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HERITAGE TOURISM AND LOCAL CREATIVE ECONOMY

DR. Wiwik D. PRATIWI

Lecturer and Researcher - School of Architecture, Planning and Policy Development, Institute of Technology Bandung -
INDONESIA
wdpratiwi@ar.itb.ac.id

ABSTRACT

For many local communities in developing countries and elsewhere, the existence of large attractions nearby generates both benefits and costs as well as the opportunity to develop local creative economy activities. In the context of the current rarity of research focused on heritage tourism and local creative economy, the paper aims to make a contribution towards a better understanding of the general issues on how to make heritage tourism works for developing local creative economy. This objective is reached through six sections. The first part provides a brief overview of the international literature focused on heritage tourism. Here it is argued that despite the magnitude of Indonesia heritage tourism potentials, it remains a neglected area of investigation and as a consequence our understanding of its various impacts on the local creative economy is limited. The second section focuses on heritage tourism in the Indonesia context. Borobudur in Java is used to illustrate the discussion of power and the role of 'new tourism' in developing countries. Thereafter, in the third section, the elaboration of tourism and local economic development is outlined. The fourth section provides some insights into the ideas of tourism driven local creative economy, whilst section five highlights how to make heritage tourism works for local creative economy. In the context of the preceding sections, the final part of the paper furnishes an outline of those aspects of Indonesia heritage tourism and local creative economy that require research attention.

Keywords: *tourism, heritage, local, economic development*

INTRODUCTION

Built environments are perhaps the most obvious manifestations of Indonesian heritage. These include traditional homes and mosques, food stalls [warung], pasar tradisional, paddy field [sawah], and place of worships which have potentials to be local's economic activities as well as tourist' facilities within the rural settings of Indonesia. But in terms of cultural production (recreation and display of culture), some of the largest and most visited heritage tourism destinations are cultural heritage sites. In Indonesian context, these include candi(s), kraton(s), huge archeological artifacts, etc. They have become a major focus of tourism in the postmodern period. MacCannell (1976:81) indicates that: "Any cultural production can serve one of the two essential functions: "it may add to the weight of the modern civilization by sanctifying an original as being a model worthy of copy or it may establish a new direction, break new grounds, or otherwise contribute to the progress of modernity by presenting new combinations of cultural elements."

People are nostalgic about old ways of life, and they want to relive them in the form of tourism, at least temporarily. Nostalgia is a universal catchword for looking back. Lowenthal says, "if the past is a foreign country, nostalgia has made it a foreign country with the healthiest visitor trade of all" (1990:4). Given this centrality of nostalgia as a motivation for tourism, it is hypothesized that satisfaction with a heritage places depends not on its authenticity in the literal sense of whether or not it is an accurate re-creation of some past condition, but rather on its perceived authenticity (consistency with nostalgia for some real or imagined past). Heritage is thus created and re-created from surviving memories, artifacts, and sites of the past to serve contemporary demand. Heritage has many creators, purposes, and consumers (Ashworth 1992 and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998). Not every component of the experience need be authentic (or even satisfactory) as long as the combination of elements generates the required nostalgic feelings.

As Taylor states: "Tourism sites, objects, images, and even people are not simply viewed as contemporaneous productions. Instead, they are positioned as signifiers of past events, epochs, or ways of life. In this way, authenticity is equated as original" (2001:33). Products of tourism such as accommodations, festivals, rituals, dress, and so on are usually described as authentic or inauthentic depending upon whether they are made or enacted by local people according to tradition (MacCannell 1976). In this sense, authenticity connotes traditional culture and origin, and a sense of the genuine. Within cultural tourism, the production of authenticity is dependent on some act of reproduction (Zerubavel 1995).

There has been a rise of popular interest internationally in social histories, in cultural heritage, and in heritage management. The attractions of heritage places increase the productive tourism industry, domestically and internationally, where visiting urban heritage places, museums, events and cultural festivals is a major industry. McKercher and du Clos (2002) record that something like 240 million international journeys annually involve some element of cultural tourism. The link between heritage and tourism is unavoidable but stimulates the question as to how far should this link go. Tourism and heritage are linked, not least economically for most developing countries. It asks the question of how places and monuments and objects are presented to tourists and visitors. The campus of Institute Technology Bandung and its surroundings transform to a certain extent as tourists destinations especially every Friday and weekend. Benteng Vredenburg in Yogyakarta is substantially a re-creation popular with tourists, but this does not detract from its potential to inform people on history and develop urban heritage values. Taman Mini Indonesia Indah can be seen as an artificial historic park in Jakarta developed as a miniature of all aspects of Indonesian lifestyle s and settlements is a theme park, but has the potential to be informative and provoke the imagination for children.

Heritage tourism has gained increasing attention, and has generated a growing body of literature (Balcar and Pearce 1996; Fyall and Garrod 1998; Herbert 2001; Hollinshead, K., 1988). Fyall and Garrod define heritage tourism as an economic activity that makes use of socio-cultural assets to attract visitors. Hollinshead (1988) asserts that local traditions and community heritage can serve as attractions and that heritage tourism embraces folkloric traditions, arts and crafts, ethnic history, social customs, and cultural celebrations. Poria et al define heritage tourism more narrowly as "a phenomenon based on visitors' motivations and perceptions rather than on specific site attributes" (2001:1047) Zeppal and Hall also emphasize motivation, and view heritage tourism, as "based on nostalgia for the past and the desire to experience diverse cultural landscapes and forms" (1991:49).

In terms of demand, heritage tourism is representative of many contemporary visitors' desire (hereafter, tourists) to directly experience and consume diverse past and present cultural landscapes, performances, foods, handicrafts, and participatory activities. On the supply side, heritage tourism is widely looked to as a tool for community economic development and is often actively promoted by local governments and private businesses. However, there is little quantitative information that would help planners determine heritage tourism demand and the behavioral structure(s) underlying it (Alzua et al 1998; Light and Prentice, 1994 and Richards 1996). Poria et al argue that understanding motivations and perceptions "is helpful for the management of [heritage] sites with respect to such factors as pricing policy, the mission of heritage attractions, and understanding visitor profiles, as well as public funding and sustainable

management..." (2001:1048). Such information would be especially useful to communities trying to promote heritage tourism, as it could lead to development of products best fitted to the tastes of potential tourists. This notion also relates heritage tourism and local creative economy.

HERITAGE TOURISM IN INDONESIA

As a country covering a large geographical area, Indonesia has many tourism sites, including natural attractions such as volcanoes and crater lakes (Mount Bromo, Java; Kelimutu, Flores); charismatic large fauna such as orangutans in Sumatra and "dragon tourism" visiting the giant Komodo monitor lizards (Goodwin 2002; Hitchcock 1997; Walpole and Goodwin 2000); ancient human constructions such as the world heritage sites of Borobudur and Prambanan in Java (Nuryanti 1996); and cultural attractions such as the Tanah Toraja burial caves in Sulawesi.

Given the existence of heritage sites including temples, monuments, fortifications, and palaces, Ashworth (1997) raised the fundamental question alluded to earlier: whose heritage is this? In Indonesia, constitutionally multicultural under the Pancasila (Picard 1996) concept since Independence, the Buddhist stupa at Borobudur is "owned" by the Republic of Indonesia, although the local Javanese villages in its immediate vicinity are predominantly Muslim. This has not always been the case, however. At the time of Borobudur's construction in the 8th century, Hinduism was the area's predominant religion. The Prambanan Hindu temple complex nearby also dates from this period. Islam is thought to have arrived with Arab traders from the Middle East in the 17th century and spread eastwards across Java, displacing Hinduism and only leaving small Hindu enclaves in east Java and Bali (Dumarcay 1978).

Brochures and website pictures of Borobudur help to construct one image of Indonesia. It is an image that could appear to be inharmonious with the present local community. On one occasion, part of the Borobudur stupa was bombed by Muslim extremists (Cummings, Forsyth, Noble, Samagalski and Wheeler 1990:242), although it is unlikely that such radical and dangerous actions would be sanctioned by the majority of the local Muslim community today. On the other hand, Black and Wall (2001) found that Borobudur had great religious significance for many local people in the area, even though they were officially Muslim.

Borobudur illustrates some of the complexities of the question of whose heritage, and whose history, national sites embody in pluralistic, multifaith societies. In comparison, although Indonesia, as a transformatively new democracy, clearly has a very different cultural and political context from that of Afghanistan under the Taleban, continuing communal violence in the Molucca islands, military operations in Aceh, and the terrorist bombings in Bali and Jakarta in 2002 and 2003 suggests complex, underlying ethnic and religious tensions within the archipelago (BBC Online 2000; The Guardian 2003; Harvey 2004). Therefore, the historical specificity of any given attraction may be helpfully considered as a being a social construction. In other words, its particular meaning and significance are in fact created and then shared by a particular human society at a given time and place in world history. If Borobudur is the icon of Indonesia's heritage, how does it relate to local economic development as the topic elaborated in this paper?

TOURISM AND LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

In both academic and policymaking communities, there has been only a limited advocacy of heritage tourism for local economic development. In the former arena, a few writers suggest the local advantages of small-scale activity (Ashley 2000; Brohman 1996; Dahles 1998, 2002; Geertz 1997; Hampton 1998, 2003; Richards and Wilson 2004; Scheyvens 2002a). Regarding policymakers, there is some awareness of "locally owned small enterprises" tourism by donor agencies such as the UK Department for International Development (DFID 1999; Shah and Gupta 2000) and by some nongovernmental organizations such as Tourism Concern, the Overseas Development Institute, and the Locally owned small enterprises Tourism Partnership (Ashley, Boyd, and Goodwin 2000; PPT 2004; Roe, Ashley, Page and Meyer 2004). However, many tourism departments in developing countries are still concerned primarily with top-down

planning for conventional international tourism to attract and retain quality (wealthy) tourists who stay in four- or five-star accommodations. As already noted, this reflects an emphasis on capturing economic benefits and there is little interest in small-scale businesses and local creative economies activities, aside from government spokespersons' rhetoric at international conferences about "empowering communities". In addition, there is little appreciation of the economic significance of local creative economies activities and heritage tourism. For example, independent travelers and backpackers are almost completely ignored in planning despite their demonstrable local expenditure multiplier effects in rural areas and their common role as pathfinders for later development (Hampton 1998; Scheyvens 2002b). The notable exceptions are the governments of Australia, New Zealand, and Indonesia who have recognized the local economic importance of this subsector (Government of Australia 1995; Richards and Wilson 2004). But, may local creative economy and heritage tourism be increasing within the so-called "new tourism"?

TOURISM DRIVEN LOCAL CREATIVE ECONOMY

What kind of local creative economy activities can be driven by heritage tourism? Mowforth and Munt (2003) developed some of the themes raised by Turner and Ash (1975) in their discussion of the pleasure periphery. Mowforth and Munt argued that conventional tourism should be analyzed within advanced capitalism, seeing conventional mass tourism as an industrial, with tourist flows forming part of a truly global market with the largest firms and transnational corporations becoming increasingly dominant. Tourism transnationals benefit from economies of scale and scope, with increasing vertical integration and concentration of ownership (Debbage and Ioannides 1998). The values of Western industrialized societies are reflected in its tourism which can be characterized as having a declining deep interest in the places visited, an increasing speed of change with new destinations being briefly fashionable, and the "collection" mentality where places are visited once and not revisited. Following Poon's earlier work (1993; 1994), Mowforth and Munt argued that new tourism tends to be small-scale, often niche production which demand for locally-operated accommodation, catering, souvenirs, and even transport. This, by any means, relates to local creative economy. Concerning the souvenirs bought by conventional tourists, these may be handicrafts created by local craftspeople and eating, this may be local warungs (food stalls) or in small, local restaurants in Indonesia.

The research and analysis on local creative economy driven by tourism the developing countries is relatively undeveloped (Rogerson, 2004). Useful contributions are contained in the edited collections by Dahles and Bras (1999) which interviews the role and activities of small entrepreneurs participating in the Indonesian tourism economy and by Dahles and Kuene (2002) concerning tourism entrepreneurship and small tourism enterprises in Latin America and the Caribbean. Within a developing countries context it is now widely accepted that the common economic objectives of increased earnings, foreign exchange, investment, job opportunities as well as the minimization of adverse social and cultural effects might be best achieved through the promotion of small tourism firms rather than large enterprises (Rodenburg, 1980; Dahles and Kuene, 2002; Roe et al., 2004). Despite such assertions, at present, there is only a limited volume of detailed empirical work on tourism entrepreneurship in the developing countries with notable works for Ghana (Garmer, 1999, 2004), India (Kokkranikal and Morrison, 2002), Indonesia (Dahles and Bras, 1999b; Dahles, 2000, 2001; Hampton, 2003), Malaysia (Hamzah, 1997), Melanesia (Douglas, 1997), and Namibia (Shackley, 1993). In terms of the kinds of creative economy to support tourism that have been under investigation, the central focus has been upon issues that challenge the development of the small accommodation sub-sector. The transport sub-sector is little researched with the most relevant studies concerning houseboats in Kerala as a means of achieving sustainable tourism in India (Kokkranikal and Morrison, 2002) and the education and training needs for Kenya's tour operating sector (Mayaka and King, 2002).

From Indonesian research, Hampton (2003) said that small tourism firms can be viewed as a form of 'pro-poor tourism' with important implications for local development. Indeed, the emergent body of scholarship on pro-poor tourism stresses the importance of maximising

linkages with, and correspondingly the local developmental potential of, small emerging tourism enterprises (Ashley et al., 2000, 2001; Ashley and Roe, 2002; Bah and Goodwin, 2003; Roe et al., 2004). Lastly, there exists a notable range of writings on the activities of survival level enterprises in the 'informal sector of tourism' across the developing world (Oppermann and Chon, 1997). Examples are works that deal with beach masseurs, craft trading, street guiding and providers of informal accommodation (Wahnschafft, 1982; Crick, 1992; Timothy and Wall, 1997; Dahles, 1998; Dahles and Bras, 1999a, 1999b; Bah and Goodwin, 2003; Hampton, 2003).

A major finding of research in the developing countries is that the growth prospects of small scale and locally-owned in tourism facilities frequently are severely constrained by the power and competitive dominance enjoyed by large tourism enterprises (Britton, 1982a, 1982b, 1987). As a result, the most promising opportunities for small scale and locally-owned occur not in mass tourism but instead in alternative 'niche' forms of tourism or low-budget tourism such as backpacking (Hampton, 2001, 2003). As many kinds of alternative tourism occur in peripheral regions, it has been recommended that local control and local small enterprise development in tourism in such areas might be supported by the provision of special government fiscal and monetary incentives to enable local entrepreneurs to own and operate small tourism establishments (Tosun, 2005). Overall, a common conclusion from research on small tourism enterprises in both developed and developing countries is that tourism firms require institutional assistance to overcome their intrinsic disadvantages and to avert business failure (Wanhill, 2000; Bah and Goodwin, 2003; Ateljevic and Doorne, 2004; Wanhill, 2004).

Other economic aspects of small scale and locally-owned tourism facilities can also be examined including ownership, capital costs, leakage, and direct employment. These new tourism expenditures appear to be mainly upon locally-produced goods and services, and that expenditure flows directly into the local economy. At present, little is known about the relative size and effects of the income multipliers of different types of tourist in developing countries. For instance, it is unclear what a multiplier for backpackers might be compared with one for conventional international tourists in the same country. Research by Indonesian economist Erawan (1994, 1995) on Bali suggested that tourism in unclassified accommodation had higher multipliers than four-star hotels (cited by Warren 1996). For new tourism, there appears to be less demand for imported goods, thus requiring little foreign exchange, leading to small leakages (Hampton 1998). In comparison, conventional expenditure, while using some locally-produced goods and services, tends to have a large component of imported goods, such, as construction materials, food, and beverages. Overall, this submarket usually results in higher leakages. Concerning direct employment, although new tourism may create less employment per room than its conventional alternative in absolute numbers (Rodenburg 1980), new tourism accommodation tends to be locally-owned. In addition, there is also an issue of the type of employment created. In conventional activities, especially in large hotels, expatriates commonly hold managerial and skilled positions, with limited skilled employment available for local people (Simpson and Wall 1999). Conversely, in new tourism with generally smaller establishments, there is a tendency for more local ownership and management.

The operational requirements of locally-operated tourism establishments are less complex than for larger hotels and do not need the highly trained staff that five-star hotels require. In many cases, new tourism may have more beneficial overall economic effects than conventional for local communities because of lower leakages, more capture of the spending in the local area, and easier entry into the business due its lower capital requirements. Therefore, the new tourism in developing countries is more participatory in an economic sense for the local community than most forms of conventional. For local communities located near large attractions, new tourism and small-scale business could have significant local economic effects through direct employment, backward linkages, and expenditure multipliers.

As developments move up the resort cycle (Butler 1980) and become larger and more capital-intensive, there may be decreasing local ownership and involvement. In Indonesia, several resorts in Lombok and Bali illustrate this, with local ownership replaced by ownership from elsewhere, or by foreign owners (Hampton 1998; McCarthy 1994). If, for some of the reasons stated above, local ownership is seen as being important for development (especially of smaller-

scale enterprises), then what can be done in light of the tendency for resorts to move up the cycle and see smaller businesses crowded out? More effective planning is needed. In particular, locally-owned business development should be included in planning within the context of creative economy, rather than being left outside the plans. However, the nature of small-scale and locally-owned business in the informal sector may, by definition, preclude effective official planning.

But there may be additional reasons for the neglect of small-scale tourism by many planners in developing countries. Dahles (1998) argued that planners assume that small-scale business and hawkers may gradually disappear over time as the economy "modernizes", and so they do not need to be included in the plans. The smaller players may eventually be absorbed by larger, more capital-intensive, businesses as the destination moves up the resort cycle. Alternatively, local planners may assume that combining increased license fees with direct action against unlicensed vendors will constrain the informal sector, eventually formalizing them into officially-sanctioned small businesses (Cukier 2002). It is also possible that planners may perceive that such businesses are too small to bother with, given the massive challenges facing developing countries, and so they are not considered when plans are made.

In spite of its importance, domestic tourism is also often overlooked in planning. At Borobudur, for example, as noted earlier, domestic tourists accounts for the majority of the business. In Indonesia, it is perhaps nearer the new tourism than conventional with relatively modest demands for accommodation, catering, and transport (Gunawan 1996). Nevertheless, two caveats should be noted. First, Indonesia's continuing economic crisis and rising unemployment are likely to dampen domestic demand. The ongoing crisis may be more significant for small and medium-sized enterprises than for large businesses, as the latter may still be able to attract foreign package tourists. Anecdotal evidence from Bali supports this, as some larger operations have been offering heavily discounted rates to Taiwanese and Japanese tour operators to fill accommodation suffering from extremely low occupancy since 2002.

Second, even assuming a stable Indonesian economy in the medium term, evidence from other South East Asian countries suggests that as average incomes rise, reflecting wider economic growth, domestic tourism increasingly resembles conventional. Research in Malaysia (Hamzah 1995) suggested that rising income levels led to increased demand for more luxurious facilities, less interest in staying in traditional village accommodation, and increased demand for imported goods. This links to the ideaprevalent in many developing countries that modernity equals progress. The social construction of a national "modern" identity is exemplified in Malaysia, particularly the 2020 vision of an industrializing, urbanizing Malaysia consisting of wired cities and immense skyscrapers such as the Petronas Towers in Kuala Lumpur, rather than the traditional kampungs (villages) where much of the Malaysian population still resides. This dualism is reinforced between the "modern" and traditional: the former equals progress and the ideal to strive for, and the traditional is equated with backwardness or even "primitive". Such a worldview, when held by political elites, reinforces the tendency for tourism projects to be large and "modern". Many planners in developing countries have little interest in encouraging small, locally-based, projects, as these may be seen as being "backward".

TO MAKE HERITAGE TOURISM WORK FOR LOCAL CREATIVE ECONOMY

There are several lessons which can be extracted from the secondary documents research on heritage tourism and local creative economy. In countries and regions where tourism is well-developed, it appears desirable and possible to transform the existing sector, in order to integrate local creative economy. While the experience of programs on tourism and local creative economy is still very new, its achievements are probably sufficient to suggest that it is possible to shift an entire tourism industry towards a more positive impact on local economy and sustainability, and that even a slight shift is likely to result in significant changes. Initiatives aimed at transforming an existing sector must encompass a broad range of strategic interventions. One of the strengths of this effort is that it has worked simultaneously on many fronts. Yet one of its weaknesses is that it has left some of these fronts unattended for some or all of the time. Any

effort aimed at transforming a sector must be concerned with both policy and action, it must build capacity at all levels, it must confront external forces and deal with internal processes, it must advocate, educate and communicate, it must establish and forge partnerships with a multitude of actors in government, civil society and the private sector.

National-level initiatives towards locally owned small enterprises tourism need to be guided by a clear vision and clear objectives. This example shows that tourism cannot be a panacea for the structural weaknesses inherent in local small-scale economies affected by globalization. However it can help these economies cope with externally-induced changes. In order to be effective, initiatives such as this must have a good sense of where they want to go, and a good understanding of the economic and social context in which they are implemented. This must also be translated into measurable goals and objectives dealing with employment creation, environmental sustainability, social cohesion and cultural integrity and poverty reduction.

Change in tourism requires a good knowledge of the industry in all its forms and dimensions. Although tourism is extremely important in national economies and in its impact on the lives of so many people, tourism is not well-known, studied or understood by the majority of the population. Institutions concerned with locally owned small enterprises tourism must therefore support and engage in research activities which can demonstrate how the industry really works, and provide the data and analysis required for management.

The success of national-level initiatives depends, to a large extent, on the leadership provided by the national government. While many interventions and actions can be undertaken by organizations, the communities and private sector, they cannot be fully effective without a strong commitment and involvement of government. There is a particularly important role for government in policy formulation, as well as in the establishing institutional structures which allow a locally owned small enterprises agenda to be integrated into the vision and work of all relevant organizations. Without appropriate systems, constraints of implementation may reduce the locally owned small enterprises focus of development programs related to heritage tourism. An examination of its early documents reveals that this initiative is rooted in a concern for local economic development. In the absence of an explicit locally owned small enterprises focus, and of mechanisms (performance indicators, periodic reviews) specifically designed to retain this focus, concerns for efficient implementation often take precedent. With all the constraints of a donor-funded and performance-driven project, it is simply easier to work with a business-minded entrepreneur, however small, than to work with and for poor, marginalized and powerless communities.

Prior knowledge of the tourism industry is essential. The experience has made good use of staff and resource people that know about the mechanics of the industry, including the way it is structured, who the main actors are, the market opportunities that are available. This has saved time that would otherwise have been spent on familiarization of the industry. It has also enabled the action to design effective interventions (such as Heritage Tours); and provide a degree of credibility with the industry.

Interventions in locally owned small enterprises tourism must benefit from specific skills, from a good knowledge of the sector among those who lead and implement the intervention. In the design and implementation of interventions, participatory processes can mobilize support. In this instance, the key stakeholders were identified at an early stage, and they were involved in developing the vision and mission for the locally owned small enterprises tourism programs. This and subsequent consultations helped to mobilize a broad base of support behind the programs and provided momentum which helped the pace of implementation in the initial phase.

Start where people are. This locally owned small enterprises tourism recognized early on that levels of awareness among its target population were locals surroundings heritage tourism sites. By providing basic information to potential beneficiaries, the locally owned small enterprises tourism is clarifying what can and cannot be achieved within the constraints of available resources. Change processes must start from the reality of experiences, perceptions and expectations, in order to be able to transform them.

Strengthen what is there. The locally owned small enterprises tourism need to work through local organizations and structures wherever possible. In some cases, interventions have not been as effective as they might have been because of the lack of local capacity. However, investments in those organizations are beginning to yield returns well for the sustainability of programs impacts. A locally owned small enterprises tourism initiative will always benefit from the involvement of the existing network of organizations in the society which it seeks to serve.

Policy context is as important as policy content. The locally owned small enterprises tourism programs has not focused on the development of specific policies for Heritage Tourism. However, through demonstration and other forms of advocacy it has succeeded in creating the conditions for new thinking in Indonesia on the future of the industry. By making processes of policy formulation more participatory and transparent, locally owned small enterprises initiatives can create suitable conditions for policy reform.

Locally owned small enterprises tourism requires an interdisciplinary approach. The locally owned small enterprise tourism has drawn from discourse on both tourism and development. This is reflected in the partners that it works through, its staff, and its advisory committee. Locally owned small enterprises tourism initiatives must recognize this reality, and bring in the expertise and experience that is relevant to the various fields and disciplines. Locally owned small enterprises tourism requires indicators. Part of the reason that the locally owned small enterprise tourism cannot be seen as tourism initiative is that the experience of local economic development driven by tourism in Indonesia has not been defined. There are no indicators that help to identify what the local equivalent of the US\$1.00/ day benchmark is, let alone differences between the fairly poor and the poorest. Locally owned small enterprises initiatives need to develop indicators and to apply them.

Broad evaluation. In developing a different kind of product the locally owned small enterprise tourism is creating opportunities for the equitable participation of local people in tourism. But there are doubts whether locally owned small enterprises tourism is a cost effective form of economic development. Locally owned small enterprises tourism initiatives must also be concerned with the non-financial impacts of tourism, and the extent to which local people value these, since these may outweigh the financial benefits. Locally owned small enterprises tourism depends on social capital. In this case, the capacity of the program has not been matched by that of its implementing partners, at a local or a national level. This has implications for sustaining the impacts of the programs interventions. The initiative has also been affected by the weaknesses of the local government structure. Opportunities however exist when existing forms of social capital, such as the family and the informal community institutions, are used as the basis for development. Locally owned small enterprises tourism initiatives must be based on a good understanding of the social capital of the host society, and must be able to identify the elements of that capital which have significant potential in the development of policies, actions or programs.

“Community-based” does not necessarily equal locally-owned tourism facilities development. Working through community-based organizations and enhancing community participation do not guarantee that local people will benefit from an intervention such as this. The institutions that feature in the lives of poor people must become involved in these interventions. The locally owned small enterprises focus must be explicit.

Locally owned small enterprises tourism requires tourism. Borobudur has an established tourism industry and associated infrastructure. The industry does not have a locally owned small enterprises orientation, but its history has created the conditions for the development of the locally owned small enterprise tourism, which is probably the most effective advocate for the principles that underpin the concept. There are conditions within a tourism industry that can lead to the development, or at least the acceptance, of locally owned small enterprises-tourism initiatives.

TOWARDS A CREATIVE ECONOMY AND HERITAGE TOURISM RESEARCH AGENDA

From the preceding analysis it is clear that heritage tourism is very promising to be developed this relates to local creative economy in Indonesia. These characteristics of heritage tourism are varying significantly in terms of their spatial and temporal distribution, whilst having a vast number of different thematic loci. Despite the number and scale of heritage tourism, our understanding of the relationship to creative local economy is very limited. Moreover, the way in which these heritage tourism might contribute towards local creative economy and the manner in which it could be developed to provide maximum benefit to various components in the host communities, remains largely unexplored. The objective of this final section is to provide a starting point to a more systematic research engagement with the Indonesian tourism and local creative economic activities and outline some avenues for future investigation.

First, whereas the investigation sets out to significantly improve baseline data concerning the spatio-temporal distribution of different types of heritage tourism events in Indonesia, much more research is required in this respect. It is necessary to develop an even more comprehensive listing of the current heritage tourism market in Indonesia. Given the methodology of the data base collected and documented, investigation only heritage tourism that are sufficiently promoted and thus relatively easily traced, were included. Other aspects related to the general insight into the magnitude of heritage tourism in Indonesia, and an important area of future investigation, would be to explain through empirical investigation, the reasons why certain locations present/host far more heritage tourism than others. In addition, the choice of heritage tourism types and their links, if any, to broader tourism development strategies, local creative economy and place-marketing, requires detailed enquiry.

Secondly, the only way in which to develop an accurate understanding of the economic impact of heritage tourism in Indonesia will be by detailed investigations into the different types of heritage tourism held in different locations across the country. Only by having a representative sample of all the heritage tourism sizes, will we be able to have greater clarity on the economic benefits heritage tourism might offer, and why that is the case. This will require detailed analysis of how these studies are conducted internationally. The standardization of research methodologies will also greatly assist local investigators to conduct internationally comparative studies.

Thirdly, and related to the work of Snowball (2001), research that aims to cast the investigatory net wider, particularly in terms of understanding the economic benefits of heritage tourism beyond those individuals that own tourism infrastructure, is required. Currently, there is certainly little insight into which all the beneficiaries of heritage tourism are. This, it could be argued, is an appropriate starting point for local scholarship to address more general issues concerning heritage tourism research methodology. However, despite Snowball's methodological innovation, his research nevertheless suggested that it would largely appear that those who gain the most from heritage tourism remain the economically empowered, whilst the majority of people in host communities remain excluded from real participation in the economic gains that heritage tourism present.

Fourthly, questions need to be asked as to whether or not heritage tourism can be reworked to improve its locally owned small enterprises credentials. If this form of tourism is to have any real impact on the lives of the majority of Indonesians, the benefits derived from heritage tourism will need to reach the poor communities in the host locations. Strategies that might assist in attaining such an objective appears to be non-existent, yet, given the national tourism policy environment, should be of utmost importance for Indonesian tourism researchers and heritage tourism organizers, alike.

Fifthly, it was demonstrated that the limited local research is centrally concerned with the economic impact of heritage tourism. However, as Snowball (2001) argues, there are a range of other issues that requires research attention. With the exception of his investigation, we remain ignorant of the social and environmental impact of this heritage tourism on the host communities, as well as the heritage tourism locations.

Sixthly, internationally heritage tourism is often developed as a means by which to enhance public perceptions of a particular place. In the local context there is some evidence to suggest that local authorities are getting involved in heritage tourism planning for similar reasons. However, we do not have any insight into which local authorities do so and the reasons why they choose such a strategy. Moreover, even where we know that festivals form part of a local government place marketing strategy, we have little or no evidence to suggest that heritage tourism are having the desired effect.

Seventhly, whilst it seems obvious that heritage tourism make a valuable contribution to the development of culture in Indonesia, we certainly have no investigations that have aimed to unpack the impact of these types of heritage tourism on cultural development and reproduction. For example, has the extraordinary success of the heritage tourism changed the manner in which that linguistic community understands the current and future development possibilities of their culture/identity? Moreover, does the absence of other cultural heritage tourism linked to linguistic/cultural communities undermine the development of those societal segments and their future development?

Eighthly, and perhaps at a more ordinary level, there are also issues concerning the sustainability of heritage tourism over time, and indeed one might argue, issues of market saturation. How many heritage tourism can Indonesia ultimately support before it becomes unviable as a vehicle for local creative economic development and place marketing? Finally, and the most practical, research needs to map the main stumbling blocks for local creative economy and heritage tourism in Indonesia and investigate ways in which they might be overcome.

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