

No. 140

**What is a Tourist?:
Tourists and Other Spirits
in the Manggaraian World**

Maribeth Erb

Department of Sociology
National University of Singapore
11 Arts Link
Singapore 117570

Fax: 65-7779579

e-mail: socmerb@nus.edu.sg

ISSN 0129-8186
ISBN 981-3033-34-7
All rights reserved
1999

The *Working Papers Series* is edited by a committee comprising **Chan Kwok Bun, Maribeth Erb, Angelique Chan and Vineeta Sinha**. This series was established by the Department of Sociology, National University of Singapore in 1973, as a forum for staff members, graduate students and visitors to the department to circulate their work in progress. Please refer to the back for a list of all past working papers.

All orders may be directed to:

Select Books

19 Tanglin Road, #03-15
Tanglin Shopping Centre
Singapore 247909
Tel: 65 732 1515
Fax: 65 736 0855
e-mail: selectbk@syberway.com.sg

**What is a Tourist?:
Tourists and Other Spirits in the Manggarian World**

Maribeth Erb

INTRODUCTION

Recent anthropological work dealing with the "impact" of tourism on local cultural ideas and social relationships (c.f. Adams 1990, 1995, 1997a, 1997b, Volkman 1984, 1990, Picard 1992, 1997) has been careful to keep in mind the current paradigm in the social sciences which views "culture" as being perpetually "invented" and adaptable, "identity construction" as an ongoing process, and people, therefore, as "cultural strategists" (c.f. Handler and Linnekin 1984, Handler 1984, Jolly 1992, Linnekin 1997, Smith 1982, Wilson 1992, Wood 1992). This has been in conjunction with an increasing awareness of the limits of the "ethnographic time trap" (Wilson 1992:36), particularly in assessing the "impact" of tourism, and therefore a sensitivity to historical changes and the recognition that tourism is just one of an entangled web of "globalizing" processes which have been affecting the entire planet for some time (Nash 1989, Wood 1992). Indeed the whole notion of "impact", as Wood and Picard so cogently have noted, conjures up visions of a "society" "hit" by billiard balls or touristic "missiles", in a passive, receiving manner (Wood 1980:565, Picard 1995:46, Wood 1992:66); instead cultural absorption may originate from within, and the resulting cultural "creation" cannot be marked out in a "dualistic" way (that which is of tourism, that which is of tradition, following McKean 1989:121), but instead, following Smith, is both continuity and innovation at one and the same time (1982). Taking into account these cautionary notes about recent approaches to culture, identity and change, this paper will examine a case that illustrates the development of tourism in one regency in Indonesia, against the background of earlier "colonialisms". Local people have responded to these developments, along with other political and economic changes, through their own "cultural strategies", in an attempt to understand, at still very early stages in touristic growth, "what is a tourist?", and "what is traditional culture?". In other words, through attempting to absorb touristic experience into their world, they have grappled with, in continuing and innovative ways, the always problematic questions of "who are these others?" and "who are we?". Their experiences are an example of how culture is creatively invented, adapted and manipulated to manage encounters with other people.

Though anthropological and sociological analyses have often attempted to understand "who is a tourist", how and why people travel, and what their experiences are, (Cohen 1973, 1974, 1979, Graburn 1989) few attempts have been made to conceptualize how local people

understand tourists (or "how 'they' see 'us'" [Evans-Pritchard 1989]), especially in their earliest contact with tourists. How do they attempt to fit tourists into their world? A number of suggestions have been made about the "evolution" of attitudes and spaces that result because of tourism (Butler 1980, Butler and Wall 1985, Oppermann 1993), and the concomitant emerging "objectification" and "commoditization" of culture that goes with the development of tourism among the host communities (Adams 1990, Cohen 1988 Volkman 1984, Smith 1982, Handler 1984). What is not often discussed is the "objectification" of the tourist, that coincides with the "objectification" of culture. What is suggested in this paper is a certain evolution of consciousness about the "other" that develops among populations just beginning to be exposed to tourist traffic. It is suggested that a certain re-invention of the "other" coincides with a re-invention of the "self" in the ethnic relations that emerge from tourist and resident encounters. This may eventually result in the emergence of an attitude of "being oneself for others" (MacCannell 1992:103), the "post-modern" consciousness of self resulting from absorption into a capitalist world system. It is true that quite apart from, or in addition to, tourism, state interference in matters of identity, carving out ethnic "spaces" and pigeon-holing culture (Benjamin 1988, Leong 1989, 1997, Acciaoli 1985) could achieve to some extent the same result. But encounters with tourists force one to not only think about "self", but to figure out who these unknown "others" are. Attempts must be made to fit this unknown entity into a world view that encompasses various types of "others".

THE COMING OF THE TOURISTS

The first "tourist" to visit the Manggarai regency (**kabupaten**), located in Western Flores, Eastern Indonesia, according to the Dinas Parawisata (Tourist Board) in Labuan Bajo, West Flores, was a German by the name of Hans Kuhn, who in 1967 (perhaps coincidentally International Tourist Year [Feifer 1985:219, Crick 1996:21]) arrived with his wife to that port town by sailboat. At the time there were no places for "tourist" accommodation, so these travellers were put up in the home of the **camat** (district official) of the time, Bapak Gabriel Gampus. From there Mr. and Mrs. Kuhn went by horseback to the capital of **Kabupaten** (regency) Manggarai, the town of Ruteng. After that surprisingly unforgotten moment in Manggaraian tourism history, travellers to the **Kabupaten** arrived every six or seven months or so, staying at times with the Bimanese and Buginese fishing populations that at the time made up the main segment of the population of the coastal village of Labuan Bajo, and then following the trail of the Kuhns, by horse back to Ruteng.

When the author arrived in Manggarai in April 1983, tourism developments and planning were still very much in a stage of infancy. She was proudly informed by the regent of the time that already a hundred "tourists" had passed through Manggarai that year, the largest of the regencies on the island of Flores, with a population of a bit less than half a million people. Within the regency of Manggarai falls the island of Komodo, the infamous island of "dragons" (Hitchcock 1992). Because of its location, therefore, Flores island had much potential for touristic development. In addition, there was its own environmental beauty: coral reefs, myriads of small islands and, inland, lushly-forested mountains. Indeed it has been "eco-" or "environmental" tourism that has been most promoted so far in Manggarai, since according to the Tourism Board, out of 122 tourism "objects", 96 of them are "natural" or environmental. In the 1980's the government officials were quite keen to promote tourism, as indeed was true elsewhere in Indonesia, as a means of "development". The case of Komodo island, discussed by Hitchcock (1992) being a good example of the hope that development in tourism would bring more economic prosperity to the "impoverished" and "backward" areas of Eastern Indonesia. As Picard relates, efforts at promoting tourism throughout Indonesia escalated particularly after 1986, with a slump in oil prices (Picard 1997:203). The results of these efforts were definitely felt in the succeeding years in Flores.

One of the main tour guides in Manggarai, who handles tourist group movements across the island of Flores, is based in the Sindha guest house in Ruteng, capital of the Kabupaten. He related to the author some of his experiences in the development of tourism in Manggarai. Originating from the eastern part of the island (Maumere), he arrived to work in Ruteng in 1980. At that time "tourists" were still of the individual types, "drifters" who had wandered off the main routes, or often Europeans who had some type of connection with Flores, perhaps through some development projects, or because some family member was working as a missionary there. Foreign visitors were still fairly few and far between. Then, and up until the mid 1980's, there were only four places of accommodation in all of Manggarai (two in Ruteng and two in the coastal town of Labuan Bajo). Tourist arrivals, however, began to grow. In 1986 Banbang, a travel agent from Holland, approached my informant about the possibility of running package tours to Flores, going from Komodo, to Labuan Bajo, to Ruteng and then on to Bajawa, Ende and Maumere (**see map**). The next year one tour with three people arrived from Holland. For the next several years there were about three or so groups that came through every year. These "package tour" developments were miniscule, though, in comparison to the overall jumps in tourist arrivals that were taking place simultaneously (figure 1).

Figure 2- Data on Tourist Visits to Kabupaten (Regency) Manggarai

(data compiled by the Tourist Board of Manggarai, Labuan Bajo, based on information gathered from the National Park Service)

Year	Int'l	Domestic	Total	Percentage
1989	7,870	991	8861	---
1990	11,840	1,080	12,920	45.80%
1991	15,071	969	16,040	24.14%
1992	16,553	678	17,231	7.42%
1993	15,338	1,090	16,428	-5.0%
1994	20,421	2,000	22,421	36.48%
1995	26,034	2,241	28,275	26.03%
1996	29,044	1,786	30,830	---
1997	29,822	2,477	32,299	---

Figure 3- Data Available for Tourist Visits 1998

Month	Int'l	Domestic	Total
January	2,106	247	2,353
February	2,020	259	2,302
March	2,013	179	2,192
April	1,829	249	2,078
May	1,527	197	1,724
June	1,115	180	1,295
July	1,737	417	2,154
August	2,911	419	3,330
September	2,188	290	2,478
October	1,656	205	1,861
TOTAL	19,325	2,442	21,767

In 1989 (figure 2), the first year that statistics are available for travellers to Manggarai, 8861 people visited Manggarai, a considerable increase from the several hundred that presumably had visited in 1983. The next year, 1990, seems to have been a watershed year for tourism in Manggarai: 12920 visitors arrived, a 45.8 % jump from the year before. According to all reports the number of visitors that year to Labuan Bajo was so overwhelming that the available accommodation was quickly filled up, and yet the tourists kept coming. According to the Tourist Board, people were accommodated wherever possible, and many residents put them up in their homes. From 1990 to 1995, according to Tourist Board calculations, there was on average an 18% increase in visitors every year. The absolute numbers of tourist arrivals continued to grow in 1996 and 1997, despite the slump in tourism in other parts of the Southeast Asian region due to the "haze" of 1997 (produced by the burning of forests in Sumatra and Borneo), however the percentage of increase had tapered off. In 1998 the unstable political and economic situation in Indonesia has resulted in a substantial drop in tourist arrivals, about 28% according to Tourist Board comparative monthly figures of the year before. The overall year's arrivals are still likely

to reach between 1994-1995 levels (see figure 3).

Package tours have grown as well, and so have the number of agents handling them. There are now 15 agents that handle tours through Manggarai and across Flores; the majority are from Holland. Each group has on average 15-20 people. The number of groups has to be carefully orchestrated, so that some travel west and some east, and never meet in one place, so that the still limited facilities can accommodate them. In Ruteng, quite a number of smaller guest houses have sprung up, but there are only three with more than 30 rooms, the two oldest, Wisma Sindha and Wisma Agung, and the newer Wisma Dahlia (now expanding its facilities to double-story hotel rooms). Labuan Bajo now has 20 guest houses altogether (December 1996, personal communication from Tourist Board officials), but new places continue to open almost monthly. A visit in May 1997 saw a number of new advertisements being distributed, and in June 1997 the first internationally-rated hotel officially opened in the Labuan Bajo vicinity. Manggarai, it can be stated with some assurity, has been experiencing a tourist boom.

Air travel capabilities have shifted over the years considerably to accommodate, as well as facilitate, this boom in numbers of visitors. The airport in Ruteng opened in the early 1970's; initially the first airplanes to serve Manggaraian traffic were twin otters, seating only about 10 people, a few days a week. In the early 1980's flights were introduced every day, and because of the hoped-for potential of Komodo/Labuan Bajo tourism, a small airstrip was opened in Labuan Bajo. Flights from Ruteng to Bima descended there twice a week. The Ruteng airport was expanded in 1986-87 to accommodate small jets that could seat 35-50 passengers, though in recent years there has been a return to smaller planes that serve the Ruteng airport. This is because it has been the Labuan Bajo airport that has received the greatest attention. It has been expanded and up-graded so that now Fokker jets ply the airways directly from Denpasar, Bali, without the time-consuming stopovers in Mataram on Lombok and Bima on Sumbawa. The problem with all the flights out of Manggarai, however, is that they have been consistently erratic, often being cancelled because of aircraft malfunctioning, or adverse weather conditions in the mountainous town of Ruteng. The situation can be very un-nerving to tourists, who may wait for days for a flight out of Manggarai. One Manggaraian woman on her way to Jakarta related how some tourists were "running amok" in the Ruteng airport trying to get out of Manggarai. She and her husband graciously gave their seats to them. Flights may even be cancelled for weeks at a time, especially in what would be considered the low season periods of November through March (also the worst months of the rainy season). Alternative ways in and out of Manggarai exist; the ferry to Sape on Sumbawa from Labuan Bajo, or overland to more reliable air connections in Maumere to the east on Flores. But these are enormously time-consuming

journeys, and certainly not appealing alternatives to those on a tight schedule. It is these problems of reliable transportation to and from Flores and to and from Manggarai in particular, that continue to make it a destination for the relatively adventurous, and pose problems for those in Manggarai who hope to capitalize on more substantial, formal tourist developments.

A number of qualifications have to be made about these tourism developments and their present "impact" on Manggarai. First of all it is limited to only a few places. The towns of Labuan Bajo and Ruteng, major points of entry into Manggarai by air, sea or bus, are those which have been most affected by tourism developments: i.e. the growth of accommodation and other facilities to cater to "guests". A stream of visitors to Labuan Bajo, which have far more attractions: beaches, coral and dragons, have ensured that these infrastructural developments in the past five to seven years has far outstripped those in the capital of Ruteng, despite attempts to "sell" the protected forests of Manggarai, located not far from Ruteng, as a national park attraction (**Taman Wisata Alam**).

A few other places in Manggarai have had some contact with foreign visitors. Spill over into other places of some of the over 20,000 visitors, each year, over the past five years, necessarily has happened and has had some effect. Reo, historically the major coastal town of Flores, has two guest houses, but they are, much more commonly used by local administrative visitors than by foreigners. In Pota, the next coastal town to the east of Reo, one enterprising police officer (from Sumba), was just completing a guest house for tourists in December 1997. Pota has seen some tourist travellers passing through since the northern road from Maumere to Reo has been traversable in the past several years. This is especially since Riung, site of the "Seventeen Islands National Park", just across the border of Manggarai in the neighboring regency of Ngada, has been added to the Lonely Planet guides. Riung has become famous for its coral reefs, visible from the local sampan boats.

Despite limited tourist visits outside of the main towns, there are increasing attempts by both the state agencies and local people to create "attractions" to draw in tourists. This creates a kind of rivalry, not only between regencies, as is the case to some extent between Manggarai and Ngada, but also between different villages within the same regency. Since most visitors to Manggarai want to patronize mostly the "natural" sites and since one cultural site is theoretically equal to any other as far as an uninformed traveller is concerned, any one tourist group will be likely to visit only one Manggaraian village (if that). One local entrepreneur, who will be the focus of the later part of this paper, has managed to get his village called Melo, located on the Labuan Bajo-Ruteng stretch of the trans-Flores road, onto the "tourist maps", so to speak, by offering a display of "traditional" Manggaraian culture. A few other villages, already famous in

Manggaraian history are vying for their own share of tourist visits by rebuilding their traditional houses; most noted in this instance are villagers in the old village of Ruteng, outside of the capital, and Todo, which was the birthplace of the first (and last) "King" of Manggarai, appointed by the Dutch in 1930 (Lawang 1989, Erb 1997). Self-conscious attempts at attracting tourists are limited at the present time, but the awareness of tourism is growing, as well as the awareness of its potential as a source of income.

A second point to be made about the development of tourism is the type of tourists that have most often travelled to Manggarai. As stated above, only one "international star-rated" luxury resort hotel has recently opened (June 1997), located well outside of the town of Labuan Bajo on an isolated peninsula. Most of those who stay in this resort hotel arrange and pay for their entire trip in their countries of origin. The type of tourist that is expected to stay in this resort is considered by the staff at the Tourist Board in Labuan Bajo to be the most desirable type of tourist; "elite", wealthy, presumably of upstanding moral values, as opposed to the "backpacker" type of tourist that they say has been most prevalent up to now. Since only "low-budget" accommodation has been available so far, the staff there argue that is the latter type of tourist they have attracted. They would prefer to see a "higher class" of tourist visiting Manggarai. It still remains to be seen, however, whether "luxury" hotels are really more desirable, and how much "benefit" this one will produce for the local economy. As Oppermann (1993:546) argues, these types of "tourist spaces" are notoriously "enclavic structures", self-contained, and not of much benefit to the local people. Indeed the workers in this one resort hotel in Labuan Bajo all originate from outside of Flores.

The other type of small-scale, non-luxury package tours that bring visitors to Flores, are severely limited in quantity by the types of transportation that can ply the still very rough and rugged roads the island offers, the type of communication facilities, that link Flores to other islands, and the quantity of accommodation facilities that are available. Therefore, so far, the overwhelming majority of tourists that visit Flores are still independent travellers. Not all, however, are young "back-packer" types. Older, adventurous travellers, attracted by some of the sites of Flores, are not uncommon. Because their trips are not planned in advance, mapped out by agents and paid for in their countries of origin, the type of "tourist space" that accommodates them is primarily what Oppermann has referred to as the "informal tourism sector" (1993:545). The tourists who interact in the spaces of the informal tourism sector will have much more direct contact with local people, and much greater direct impact on the local economy than those in the resorts. Much less "leakage" occurs (Oppermann 1993:551), in that far more money spent by these kinds of tourists actually reaches the local people. In fact through various means of

reciprocal behaviour that exist in Manggaraian relationships, this money is likely to find its way into non-touristic, and even non-monetary sectors of the economy (through, for example, marriage payments where money "symbolically" plays the role of increasingly rare livestock). One could say that, even though the tourist spaces are still very confined in Manggarai and most of Manggarai is a "non-tourist space", the potential is there for tourists themselves to "leak" off the main track and have some, even if limited, encounters with many different Manggaraian villages. A certain awareness of tourism in Manggarai, therefore, is probably universal. However, as will be addressed below, there is a great deal of uncertainty still, most especially in these "non-tourist spaces", as to what tourists really are.

WHO ARE TOURISTS?

Were Hans Kuhn and his wife tourists and were they the first tourists to visit Manggarai? These are perhaps questions that are impossible to fully answer, and it will depend on the point of view of who is making the classification. They were certainly not the first foreigners to visit Manggarai, so perhaps the most relevant question to be asked is "what is a tourist"? And more pertinently, what is a tourist from the point of view of the people of Manggarai? Indeed some Manggaraian villagers have asked both the author and some of her acquaintances who are tour guides, "what is a tourist?"

Sociologists and anthropologists go some way in answering this question, and if we examine their ideas carefully, some of what they say would make sense to people in third-world villages such as those in Manggarai. Smith (1989:1), for example, defines a tourist as "a temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change". The first word to focus on in this definition is leisure, and this is indeed what seems most evident to Manggaraians about the "tourist". This distinction between "leisure" and "work", which is so ideologically fundamental to the "modern" world view, is rather out of place in the life of people in third-world villages. Although Nash (1981:163) argues that we can find "leisure" and hence "tourism" in all human societies, it is certainly not conceptually and spatially differentiated as it so often is in industrial society. Part of "work" in the fields in Manggarai is song and dance and sacrificial ritual. When there is no work in the fields, there is the "work" of bringing together couples, families and clans in marriage, and sending the dead to the ancestral village. Just as with the planting and harvesting cycle, these activities are necessary for the continuation of life. They are "work", "fun", and "leisure" all at once. The creation in the industrial world of the conceptual distinction between "leisure time" and "work time" is central to

many sociological and anthropological definitions of tourism. This distinction is related to Cohen's point that tourists are **consumers** and **not** producers in the places that they visit (1974:529). This is also very evident to Manggaraians, who think of the tourist as limitlessly rich; since they have no evident means of getting money, they must have lots and lots of it. However, there is also often the suspicion, among people more accustomed to seeing tourists, that somehow the tourist is capitalizing on what he sees or hears or buys in Manggarai. Hence there may be a tendency (in more "urban" areas) to charge highly inflated rates for very minor information, activities or objects.

Smith's definition also suggests tourists are searching for something different from the norm, since they leave home to experience "change". Graburn's suggestion that tourism is a "sacred journey" (and therefore **not** work) is akin to this. He says tourists want to become temporarily a "non-entity" and "get away from it all" (Graburn 1989:22). One might say that tourism is an attempt to escape from all that one normally experiences. This reversal of the ordinary, the "betwixt and between" status of the tourist, is not lost on the Manggaraian people, who in many ways see the tourist as being more akin to non-human entities of the "other world" than to human beings. This will be elaborated upon below.

MacCannell argued that "the tourist" is "one of the best models available for modern-man-in-general" (1976:1). Indeed to Manggaraian villagers and others in the third world, a tourist is a clear representative of the "modern world", something that they have not yet come to terms with and do not understand: a way of life they think they should respect and emulate but can not figure out. Tourists, MacCannell (1976:91-102) argued, search "back stage" for an authenticity they feel is missing in modern life. Indeed, the issue of authenticity is a central one to tourism, since it does eventually have an impact on local people. Manggaraian people, who have for decades been attempting to emulate "the modern" and eschew their "traditional" culture in various ways, are now being confronted with people who are interested in it (see also Jolly 1982, Volkman 1984, 1990). As Lanfant suggests, tourism is very instrumental in bringing to consciousness an increased concern over "identity" (Lanfant 1995:8-9).

This effect that the tourist has on local peoples' own sense of who they are, and the growing need to be "oneself for others" (MacCannell 1992:103), points also to the rather imperialistic nature of tourism, and the unequal power relations involved, which have not gone uncommented upon by sociologists and anthropologists (Nash 1989, Errington and Gewertz 1989, 1991). The expansion of tourist industries into rural areas, to meet the needs of the leisure-time occupations of the metropolitan centers, implies the serving of these centers by the

peripheries. The "development" of these areas due to the desires of the middle-class tourist is something that they often have no control over (Nash 1989:42-43). In the less-developed countries (LDC) (Harrison 1992), tourism follows on the heels of colonialism and reconstructs that relationship in a neo-colonial guise. Indeed one can sense an hostility towards tourists in Manggarai, especially on the part of school children, who are perhaps voicing their parents' well-disguised, better-controlled feelings. Indeed the children's taunting yells of "turis!", have only recently replaced the earlier "Belanda!" (Dutch). There is an awareness of a difference in power, and an attempt to control and make an object out of those who are making an object out of them. This is not dissimilar to the situation that Gewertz and Errington (1989, 1991:82-83) found in their research among Chambri villages in Papua New Guinea. Villagers attempted to direct the tourists, in the same way that they directed the novices in an initiation ceremony, treating the tourists therefore as part of the performance and as inferior players, again perhaps not quite human. Evans-Pritchard's interesting comments about the way that American Indians may be actually seeing tourists as a form of entertainment, as objects to watch (1989:100), is expressing this same ambivalence as a reaction to an acutely-felt inequality of power.

MacCannell has suggested that "first contact" situations are "rhetorically charged moments" (1992:134). He is referring to the construction of "ethnicity" by the powerful of European "White Culture", who use language as a way of characterizing and stereotyping non-western "others". But how, in the converse, do "third world" peoples themselves construct images and understandings of the "colonial/post-colonial other"? Admittedly, the Manggaraian moment of "initial contact" with "colonial others" is well buried in history, but their first contact with tourists is a very recent experience for all Manggaraians. How do they make sense of these "others"?

TOURISTS, IMPERIALISTS AND OTHER SPIRITS

As stated above, even if Mr. and Mrs. Hans Kuhn were the first "tourists" in Manggarai, they certainly weren't the first foreigners to visit western Flores. Manggarai has a long history of foreign domination, preceding even the direct Dutch administration of the island of Flores starting in 1907. Kingdoms and Sultanates on the neighboring islands of Sumbawa and Sulawesi, perhaps as early as the 16th century, already had made claims to parts of western Flores. Later, in the 17th century, with increasing European presence in the surrounding regions, slave-raiding and the lucrative trade in slaves, became a major factor in the vying for domination over western

Flores (Coolhaas 1942). The Sultanate of Bima, which gained increasing control over western Flores that lasted even after Dutch rule began, had a very condescending attitude towards the people of "Manggarai", seeing them as barely human (Coolhaas 1942, Nooteboom 1950:210) and thus appropriately taken as slaves. Forced tribute in human beings, which also resulted in villages raiding other villages to find persons to exchange for their own people, as well as pirates who raided into the interior of Manggarai, created a fear of kidnapping by foreigners which has still not disappeared in some parts of Manggarai (Erb 1991b). This rather early confrontation with superior acting foreigners, therefore, had an impact, it is suggested, on the Manggaraian self-perception towards their own culture and society. Social and cultural adjustments to foreign institutions and foreign ideas has been an ongoing process in Manggarai since at least as early as the 17th century.

With direct Dutch colonialism, starting in 1907, social and cultural adjustments continued. Politically, much of Manggarai had been under Bimanese colonial rule for some time, but Dutch colonialism brought some additional factors. One of the first major interferences in Manggaraian life was the Dutch rejection of their large, communal, round houses, blamed for the devastation wrought by the Spanish flu epidemic of 1919 and the spread of disease in general (Coolhaas 1942:154-55). Manggaraian villagers were made to tear down their old houses and build smaller, square ones (Nooteboom 1939:223-334). This, obviously, had a major impact on their living arrangements, forcing people to live in smaller residential groupings.

Even more influential in changing Manggaraian life was the arrival of the first Catholic missionaries in 1921. The missionaries had a great deal of influence over the development of politics in Manggarai, since it was they who instigated protest on the part of the Manggarai populations over having an Islamic King and hence precipitated the independence of Manggarai from Bimanese rule. Not only politics, but many other aspects of life were affected by missionization in Manggarai. The Church was very instrumental in introducing a division between "culture" and "religion", as has been argued by others, such as Volkman (1984:156-57) for other areas of Indonesia. Certain parts of "traditional" Manggaraian culture (*adat*) were acceptable, certain parts were not. Polygamy, "living in sin", holding animals while making sacrificial offerings, referring to the ancestors instead of God, eating food that was offered to the spirits, who were said to be **setan** (the devil), all of these were pointed out as undesirable aspects of traditional Manggaraian religion. A recent visit with a retired Dutch bishop, who arrived in Manggarai in 1936, illuminated some of these processes, and the contrast with the present day, much more liberal (post Vatican II) attitude, that the Church has. He lamented the style of the

missionaries in those days, who taught people to be ashamed of their culture, and to believe that their ancestral spirits were "**setan**". Looking back on it, he sees these ideas now as nonsense. There is nothing "satanic", he says, about traditional Manggaraian religion. But because of the denigration of Manggaraian culture by those who taught that European ways and ideas were better, a rift was created between the educated and the uneducated, the townspeople and the villagers, and a great loss of pride and culture was set in progress (personal communication Msg. Wilhelm van Bekkum May 1997).

The missionaries also had a tremendous impact on economic life in Manggarai, introducing wet-rice agriculture, cash crops, and funding many village children to further their education. Many of the developments in Manggaraian villages, auto-road communication, piped water, and electricity, things still being introduced into many villages, were started by the missionaries. It is no wonder (despite their vow of poverty!) that the missionary priests were considered to be wealthy.

One can see how missionization and colonization in Manggarai, instigated by Europeans, could lead to a rather ambivalent attitude towards Europeans. Europeans had a generally negative appraisal of Manggaraian culture, much of which they forceably attempted to change. On the other hand, Manggaraian peoples were given a lot of help in leading them towards what was considered a "better" life. They had little choice but to accept these new ideas and ways of life, and no means of assessing whether they were "better" or not.

When W.W. II broke out, and Japanese troops took control of Flores, all missionaries were interred on the island of Celebes (present day Sulawesi). But after a short time, the German missionaries were freed, given the collaboration of the Japanese and the Germans, and they were allowed to return to serving the needs of the increasing numbers of Catholic Florinese. The Japanese, however, taught the Florinese people to hate the Dutch missionaries, and at the end of the World War, and after a struggle for independence, this hatred continued to be indoctrinated in schools by the school teachers. One missionary, arriving in Indonesia in 1965 from Poland, related how the Manggaraian school teachers took pains to make sure that the students knew that he was from **Poland** not **Holland** (**Polandia**, not **Belanda**), a distinction which many Manggaraians had a hard time understanding (for, according to this priest, they thought Holland must have controlled the whole world). This Polish priest could hear the teachers teaching Indonesian history and instilling in the children a considerable hatred towards the Dutch. It wasn't until the "New Order" of President Suharto, and the beginning of the currying of favor with the developed world, that hatred of the Dutch became less a part of being Indonesian (personal communication Father Stanis Ograbeck).

Given this background, it is not surprising that upon seeing a European, a Manggaraian would think a number of things. This person is powerful, this person is wealthy, he or she is Dutch, and/or they are a missionary priest, brother or a sister. This was certainly true at the time of Hans Kuhn and his wife, and true up to perhaps as late as the early 1980's. As mentioned above, children would often yell out "Belanda!"- "Dutch!", upon seeing an **orang putih** ("white person"), but they also might say "Selamat.... Suster/Pater"- "Good...[day] Sister, Father". Colonial administrators and missionaries were the only two types of "**orang putih**" that Manggaraians knew. The yelling and the greeting point to the ambivalence towards Europeans in the first three quarters of this century; a rejection of colonialism, but an acceptance of the help offered to enter into the "modern" world.

In the past ten to fifteen years, however, tourists far outnumber any other "type" of **orang putih** that many Manggaraians see. When town children now see a European, they no longer yell out "Belanda", but instead "Turis!", and may raucously call out "Hello mister!". Though perhaps it is not directed by as much anger as presumably the cries against the Dutch were, there is not always an innocent fun behind these yells, but one gets glimpses of a buried envy and anger against a new kind of imperialism. As there was ambivalence towards the earlier Europeans that Manggaraians knew, so there continues to be a very mixed reaction to tourists. As has already been suggested, there is a great deal of curiosity about tourists. What do they want? Who are they? Where do they get their money from?

If there is ambivalence and uncertainty about "tourists" in the towns, there is even more puzzlement about them in the villages. In 1983, when the author first arrived to do anthropological research in the far eastern parts of Manggarai, the people there (those who had not travelled out of their own region) had encountered very few "**orang putih**"; only a number of priests over the decades. In these areas instead of following the author around, the children (and sometimes the adults), would run away in fear, thinking that she was a **potiwo** (a forest spirit). Indeed, priests often had similar experiences; village people were afraid they would kidnap their children and steal their heads (see Erb 1991b).

This association of Europeans with the spiritual world makes logical sense to the Manggaraian peoples in a number of ways. Priests, in particular, who have established themselves over the years as mediators to God, fill a structural position that is similar to the ancestral spirits. "God" in pre-Catholic Manggaraian religious ideas, is a dual "mother-father" entity, only appealed to in the gravest of circumstances. Primarily the ancestral spirits bore the brunt of Manggaraian requests for prosperity, good health, and fertility. When there is a ritual

sacrifice the spirits (those on "the other side") are invited to attend, and given food and drink as any guest would be. But with the spirits it is only necessary to give a little. Since their world is the opposite of ours, (their feet go backwards, they wear their clothes inside out, etc.), what looks like a little to us (just a little bit of rice, a bit of liver, blood and feathers), is actually a lot to them. By inviting the spirits into the villages and houses as guests, giving them some betel nut, tobacco, food and drink, song and entertainment, the Manggaraian villager establishes an ongoing relationship of reciprocity with the spiritual world. In return they hopefully receive bountiful harvests, lots of children, health, etc. There is a definite etiquette of relationship with the spirit world, and giving a little, and in return receiving a lot, is a part of that etiquette (Erb 1996). The missionary priests over the years have also fit into this type of relationship with the Manggaraian villager. As discussed above, they have contributed a lot to the economic changes that have taken place in Manggarai over the decades. Therefore Manggaraians have seen that by giving a little to their priests, **bakti** (corvee) labor on the major feast days, gifts of a number of kinds to perform weddings (Erb 1991a), they in return receive a lot (Erb 1996). Being a kind of mediator with the "sacred" world, a representative of God, the priest fits in quite logically to the ideas the Manggaraian has about the spirit world. But other Europeans seem to fit this world as well. The author's association with the world of the spirits was often suspected by villagers, some of whom ran away in fright at seeing her, (spirits are often thought of as being white), and it was proved "beyond a doubt" to one likable old villager one evening. He had been telling her stories about his ancestors, and, so quite naturally started to ask her more about America, the land of her ancestors. She told him that America was on the other side of the world, that at that moment, though it was night where they were, in Manggarai, it was daytime in her village in New York. He laughed in delight at this, and said, "Of course! that is the way it is with the spirits. They are on the "other side", and so, everything is the opposite of the way it is with us!".

The suggestion is that this way of understanding priests, and anthropologists, is presently being used to formulate an understanding of other Europeans, tourist travellers, who are presently far out-numbering this other type of foreigner. If it is true that the priest or the anthropologist has things about them that is opposite of what the Manggaraian villagers know about themselves and their world, then even more so, it is suggested, for the tourist. Whereas the task of the priest and the anthropologist is vaguely comprehensible to Manggaraians, that of the tourist is far more difficult to fathom. So much of what they seem to do is completely opposite and alien to the Manggaraian way of life. Just recently the author asked some villagers who had recently seen their first tourists, what they understand about tourists, who are they? An old villager answered, "Good question, we have wondered this ourselves. What are they doing here? They wander into

the market (market days travel from village area to village area) and just stand and look. They don't buy anything, they don't say anything". This lack of communication seemed to disturb this old villager more than anything else. After all is not that what being human is about? Exchanging words, exchanging food and drink, visits and sociability? Another villager related his experience in neighboring Riung. He saw a woman tourist get off a boat with "no clothes" on. He was shocked. Another, male tourist called out to her, and then she put some clothes on. Surprisingly (since the baring of flesh is considered to be very immodest) quite a number of people in the villages seemed fairly tolerant of this. One man said, "That must be their **adat** (custom) to do this, to dress like that, to wear no clothes". Some villagers seemed more amused than anything else by tourists. One man related how a tourist male, without a shirt, was walking along the road mid-day, and asked him (presumably in broken Indonesian), "How many kilos to Pota?". The villagers thought this hysterically funny, since they use the word "kilo" to refer to weight, not distance (since distance for them is measured in time). It was very strange to him that someone would walk in the hot sun at all, if they didn't have to, let alone without covering their skin. Another man related how he had helped an older tourist couple to cross a small stream in his rowboat. They wanted to pay him money, but he refused. The offering of money, for such a small service, seemed strange to him.

These villagers' bemusement at tourists, points to many things about these "visitors" that are incomprehensible. They cannot communicate; they dress and act the "opposite" of the way normal human beings dress and act; they do not buy "normal", necessary things, but buy or want to pay for things that are not recognized as commodities. On the one hand one can see how this could lead to reflection on one's own culture, it's "objectification" and "commoditization" (MacCannell 1984, Greenwood 1989, Acciaoli 1985, Picard 1995). And it is possible to see where this is happening in Manggarai; that the "tourist gaze" (c.f. Urry 1990, Volkman 1990) (along with the "gaze" of the state, c.f. Picard and Wood 1997), is making Manggaraians more self-conscious about their identity and culture. But it is also possible to see a creative attempt to fit tourists into the Manggaraian world. So that it is not just a question of looking at the "impact" of tourists on "traditional" culture, as Picard and Wood warn us, but instead trying to understand the absorption of tourists into the Manggaraian world view, just as other people and other experiences over time have been absorbed. There is an innovation, at the same time that there is a continuity.

Innovation and continuity can be viewed in what Manggaraians are doing in various ways to cope with the world of the present. Interest in their culture on the part of both tourists, as well as the Indonesian state (in the interest of promoting "national regional cultures", c.f. Picard 1997, Adams 1997b), has led Manggaraians to rethink "what is our culture", what is "authentic"? At the same time Manggaraian people are becoming cognizant that "culture" has some economic value. But is this looking at tourists, and the culture they have come to see, only as a source of money? Or might one argue that the culture that has been offered for tourist consumption is indeed "authentic", and that indeed even the tourists have been given an "authentic" place in the Manggaraian world? One village man, Bapak Josep Uggis, whose village is located on the Trans-Flores route between Ruteng and Labuan Bajo, has shown considerable Manggaraian innovation, as well as continuity, in dealing with these issues.

Bapak Josep, is a member of the clan that has provided village leaders to the village of Melo (about 30 minutes up into the hills from Labuan Bajo on the main Trans-Flores road) for the past four generations. He is now the head of a **sanggar kebudayaan**- a "cultural studio", something that has proliferated in Manggarai over the past several years. The state gives certain official recognition, and a small amount of financial help, to people who promote cultural continuity and understanding through these "cultural studios". In June 1997 Bapak Josep told the author the story of how he got the idea to start his own **sanggar**, called "**Sanggar Nipu Ceki**".

It all started rather fortuitously one day in 1992, when a guide leading a group of tourists travelling from Labuan Bajo to Ruteng, stopped by Bapak Josep's village and asked if his group could see his fields. They seemed apparently so interested in admiring the view, and looking at his corn and rice fields, that the tour guide brought groups to stop off at his village every two weeks after that. With these meetings, Bapak Josep heard from the guides about how people in other villages on Flores gave displays of their "**adat**". So he decided one day, while attending a wedding ritual to tape the songs from the **main caci** (whip game) performances that were held. These **main caci** games have become rather a cultural identity marker for Manggarai over the past two decades or so. Pairs of men compete, taking turns to attempt to lash at one another with a whip. Ostensibly the goal is to hit the opponent in the eye, but this rarely happens, and if it does the game is over. They are played in some parts of Manggarai during wedding rituals, but they are more widely associated with the harvest rituals. There is an important element of the "risk" that must be taken and a sacrifice that must be made for continued fertility (Erb 1994, see also Jolly's similar comments about land dive rituals in South Pentecost [1982:352]).

The next tourist group that visited Bapak Josep was so impressed with the music from the **main caci** games that he played for them, that he decided a display of the games would be a good idea. He searched for a troupe of young people to put on the performance, and they started the displays in 1993. Already back in the 1980's, in Kaper village, on the outskirts of Labuan Bajo, there had been some men who had put on a display of the whip games, but this had apparently died out. At that time people were known to pay about 100,000 rp. (at that time around 100 U.S. dollars) to witness the performance. Bapak Josep revived this display. The going rate at the time in June 1997 was 150,000 rp. (with rupiah devaluation, closer at that time to about \$70 U.S.) Together with Mr. Roberto, a guest house proprietor in Labuan Bajo, Bapak Josep arranged a whole program of traditional performances for tourists, with stick jumping, songs, dances and the hitting of the gongs and drums, as well as **main caci**.

The full program (printed out for their own reference, and presumably for the guide, but not for the tourists, since it was written in Indonesian), that was given by the "Group Kesenian Pano Rama Puncak Indah" (Beautiful Panoramic View Artist Group) in Melo, and its explanation provided by Bapak Josep is as follows:

1. We arrange the mats for the guests
2. Adat costumes are prepared for the guests to wear, woven pandanus hats for the men, and the decorated head dresses for the women
3. Guests are served with coffee or tea

The order of events

4. Guests are received, accompanied by the beating of the drums, up to the village entrance)

Program at the entrance to the village

chew betel nut

5. **Pau tuak bongko** (Offering a bottle of **tuak**-palm wine)

[meaning of the bottle of tuak

-**Tuak** is water= **tuak** is the source of life that goes together with social life

-**Tuak** is what ties together a family and shows its love for one another]

6. **Tui paang** "showing the entrance to the village", which is accomplished with the offering of 100 rp.

[the meaning of showing the village entrance by giving money

-**Tui paang**: showing the village entrance is the proof that the hosts have formally received their guests

-The meaning of the money given at tui paang: shows the happiness of the hosts at the visit of the guests]

7. **Poto lime** "shaking hands" accomplished with the giving of 100 rp.

[meaning of shaking hands

-To formally invite the guests into the village

-The meaning of the money given when shaking hands: is proof of the sincerity of the host towards his guests]

8. Thanks shown by the guests, accomplished by the giving of money, according to their own personal feelings

The program at the village entrance is finished, the guests are brought to the drum house [house of the village leader], accompanied by song. At the house they are asked to sit.

9. Welcome speech by the village leader

10. A brief explanation by the guide

11. Giving of the instruments of the game of **caci** (whips etc.) by the village head to the guests, who give them to the players)

12. The opening of the games (a guest makes the first hit)

13. **Ndudu Ndake** (a Dance)

14. **Tetek alu** (jumping over the threshing poles)

15. **Sanda neka dio** (a circle dance done with the guests)

16. The guests say thank you

17. A picture taking session

The end (program in Indonesian, translation by author)

Is this display "authentic"? Or is it just a "mini-cultural show" (of "Instant Asia" variety, see Leong 1989:366) put on for the benefit of tourists? It is suggested that, as Picard and Wood caution, this program cannot be understood from the point of view of a "dualistic" one. It cannot be said that some parts of Manggaraian culture are still authentic, while others, such as this show, are manufactured for tourists. Instead, in this case, it is argued that both views are true. It is at one and the same time both manufactured and "authentic".

This is suggested, however, in opposition to a Manggaraian man, a completely fortuitous companion on the author's visit to Bapak Josep (since she was offered a ride in his automobile to Ruteng). He afterwards commented that the whole performance was set up to "mine money" (**gali uang**) from the tourists. He pointed out that traditionally, if a village was to have a **caci** event (within the context of a wider ritual of course), the players would never be received in the way that they were told, never with the giving of money, and the reciprocation of this money.

This would happen at other types of ritual events, but never for the players of **main caci** (which the tourists were supposed to be imitating). As far as he was concerned the whole thing was very inauthentic.

But if we look deeper, it is possible to see that Bapak Josep has actually created an "authentic space" for tourists, within the Manggaraian world. The author asked him how he felt about beating the drums and gongs, singing songs, performing dances and the whip games outside of the context of a sacrificial ritual. The beating of drums, the singing of songs, the speaking of certain words, are all a part of the inviting of the spirits into the community of the living. On a number of occasions the author had experienced the reluctance, or refusal, of people to do these things outside of the ritual context of which they were a part. If the spirits are invited into the village, but there is no ritual sacrifice (especially of large animals when beating the drums and gongs), then the spirits will take a human being instead, so people say. But Bapak Josep was doing all of these things, and yet there was no animal killed, no blood and rice to offer the spirits. Bapak Josep replied that the performance was first done for tourists, he was frightened. He didn't know what would happen, beating the drums and gongs, playing **main caci**, dancing, and singing without a sacrifice. However, upon seeing that there were no ill effects, he lost his fear of sponsoring these activities outside of a ritual context. But is this a "de-sacralization" of ritual and custom? Or perhaps something else. Quite the reverse of the ill consequences expected according to "traditional" ideas, the villagers of Melo had instead been doing quite well. Indeed one could suggest that they have entered into a relationship with the tourists that is similar to that which they have with the spirits. For now the villagers give a little to the tourists (100 rp. several times during the program) and yet get back much more in return. Perhaps, as has already been suggested the tourists have become, within the context of this program of "receiving guests", themselves the spirits, receiving a little, but giving alot. Therefore the performance for the players remains "authentic", since the tourists have been redefined as spirit guests. Thus have tourists entered into, and become a genuine part of, the Manggaraian world.

CONCLUSIONS

Evans-Pritchard comments that American Indian responses to Euro-American tourists are "effective responses to the double-edged nature of tourism" (1989:91). It has been suggested that the way that Manggaraian people respond to tourism, even in its infancy, is also a very

perpicacious response to what a tourist is and could be in their lives, and its "double-edged nature". The spirits are rather quixotic and unpredictable, and by treating tourists as spirit guests, this shows the awareness that tourists could be an unpredictable element in their lives. All foreigners in their experience have been thus, including spirit others, and there is therefore no reason to suppose that tourists will be otherwise. Up to this point contact with tourists have been, as MacCannell suggests (1992:29), the "perfect exchange relationship", where no one loses. For the Manggaraians this is just like any ritual sacrifice, where animals are offered to the spirits, slaughtered and then eaten by the human community. They lose nothing by giving a little bit of sacrificial meat to the spirits, since they, after all get alot, most of it for themselves. The same is indeed hoped for from tourists, by those enterprising enough to attempt to regularize a relationship with them. The village community puts on a show, gives some coffee, palm wine and a little bit of money to the tourists, and then reap a far greater return than what they have expended.

Is this a "commoditization" and "objectification" of culture? In some ways it is, and it is possible to imagine that this may become increasingly so in the future for the villagers of Melo, as well as other Manggaraians. But in the present, it is suggested that it is also a continuity of the reciprocal type of relationship that Manggaraian's have perceived themselves as having with "white" foreigners and other spirits over the century. They have given a little, and have received a lot. There is no reason to suppose that relationships with tourists, who so visibly have a lot to give, should be any different. So that therefore, the commoditization of culture, at least in part, is not a wholly "rational" economic one, but instead one based on a very different kind of rationality, that of the relationship between spirits and human beings. Hence the wildly inflated prices that Manggaraian people may ask for things that may have little value, as well as the willingness of tourists to pay for things that normally people would not pay for, must be understood within the context of the kinds of relationships that Manggaraians see themselves as having with the extraordinary.

The suggestion here, therefore, is that "who" and "what" tourists are for the local people should be paid greater attention to by anthropologists, especially those researching areas that are just coming to the attention of tourist promotion. This will then give us better ways of conceptualizing our ideas about what is "culture", what is continuity of culture, what is innovation in culture, and what cultural strategies are used by actors to make a space for tourists within their understanding of the world.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Research in Manggarai was undertaken in 1983-85, 1986, 1992, 1993, 1996, 1997 under the auspices of the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (the Indonesian Council of Sciences), with the sponsorship of Universitas Nusa Cendana, and the University of Indonesia. The first years of research were supported by a Social Science Research Council Fellowship and a National Science Foundation Grant for Improving Doctoral Dissertation Research and were done in an, at that time, communicatively isolated corner of Manggarai. Later research in the early 1990's was supported by funds arranged by Father Stanislaw Ograbeck S.V.D. from the Divine Word Missionaries funds for special projects, for research done specifically in connection with rebuilding the traditional "King's" house for the purposes of attracting tourists. Many thanks to these institutions for their support. A version of this paper was presented at the ASEAN Seminars for Social Research held in Pekan Baru in 1997, under the auspices of the Universitas Riau and the National University of Singapore. I thank the University of Singapore for the money to attend that conference and the organizers for the opportunity to present a draft of this work. Thanks also to Vineeta Sinha for her comments on a draft of this paper.

REFERENCES

- Acciaoli, G.
1985 "Culture as Art: From Practice to Spectacle in Indonesia", **Canberra Anthropologist** 8:148-172.
- Adams, Kathleen
1990 "Cultural Commoditization in Tana Toraja, Indonesia", **Cultural Survival Quarterly** 14:31-34.
1995 "Making up the Toraja? The Appropriation of Tourism, Anthropology, and Museums for Politics in Upland Sulawesi, Indonesia", **Ethnology** 34:143-153.
1997a "Ethnic Tourism and the Renegotiation of Tradition in Tana Toraja", **Ethnology** 309-320.
1997b "Touting Tourist 'Primadonnas': Tourism, Ethnicity and National Integration in Sulawesi", in **Tourism, Ethnicity and the State in Asian and Pacific Societies**, Michel Picard and R.E. Wood ed. University of Hawai'i Press.
- Benjamin, G.
1988 **The Unseen Presence: The Nation State and its Mystifications**, Department of Sociology working paper no. 91.
- Butler R.W.
1980 "The Concept of a Tourism Area Cycle of Evolution: Implications for Management of Resources", **Canadian Geographer** 24:5-12.
- Butler R.W. and G. Wall
1985 "Themes in Research on the Evolution of Tourism", **Annals of Tourism Research** 12:287-296.
- Cohen, Eric
1973 "Nomads from affluence: Notes on the phenomenon of drifter-tourism", **International Journal of Comparative Sociology** 14:(1-2)89-103
1974 "Who is a tourist?", **Sociological Review** 22(4):527-53.
1979 "A Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences", **Sociology**, 13:179-201.
1988 "Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism", **Annals of Tourism Research** 15:371-386.
- Coolhaas, W.P.
1942 "Bijdrage too de Kennis van het Manggarische Volk (West Flores)", **Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsche Aardrijkskundig** 59:148-177, 328-360.
- Crick, Malcolm
1996 [original 1989] "Representations of International Tourism in the Social Sciences: Sun, Sex, Sights, Savings and Servility", reprinted in **The Sociology of Tourism: Theoretical and Empirical Investigations**, edited by Yiorgos Apostolopoulos, Stella Leivadi and Andrew Yiannakis, London and New York: Routledge.
- Erb, Maribeth
1991a "Stealing women and living in sin: adaptation and conflict in morals and

- customary law in Rembong, Northeastern Manggarai", **Anthropos** 86: 59-73.
- 1991b "Construction sacrifice, rumors and kidnapping scares in Manggarai: further comparative notes from Flores", **Oceania**, 62 (1991):114-126.
- 1994 "Cuddling the rice: myth and ritual in the agricultural year of the Rembong of Northern Manggarai, Indonesia", **Contributions to Southeast Asian Ethnography**, 10, (1994):151-183.
- 1996 "Talking and Eating: Sacrificial Ritual among the Rembong", in S. Howell ed., **For the Sake of our Futures: Sacrificing in Eastern Indonesia**, Leiden: Centre for Non-Western Studies.
- 1997 "Contested Time and Place: Constructions of History in Todo, Manggarai (Western Flores, Indonesia)", **Journal of Southeast Asian Studies** 28:47-77.
- Errington, Frederick and Deborah Gewertz
- 1989 "Tourism and Anthropology in a Post-Modern World", **Oceania** 60:37-54.
- 1991 **Twisted Histories, Altered Contexts: Representing the Chambri in a World System**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Evans-Pritchard, Dieder
- 1989 "How 'they' see 'us': Native Americans Images of Tourists", **Annals of Tourism Research** 16:89-105.
- Feifer, Maxine
- 1985 **Tourism in History: From Imperial Rome to the Present**, New York: Stein and Day Publishers.
- Graburn, Nelson
- 1989 "Tourism: The Sacred Journey", in V. Smith ed. **Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism, second edition**, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Greenwood, D.J.
- 1989 "Culture by the Pound: An Anthropological Perspective on Tourism as Cultural Commoditization", in V. Smith ed. **Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism, second edition**, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Handler, Richard
- 1984 "On Socio-cultural Discontinuity: Nationalism and Cultural Objectification in Quebec", **Current Anthropology** 25 (1):55-71.
- Handler, Richard and Jocelyn Linnekin
- 1984 "Tradition, Genuine or Spurious", **Journal of American Folklore** 97:273-290.
- Harrison, David, ed.
- 1992 **Tourism and the Less Developed Countries**, London: Belhaven Press.
- Hitchcock, Michael
- 1992 "Dragon tourism in Komodo, Eastern Indonesia", in **Tourism in Southeast Asia**, Micheal Hitchcock, Victor T. King and Micheal J.G. Parnwell eds., London: Routledge.

Jolly, Margaret

1982 "Birds and Bayans of South Pentecost: Kastom in Anti-Colonial Struggle", **Mankind** 13:338-356.

1992 "Specters of Inauthenticity", **The Contemporary Pacific** 4:49-72.

Lanfant, Marie-Francoise

1995 "Introduction", in Marie-Francoise Lanfant, J.B. Allcock, and E.M. Bruner eds. **International Tourism: Identity and Change**, London: Sage.

Lawang, Robert

1989 **Stratifikasi Sosial Di Cancar-Manggarai Flores Barat**, (Social Stratification in Cancar-Manggarai, Western Flores), Ph.D dissertation, University of Indonesia.

Leong, Laurence Wai Teng

1989 "Culture and the State: Manufacturing Traditions for Tourism", **Critical Studies in Mass Communication** 6:355-375.

1997 "Commodifying Ethnicity: State and Ethnic Tourism in Singapore", in **Tourism, Ethnicity and the State in Asian and Pacific Societies**, Michel Picard and R.E. Wood ed. University of Hawai'i Press.

Linnekin, Jocelyn

1997 "Consuming Cultures: Tourism and the Commoditization of Cultural Identity in the Island Pacific", in **Tourism, Ethnicity and the State in Asian and Pacific Societies**, Michel Picard and R.E. Wood ed. University of Hawai'i Press.

MacCannell, Dean

1976 **The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class**, New York: Schocken Books.

1984 "Reconstructed Ethnicity: Tourism and Cultural Identity in Third World Communities", **Annals of Tourism Research** 11:373-391.

1992 **Empty Meeting Grounds: The Tourist Papers**, London and New York: Routledge.

McKean, Philip

1989 "Towards a Theoretical Analysis of Tourism: Economic Dualism and Cultural Involution in Bali", in V. Smith ed. **Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism, second edition**, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Nash, Dennison

1981 "Tourism as an Anthropological Subject", **Current Anthropology** 22:(5):461-81.

1989 "Tourism as a Form of Imperialism", in V. Smith ed. **Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism, second edition**, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Nooteboom, C.

1939 "Versieringen van Manggaraische huizen", **Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde** 79:221-238.

1950 "Enkele Feiten uit de Geschiedenis van Manggarai (West Flores)", **Bingkasan**

Budi, Leiden.

Oppermann, M.

- 1993 "Tourism Space in Developing Countries", **Annals of Tourism Research** 20:535-556.

Picard, M.

- 1992 "Cultural Tourism' in Bali : National Integration and Regional Differentiation", in **Tourism in Southeast Asia**, Micheal Hitchcock, Victor T. King and Micheal J. G. Parnwell eds., London: Routledge.
- 1995 "Cultural Heritage and Tourist Capital: Cultural Tourism in Bali", in Marie -Francoise Lanfant, J.B. Allcock, and E.M. Bruner eds. **International Tourism: Identity and Change**, London: Sage.
- 1997 "Cultural Tourism, Nation-Building and Regional Culture: The Making of a Balinese Identity", in **Tourism, Ethnicity and the State in Asian and Pacific Societies**, Michel Picard and R.E. Wood ed. University of Hawai'i Press.

Picard, M. and Robert Wood ed.

- 1997 **Tourism, Ethnicity and the State in Asian and Pacific Societies**, University of Hawai'i Press.

Smith, E.

- 1982 "The Process of Sociocultural Continuity", **Current Anthropology** 23:127-141.

Smith, V.

- 1989 "Introduction", in V. Smith ed. **Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism, second edition**, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Urry, James

- 1990 **The Tourist Gaze**, London: Sage Publications.

Volkman, Toby Alice

- 1984 "Great Performances: Torajan Cultural Identity in the 1970's", **American Ethnologist** 11(1):152-169.
- 1990 "Visions and Revisions: Toraja Culture and the Tourist Gaze", **American Ethnologist** 17(1)-91-110.

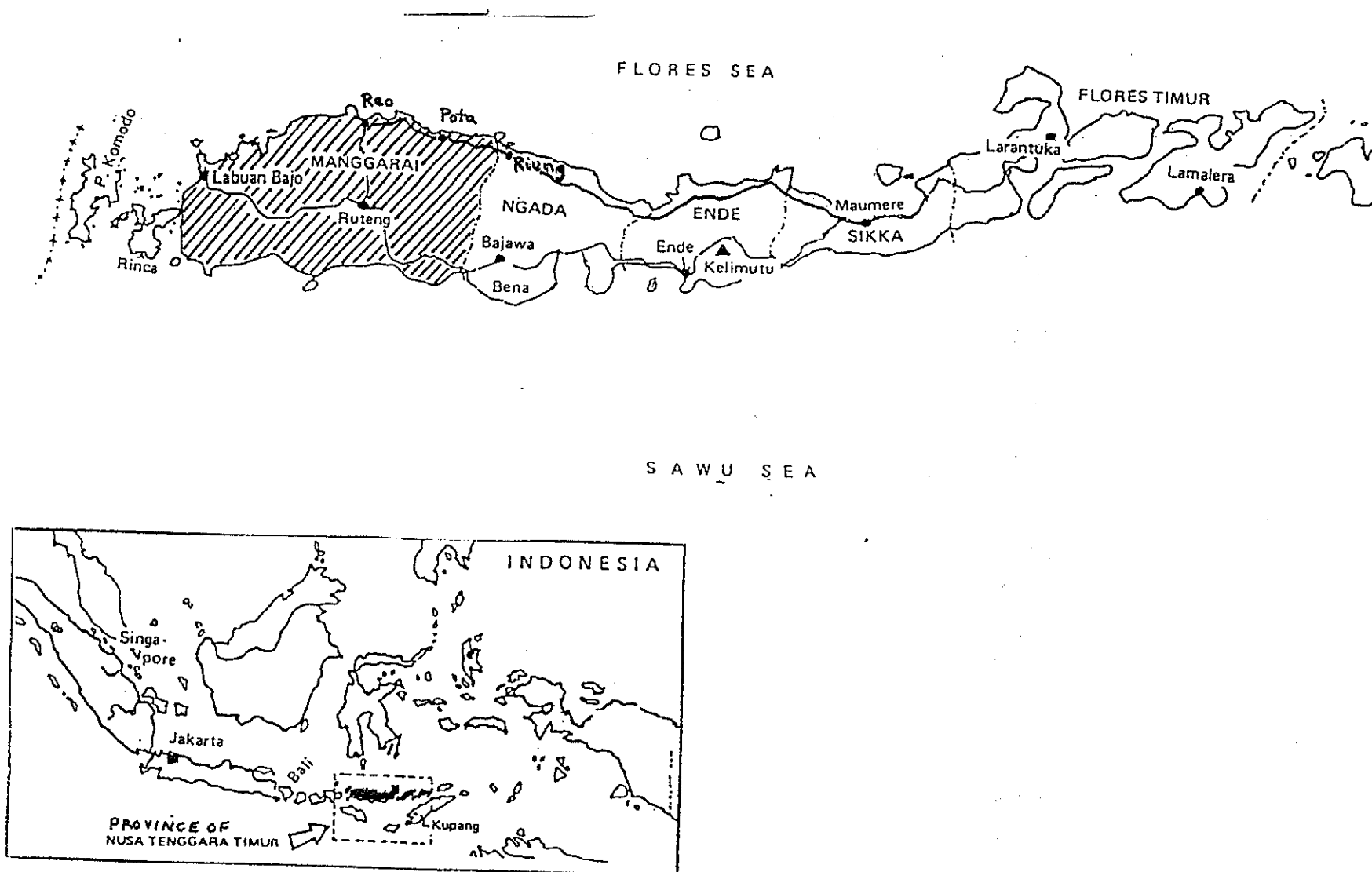
Wilson, David

- 1992 "Times and tides in the Anthropology of Tourism", in **Tourism in Southeast Asia**, Micheal Hitchcock, Victor T. King and Micheal J. G. Parnwell eds., London: Routledge.

Wood, Robert E.

- 1980 "International Tourism and Cultural Change in Southeast Asia", **Economic Development and Cultural Change** 28:56-81.
- 1992 "Tourism, culture and the sociology of Development", in **Tourism in Southeast Asia**, Micheal Hitchcock, Victor T. King and Micheal J. G. Parnwell eds., London: Routledge.

Figure 1 Flores Island



Department of Sociology

Working Papers Series

1. Riaz Hassan and Geoffrey Benjamin, *"Ethnic Outmarriage Rates in Singapore: The Influence of Traditional Socio-Cultural Organisation"*, 1972, 26pp.
2. Hans-Dieter Evers, *"Urban Involution: The Social Structure of Southeast Asian Towns"*, 1972, 19pp.
3. Erik Cohen, *"Social Ecology -- A Multidimensional Approach"*, 1972, 7pp.
4. Noeleen Heyzer and Wee Gek Sim, *"Trade Union Leaders in Singapore"*, 1972, 92pp.
5. Peter S.J. Chen, *"The Political Course of Singapore"*, (in English and Chinese), 1972, 23pp.
6. Chan Heng Chee and Hans-Dieter Evers, *"National Identity and Nation Building in S.E. Asia"*, 1972, 29pp.
7. Peter Weldon, *"Indonesian and Chinese Status Differences in Urban Java"*, 1972, 41pp.
8. Geoffrey Benjamin, *"Austroasiatic Subgroupings and Prehistory in the Malay Peninsula"*, 1972, 63pp.
9. Aline Wong, *"Job Satisfaction among Higher Non-Expatriate Civil Servants in Hong Kong"*, 1972, 64pp.
10. Peter S.J. Chen, *"Modernisation in Singapore: Changing Values and the Individual"*, 1972, 16pp.
11. Geoffrey Benjamin, *"An Outline of Temiar Grammar"*, 1972, 41pp.
12. Peter S.J. Chen, *"Social Stratification in Singapore"*, 1973, 99pp.
13. Peter D. Weldon, John S. Western and Tan Tsu Haung, *"Housing and Satisfaction With Environment in Singapore"*, 1973, 30pp.
14. Mochtar Naim, *"Penghulu di Minangkabau (Penghulu as Traditional Elite in Minangkabau)"*, 1973, 31pp.
15. Michael A.H. Walter, *"A Comparative Examination of Systems of Kinship and Marriage in Fiji"*, 1973, 41pp.
16. Hans Dieter-Evers and Daniel Regan, *"Specialisation and Involvement: The Modernising Role of Doctors in Malaysia and Indonesia"*, 1973, 33pp.
17. Myrna L. Blake, *"Kampong Eurasians in Singapore"*, 1973, 45pp.
18. Mak Lau Fong, *"The Forgotten and the Rejected Community -- A Sociological Stuff of Chinese Secret Societies in Singapore and West Malaysia"*, 1973, 150pp.
19. Erik Cohen, *"Southeast Asian Urban Sociology -- A Review and a Selected Bibliography"*, 1973, 53pp.
20. Thelma Kay, *"Group Cohesion and Productivity among Dockworkers -- A study of Stevedores in Singapore"*, 1973, 28pp.
21. Eddie C.Y. Kuo, *"Industrialisation and the Family Type: An Overview"*, 1974, 45pp.
22. Hans-Dieter Evers, *"Changing Patterns of Minangkabau Urban Landownership"*, 1974, 45pp.
23. Peter S. J. Chen, *"Social and Psychological Aspects of Fertility: Findings from Family Planning Research in Singapore"*, 1974, 27pp.
24. Hans-Dieter Evers, *"The Role of Professionals in Social and Political Change"*, 1974, 28pp.

25. Geoffrey Benjamin, *"Prehistory and Ethnology in Southeast Asia: Some New Ideas"*, 1974, 32pp.
26. Mochtar Naim, *"Voluntary Migration in Indonesia"*, 1974, 41pp.
27. Lawrence Babb, *"Walking on Flowers in Singapore -- A Hindu Festival C: in Aram Yengoyan and Alton L. Cycle"*, 1974, 46pp.
28. Geoffrey Benjamin, *"Indigenous Religious Systems of the Malay Peninsula"*, 1974, 27pp.
29. Aline K. Wong, *"Women as a Minority Group in Singapore"*, 1974,
30. Michael A.H.B. Walter, *"Co-operation in East Fiji: A New Traditionalism?"*, 1974, 30pp.
31. Aline K. Wong, *"The Continuous Family Revolution in China -- Ideology and Changing Family Patterns"*, 1974, 28pp.
32. Eddie C.Y. Kuo and Riaz Hassan, *"Some Social Concomitants of Interethnic Marriage in Singapore"*, 1974, 28pp.
33. Riaz Hassan, *"Symptoms and Syndromes of the Developmental Process in Singapore"*, 1974, 11pp.
34. Hans-Dieter Evers and Riaz Hassan, *"Studies on Social Stratification in Southeast Asia"*, 1974, 141pp.
35. Pang Eng Fong and Thelma Kay, *"Change and Continuity in Singapore's Industrial Relations System"*, 1974, 27pp.
36. Eddie C.Y. Kuo, *"Field Theory as a Conceptual Framework for Divorce Study"*, 1974, 25pp.
37. Riaz Hassan, *"International Tourism and Intercultural Communication: The Case of Japanese Tourists in Singapore"*, 1974, 23pp.
38. Riaz Hassan, *"Towards a Dialectic Anthropology -- A Comment on Professor M. Freedman's Paper, Social and Cultural Anthropology"*, 1974, 7pp.
39. Hans-Dieter Evers, *"Urbanisation and Urban Conflict in Southeast Asia"*, 1974, 16pp.
40. Michael A.H.B. Walter, *"The Gardening Game"*, 1975, 15pp.
41. Frederic C. Deyo, *"Organisation and Its Socio-Cultural Setting: A Case Study of Structural Compensation in an Atomistic Society"*, 1975, 31pp.
42. Mak Lau Fong, *"Chinese Secret Societies in Ipoh Town, 1945-1969"*, 1975, 17pp.
43. Vivienne Wee, *"A Preliminary Account of 'Buddhism' in Singapore"*, 1975, 56pp.
44. Geoffrey Benjamin, *"The Cultural Logic of Singapore's 'Multiracialism'"*, 1975, 34pp.
45. Eckehard Kulke, *"Social Class and Primordial Loyalty in Rural India -- An Approach to the Study of Indian Untouchables"*, 1975, 31pp.
46. Peter S.J. Chen, *"Elites and National Development in Singapore"*, 1975, 15pp.
47. Riaz Hassan, *"Social and Psychological Implications of High Population Density"*, 1975, 30pp.
48. Rory Fonseca, *"Planning and Land-use in Singapore"*, 1975, 26pp.
49. Lawrence A. Babb, *"Thaipusam in Singapore: Religious Individualism in a Hierarchical Culture"*, 1976, 19pp.
50. Rory Fonseca, *"Growth, Transition and the Urban Environment: A Reference Frame for Singapore"*, 1976, 19pp.
51. Peter S.J. Chen, *"Asian Values in Modernising Society: A Sociological Perspective"*, 1976, 17pp.
52. Eddie C.Y. Kuo, *"A Sociolinguistic Profile of Singapore"*, 1976, 20pp.
53. Michael A.H.B. Walter, *"On Transitional Society"*, 1976, 20pp.

54. Frederic C. Deyo, *"Marital Status, Job Orientation and Work Commitment among Semi-Skilled Female Workers in Singapore"*, 1976, 20pp.
55. Frederic C. Deyo, *"Decision-Making and Supervisory Authority in Cross-Cultural Perspective: An Exploratory Study of Chinese and Western Management Practices in Singapore"*, 1976, 24pp.
56. John R. Clammer, *"Sociological Approaches to the Study of Language and Literacy in Southeast Asia"*, 1976, 28pp.
57. Peter S.J. Chen, *"Ecological Distribution of Social Pathology in Singapore"*, 1977, 28pp.
58. Aline K. Wong, *"The Value of Children and the Household Economy -- A Review of Current VOC Studies in the Developing World"*, 1977, 24pp.
59. Chiew Seen Kong, *"Educational and Occupational Attainment of Singapore's Chinese Women and Men"*, 1977, 24pp.
60. Peter S.J. Chen, *"Population Policy and Social Science Research on Population in Singapore"*, 1977, 28pp.
61. Michael A.H.B. Walter and Riaz Hassan, *"An Island Community in Singapore: A Characterisation of a Marginal Society"*, 1977, 44pp.
62. Stella R. Quah, *"The Unplanned Dimensions of Health Care in Singapore: Traditional Healers and Self-Medication"*, 1977, 22pp.
63. John R. Clammer, *"Islam and Capitalism in Southeast Asia"*, 1978, 22pp.
64. Robert G. Cooper, *"Second World First: The Study of Films and the Use of Film in Social Studies"*, 1978, 20pp.
65. Peter S.J. Chen, *"Ethnicity and Fertility: The Case of Singapore"*, 1978, 25pp.
66. Rolf E. Vente, *"Urban Planning and High-Density Living. Some Reflections on their Interrelationship"*, 1979, 13pp.
67. William S.W. Lim, *"A Case for Low-Rise High-Density Living in Singapore"*, 1979, 13pp.
68. Mak Lau Fong, *"Subcommunal Participation and Leadership Cohesiveness of the Chinese in 19th Century Singapore"*, 1984, 23pp.
69. Eddie C.Y. Kuo and Huey Tsyh Chen, *"Towards an Information Society: Changing Occupational Structure in Singapore"*, 1985, 29pp.
70. Ko Yiu Chung, *"Industrial Workers and Class Formation: A Study of Chinese Industrial Workers in North China, 1900-1937"*, 1986, 31pp.
71. Geoffrey Benjamin, *"Between Isthmus and Islands: Reflection on Malayan Palaeo-Sociology"*, 1986, 43pp.
72. Habibul H. Khondker, *"Is There a Dependency Paradigm?"*, 1986, 55pp.
73. Mak Lau Fong, *"The Locality and Non-Locality Organising Principles: A Technical Report on the Taxonomy of Chinese Voluntary Associations in the 19th Century Straits Settlements"*, 1986, 33pp.
74. Chua Beng Huat, *"Reading Foucault as a Conservative"*, 1986, 40pp.
75. Vivienne Wee, *"Material Dependence and Symbolic Independence: Constructions of Melayu Ethnicity in Island Riau, Indonesia"*, 1986, 46pp.
76. Habibul Haque Khondker, *"Famine Response: The 1984-85 Ethiopian Famine"*, 1986, 38pp.
77. Allen J. Chun, *"Conceptions of Kinship and Kingship in Classical Chou China"*, 1986, 50pp.
78. V. Selvaratnam, *"Ethnicity, Inequality and Higher Education in Peninsular Malaysia: The Sociological Implications"*, 1987, 44pp.
79. Trevor O Ling, *"Buddhism, Confucianism and the Secular State in Singapore"*, 1987, 42pp.

80. Mak Lau Fong, *"The Social Alignment Patterns of the Chinese in 19th-century Penang"*, 1987, 32pp.
81. Allen J. Chun, *"Durkheim Reconsidered: A Critique of Primitive Structuralism"*, 1987, 30pp.
82. Geoffrey Benjamin, *"Process and Structure in Temiar Social Organization"*, 1987, 46pp.
83. Eddie C.Y. Kuo, *"Confucianism and the Chinese Family in Singapore: Continuities and Changes"*, 1987, 32pp.
84. Tatsuko Takizawa, *"Facets of Musical Activities in Singapore"*, 1987, 35pp.
85. Geoffrey Benjamin, *"Notes on the Deep Sociology of Religion"*, 1987, 37pp.
86. Habibul Haque Khondker, *"The World According to Wallerstein"*, 1987, 48pp.
87. Mak Lau Fong, *"Solidarity Models: A Sociological Framework For Comparative Criminal Organization"*, 1988, 29pp.
88. Geoffrey Benjamin, *"Grammar and Polity: The Cultural and Political Background to Standard Malay"*, 1988, 51pp.
89. Viswanathan Selvaratnam, *"Limits to Vocationally-Oriented Education in the Third World"*, 1988, 36pp.
90. Vivienne Wee, *What does 'Chinese' mean?: an exploratory essay*, 1988, 41pp.
91. Geoffrey Benjamin, *The unseen presence: a theory of the nation-state and its mystifications*, 1988, 55pp.
92. Tong Chee Kiong, *Perceptions and boundaries: problematics in the assimilation of the Chinese in Thailand*, 1988, 30pp.
93. Alan J Chun, *Toward a political economy of the sojourning experience: the Chinese in 19th century Malaya*, 1988, 39pp.
94. Chua Beng Huat, *Public housing policies compared: US, Socialist countries and Singapore*, 1988, 41pp.
95. Eddie C. Y. Kuo and Bjorn H. Jernudd, *Language management in a multilingual state: the case of planning in Singapore*, 1988, 45pp.
96. Ho Kong Chong, *The community study: a discussion of the method with modifications for research in Singapore*, 1988, 44pp.
97. Tan Ern Ser, *Employing organizations and the dynamics of social mobility in Singapore: an analytical framework and empirical analysis*, 1988, 43pp.
98. Mak Lau Fong, *Singapore Chinese traditional voluntary associations: convergence vs divergence*, 1989, 36pp.
99. Tong Chee Kiong, *Centripetal authority, differentiated networks: the social organization of Chinese firms in Singapore*, 1989, 36pp.
100. Chan Kwok Bun and Ho Kong Chong (eds), *Explorations in Asian sociology. 100th special issue*, Singapore: Chopmen Publishers 1991, 54pp.
101. Eddie C. Y. Kuo, *Ethnicity, polity and economy: a case study of Mandarin trade and the Chinese connection*, 1990, 36pp.
102. Chua Beng Huat, *Fashion shopping: programs, stages and audience*, 1990, 29pp.
103. Georg Stauth, *Revolution in spiritless times: an essay on the inquiries of Michel Foucault on the Iranian Revolution*, 1991, 54pp.
104. Chua Beng Huat & Eddie C. Y. Kuo, *The making of a new nation: cultural construction and national identity in Singapore*, 1991, 43pp.
105. Alfred Choi, *Policing domestic disturbances: a research review of police response*, 1991, 40pp.
106. Vineeta Sinha, *Some notes on 'temple'-building and image-worship in Indian religion, in historical perspective*, 1991, 50pp.

107. Ho Kong Chong, *Studying the city in the new international division of labour*, 1991, 43pp.
108. Georg Stauth, *Critical theory and pre-Fascist social thought*, 1991, 35pp.
109. Zhang Xin-Xiang, *A methodological critique of Marx's theory of surplus value*, 1991, 37pp.
110. Lee Siew Peng, *Class and noise tolerance: some ruminations*, 1991, 39pp.
111. Paulin Tay Straughan, *Screening for early detection of cervical cancer: the relation-ship between social integration and preventive health*, 1992, 34pp.
112. Lian Kwen Fee, *Stratification in Maori society in the 19th century*, 1992, 40pp.
113. Eddie C. Y. Kuo, *Confucianism as political discourse in Singapore: the case of an incomplete revitalization movement*, 1992, 29pp.
114. Syed Farid Alatas, *Some problems of indigenization*, 1992, 46pp.
115. Zhang Xin-Xiang, *Crime and control: a neo-rational choice approach*, 1993, 43pp.
116. Tan Ern Ser, *Theorising the dynamics of industrial relations and trade unionism: lessons from the Singapore case*, 1993, 31pp.
117. Roxana Waterson, *What to celebrate in the United Nations Year of Indigenous Peoples?*, 1993, 55pp.
118. Zhang Xin Xiang, *Education as a vehicle for social stratificational change: the case of Singapore*, 1993, 38pp.
119. James V. Jesudason, *Statist democracy and the limits of civil society in Malaysia*, 1993, 40pp.
120. Filomeno V. Aguilar Jr, *Nouns that sail through history: reified categories and their transcendence in Marx's social theory*, 1994, 50pp.
121. Syed Farid Alatas, *Post-colonial state: dual functions in the public sphere*, 1994, 45pp.
122. Chua Beng Huat, *That imagined space: nostalgia for the kampung in Singapore*, 1994, 39pp.
123. Habibul H Khondker, *Globalization theory: a critical appraisal*, 1994, 42pp.
124. Kwok Kian Woon, *Social transformation and the problem of social coherence: Chinese Singaporeans at century's end*, 1994, 39pp.
125. Chua Beng Huat, *Culture, multiracialism and national identity in Singapore*, 1995, 36pp.
126. Nirmala Purushotam, *Disciplining differences: 'race' in Singapore*, 1995, 33pp.
127. Chua Beng Huat and Tan Joo Ean, *Singapore: new configuration of a socially stratified culture*, 1995, 40pp.
128. Paulin Tay Straughan and Tan Ern Ser, *Shiftwork, job satisfaction, and turnover propensity: nurses in a Singapore hospital*, 1996, 26pp.
129. Habibul Haque Khondker, *Competing paradigms and conflicting theories in the studies of the development of Asian NICS*, 1996, 37pp.
130. Geoffrey Benjamin, *Rationalisation and re-enchantment in Malaysia: Temiar religion 1964-1995*, 1996, 52pp.
131. Selina Ching Chan, *Negotiating and tradition: the identity of indigenous Inhabitants in Hong Kong*, 1996, 43pp.
132. Geoffrey Benjamin, *Affixes, Austronesian and iconicity in Malay*, 1997, 31 pp.
133. Chua Beng Huat and Ananda Rahah, *Hybridity, Ethnicity and Food in Singapore*, 1997, 24 pp.
134. Kay Mohlman, *Home-base Workplaces and Workplace Domesticities: A Socio-Spatial Analysis*, 1998, 28pp.
135. Paulin Tay Straughan, *The Social Contradictions of the Normal Family: Challenges to the Ideology*, 1999, 18pp.

136. Vineeta Sinha, *Colonial Encounters: Transplanting "Western Medicine"; Ousting "Traditional" Healing?* 1999, 42pp.
137. Tong Chee Kiong and Lian Kwen Fee, *The Nationstate and the Limits to Globalization in Southeast Asia*, 1999, 30pp.
138. Chia Hwee Kim Karen, *Experiencing Sacred Spaces: The Negotiation of Authenticity by Tourists and Worshippers*, 1999, 45pp.
139. Leong Wai Teng, *Consuming the Nation: National Day Parades in Singapore*, 1999, 16pp.
140. Maribeth Erb, *What is a Tourist?: Tourists and Other Spirits in the Manggaraian World*, 1999, 27pp.