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**"NUSANTARA PHILOSOPHY AND CULTURE:
CHANCE AND CHALLENGE"**



**Grand Tjokro Hotel Yogyakarta
12-13 November 2013**

**FAKULTAS FILSAFAT
UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Y O G Y A K A R T A**

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PANEL DISCUSSION

LAWEYAN BATIK MERCHANT HOME TERRITORY AS TOURIST ATTRACTION: A REFLECTION OF JAVANESE MIDDLE CLASS SOCIETY STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL STATUS

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Yasraf Amir Piliang²

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Biranul Anas Zaman⁴

Abstract

Kampung Laweyan batik merchants have long been known as rich textile merchants in Central Java. The community started their business since the era of Pajang Kingdom in 1500s. Since then, it had grown into a solid exclusive community until The New Order era, its glory gradually overcast by social changes. Throughout the changes of time and influences of social and political situation, Laweyan batik merchants have settled a district with distinctive characteristics. Following the success of their batik trading business in the 18th century, Laweyan batik merchants tried to differentiate themselves from the other locals by creating a lifestyle, which thereafter known as middle-class lifestyle in Surakarta; although in the former Javanese conception of society structure, such middle class was never been existed. The distinct characteristics are also found in their home territory, where they organize their belongings to express their identity. Recently, they have been using the distinctness to create experience for tourist attraction. This paper described the use of Laweyan batik merchant house's home that are being staged as tourist territories aiming to represent narration of identity for tourists consumption. The conclusion of this paper is merely about how the essence of Laweyan batik merchants' identity were created, which is actually through the community awareness of differences (phenomenon of othering).

Keywords: Laweyan batik merchant, territorial identity, tourist attraction, othering

A. Introduction

1. Kampung Batik Laweyan as Surakarta cultural tourist attraction

Kampung Batik Laweyan which is located in Surakarta, Central Java, is widely well-known for its batik industry. It has been growing 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 community grew as a rich batik

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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 closed community. Alongwith the trading success, Laweyan community became very wealthy and further known by the city society as a new wave of society class, a native Javanese middle class society. This society class 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.

Recently, the descendants of batik merchants who still remain running their batik industry, formed Forum Budaya Kampung Batik Laweyan (FBKBL) in 2004. The community was established 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. They promote their buildings as cultural heritage objects, to give some narration to the shopping experiences. Some of the remaining residential spaces are being renovated to restore the appearance in past times.

In 2009, Kampung Laweyan community received Upakarti award from the government for their hard work in revitalizing the district. Laweyan has become one of major tourist attraction in Surakarta. Alongwith the development of creative industry, Kampung Batik Laweyan is marked as one of Surakarta cultural tourism destination. 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.

2. Staging batik merchant everyday environment as tourist experience of 'the other'

This paper describes the pattern of the batik merchant descendants in representing their identity for cultural tourism consumption. When these batik merchant descendants transform their home territories as 'stages of tourist attraction', it is assumed that they highlight more on preferred attributes of their culture, in order to perform their cultural identity to tourists. These attributes are manifested in the home territories, which is commodified into tourist territories. Hence, it can be said that the Laweyan community, being performers of their cultural village, are producing a narration of their cultural identity through the arrangement of tourist territories in their homes. Culture itself is defined as the cumulative deposit of knowledge, experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, notions of time, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving (Samovar & Porter, 1994). Further, manifestation of culture can be divided into three modes: 1) it is manifested in complex ideas, values, norms, rules, and so forth; 2) it is manifested in a complex pattern of activities and actions of human beings in society; and 3) it is manifested in objects of human work (Koentjaraningrat, 2000). Hence, by analyzing the preferred attributes used in the production of tourist territories of Laweyan houses (which had been transformed from the existing home setting) which includes the physical elements and the social activities within, one can interpret and define the preferred values, norms, and rules which influence the setting.

The object research chosen are batik merchant home territories, as part of Laweyan everyday environment, which have been commodified into tourism culture for tourists gaze and experience. By staging Laweyan community everyday environment as tourist attraction, this community has been commodifying its culture through exposures of their identity, history background, and lifestyle, as economic capital. The main topic brought in this paper is about the narration setting of tourist experience within the 'stages of everyday environment' in Kampung Batik Laweyan, which in this paper argued as 'othering' experience. The main questions related to the topic are:

- a) How the batik merchant home territories are being narrated as the community visual cultural identity for the gaze and experience of tourists.
- b) How the discourse of 'othering' experience are performed the batik merchant home territories to meet tourist expectation.

Descartes once defined that men as substance of thought (*res cogitans*) and soul (*res extensa*)ⁱ, recognized their surrounding environment in two ways, by understanding the world materially and by the rational representation of each material property. The second way of recognition is closely related to the construction of concept and symbols (Cameron, Laura et.al, 2005: 8-9). The way of

recognition by identifying rational representation of an environment material property leads to the 'othering' discourse. Representation can be referred to system of values, ideas and practices that are shared by people and that enable them to grasp their world but also to interact with othersⁱⁱ. Othering is the process of casting a group, an individual or an object into the role of the 'other' and establishing one's own identity through opposition to and, frequently, vilification of this Other (Gabriel.Y, 2012). In this case, the setting arrangement of Laweyan batik merchant home territories, with its dynamic socio-cultural background, are embedded with preferred concept and symbols, aimed to represent their cultural identity as Javanese middle-class society in Surakarta. The middle-class society of Laweyan has long been identified as 'the other' of Surakarta aristocrats. Regarding their progressive wealth through producing and trading batik in the early 1900s, Laweyan batik merchants developed a distinct lifestyle, from the former common 'wong dagang' society, as rival of Surakarta aristocrats.

Dervin (2012) noted that 'othering' can be used to position themselves, to defend themselves, to please or seduce the other, to claim identities (whether it is common or different), to defend themselves against stigmatizing or marginalizing practices or to feel better about the different other. Othering also allows people to (re-)invent and make sense of the self through imagining the other. In sociology, othering refers to differentiating discourses that lead to moral and political judgment of superiority and inferiority between 'us' and 'them' (ibid.)

Hence, the discussion on the cultural identity Kampung Batik Laweyan community as Javanese 'the other' middle-class society, is closely related to the socio-cultural development of Surakarta. Being the centerpoint of Javanese culture since the era of Majapahit kingdom until now, Surakarta has Kasunanan and Mangkunegaran royal palaces as its community culture patronage through a long history. Within its socio-cultural development, Surakarta was highly influenced by the Dutch colonial era, alongwith the presence of other cultural community, such as the Arab (*encik* or *wong Arab*), Chinese (*wong Cinon*), Sundanese (*wong Sundo*), Maduranese (*wong Meduro*). Besides the cultural diversity background, Surakarta society also believed in society structure classification, based on relationship with the Surakarta palaces (*wong cilik*, *abdi dalem*, *priyayi*) and also based on the job for living (*large traders/merchants* or *wong dagang*, *marketmen* or *wong pasar*, *civilians* or *wong pegawai*, and *direct labour* or *wong buruh*) (Kusumawardhani, 2006).

B. Methodology

The objects of analysis in the research are limited to batik merchant houses that remain conserved by the homeowners (the descendants who runs the batik industry and trading), which commodified as tourist territories (showrooms, galleries, and workshops). The data are collected by ethnographic method through field observation, in-depth interview with the homeowners, and questionnaires.

The analysis in this article is done based on the terminology of sign by Charles Sanders Peirce, which stated that something (= sight) represents something (=marker) to someone. Based on Peirce terminology of sign, MacCannell (1973) also stated that, there are three important components in a setting of tourist attractions: 1) sights, 2) markers, and 3) tourists. Tourists will interpret the meanings of signs and visual elements of social interaction they experienced (sight) as an identity marker points (markers), which will then be interpreted as 3) a representation of the local cultural identity.

C. Analysis

1. The influencing background: socio-cultural context in the transformation of Laweyan Batik merchant house architecture

The discussion on Kampung Batik Laweyan identity cannot be separated from the socio-cultural context of Surakarta and its community. Diachronically, there are several periodical record of Kampung Batik Laweyan Javanese house architecture based on its socio-cultural influences, which are:

a) The period of Pajang Kingdom (14th century)

The Pajang Kingdom was established in the 14th century (1546). One of its outstanding kings was Sultan Hadiwijaya, which was popularly known as Jaka Tingkir in ancient Javanese legend. Laweyan was the capital city of Pajang Kingdom until the kingdom moved its territory to Kotagede, Yogyakarta and became the origin of Mataram Kingdom. The trace of a port was found on the riverbank, which lies through and divided the Laweyan district as a proof of ancient textile trading activities. The river is believed as one of major trading transportation to the Bengawan Solo River and further connected the trade to north Java Sea. Sadly, there are neither traces nor data found for Laweyan Javanese houses during this period.

b) Period of Kasunanan Palace (15th to early 20th century)

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 accommodate 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.

c) Period of Dutch Colonialism (20th century)

In 1912, a group of Laweyan batik merchant established a trust of batik traders, Sarekat Dagang Islam, which was highly influenced by moslem faith. This organization was the first local trader trust among the domination of Chinese merchants and Dutch colonial trading companies. The main duty of the trust is to

build production and trading link between intercity textile traders in Java. The Dutch colonial government, who was afraid of its growth, then shut down the trust by tricky sectoral trading policies. The condition caused the decline of batik industry. Every gigantic batik industries in Laweyan were forced to divide their business empire into smaller but specialized business, such as *mbatik*, *wedelan*, *mbabar*, *mbironi*, and *prembé*. The Dutch colonialism and its lifestyle has influenced the architecture of Javanese houses in Laweyan during this period. The Laweyan merchants copied the character of Neo-Colonialism architecture, by added massive brick walls into their formerly open-plan Javanese architecture. They also used the Dutch style materials and ornaments, finishing types and structures. But eventhough they adapted the visual style, the Laweyan batik merchants did not change anything in the room plan neither the space organization.

d) Period of the Indonesian New Order

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.

e) The revival of Batik industry glory

The global economy crisis in late 1990's forced many of the batik merchants descendants to return to their hometown. Some of them tried to made some living from the remaining home industries. 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 as a marketing strategy. They succeeded to bring the batik industry back to life again in less than 10 years. Nowadays, Kampung Batik Laweyan still remain the biggest batik industry in Surakarta, among Kauman in downtown area and Kedung Lumbu, Sangkrah, Semanggi, and Kemasan in rural city. The diagram below shown the differentiation of batik business in Kampung Batik Laweyan in 2006 (See Figure 1).

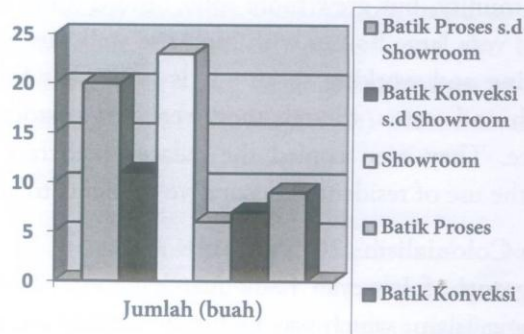


Figure 1. Types of Remaining Laweyan Batik Industry
(Source: Kusumawardani, 2006 & Wijaya, 2006)

The revitalized settlement of Kampung Batik Laweyan right now has around 60% antique buildings aged 50-100 years old from the total number of houses. Based on the building layout pattern, architecture of Kampung Batik Laweyan houses can be classified as two major types: the merchant house (owned by batik merchants who run the industry at home) and the 'wong cilik' house (owned by daily labors who works for the merchants and did not run their own business). The architectural layout pattern of the merchant houses is highly influenced by the batik production activities as home industry. Some of the merchant houses, whose owners no longer run the batik production, are commodified to tourist attraction 'stage'.

The dynamics of socio-cultural changes in Surakarta described above had created the Kampung Batik Laweyan community and its settlement to an exclusive closed one (inclaved system society). The research argued that the exclusive identity can be identified as a phenomenon of 'othering', which was caused by the difference identification of the Laweyan community seen by the Surakarta society in diachronical sequence. Referring to the 'othering' discourse, the important periods that influenced the identity of Laweyan community are the period of Kasunanan Palace and the Dutch colonialism. Laweyan batik industry community was seen as distinct group of people who are different from the other Surakarta community because of their public appearance and their ostentatious manner, which afterward were labelled as middle-class society or 'wong dagang'.

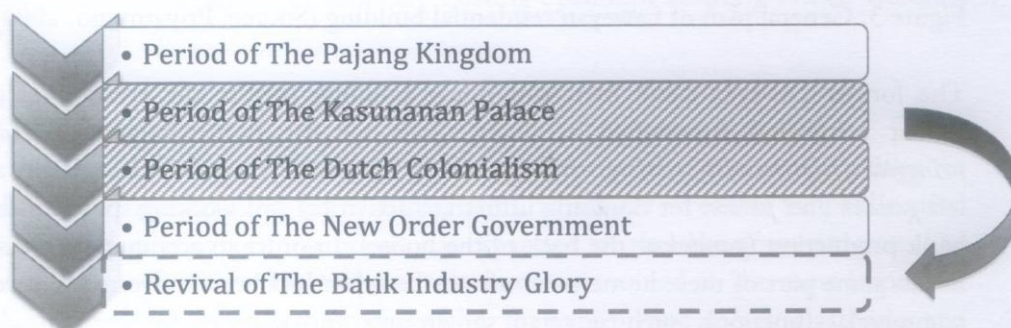


Figure 2. Socio-political Period that Influence the 'Othering' Process of Laweyan as 'Wong Dagang' (Source: Setyoningrum, 2013)

2. Tourist territories production as reflection of Laweyan Batik merchant 'the other' cultural identity

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).

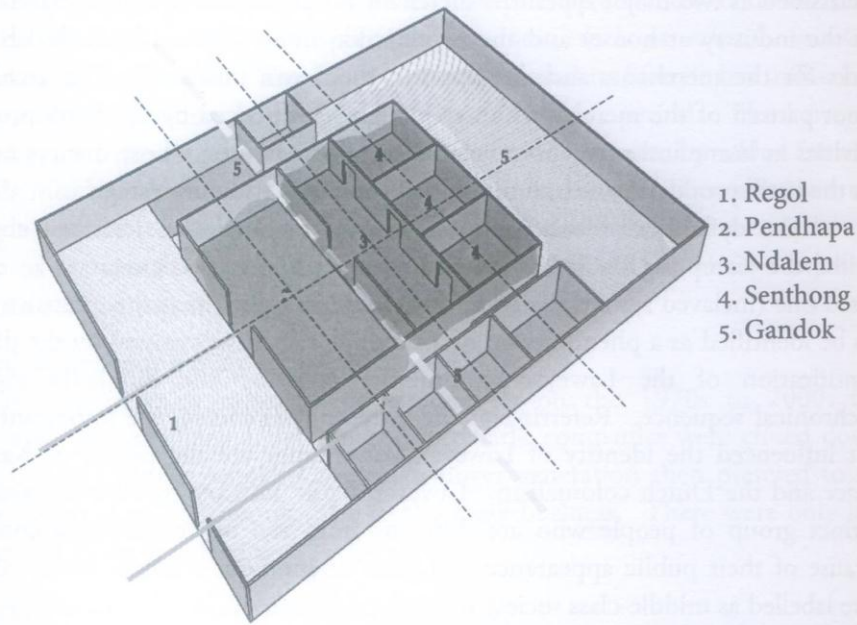


Figure 3. General plan of Laweyan residential building (Source: Priyatmono, 2004)

The former Laweyan batik merchant house building (before the creation of any tourist territories) functioned as living space for the homeowners. *Pendapa*, *pringgitan* (*dalem cilik*), *dalem*, *sentong* used for primary living activities. Right and left *gandok* and *pawon* for domestic utilitarian activities) and working space for their batik production (*gandok* at the back of the house). In order to accommodate tourism needs, some part of these home territories in Laweyan had been converted to several commercial functions, such as retail showrooms and galleries for batik product display, workshops, and cafes. Retail showrooms (or galleries) are now exist in most of 'tourism-commodified' Laweyan merchant houses. These showrooms display various batik garments and fashion products. This tourist territory typically used the 'pendapa' and dalem area of the houses. The addition of retail showrooms, which is formerly absent, had impacted on the transformation of *room* usage in the houses. Though the room usage has been transformed, the Laweyan families prefer not to change the building structures. Instead, the existing solid walls were kept and utilized as boundaries for each group of product display.

3. The functional use of rooms in Laweyan Batik merchant house as tourist territories

a. 'Pendapa'

The 'pendapa' areas used to functioned as a public gathering place, where the residents greet and meet their guests and occasionally functioned as a family ceremonial gatherings. Hence, the activities and social interaction within the traditional 'pendapa' are considered public. This area is center-oriented, clearly defined by furniture setting for social interaction. Outsiders who are considered as formal guests or have less intimate relation with the residents are welcome in this area.

After the 'pendapa' is being commodified as a retail showroom, the access for tourists in this area is created along the central axis of the room, connecting the *regol* to the *dalem* area. Clear entry pathway is created to let the tourists gaze around the domain (the clothing displays) and the room boundaries (the walls, commonly covered by a traditional Javanese carved wooden wall-panel). The boundaries are the preserved existing four-walls surrounding the room. These walls are solid wall construction, following the *Indische-Tropische Style* of Laweyan merchant houses. The opening to the 'dalem' area is often stylized with Javanese traditional gate (*kori*) adapted from the Javanese palace architecture. While the openings in the building facade, such as windows and doors are existing openings, adapting Dutch Colonial Style.

b. 'Dalem'

The '*dalem*' areas that are formerly used for private domestic activities for families have been transformed to display areas, which are accessible for public view. Hence, the public use of these houses has expanded for the sake of tourist gaze. The '*dalem*' area in former traditional Javanese houses, is valued as the most important social private area. It is where families gather for semi-private domestic activities and where they put private domestic artefacts such as daybed (*bale-bale*) for a social relaxed interaction as the center of the room domain.

This area is symmetrical and center-oriented, with typical Javanese '*limasan*' high ceiling (mostly found in Laweyan) or '*joglo*' high ceiling (rarely found in Laweyan) which stands on the symmetrical construction of four wooden column. In this area, traditional Javanese families often display their family inheritance large objects such as spears (*tombak*) and swords, which they considered as the representative of their spiritual guardian. Furniture setting is also centered in the middle of '*dalem*', marking the main activities in the room, usually focused on the male resident of the house, as the center of microcosmos. The access to the '*dalem*' area is formerly prohibited for outsiders. Only people whom the family knew well enough would get permission to enter this area. Therefore, '*dalem*' has enclosed

room setting, with four solid walls and small windows connecting the room with the surrounding environment.

The 'dalem' setting after it is being commodified as tourist territory is likely extrovert. The domain setting is still preserve centered, but now the activities and social interaction within it is public. Though the setting of 'dalem' now is extrovertly public, the owners of the retail showroom keep the space for top priority trading activity. Some of the showroom owners use the 'dalem' area to display luxurious, expensive, and limited collection of batik garment and clothing; some of them allocate the space for the purchase transaction.

c. 'Pringgitan'

'Pringgitan' or 'dalem cilik' is a transition area, which connects 'pendapa' with 'dalem ageng'. This area is categorized as semi-private and located in the 'omah njero'. The room is usually open, without walls. In Laweyan houses, pringgitan is quite attached to the 'dalem'. The distinguishing element between the 'dalem ageng' and 'pringgitan' is only at the difference of floor level. As tourist territories functional use, it is used as circulation or to display secondary line of batik products or small fashion accessories.

d. 'Gandok'

Gandok is a domestic area in the Javanese house, which categorized as feminine space (Muqoffa, 2008). In the former Laweyan batik home industry, the left *gandok* area was used as the trading space, known as 'kulakan' in Javanese idiom. *Gandok* in the back of the house was used to the final process of batik production, such as coloring process, removing wax from the textiles (*nglorod*), and drying process. Nowadays, some of the back *gandok* areas are still being used as workshops, which can be visited by tourists. The same tendency also found in the left *gandok* areas, which are still preserved for the trading space, if not being used as private areas for homeowners.

4. Pattern of Laweyan Batik merchant house tourist territory and the narration of cultural identity

This article proposed a pattern as research finding about the pattern of tourist territory setting as narration of cultural identity, that there are indeed two major patterns of tourist territory setting in Laweyan batik merchant houses which expose two different major narration. The first one is the tourist territory that represent narration of Laweyan batik business work ethos and effort, and the second one is the tourist territory that represent narration of Laweyan batik merchant wealth, their social status and noble attitude.

**a. Narration of work ethos and effort:
profane area oriented setting of tourist territory**

This arrangement pattern of tourist territory only utilizes the profane area in the house. Generally, the performance pattern is narrating tourist experience from the front yard (*pekarangan*), porch (*serambi*), and ended in the '*pendapa*' area. Some homeowners also included 'gandok' area to provide a tourist gaze on their culture of profane domestic territory. Although there are various differentiation on the arrangement of profane area as tourist territories in each houses, which depend on the spatial need for commercial vs private use, the observation found that the Laweyan homeowners are 'releasing' for tourist territories in a sequence, according to a preference pattern. This research proposed that the preference pattern related to the rule of Javanese social interpersonal relation: the rule of appropriateness, which had always been applied into the arrangement and every transformation of the Laweyan batik merchant house. The application of appropriateness rule in Javanese house can be seen from how the Javanese divided their home territory into three categories: 1) *omah ngarep*, 2) *omah njero*, 3) *omah mburi* (Subroto, 1995).

Based on Pierce's *Terminology of Sign*, this setting of tourist territory provides sight of the activities of batik production and trade process as a narration. This narration preferred to use the domestic utilitarian areas and the surroundings as tourist territories (as sight), which mark the batik process and trading activities (as marker). The sight here includes the demonstration of daily activities, from the furniture and tools they use, to the actors involved (the homeowners who run the business, the maids and the labours). This performances include the evolving history and urban culture, and also the value and symbolic meanings attached to the Laweyan batik production and trading activities. This activities had long been considered as domestic sphere of Laweyan community, since the batik production and trading has always been their only way to make a living for hundreds years. It can be identified that this tourist territory setting doesn't focus on the homeowners' social status, instead the homeowners choose to expose the activities of producing batik and welcome the tourists (guests) in equal relation. Through this attitude, it can be concluded that the cultural identity that they prefer to represent is about the batik industry as a way to make a living, which includes the narration of work ethos and effort.

**b. Narration of wealth, social status and noble attitude:
profane to sacred area hierarchial setting of tourist territory**

This performance narrating tourist experience from the front yard (*pekarangan*), porch (*serambi*), '*pendapa*', '*pringgitan*', and '*dalem*' area. This type of performance usually exposing their '*dalem*' for the most important activities in the retail business. Although '*senhong*' area are found exposed in some houses (since '*senhong*' is directly connected to the '*dalem*'), but these areas are kept prohibited for

tourists. In this case of performance, it is found that the homeowners arrange a linear hierarchial pattern of products based on the price category. Based on Pierce's *Terminology of Sign*, this setting of tourist territory provides sight of batik trading and the company profile, which narrating the wealth and noble attitude through the hierarchial sequence that are created through the tourist shopping experience. This narration preferred to expose the profane area to the most sacred one (dalem ageng) as tourist territories (as sight), which mark the attitude of Javanese aristocrats (as marker). It had been known that Javanese aristocrats had an attitude to separate themselves from other that is considered commoners. The attitude was also applied to the arrangement of their houses, which used many symbolic sign (through the room borders: walls, ceilings, and flooring) to characterize each level of nobleness. By exposing the rooms to tourist sight hierarchically from profane to sacred, the homeowners represent the noble attitude, which is common for Javanese aristocrats. Therefore, the narration of this tourist territory setting is about the social positioning both in Laweyan batik industry and externally in Surakarta, as 'wong dagang', the middle-class society with noble attitude.

D. Conclusion

The Javanese, whose character to the western claimed to be introvert, are indeed very open to others. They often communicate to others by symbolically and indirect way, which they claimed to be a polite and nice way to communicate. This character also shown within the way they build their houses. Each rooms was built to communicate meanings from the home owners to others. Ronald (1990) stated that each traditional Javanese communication must include four aspects of meanings, which are: *rasa* (means wish, intention), *karsa* (means will, courage), *cipta* (means creative-power or thought-power), and *karya* (work, task, duty with artefact as the outcome). Hence, Javanese houses always include the four aspect of communication.

In the case of batik merchant houses, this article conclude that:

1. The most representation captured in the tourist territory setting in Laweyan houses are about their homeowners' way of life regarding economy and materialistic worldview, into which differentiate the Laweyan community from the other Javanese society: 'wong cilik' and 'priyayi'. The Laweyan batik merchants have been putting more values on the material culture and the kinship in the hierachial community, than the other Javanese. It can be shown on the arrangement of the tourist territories in each room described above, and also on the negotiation on the cultural values that is being exposed.
2. The major representation that can be identified as cultural identity is about: 1) the batik industry as Laweyan community way to make a living which is done by best work ethos and effort for hundred years through the generations, and 2) the wealth and social status as middle-class society that the Laweyan community is

indeed achieved by hard work. This is an attitude which is considered as noble attitude that differentiate them from the other Surakarta community.[]

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ⁱ Cartesian dualism

ⁱⁱ Moscovici, 1961 mentioned in *International Discourse of Othering* by Fred Dervin (*International Encyclopedia of Language and Social Interaction*).



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