Kampung Laweyan district now has liven up with the flourish of showrooms, galleries, workshops, and a few homestays. The community welcomes small group tourists to large groups such as school field trip groups and international symposium participants. Most tourists trip to Kampung Laweyan is half-day trip, since it can be easily reached from other districts because its location at the center of the town. Most tourists come to shop Laweyan batik products and to earn knowledge about batik production. Recently, FBKBL begin to promote their buildings as cultural heritage objects, to give some narration to the shopping experiences. The remaining residential spaces is being renovated to restore its appearance in past times.

Functional Transformation of Residential Space in Laweyan

There are two types of residential buildings in Laweyan, bigger houses commonly owned by ‘saudagar’, while smaller ones owned by batik workers of Laweyan. Former residential buildings in Laweyan oriented inward, with several masses: *pendopo*, *ndalem*, *sentong*, *gandok*, *pavilion*, *pabrik*, *beteng*, *regol*. They have large front yard surrounded by high rise walls which sometimes being used to accomodate the neighborhood social activities. The buildings use north-south axis orientation, with limasan roof. Dutch colonialism influence had changed the traditional Javanese facades to Indische-Tropische style in ‘saudagar’ houses (Priyatmono: 2004).



- 1. Regol
- 2. Pendopo
- 3. Sentong
- 4. Ndalem
- 5. Gandok

Picture 1. General plan of Laweyan residential building (Source: Priyatmono, 2004)

Table 1. Saudagar Residential Functional Transformation and The Performance Type of Tourist Attraction (Source: Setyoningrum, 2012)

No.	Functional Type	Living space		Working space
		Primary Living Function (pendopo, sentong, ndalem)	Domestic Utilitarian Function (pavillion, right & left gandok)	Batik factory (pabrik = back gandok)
1	Commercial	Homestay	Homestay	Service area
		Showroom	Showroom	Back office
		Gallery	Gallery	Back office
2	Commercial – Working	Showroom	Workshop	Workshop
3	Living – Commercial	Dwelling	Dwelling, Convention	Convention
4	Living	Dwelling	Dwelling	-

- = Backstage tourist attraction
- = Frontstage tourist attraction

The 'saudagar' house building functioned as living space for the batik company owner (pendopo, sentong, ndalem for primary living activities; right and left gandok for domestic utilitarian activities) and working space for their batik production (gandok at the back of the house). In order to accomodate tourism needs, these residential spaces in Laweyan had been converted to several commercial functions, such as showrooms, galleries, homestay, convention/gathering purpose, and cafe resto. Meanwhile, the workshops that exist today have the same function as batik production working space.

Table 1 above shows that the backstage attraction activities can be arranged to accomodate interactions with: 1) the house owner (which is the descendants of batik 'saudagar') or/and 2) the batik workers as local hosts within their functional territories. It can be concluded that authentic backstage tourist attraction characteristic appear only on the commercial-working and living-commercial type, which involve interactions with real local people with their real activities and artefacts. Meanwhile, physical and interaction settings used for the other space are frontstages. The indicator aspects that presented authenticity are structurally described on the following Table 2 below:

Table 2. Authentic Indicator and Knowledge that Can be Learned in 'Saudagar' Residential as Backstage Tourist Attraction (Source: Setyoningrum, 2012)

Authenticity Indicators	Living Space	Knowledge	Working Space	Knowledge
People	Real descendants of 'saudagar' or other person related to the batik company factory.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • History and heritage • Way of living • Socio-cultural relationship in the family, neighborhood, and business 	Real workers with skills and experience on producing various kind batik.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • History and heritage • Batik production • Way of living • Socio-cultural relationship in the neighborhood and business
Activities	Daily domestic activities, such as cooking, sleeping, socializing.		Batik production activities, start from the scratch	
Artefacts	Authentic furniture, tools, and area/rooms inherited from the past, in the function and values/meanings.		Authentic tools and area	

As specific study case, this paper explores batik workshop of Batik Putra Laweyan as an example of Commercial – Working function and Ndalem Tjokrosoemartan Convention House as an example of Living – Commercial function. The Table 3 below shows that in the Batik Putra Laweyan (Commercial – Working), all indicator of authenticity are provided, meanwhile in the Ndalem Tjokrosoemartan, it restricts public view on the domestic activities of the owner. Tourists are able to interact with the owner only in such formal setting arrangement.

Table 3. Authenticity Indicator Checklist on Backstage Tourist Attraction in Residential 'Saudagar' (Source: Setyoningrum, 2012)

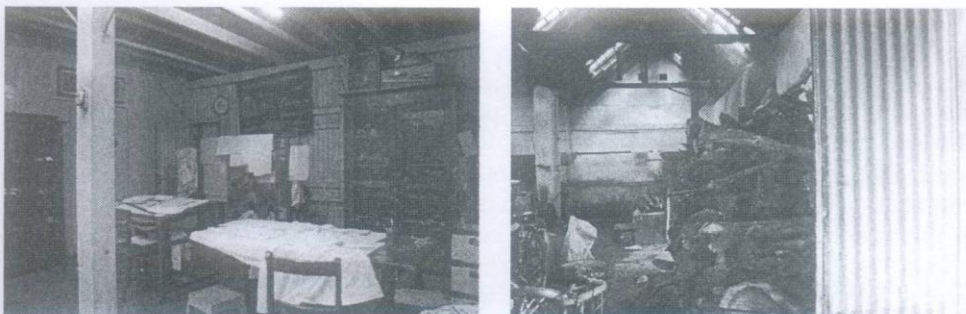
No.		Living			Working		
		P	Act	Artf	P	Act	Artf
1	Commercial – Working				V	V	V
2	Living - Commercial	V (by appointment)	-	V			

Analysis of Backstage Attraction in Commercial – Working Use of Batik Putra Laweyan



Picture 2. Setting of backstage interaction between tourists and the batik workers in Batik Putra Laweyan, Surakarta (Source: Setyoningrum, 2011)

In the Commercial – Working use of ‘saudagar’ residential space, backstage tourist attraction that can be considered as totally authentic is the working space, which shows the production of batik activities. In the Picture 2 above, it can be seen that visitors are able to experience and interact with all three aspects of authenticity: watch and interact with batik workers while they are making batik, try to make batik by themselves (either constructed at the beginning of visit or incidentally), and experience the place of batik production (feel the working space atmosphere that being stimulated from all the senses, through furniture arrangements and lay-out, functional and decorative objects/tools that related to the work of making batik and seemed related to the past as seen at Picture 3a&b below).



Picture 3a&b. Setting of batik workshop in Batik Putra Laweyan, Surakarta (Source: Setyoningrum, 2011)

Tourists percept the experience with all three aspects with their visual, tactile, audial, olfactory senses, then integrated them to create knowledge about the everyday working environment in the conventional batik industry. They are able to watch the process of batik from blank white sheets to finished batik. But the authenticity stop as the batik completely done. They never know whether those batik are actually being sell in the showrooms or just being objects of simulacra. This workshop setting can be identified as Stage 5 or 6 of backstage attraction.

Analysis of Backstage Attraction in Living - Commercial Use of Ndalem Tjokrosoemartan

In the Ndalem Tjokrosoemartan as a Living - Commercial ‘saudagar’ residential space, small to large groups of visitors/tourists are able to reserve for meeting appointments, gathering with lunch or dinner with the authentic atmosphere of old Laweyan house. All visiting activity in this building is arranged by reservation in advanced, so that the host can prepare the best setting to accomodate visitors need. The architecture of Ndalem Tjokrosoemartan is a fusion of Javanese traditional house with colonial style (Indische-

tropische). In 1800m² site, the house consists of two parts: the front house, which is still in used by the owner, and the back house, which is used for commercial use. Visitors are also able to formally interact with the owner under some arrangement. But indeed, the owner everyday life and domestic environment are restricted to most visitors. This condition means that visitors are able to experience authenticity in the artefacts aspect. Experience related to people and activity aspects is constructed and simulated according to visitors need (noticed on the reservations), to make comfortable setting in the private territory. The performance setting is therefore can be identified as Stage 4 of backstage attraction.



Picture 3a&b. Setting of Ndalem Tjokrosoemartan, Laweyan, Surakarta (Source: www.kampoenglaweyan.com, 2012)

CONCLUSION

From the analysis, this research found that:

1. The functional use of residential spaces in Kampung Laweyan has transformed to accomodate tourism needs. There are several types of backstage tourist attractions found based on production of space, related to the people, activities, and the artefacts:
 - A. Laweyan living environment as backstage tourist attraction. The authenticity of this performance is limited to people and artefacts. Knowledge that can be obtained are about the history and heritage of Laweyan community and batik industry, Laweyan 'saudagar' way of living (interpretative, from the objects as the source of sign). According to MacCannell authenticity definition, this environment can be considered as Stage 4 of backstage attraction.
 - B. Laweyan working environment (batik production space) as backstage tourist attraction. The authenticity of this performance is not limited. Tourists can interact anytime at the working hours with the workers (people), see and register for real experience on batik production (activities), and see the real objects and rooms used in the working environment (artefacts). According to MacCannell authenticity definition, this environment can be considered as Stage 5 or 6 of backstage attraction.
2. The authenticity shown in Kampung Laweyan are created partially and limited as supplement to the front stage areas. The hypotheses that can be conclude from this research are:
 - There is a transformation in the meaning of batik production and its territoriality as public activity from the formerly private/semi-public family business activity. Working activities are now considered as part of public domain and therefore viewable for tourists.
 - While the meaning and territoriality of primary living activities inside the dwelling is still considered private. However, this tendency might related to any other reasons beyond the meaning and territoriality, for example to construct tourist gaze. Living activities are still considered as part of private domain and therefore should be safeguarded.

- This might bring some suggestions for the following researches on Laweyan tourism development, because further research need to be done to define the weakness and opportunity in developing backstage region as the main attraction.

3. The perception of authenticity for tourists are not always accomplished from the complete form of all indicators. Instead, the authenticity can be accomplished only from the artefacts and/or people that completed the authenticity narration. This can be seen that on the Living – Commercial use of residential space, people and artefacts exist for the consumption of tourists, but not the private activities in it. So in the case of Laweyan living space as backstage attraction, domestic territory is still safeguarded. Meanings of home territory in Kampung Laweyan is still being preserved. The hosts prefer to provide simulacra for the tourists than being deterritorialized from places they consider as home. Still, there must be further deeper research on the classification of authentic perception in each type of tourists (See Shaw & William, 2004) and also the owner/host considerations on the backstage setting itself.

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This paper is a preliminary research for dissertation proposal about the production of tourism attractions and its impact to the environment. It is mainly a collection of literature that is gathered on the purpose of defining research problem and the scope of research, and to map out and to establish the research positioning in the multi-disciplinary research.

ENDNOTES

- [1] Urry (1990), Poon (1994), Sharpley (1994), Mowforth and Munt (2003), Williams (1998), Shaw and Williams (2002) have commented on the rise of new forms of tourism, identifying a number of key types:
- heritage/cultural tourism
 - ecotourism
 - adventure tourism
 - visiting theme parks/mega-shopping malls
- [2] The backstage programs offered by tourism villages correspond to Valee's statements (1987) that authenticity is a desired experience by the tourists and it is also seen a reflecting the 'genuine nature of every day life' of the destination places.

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