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Parade of diversity: Representations of places and identities of Indonesia through tourism brochures

ABSTRACT

The article examines the discourses of diversity within a nation by investigating the tourism brochures as the media produced by municipalities/regencies. Using empirical research, this study analyses four major inquiries to gain insights into the discourse of diversity in Indonesia from tourism products/services, geographical representations, ethnic diversity and occupational variations within the dynamic of media and society. The research project then analyse the cultural and social meanings on how the media function to showcase and develop a notion of 'parade of diversity' in the society. It reflects the ways of displaying places and people, which can include and exclude part of society, promenade through series of similar patterns across different municipalities/regencies in Indonesia. Critically, tourism brochures then facilitate the commercial definition of tourism spaces, geographical identity, the representation of the dominant groups and the interests of the powerful elites.

INTRODUCTION

Tourism brochures have been commonly used as the communicative and cultural media to represent the complexity of commercial aspect and identities of places, regions and countries. 'Ways of seeing' in tourism brochures have shaped tourism experiences of places and nations (Urry 2002; Alderman and Modlin 2013; Gunnarsdóttir 2011). Photographic images in tourism brochures are one way to see society, to interpret reality and to show perspectives on history and identity (Jokela 2014). Many communication, cultural and media scholars have focused on photographic images since they can show iconic places or people (Hunter 2012; Cronin 2011), demonstrate experiences (Gunnarsdóttir 2011), present natural beauty (Svobodova et al. 2017) and construct expectations through both affective and cognitive approaches (Murti 2020b; Nicolleta and Servidio 2012). More than that, the ways in which photographic images are constructed have received attention from scholars due to the selections of representative images of place and people that may include and exclude others (Feighery 2011; Alderman and Modlin 2013; Benjamin et al. 2020). Tourism brochure become a communication tool to produce space in which the perceived process of interactions is shaped among human being (Adams and Jansson 2012; Lindell 2015). Tourism promotional images have the power not only to represent certain identities and showcase diversity, but also to exclusively portray the chosen elites and depict others in an unjust manner (Alderman and Modlin 2013; Murti 2020b; Cole and Morgan 2010). This process can be an active role in the constitution of places and spaces (Farías 2011). Tourism brochures give privilege and power to some groups, allowing them to be seen and heard in comparison to others (Morgan 2004; Alderman and Modlin 2013).

While most of the attention directed towards tourism brochure focuses on the countries, consideration need to be given to the parochialism of municipal/regency governments as the spaces that form the discursive identity of a nation. Municipalities/regencies are the local administrative governments established as a part of a decentralization effort in many Asian countries, which have diverse ethnic and tribal groups, such as China (Leibold and Chen 2014), Indonesia (Ito 2006) and India (Ghai 1998). Additionally, there is potentially a complex cultural interaction on how local governments express their local identity, facilitate the indigenous culture and accommodate the national interest through tourism brochures (Maaiah and Masadeh 2015). Hence, Indonesia, the chosen context of the research project is a multicultural nation in which identities are perceived and imagined in contested and negotiated modalities through the decentralizing efforts of numerous municipalities/regencies in the nation (Murti 2019; Fitrani et al. 2005).

Accordingly, the current study collected brochures published by 40 regencies/municipalities of Indonesia through the yearly exhibition of Asosiasi Pemerintah Kabupaten Seluruh Indonesia ('Association of all Indonesia regency/municipal governments') (APKASI), which was held in Jakarta in 2019 and attended by tourists, investors (foreign and local) and business in hospitality. The event is one of the national major events in which official tourism publications (brochures, flyers, videos and posters) from the municipals/regencies of Indonesia can be found altogether. The brochures are both in English and Indonesian language because the brochures are targeted for both domestics and international tourists. Furthermore, the research project also collected official tourism brochures from the websites of four provinces in the

eastern part of Indonesia in order to include the eastern regions that were not represented in the trade show. This was an ideal setting in which to collect the samples because the information available came from a total of 514 regencies/municipalities of Indonesia. This research focuses only on tourism advertisements produced by local governments and eliminates advertisements made by communities, travel agencies and others. This sampling strategy resulted in total of 3027 pictures from regencies/municipalities in several islands, including Sumatera (26.7 per cent), Java (33.7 per cent), Kalimantan (16.9 per cent) and Sulawesi (10.5 per cent), and the rest were from the Moluccas islands and Papua in East Indonesia (12.2 per cent). To assess reliability, Krippendorff's (2004) alpha was used, where an alpha of 0.80 or higher is considered good. The intercoder reliability showed coefficients ranged from 0.841 to 0.964 with an average measurement of 0.924 (SD = 0.922). Using Kappa to find the standardization of the difference between the coders, perfect agreement was reached (α = 0.851), since the value of perfect agreement is between −1 and 1. Drawing on Massey's (2005) argument that by mapping the space as cartography of power, this research project maybe useful to draw whose power is predominantly manifested in tourism brochures, and how this is done (Figure 1).

From this research, we argue that the diversity of identity, which appears in the tourism brochures, functions as a parade. In this notion, a parade is a metaphor to show how the public media (the tourism brochures) function to display the formal procession of diversity in an ostentatious way with the selections process of the groups who should perform in the spectacle. We argue that the diversity is displayed formally, homogeny and narrowly by the formulation of the most dominant features in economic exhibition, selections of group of people through ethnicity and occupations. The diversity of identity
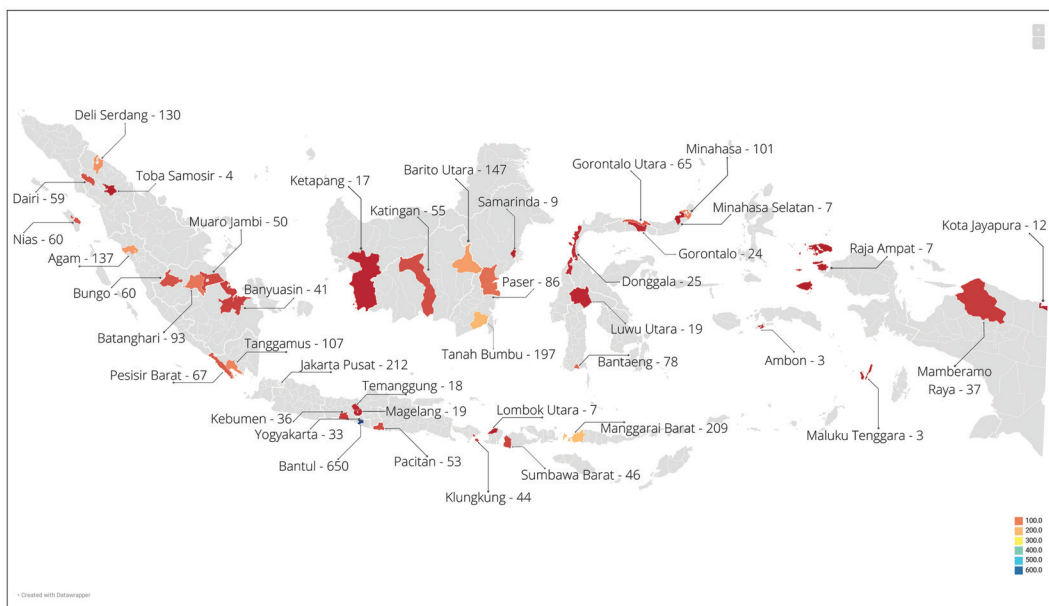

Figure 1: Map with the number of tourism brochures collected from municipalities/regencies in Indonesia.

used in an attention-seeking way is celebrated to exhibit local identity, which has been selected by those who are in power. The ways in which municipalities/regencies display the places' and people's diverse identity promenade through series of similar patterns across different municipalities/regencies in Indonesia. In the tourism brochures studied, diversity works to facilitate the systemic definition of tourism space, the representation of the dominant groups and to escort the interests of the powerful elites.

TOURISM BROCHURES AS THE MEDIA TO ASSESS THE DISCOURSES OF IDENTITY AND DIVERSITY

Some studies of the representation of identity and diversity in tourism brochures have been debatable accounts of the recognition of regional ideology and racial practices. In discussions of regional identity, scholars have used textual analysis (Jokela 2014), image analysis (Hunter 2012), cross-national analysis (Horng and Tsai 2010), comparative study (Simon et al. 2010) and discourses (Murti 2020b; Feighery 2011) that work to define identity, the meanings of region, and the ideological approaches of tourism brochures. The debates about the representation of identity and diversity also refer to the legitimation of both the visibility and the invisibility of certain aspects of geographical conditions (Pawlusz and Polese 2017), ethnic groups and races (Alderman and Modlin 2013; Burton and Klemm 2011), gender (Ypeij 2012), communities (Coon 2012) and colonial/postcolonial hybrid cultures (Amoamo and Thompson 2010). These concerns with diversity in tourism brochures may, in some countries, be relatively unimportant to businesses that produce tourism brochures and advertising agencies.

However, many scholars argue that the reproductions of images have produced patterns of cultural domination and marginalization. The patterns of cultural domination and marginalization emerge from the reuse and repetition of similar imagery over time (Niskala and Rodanpaa 2016), follow the market system (Higgs 2015) and historical process (Umamaheswari 2018; Murti 2019). This seems to be followed by an argument that governments, advertising agency and the producers of tourism brochures generally just recirculate the images (Chingwe and Makuwira 2018). Power relations and identity struggles are embedded in the reproduction of tourism brochures. Consequently, the tourism industrial cycle has created unfairness and unequal social relations (Alderman and Caspersen 2018). For example, research projects have dealt with the racial visibility of African Americans in the American South (Alderman and Modlin 2013) and British tourism brochures depicting South Asian, Afro-Caribbean and Mixed Race people as tourists, workers and local people (Burton and Klemm 2011).

In terms of occupation, minorities have often been depicted as those who 'serve' or as 'the object' in the tourism cycle. Studies show how minority groups and indigenous locals are depicted as servants (Alderman and Modlin 2013), sexual and emotional objects (Pritchard and Morgan 2000), entertainers (Bandyopadhyay and Nascimento 2010), objects of the oriental gaze (Chetty 2011), foreign others (Fuadi 2016) and exotic tribes, rather than as the owners of the land, tourists and respected members of the host community. Since it was first discussed by Manning (1978) and Britton (1979), the reproductions of images have not progressed any further. Hence, the production of inequality in cultural distribution, power relations and patterns of racial bias has continued, especially in 'developing', 'underdeveloped', and 'postcolonial' countries.

Communication, cultural and media studies scholars have demanded a more responsible and inclusive approach to tourism marketing, which discriminates against minority groups and small indigenous ethnic groups, and attempt to silence the diversity of place and people (Alderman and Modlin 2013). The demand to recognize diversity is important in bringing to tourism a sustainable approach of producing culture and preserving social relations between locals and tourists in tourism destinations (Higgins-Desbiolles 2010).

There are questions among scholars of tourism brochures about the constructionist perspective on places and people's identity. The questions are critical to address: who is represented? Who is not represented? (Massey 2005). Who/what is absent and present? (Ott et al. 2011). Whose stories, history and ideology do the tourism brochures dominantly narrate? (Avraham and Dougherty 2012). Continuing from Alderman's work on identity, representation and tourism brochures (2013), these questions are useful in understanding the discursive identity and diversity as tools to promote the social justice perspective as the centre of cultural representation.

THE DISCOURSE OF DIVERSITY AND IDENTITY OF INDONESIA

Indonesia, as the nation context of this study, has three discursive aspects that can be captured in a study of identity, diversity and tourism brochures. Those are the demographic, historical identity and administration aspects. Indonesia's demographic characteristics offer a rich field for studying the tensions of diversity in a nation. Based on the research of the Indonesian Central Agency of Statistics, there are more than 1331 tribes and 320 ethnic groups in Indonesia, spread over 416 regencies and 98 municipalities from 34 provinces across the nation (Bureau Central of Statistic 2010). The spread of the regencies/municipalities is designed to accommodate the nation's diversity in terms of tribes, ethnic groups and elite political interests (Ito 2006). Of a total population of more than 230 million, 54 per cent of the people of these tribes and ethnic groups live in cities and 46 per cent in rural areas (Ministry of Education and Culture 2016). These demographic differences have created the challenge of controlling and representing the complexities of national identity in many arenas, including tourism.

From a historical perspective, Indonesia has been challenged by the tensions of diversity. Brown explains how problematic it was to attach a social meaning to the word 'Indonesia' and to motivate the populations of this archipelago to identify themselves collectively as 'Indonesians'. Brown states: 'Certainly, before the twentieth century, none of the inhabitants of the archipelago would have seen themselves in this collective term' (2003: 3). Up to the present day, Indonesia is still dealing with these tensions. Despite the nation's motto of 'Bhinneka Tunggal Ika' ('Unity in diversity'), which expresses a desire to accommodate the differences, efforts by particular groups to assert autonomy and conflicts in some regions persist (Brown 2003).

Administratively, to accommodate diversity and in the hope of achieving much more homogeneous local communities across the country, the government divided each province into several municipalities/regencies. Furthermore, after the fall of President Soeharto era, in 2001, there was a 'Big Bang' of decentralization or *pemekaran* (literally 'blossoming') in the number of *kabupaten* ('regencies') and *kota* ('municipalities'). There were 292 in 1998, 434 at the end of 2004 (Fitrani et al. 2005) and 514 regencies/municipalities in 2019 (Kompas 2020). Studies show that this fundamental change demonstrates

not only Indonesia's subnational administrative, political and fiscal landscape, but also a move towards more localized power and control over diversity and identity (Ito 2006). Hence, Indonesia is constantly challenged by the diversity of the population and the tensions of sharing the collective meaning of Indonesia, and it will continue to be re-negotiated and addressed in the future (Murti 2019). The nuance of diversity and identity in Indonesia can be assessed through series of questions that address the aspect of the diverse identity displayed in the tourism brochures. Thus, the study will be useful for policy-makers to evaluate the diversity, exclusion and inclusions portrayed in their tourism brochures.

FINDINGS

This section specifically aims at extending the findings by critically engaging the data with the cultural and social meanings of tourism brochures of Indonesia's municipals/regencies. Through this analysis, the research can contribute to the nexus between empirical research and the analysis of cultural meanings and implications, which tied back to the social issues in the society and the theoretical underpinning. Conversely, the empirical findings can provide the map of diversity and clarity of data regarding to the representations of diversity and identity.

The economic exhibition

This study found that the economic representation dominated Indonesia's tourism brochures' photographic imagery. This finding is consistent with Hurn's (2013) argument that the economic aspect is a part of commodity in tourism brochures to develop the nation's image. It perpetuates the impression to the domestic/international tourist's perception that the destination has adequate facilities, modern government buildings, economic support offices, comfortable transportation and adequate resources that are ready for investment. By showing economic conditions and tourist commodities, municipal/regency governments systematically exhibit an investment promise and the tourism development in relation to a destination (Pomering 2013).

The findings of the content analysis data show the distribution of the four characteristics on the products and services offered by municipal/regency governments in the tourism brochures (Table 1). Economic elements were

Table 1: The products or services offered by Indonesian municipalities/regencies in their tourism brochures.

Island	Economics		Politics		People		Geography		Total	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Sumatera	428	11.9	201	5.6	77	2.1	278	7.7	984	27.3
Java	433	12.0	132	3.7	307	8.5	309	8.6	1181	32.7
Kalimantan	224	6.2	108	3.0	107	3.0	177	4.9	616	17.1
Sulawesi	110	3.0	91	2.5	59	1.6	108	3.0	368	10.2
East Indonesia	120	3.3	90	2.5	41	1.1	211	5.8	462	12.8
Total	1315	36.4	622	17.2	591	16.4	1083	30.0	3611	100.0

represented in the highest percentage of tourism photographs, around 36.4 per cent (n = 1315). The second most frequent representation is geography landscape, which occurred in about 30 per cent of images (n = 1083), while people (n = 591) and politics (n = 622) were represented at the least.

The data from the images of economic elements show that topics related to resources (n = 633, 48 per cent) and industry (n = 423, 32 per cent) represent the largest proportion across the main islands. The majority of the photographs in the resources category represent hospitality (n = 494, 78 per cent), for example, hotels, restaurants, museums and parks. The rest represent transportation facilities (n = 105, 16.5 per cent) such as airports, harbours and roads. Meanwhile, the industry is defined as natural-based industry (i.e. fishing, farming, mining and animal) and local industry.

Geographic landscape is the second most frequent category of pictures in tourism brochures (n = 1083, 30 per cent). However, the majority of the tourism brochures based on geographic landscape focus only on nature (n = 854, 78 per cent), which is mainly represented by beautiful scenery with no human. The nature content in tourism brochures exists in several forms, including seas/beaches (n = 307, 35.9 per cent), water recreation such as rivers, lakes, waterfalls (n = 239, 27.9 per cent), rocks and caves (n = 127, 14.8 per cent), mountains and hills (n = 116, 13.5 per cent) and islands (n = 59, 0.6 per cent).

The regencies/municipalities represent the political aspect through their slogans (n = 307, 48.5 per cent) and photographs of local officials (n = 239, 38.4 per cent). The municipalities/regencies also show the Indonesian tourism slogan (n = 127, 20.4 per cent), 'Wonderful Indonesia', and the logo of Indonesia tourism (n = 59, 0.9 per cent) but not in the majority.

There is, however, an existence of social risks that escort the commoditization of places as an economic source and scope of tourism industry. There is a short-term investment possibility, which can seize the social identity and way of life of people. As the attention is given mostly to economic aspect (n = 1315) and put the people identity (n = 591) as the least priority including the very few images of local people who represent the region (n = 155), this implements the ways in which the municipals/government intend to compromise and define the place identity in the economic aspect as a more valuable commodity.

Specifically for the representation of the people, we attempted to dwell more on who are 'the people' and how are they represented in the tourism brochures. We found that the municipalities/regencies mostly represent 'the people' by connecting them to the use of space. The majority of the pictures in the tourism brochures included no human subjects (n = 512, 33.9 per cent). But whenever people are pictured, these images include tourists (n = 223, 14.7 per cent), local people (n = 155, 10 per cent) and interactions between tourists and local hosts (n = 47, 3 per cent).

The study shows how photographic images with no people, showing the tranquil lands, are consistent in all types of space representation, including natural space (n = 542, 34.9 per cent), cultivated landscape (n = 68, 4.4 per cent), history/heritage (n = 194, 12.5 per cent) and tourism product (n = 246, 15.8 per cent). Images of tourists are the second highest proportion of people representation in the natural space, cultivated space and history/heritage categories. Meanwhile, the local people/host and the interactions between the tourists and hosts appeared the least. The municipals/regencies also tend to show a place as empty of human. Figure 2 shows how 'the people' category functions to enhance and convince potential tourists of the attractiveness of the space.
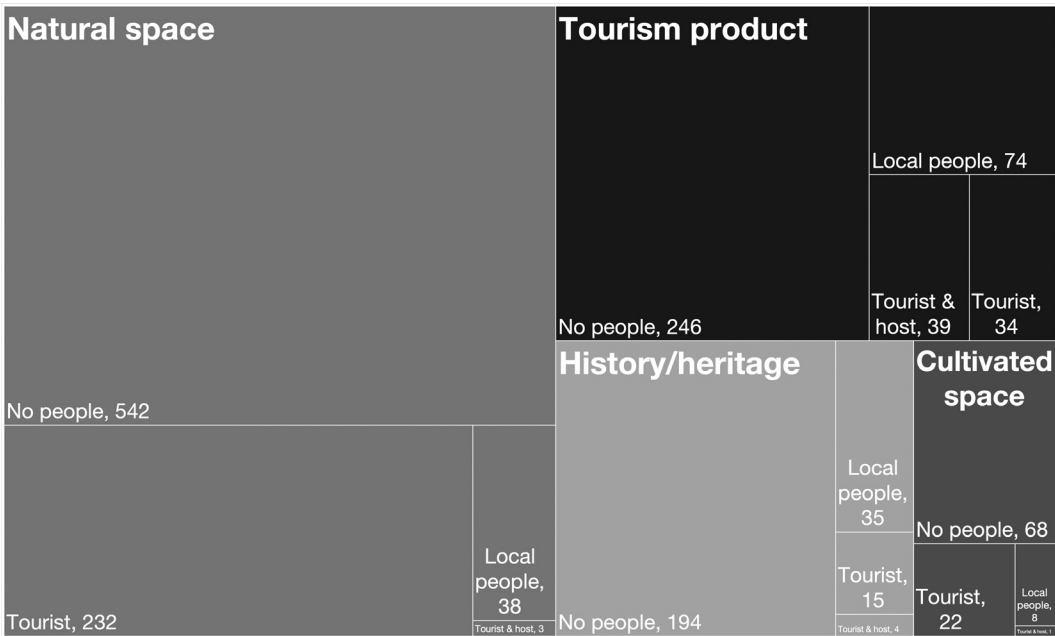
Natural space		Tourism product		
No people, 542		No people, 246	Local people, 74	
			Tourist & host, 39	Tourist, 34
Tourist, 232	Local people, 38	History/heritage		Cultivated space
	Tourist & host, 3	No people, 194	Local people, 35	No people, 68
			Tourist, 15	Tourist, 22
			Tourist & host, 4	Local people, 8
				Tourist & host, 1

Figure 2: Frequency of photos depicting people in tourism brochures, by brochure and people categories.

Representation of geographical space

The tourism brochure attempts to represent local identity in terms of geographical space. In the previous research questions, geography become the second portion of the tourism brochures. Hence, we dwell into this data by understanding the physical tourism environment (Hunter 2012) through four typologies: natural landscape, cultivated landscape, history/heritage and tourism product. The natural landscape refers to open spaces with natural characteristic such as mountains, beaches, forests, lakes or skies. Cultivated landscape, on the other hand, is nature, which has been pruned, gardened or altered, such as gardens, parks, paddy fields and golf courses (Hunter 2008). Heritage, as an important means of influencing national and community identity through soft power, refers to any cultural or historical phenomenon that is evidence of achievement (Hunter 2008; Žugić and Konatar 2018), including arts, carvings, reliefs, costumes, landmarks, histories, etc. Last, tourism product (Hunter 2008) refers not only to the product itself but also facilities, accommodations and even culinary products and services. These categories are formulated in Table 2.

The categorization attempts to sort tourism representation in terms of the characteristics of spaces (Table 2). In all major islands, the natural landscape is represented in the highest number ($n = 861$) of tourism images of local space. The examples of natural landscape in this study are mountains, beaches, lakes and skies. Local products and/or commodities, such as facilities, accommodations and culinary products, are shown in the second highest number of images ($n = 393$). History and heritage are the third highest number of subjects in the images from all major islands ($n = 248$). Meanwhile, the lowest number is represented by the cultivated spaces ($n = 102$). Most

Table 2: The characteristics of spaces in the tourism brochures of Indonesian municipalities/regencies.

Island	Natural landscape		Cultivated landscape		History/ heritage		Tourism product		Total	
	n	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*
Sumatera	169	10.5	24	1.5	43	2.7	54	3.4	290	18.1
Java	243	15.1	25	1.6	115	7.2	262	16.3	645	40.2
Kalimantan	146	9.1	29	1.8	53	3.3	28	1.7	256	16.0
Sulawesi	82	5.1	11	0.7	31	1.9	33	2.1	157	9.8
East Indonesia	221	13.8	13	0.8	6	0.4	16	1.0	256	16.0
Total	861	53.7	102	6.4	248	15.5	393	24.5	1604	100.0

representations of cultivated landscape are of gardens, parks, paddy fields and golf courses.

This also shows the narrow understanding on how development of tourism in the municipalities/regencies can be obtained. Economic aspect seems to be assumed as the major way of developing tourism rather than highlighting the attractive factors of people-to-people interactions ($n = 47$), cultural heritage preservation ($n = 248$) and unique geographical landscape ($n = 1080$). The questions should be sharply address by municipals/regencies government upon 'why tourists come to a place?' Unique identity, people friendliness and cultural diversity are mostly factors that predominantly bring people elsewhere rather than whether or not the places have modern government building, economic support offices and other economic representations, which rather show similarity and modern features across different municipals/regencies. The Indonesian government also committed to spend IDR 4.9 billion ($320 million) for promoting tourism (Ministry of Finance 2016). Of this budget, 15 per cent (IDR 735 billion) is used for boosting the tourism performances of provinces/municipals/regencies. This budget places Indonesia in the top 10 tourism spenders in the world (World Bank 2018). Significantly, as tourism brochures are produced massively using the taxes of the people, representation of a place should also consider right of the local people to proclaim the ownership of the places which potentially the resemble of unique identities of the place. It is important to provide responsible understanding on how tourism may also possess threat to the social identity and ways of local life via the dominant economic power of tourism industry. Therefore, assessing the representations of diverse identities through tourism brochures can also shed light on the nexus of theoretical understandings of diversity, identity in tourism, commercial aspect and practical evaluations with the aim of accommodating more inclusive portrayals of 'the people' in tourism advertising (Alderman and Modlin 2013).

The communication and cultural aspect in tourism sector has been largely concerned only with the commercial and industrial interests. An alternative point of view that involves evaluating tourism through the ways it helps society to represent identity and diversity is demanded in many scholars' discussions (Higgins-Desbiolles 2010; Chabbra 2010; Alderman and Modlin 2013). Tourism and tourism marketing are not just a set of communicative aspects and ideas related to commercial services. Tourism brochures should be evaluated critically as a cultural tool, which can affect the structure of social

relations, empower the local community, construct local and political interests through tourism policy and legitimate social categories and identities.

Ethnic population representation

Culture and ethnicity are viewed as the 'soft power' of a nation's charm (Dinnie and Lio 2010; Hurn 2013), which is able to influence other nations using culture and character as part of country's diplomacy (Dinnie and Lio 2010) in order to build a nation's positive reputation (Dinnie and Lio 2010) and economic investment (Hurn 2013). Furthermore, cultural heritage represents the country's people, values and history (Hurn 2013; Žugić and Konatar 2018; Ratriyana 2020).

From 23 provinces examined in this research, we tracked ethnic/tribe groups in nineteen provinces (82 per cent) from the data of Bureau Central of Statistic (2019) in terms of the ethnic/tribe populations who live in the selected municipalities/regencies. The data from the rest of the provinces cannot be tracked from this official database. There is a total of 80 ethnic/tribe groups represented in this research. Each province has various ethnic/tribe groups; however, some have dominated the population. For example (Table 3), Minangkabau has dominated the population of West Sumatra (88.35 per cent), Java has dominated in both Central Java and Yogyakarta Provinces (97.19 per cent) and Bali has dominated in Bali Province (84.96 per cent).

In another aspect, the tourism brochures of municipalities/regencies also tried to represent some indigenous ethnic/tribe groups as their local people even though they only occur there in small numbers, such as Nias (1.4 per cent) in Sumatera who live in Nias Island, Melayu (2.9 per cent) in Java Island, Kaili (0.9 per cent) and Bugis (1.6 per cent) in Sulawesi Island, and Dayak (11.7 per cent) in Kalimantan Island (Table 4). This is because of their uniqueness in terms of cultural performances and their early settlement history in the islands. This fact comes out despite the majority of total population coming from another ethnic group, such as the Java tribe in Java (76.8 per cent) and in Sumatera Island (38.3 per cent). Therefore, the reasons for a tribe to be depicted as representative of the location are mainly their early settlement history, which means that the place can be considered their 'original' location; and their unique cultural identity as a tourism spectacle.

To understand the representation of ethnic identity and diversity, it is important to evaluate the visibility and invisibility of certain ethnic groups (Alderman and Modlin 2013; Burton and Klemm 2011), communities (Coon 2012) and cultural representations (Amoamo and Thompson 2010). Thus, in this research project, we started by considering some ethnic/tribe groups, which may have spread and assimilated widely to other provinces across the nation (Bureau Central of Statistic 2019). From 23 provinces examined in this research (Table 3), we tracked ethnic/tribe groups in nineteen provinces (82 per cent) using the data of Bureau Central of Statistic (2019). There are several groups, which have spread to many provinces, such as Java ($n = 11$, 47.8 per cent), Sunda ($n = 9$, 30.1 per cent), Tionghoa ($n = 8$, 34.8 per cent) and Batak ($n = 8$, 34.8 per cent). These groups have spread into 23 provinces in Indonesia.

When municipalities/regencies show diversity, they generally only represent the 'original' ethnic group in their area (Table 3). The tourism brochures of municipalities/regencies do not include the ethnic groups who have spread to and assimilated in different provinces. For example, Tionghoa, as a minority ethnic group, does not get any representation in the tourism brochures even

Table 3: Majority of ethnic/tribe groups in each province.

No.	Province	Ethnic group	Population (people)	%	Ethnic in tourism brochure	Pic (*n*)	%
1	North Sumatera	Batak	6,671,346	44.75	Nias	11	18.3
		Jawa	4,979,284	33.40	Melayu	9	6.9
2	West Sumatera Barat	Minangkabau	4,869,186	88.35	Minangkabau	5	3.6
3	Jambi	Melayu	1,218,305	34.66	Minangkabau	1	1.7
		Jawa	1,048,530	29.83	Melayu	6	28.5
4	South Sumatera	Melayu	3,051,985	36.37	Melayu	11	0
		Jawa	2,098,711	25.01			
		Batak	2,387,379	28.45			
5	Lampung	Jawa	5,491,029	65.00	Lampung	10	14.9
6	Jakarta	Jawa	3,818,760	36.17	Melayu	28	13.2
		Betawi	2,986,804	28.29			
7	Central Java	Jawa	34,796,324	97.86	Jawa	11	58.2
8	Yogyakarta	Jawa	3,709,602	96.53	Jawa	114	52.1
9	East Java	Jawa	31,639,809	79.70	Jawa	1	1.9
10	West Kalimantan	Dayak	2,155,717	43.10	Dayak	34	100
11	Central Kalimantan	Dayak Ngaju	1,265,667	46.62	Dayak	6	5.2
		Jawa	588,310	21.67			
		Banjar	570,935	21.03			
12	East Kalimantan	Jawa	1,125,348	30.24	Dayak	24	23.3
		Bugis	774,421	20.81	Banjar	4	44.4
13	South Kalimantan	Banjar	3,155,061	74.34	Bugis	20	10.2
14	Central Sulawesi	Kaili	6,491,668	21.60	Kaili	3	12
		Bugis	4,694,438	15.62	Bugis	4	5.1
15	North Sulawesi	Minahasa	1,073,257	43.20	Minahasa	32	45
		Sangir	566,441	22.80			
16	South Sulawesi	Bugis	3,957,913	45.12	Bugis	1	5.3
		Makassar	2,603,521	29.68			
17	Gorontalo	Gorontalo	no data	–	Gorontalo	5	7.7
18	West Nusa Tenggara	Sasak	3,409,307	68.00	Sasak	2	4.3
19	East Nusa Tenggara	Atoni/Dawan	1,145,803	21.00	Manggarai	11	5.3
		Manggarai	818,430	15.00			
20	Bali	Bali	3,684,630	84.96	Bali	2	4.5
21	Southeast Mollusca	Kei	no data	–	Kei	1	33.3
22	Central Mollusca	Ambon	no data	–	Ambon	–	–
23	Papua	Papua	482,603	51.48	Papua	14	25

Source: Bureau Central of Statistic Indonesia (2010).

Table 4: Ethnic/tribe groups who spread and assimilate in different provinces.

Ethnic group	Spread in *n* province	Percentage by collection (%)
Bugis	7	30.4
Dayak	6	26.1
Melayu	7	30.4
Sunda	9	39.1
Tionghoa	8	34.8
Jawa	11	47.8
Batak	8	34.8

though it has spread and assimilated in different provinces. The same is true of the Javanese ethnic group, which has spread in large numbers to some provinces in Sumatra, but did not get any representation because Sumatra is not the island they are originally from.

The current research explored the reproduction of cultural domination and the marginalization of cultural identity and population by identifying the invisible groups in the tourism brochures. The system of power in municipal/regency governments determines who has the opportunity to decide who should be represented in the tourism brochures. Furthermore, the politic of representation in tourism may also lead to the decisions in the municipals/regencies to give attention or to abandon the preservation efforts of culture and livelihood support in tourism cycle for those who are not being represented (Alderman and Caspersen 2018; Swiley-Woods 2019). In the current research, we found that the constant reproduction of cultural domination depends not only on the decades-long circulation of images (Niskala and Ridanpaa 2016), the market system (Higgs 2015) and historical processes (Umamaheswari 2018), but also on the perception that the uniqueness of places should only be represented by the original ethnic/tribal identity of the area. This may strengthen the cultural domination of the most populous ethnicity and marginalize newcomers or other minority groups. The invisibility of ethnic groups or minorities is problematic because it indicates the power exercised by municipal/regency governments in selecting who should be promoted in the tourism brochures and thus, implicate more on the political decision to preserve or abandon certain group of people (Alderman and Caspersen 2018; Swiley-Woods 2019).

Although it is important to showcase the original or dominant ethnic/tribe group in representing a place or region, the demonstration of cultural diversity is also likely to be attractive to cultural tourists who value experiences of cultural diversity on their travels. Cultural diversity is also a form of soft power, suggesting a place that welcomes outsiders, treats minorities with respect and showing the character of the people in a place (Dinnie and Lio 2010; Hurn 2013). The demonstration of diversity may show how differences and minorities are embraced in a population and a place. This notion is also an important aspect of a sustainable approach to producing culture, preserving cultural identity and implementing the nation's principle of 'unity in diversity' and the image of 'the nation of diversity'.

Regencies/municipalities in many nations may differ in terms of culture. Representing a regencies/municipality as a monolithic culture will not do

justice to this diversity (Kim 2010). Each ethnic group needs recognition of its local identity. Potentially, municipal/regency governments are small units of government that have the responsibility to represent the more specific cultural identities of ethnic groups and to utilize financial resources for tourism promotion for the representing the diversity (Gustafsson et al. 2012).

Occupational representation and political aspect

The economic benefit derived from tourism may depend on how the destination's identity is communicated to the market (Pomering 2013), including the representation of its social and economic conditions (Žugić and Konatar 2018). Local people are often depicted as those who 'serve' or as the object of the gaze. This issue has long been of interest to scholars and can be explored by examining the representation of occupations (Alderman and Modlin 2013), clothing (Hyung 2013) and interactions with the 'tourists' (Hunter 2008) in the tourism brochures. The current research not only wants to see how the municipal/regency governments organize the representations of their 'own' places and their 'own' people, but also to develop questions related to the dominant roles and jobs of local people that are depicted in their 'own' tourism brochure. It is important to consider how the reproductions of dominant images in tourism brochure occur not only in the realm of 'west seeing east', but also in terms of their 'own' places and people, due to the presence or absence of reflexive understanding of visual representation in tourism brochures of Indonesia (Cahyanto et al. 2013).

The majority of the occupations (Table 5) represented in tourism brochures related to culture and art ($n = 273$, 44.8 per cent) – i.e. dancer, crafter and traditional music player – and tourism employment ($n = 53$, 8.7 per cent) – i.e. guide, driver and culinary personnel.

Other occupations represented in tourism brochures are also related to agricultural activities, such as farming and fruit picking ($n = 76$, 12.5 per cent). Official personnel, such as regents and mayors, are represented in the tourism brochure ($n = 165$, 27 per cent), although this might have no relationship at all to tourism itself. These pictures also occur in tourism brochures in several provinces, for example in Kalimantan ($n = 57$, 46.7 per cent) and Sumatera ($n = 58$, 45.7 per cent). Meanwhile, brochures from Java (112) and the east side of Indonesia (46) show more cultural activities such as festivals, traditional vehicles, rituals and other cultural events. Jobs that relate directly to tourism ($n = 53$, 8.7 per cent) are also shown in this study, including waitresses,

Table 5: Type of representation of occupation in tourism brochures.

Category (occupation)	Frequency (*n*)	Percentage (%)
Culture and art	273	44.8
Agricultural	76	12.5
Industrial	6	1.0
Tourism	53	8.7
Officials	165	27.0
Religious activities	37	6.1
Total	610	100

receptionists and people who provide other services in tourism. A small number of photographs (*n* = 37, 6.1 per cent) show religious-related activities such as religious leaders and rituals involving groups of people; these are unique occupations in Indonesia, a nation whose people consider religion to be an important part of society. The last occupation is industrial-related activity (1 per cent), images of which show people who work in fabric manufacture, or managers/engineers who work around sites of development.

The results of this study show that municipal/regency governments most commonly represent six type of occupation in tourism brochures: culture and art performances, agricultural-related job, industrial workers, tourism-related jobs, government officials and religious personnel (Table 5). Some jobs sustain the imaginings of an agricultural nation, such as farmers and fisherman (Chetty 2011). The cultural and art performances and tourism-related jobs also sustain the tourism cycle, which involves entertainment, performances and services (receptionists, waitress and chefs) (Alderman and Modlin 2013; Bandyopadhyay and Nascimento 2010).

Religion becomes more important in Indonesia (Fealy and White 2008), religious practices, activities, attributes and leaders (Timothy and Iverson 2006) are included in occupational representations to attract tourists with religious purposes. Furthermore, the concept of *halal* tourism is growing in the nation (Jaelani 2017). People with religious motivation undertake pilgrimages to some strong Islamic religious areas in Indonesia (Jaelani 2017), making religion-related occupations important material to be represented for municipalities/regencies. These depictions are important in some areas where religious buildings or rituals are considered sacred places, which people may have strong reasons to visit.
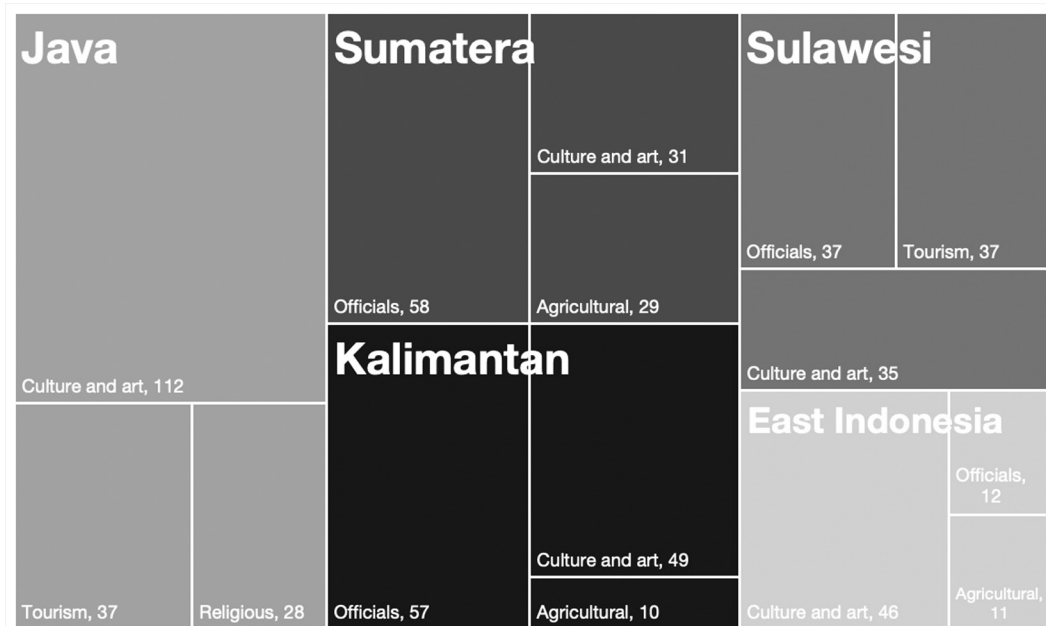

Figure 3: Type of occupation in tourism brochures by island.

The variety of occupations and activities indicates how the municipal/ regency governments interpret the jobs as attractive culturally, and politically. In Sumatra ($n = 58$), Sulawesi ($n = 37$) and Kalimantan ($n = 57$) islands, for example, images of government officials predominantly show those who are in power and the activities of the government officials such as meetings, working and official ceremony. The current research also finds frequent photos of the head of regencies or municipalities in the cover of tourism brochures, which occupy more than 20 per cent of the page. Why should tourism have linked to government officials?

When an official appears frequently in the tourism brochures, it shows that they have power to decide who will present (Ott et al. 2011) and narrate the tourism story (Avraham and Dougherty 2012). In fact, there are unequal cultural distribution and power relations (Manning 1978; Britton 1979), where the tourism brochure becomes an exclusive tool to promote people with power. Ideally, representations in tourism promotion should show culture, character (Gudjonson 2005) and emotional elements (Anholt 2006). However, the representation of these officials shows that tourism brochures could not be detached from the political objective of regency/municipal authorities who wish to promote themselves and their activities by misusing the authoritative power in tourism brochures.

This analysis shows that the tourism brochure is not just a marketing tool but also a cultural and political tool, and that a dominant group controls the tourism imagery (Pomering 2013). This finding is significant in the Indonesian context since it is important to evaluate the values that underpin the representations in tourism brochures. The current study shows that tourism brochures have the political power to represent and showcase the exclusive power elites, and the authorities' use of power (Alderman and Modlin 2013; Cole and Morgan 2010), which may not have any direct connection or correlation to the questions of why someone should visit a place.

DISCUSSIONS

Using this data, researchers can point out the importance of evaluating a communication tool and media in order to critique the stagnant processes of image reproduction, which may sustain inequality, authoritative power misuse, racial bias and cultural marginalization. It is important for communication scholars in Indonesia and elsewhere to point out and evaluate these problems in order to demand a more responsible and inclusive approach to tourism media, which may silence the potential diversity of place and people (Alderman and Modlin 2013; Higgins-Desbiolles 2010).

In this research project, we were able to capture the ways in which municipal/regency governments in Indonesia interpret their own tourism spectacles, commodities and identities as a parade of diversity. In this parade, the representation of different identities of the place and people is exhibited as a spectacle in the media using a uniform and narrow way without an understanding of what diversity in the place should mean (Hunter 2012; Gunnarsdóttir 2011; Nicolleta and Servidio 2012). As a further contribution, this research also complicates the selection of representations and the choices about ways of depicting places and people that may include and exclude others (Feighery 2011; Alderman and Modlin 2013; Benjamin et al. 2020).

Those that are most frequently included are (RQ1) the economic and geographic aspects of product/services, (RQ2) the natural and history/

heritage images, (RQ3) the dominant population and/or people from the place of origin and finally (RQ4), occupations that depict people in the tourism cycle, agricultural activities, government/political positions and religion-related roles. The visibilities of these categories should be evaluated critically on whether or not it can demonstrate the tourism strength and cultural diversity.

On the other hand, those who are least visible or invisible are also included in this study as the point from which further investigation and representation should begin. These objects could be examined further in future evaluations of places at the municipal/regency level: for example, the local people, which can show the aspect of cultural diverse identity (RQ1) could be emphasized; cultivated spaces and heritage, as the least priority could be targeted for some municipal/regency development programmes (RQ2); minorities and the diversity of ethnic/tribal groups, such as newcomers and smaller numbers of indigenous groups could be represented (RQ3); and occupations (RQ3) related to the educated sector of society could be shown to highlight the quality of educative participation at the municipal/regency level. This understanding is valuable for the advancement of strategy in displaying diversity in Indonesia and elsewhere. This study also contributes to practical evaluations to accommodate more inclusive portrayals of places and the racial/geographical politics of representation for policy-makers, academics and marketers in the tourism sectors (Alderman and Modlin 2013).

In terms of limitations, as a quantitative study, this research could not represent equal data for Sulawesi ($n = 319$, 10.5 per cent) and the eastern part of Indonesia ($n = 368$, 12.2 per cent). Their images are underrepresented by comparison with other regions, especially Java and Sumatera islands, which were represented in 60 per cent of the total images due to the limited availability of the brochures in the exhibition. This study also only examines tourism brochures made by the authority, which means that the community's ideas and content were not fully explored. A reflexive approach to understanding the ways in which communities voice their identities might be an alternative for further research in which researchers could also gain a much more inclusive insight into how local people want to be represented in tourism media (Cahyanto et al. 2013). Collaborative research with communities to discover their ideas and creativity could be beneficial for expanding the potential tourism market and representing diversity in a participatory and sustainable way.

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		2. Ina Nur Ratriyana, SIP., MA.
Jabatan	:	Dosen Departemen Ilmu Komunikasi, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Atma Jaya Yogyakarta
Tugas yang diberikan	:	Sebagai Penulis Artikel Jurnal berjudul "Parade of diversity: Representations of places and identities of Indonesia through tourism brochures. International Journal of Media & Cultural Politics" pada International Journal of Media & Cultural Politics
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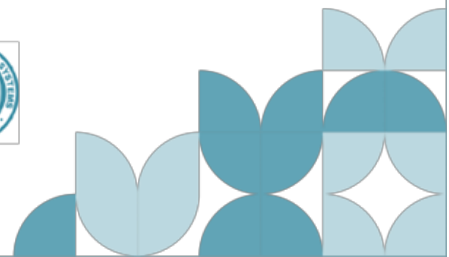|		
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…just from time to time there were little lapses in English, although for the most part the quality of writing was absolutely fine. One term I found a little confusing was "postmodern tourist". This seems more like vague academic-speak than a clearly defined category of tourist. Would it be better to say "cultural tourists who value experiences of cultural diversity on their travels" …?

Comment Authors: Thank you for your suggestion. We agree that this term is easier to be understood by the audiences. We changed the term based on your suggestion: Although it is important to showcase the original or dominant ethnic/tribe group in representing a place or region, the demonstration of cultural diversity is also likely to be attractive to cultural tourists who value experiences of cultural diversity on their travels. **(Page 25)**

Thank you for your support.

Regards

Authors

Received, with thanks, we'll go over your revised version and shall notify our final decision shortly. With best whishes, Francisco	fseoane 2021-07-30 08:59 AM
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▶ Thank you Dr. Francisco.	desideriamurti 2021-07-30 09:23 AM

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municipality and regency".

Our decision is: Revisions Required

We rarely make decisions on a paper based on a single guest review, but since this was quite positive and we had difficulties in finding other competent reviewers, we are happy to tentatively accept your piece, provided that you address the minor issues highlighted by our guest reviewer below.

If you would like your article to be featured in our forthcoming issue, the revised version should be with us by September the 15th, 2021.

Sincerely,

The Editors

Reviewer G:

Theoretical grounding

This article read like a professional analysis of a clearly identified topic: photographic imagery used in Indonesian tourism brochures. It followed a recognized methodology.

Empirical grounding

The sample size seemed ample for the purposes. One point of clarification is needed in the introductory section. Were the brochures all in English (or otherwise directed at international tourists) or were they in the languages of Indonesia (or otherwise directed at a domestic travel market)? Clarifying this is significant as it impinges on processes of region vs nation branding for domestic vs international markets. Also, Table 5 needs checking. The current population of the country is 275 million, so why is the population of North Sumatera listed as being approaching 700 million?

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Empirical grounding

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We also have supplementary data, which we keep in repository database:

Murti, D and Ratriyana, I (2020): Coding of Indonesian municipal government tourism brochures. Curtin University. http://dx.doi.org/10.25917/5eaa792274227

Thus, we would also confirm that we have no conflicts of interest to disclose the findings of the research. Please address all correspondence concerning this manuscript to me at desideria.cempaka@gmail.com or desideria.murti@uajy.ac.id. Thank you for your consideration of this manuscript.

Yogyakarta, December 28, 2020

Best Regards,

Dr. Desideria Cempaka Wijaya Murti

Corresponding Author

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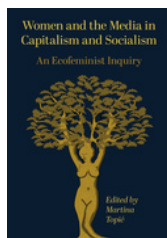

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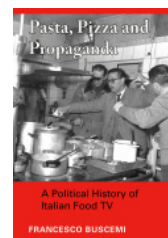
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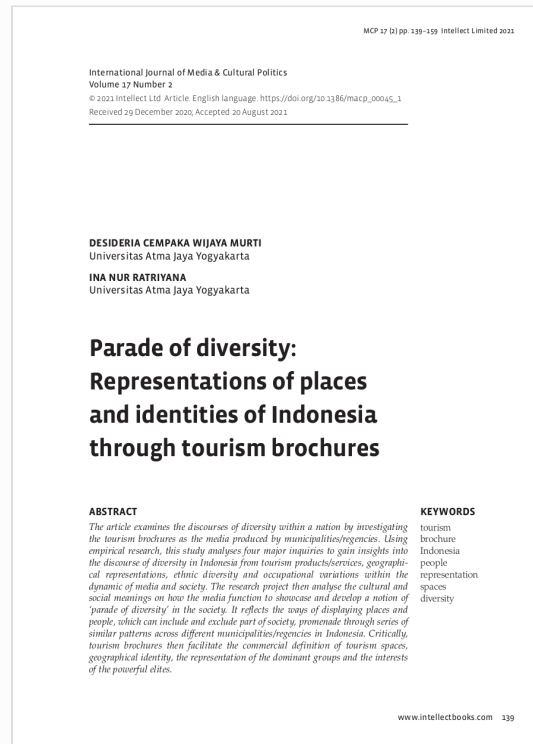University of East London, UK

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Parade of diversity: Representations of places and identities of Indonesia through tourism brochures

ABSTRACT

The article examines the discourses of diversity within a nation by investigating the tourism brochures as the media produced by municipalities/regencies. Using empirical research, this study analyses four major inquiries to gain insights into the discourse of diversity in Indonesia from tourism products/services, geographical representations, ethnic diversity and occupational variations within the dynamic of media and society. The research project then analyse the cultural and social meanings on how the media function to showcase and develop a notion of 'parade of diversity' in the society. It reflects the ways of displaying places and people, which can include and exclude part of society, promenade through series of similar patterns across different municipalities/regencies in Indonesia. Critically, tourism brochures then facilitate the commercial definition of tourism spaces, geographical identity, the representation of the dominant groups and the interests of the powerful elites.

KEYWORDS

tourism
brochure
Indonesia
people
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INTRODUCTION

Tourism brochures have been commonly used as the communicative and cultural media to represent the complexity of commercial aspect and identities of places, regions and countries. 'Ways of seeing' in tourism brochures have shaped tourism experiences of places and nations (Urry 2002; Alderman and Modlin 2013; Gunnarsdóttir 2011). Photographic images in tourism brochures are one way to see society, to interpret reality and to show perspectives on history and identity (Jokela 2014). Many communication, cultural and media scholars have focused on photographic images since they can show iconic places or people (Hunter 2012; Cronin 2011), demonstrate experiences (Gunnarsdóttir 2011), present natural beauty (Svobodova et al. 2017) and construct expectations through both affective and cognitive approaches (Murti 2020b; Nicolleta and Servidio 2012). More than that, the ways in which photographic images are constructed have received attention from scholars due to the selections of representative images of place and people that may include and exclude others (Feighery 2011; Alderman and Modlin 2013; Benjamin et al. 2020). Tourism brochure become a communication tool to produce space in which the perceived process of interactions is shaped among human being (Adams and Jansson 2012; Lindell 2015). Tourism promotional images have the power not only to represent certain identities and showcase diversity, but also to exclusively portray the chosen elites and depict others in an unjust manner (Alderman and Modlin 2013; Murti 2020b; Cole and Morgan 2010). This process can be an active role in the constitution of places and spaces (Farías 2011). Tourism brochures give privilege and power to some groups, allowing them to be seen and heard in comparison to others (Morgan 2004; Alderman and Modlin 2013).

While most of the attention directed towards tourism brochure focuses on the countries, consideration need to be given to the parochialism of municipal/regency governments as the spaces that form the discursive identity of a nation. Municipalities/regencies are the local administrative governments established as a part of a decentralization effort in many Asian countries, which have diverse ethnic and tribal groups, such as China (Leibold and Chen 2014), Indonesia (Ito 2006) and India (Ghai 1998). Additionally, there is potentially a complex cultural interaction on how local governments express their local identity, facilitate the indigenous culture and accommodate the national interest through tourism brochures (Maaiah and Masadeh 2015). Hence, Indonesia, the chosen context of the research project is a multicultural nation in which identities are perceived and imagined in contested and negotiated modalities through the decentralizing efforts of numerous municipalities/regencies in the nation (Murti 2019; Fitrani et al. 2005).

Accordingly, the current study collected brochures published by 40 regencies/municipalities of Indonesia through the yearly exhibition of Asosiasi Pemerintah Kabupaten Seluruh Indonesia ('Association of all Indonesia regency/municipal governments') (APKASI), which was held in Jakarta in 2019 and attended by tourists, investors (foreign and local) and business in hospitality. The event is one of the national major events in which official tourism publications (brochures, flyers, videos and posters) from the municipals/regencies of Indonesia can be found altogether. The brochures are both in English and Indonesian language because the brochures are targeted for both domestics and international tourists. Furthermore, the research project also collected official tourism brochures from the websites of four provinces in the

eastern part of Indonesia in order to include the eastern regions that were not represented in the trade show. This was an ideal setting in which to collect the samples because the information available came from a total of 514 regencies/municipalities of Indonesia. This research focuses only on tourism advertisements produced by local governments and eliminates advertisements made by communities, travel agencies and others. This sampling strategy resulted in total of 3027 pictures from regencies/municipalities in several islands, including Sumatera (26.7 per cent), Java (33.7 per cent), Kalimantan (16.9 per cent) and Sulawesi (10.5 per cent), and the rest were from the Moluccas islands and Papua in East Indonesia (12.2 per cent). To assess reliability, Krippendorff's (2004) alpha was used, where an alpha of 0.80 or higher is considered good. The intercoder reliability showed coefficients ranged from 0.841 to 0.964 with an average measurement of 0.924 (SD = 0.922). Using Kappa to find the standardization of the difference between the coders, perfect agreement was reached ($\alpha = 0.851$), since the value of perfect agreement is between −1 and 1. Drawing on Massey's (2005) argument that by mapping the space as cartography of power, this research project maybe useful to draw whose power is predominantly manifested in tourism brochures, and how this is done (Figure 1).

From this research, we argue that the diversity of identity, which appears in the tourism brochures, functions as a parade. In this notion, a parade is a metaphor to show how the public media (the tourism brochures) function to display the formal procession of diversity in an ostentatious way with the selections process of the groups who should perform in the spectacle. We argue that the diversity is displayed formally, homogeny and narrowly by the formulation of the most dominant features in economic exhibition, selections of group of people through ethnicity and occupations. The diversity of identity
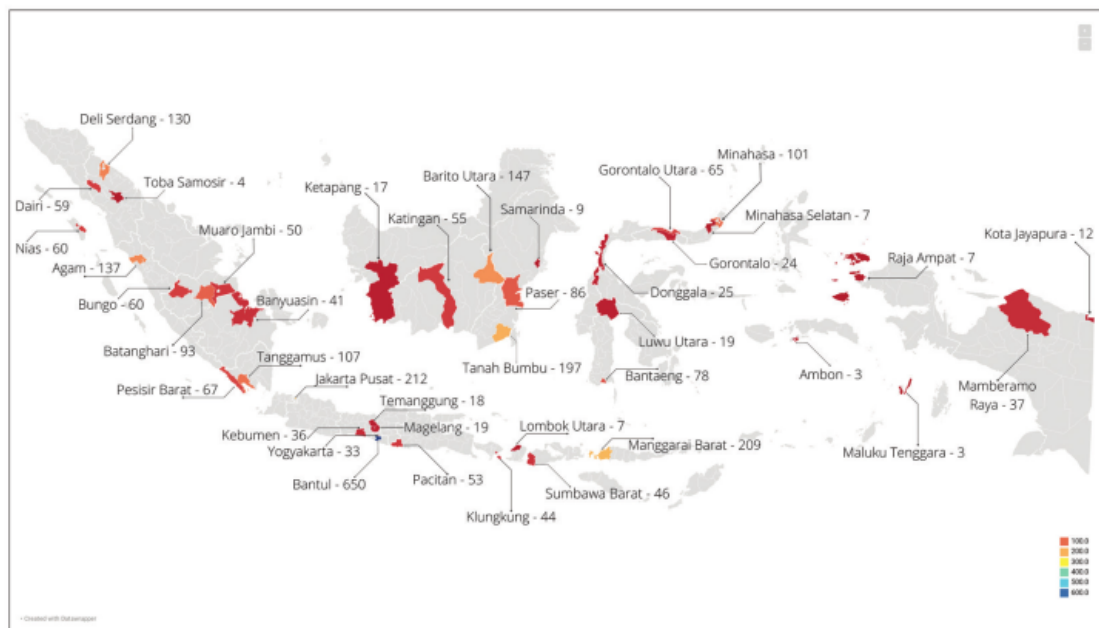

Figure 1: Map with the number of tourism brochures collected from municipalities/regencies in Indonesia.

used in an attention-seeking way is celebrated to exhibit local identity, which has been selected by those who are in power. The ways in which municipalities/regencies display the places' and people's diverse identity promenade through series of similar patterns across different municipalities/regencies in Indonesia. In the tourism brochures studied, diversity works to facilitate the systemic definition of tourism space, the representation of the dominant groups and to escort the interests of the powerful elites.

TOURISM BROCHURES AS THE MEDIA TO ASSESS THE DISCOURSES OF IDENTITY AND DIVERSITY

Some studies of the representation of identity and diversity in tourism brochures have been debatable accounts of the recognition of regional ideology and racial practices. In discussions of regional identity, scholars have used textual analysis (Jokela 2014), image analysis (Hunter 2012), cross-national analysis (Horng and Tsai 2010), comparative study (Simon et al. 2010) and discourses (Murti 2020b; Feighery 2011) that work to define identity, the meanings of region, and the ideological approaches of tourism brochures. The debates about the representation of identity and diversity also refer to the legitimation of both the visibility and the invisibility of certain aspects of geographical conditions (Pawlusz and Polese 2017), ethnic groups and races (Alderman and Modlin 2013; Burton and Klemm 2011), gender (Ypeij 2012), communities (Coon 2012) and colonial/postcolonial hybrid cultures (Amoamo and Thompson 2010). These concerns with diversity in tourism brochures may, in some countries, be relatively unimportant to businesses that produce tourism brochures and advertising agencies.

However, many scholars argue that the reproductions of images have produced patterns of cultural domination and marginalization. The patterns of cultural domination and marginalization emerge from the reuse and repetition of similar imagery over time (Niskala and Rodanpaa 2016), follow the market system (Higgs 2015) and historical process (Umamaheswari 2018; Murti 2019). This seems to be followed by an argument that governments, advertising agency and the producers of tourism brochures generally just recirculate the images (Chingwe and Makuwira 2018). Power relations and identity struggles are embedded in the reproduction of tourism brochures. Consequently, the tourism industrial cycle has created unfairness and unequal social relations (Alderman and Caspersen 2018). For example, research projects have dealt with the racial visibility of African Americans in the American South (Alderman and Modlin 2013) and British tourism brochures depicting South Asian, Afro-Caribbean and Mixed Race people as tourists, workers and local people (Burton and Klemm 2011).

In terms of occupation, minorities have often been depicted as those who 'serve' or as 'the object' in the tourism cycle. Studies show how minority groups and indigenous locals are depicted as servants (Alderman and Modlin 2013), sexual and emotional objects (Pritchard and Morgan 2000), entertainers (Bandyopadhyay and Nascimento 2010), objects of the oriental gaze (Chetty 2011), foreign others (Fuadi 2016) and exotic tribes, rather than as the owners of the land, tourists and respected members of the host community. Since it was first discussed by Manning (1978) and Britton (1979), the reproductions of images have not progressed any further. Hence, the production of inequality in cultural distribution, power relations and patterns of racial bias has continued, especially in 'developing', 'underdeveloped', and 'postcolonial' countries.

Communication, cultural and media studies scholars have demanded a more responsible and inclusive approach to tourism marketing, which discriminates against minority groups and small indigenous ethnic groups, and attempt to silence the diversity of place and people (Alderman and Modlin 2013). The demand to recognize diversity is important in bringing to tourism a sustainable approach of producing culture and preserving social relations between locals and tourists in tourism destinations (Higgins-Desbiolles 2010).

There are questions among scholars of tourism brochures about the constructionist perspective on places and people's identity. The questions are critical to address: who is represented? Who is not represented? (Massey 2005). Who/what is absent and present? (Ott et al. 2011). Whose stories, history and ideology do the tourism brochures dominantly narrate? (Avraham and Dougherty 2012). Continuing from Alderman's work on identity, representation and tourism brochures (2013), these questions are useful in understanding the discursive identity and diversity as tools to promote the social justice perspective as the centre of cultural representation.

THE DISCOURSE OF DIVERSITY AND IDENTITY OF INDONESIA

Indonesia, as the nation context of this study, has three discursive aspects that can be captured in a study of identity, diversity and tourism brochures. Those are the demographic, historical identity and administration aspects. Indonesia's demographic characteristics offer a rich field for studying the tensions of diversity in a nation. Based on the research of the Indonesian Central Agency of Statistics, there are more than 1331 tribes and 320 ethnic groups in Indonesia, spread over 416 regencies and 98 municipalities from 34 provinces across the nation (Bureau Central of Statistic 2010). The spread of the regencies/municipalities is designed to accommodate the nation's diversity in terms of tribes, ethnic groups and elite political interests (Ito 2006). Of a total population of more than 230 million, 54 per cent of the people of these tribes and ethnic groups live in cities and 46 per cent in rural areas (Ministry of Education and Culture 2016). These demographic differences have created the challenge of controlling and representing the complexities of national identity in many arenas, including tourism.

From a historical perspective, Indonesia has been challenged by the tensions of diversity. Brown explains how problematic it was to attach a social meaning to the word 'Indonesia' and to motivate the populations of this archipelago to identify themselves collectively as 'Indonesians'. Brown states: 'Certainly, before the twentieth century, none of the inhabitants of the archipelago would have seen themselves in this collective term' (2003: 3). Up to the present day, Indonesia is still dealing with these tensions. Despite the nation's motto of 'Bhinneka Tunggal Ika' ('Unity in diversity'), which expresses a desire to accommodate the differences, efforts by particular groups to assert autonomy and conflicts in some regions persist (Brown 2003).

Administratively, to accommodate diversity and in the hope of achieving much more homogeneous local communities across the country, the government divided each province into several municipalities/regencies. Furthermore, after the fall of President Soeharto era, in 2001, there was a 'Big Bang' of decentralization or *pemekaran* (literally 'blossoming') in the number of *kabupaten* ('regencies') and *kota* ('municipalities'). There were 292 in 1998, 434 at the end of 2004 (Fitrani et al. 2005) and 514 regencies/municipalities in 2019 (Kompas 2020). Studies show that this fundamental change demonstrates

not only Indonesia's subnational administrative, political and fiscal landscape, but also a move towards more localized power and control over diversity and identity (Ito 2006). Hence, Indonesia is constantly challenged by the diversity of the population and the tensions of sharing the collective meaning of Indonesia, and it will continue to be re-negotiated and addressed in the future (Murti 2019). The nuance of diversity and identity in Indonesia can be assessed through series of questions that address the aspect of the diverse identity displayed in the tourism brochures. Thus, the study will be useful for policy-makers to evaluate the diversity, exclusion and inclusions portrayed in their tourism brochures.

FINDINGS

This section specifically aims at extending the findings by critically engaging the data with the cultural and social meanings of tourism brochures of Indonesia's municipals/regencies. Through this analysis, the research can contribute to the nexus between empirical research and the analysis of cultural meanings and implications, which tied back to the social issues in the society and the theoretical underpinning. Conversely, the empirical findings can provide the map of diversity and clarity of data regarding to the representations of diversity and identity.

The economic exhibition

This study found that the economic representation dominated Indonesia's tourism brochures' photographic imagery. This finding is consistent with Hurn's (2013) argument that the economic aspect is a part of commodity in tourism brochures to develop the nation's image. It perpetuates the impression to the domestic/international tourist's perception that the destination has adequate facilities, modern government buildings, economic support offices, comfortable transportation and adequate resources that are ready for investment. By showing economic conditions and tourist commodities, municipal/regency governments systematically exhibit an investment promise and the tourism development in relation to a destination (Pomering 2013).

The findings of the content analysis data show the distribution of the four characteristics on the products and services offered by municipal/regency governments in the tourism brochures (Table 1). Economic elements were

Table 1: The products or services offered by Indonesian municipalities/regencies in their tourism brochures.

Island	Economics		Politics		People		Geography		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Sumatera	428	11.9	201	5.6	77	2.1	278	7.7	984	27.3
Java	433	12.0	132	3.7	307	8.5	309	8.6	1181	32.7
Kalimantan	224	6.2	108	3.0	107	3.0	177	4.9	616	17.1
Sulawesi	110	3.0	91	2.5	59	1.6	108	3.0	368	10.2
East Indonesia	120	3.3	90	2.5	41	1.1	211	5.8	462	12.8
Total	1315	36.4	622	17.2	591	16.4	1083	30.0	3611	100.0

represented in the highest percentage of tourism photographs, around 36.4 per cent (n = 1315). The second most frequent representation is geography landscape, which occurred in about 30 per cent of images (n = 1083), while people (n = 591) and politics (n = 622) were represented at the least.

The data from the images of economic elements show that topics related to resources (n = 633, 48 per cent) and industry (n = 423, 32 per cent) represent the largest proportion across the main islands. The majority of the photographs in the resources category represent hospitality (n = 494, 78 per cent), for example, hotels, restaurants, museums and parks. The rest represent transportation facilities (n = 105, 16.5 per cent) such as airports, harbours and roads. Meanwhile, the industry is defined as natural-based industry (i.e. fishing, farming, mining and animal) and local industry.

Geographic landscape is the second most frequent category of pictures in tourism brochures (n = 1083, 30 per cent). However, the majority of the tourism brochures based on geographic landscape focus only on nature (n = 854, 78 per cent), which is mainly represented by beautiful scenery with no human. The nature content in tourism brochures exists in several forms, including seas/beaches (n = 307, 35.9 per cent), water recreation such as rivers, lakes, waterfalls (n = 239, 27.9 per cent), rocks and caves (n = 127, 14.8 per cent), mountains and hills (n = 116, 13.5 per cent) and islands (n = 59, 0.6 per cent).

The regencies/municipalities represent the political aspect through their slogans (n = 307, 48.5 per cent) and photographs of local officials (n = 239, 38.4 per cent). The municipalities/regencies also show the Indonesian tourism slogan (n = 127, 20.4 per cent), 'Wonderful Indonesia', and the logo of Indonesia tourism (n = 59, 0.9 per cent) but not in the majority.

There is, however, an existence of social risks that escort the commoditization of places as an economic source and scope of tourism industry. There is a short-term investment possibility, which can seize the social identity and way of life of people. As the attention is given mostly to economic aspect (n = 1315) and put the people identity (n = 591) as the least priority including the very few images of local people who represent the region (n = 155), this implements the ways in which the municipals/government intend to compromise and define the place identity in the economic aspect as a more valuable commodity.

Specifically for the representation of the people, we attempted to dwell more on who are 'the people' and how are they represented in the tourism brochures. We found that the municipalities/regencies mostly represent 'the people' by connecting them to the use of space. The majority of the pictures in the tourism brochures included no human subjects (n = 512, 33.9 per cent). But whenever people are pictured, these images include tourists (n = 223, 14.7 per cent), local people (n = 155, 10 per cent) and interactions between tourists and local hosts (n = 47, 3 per cent).

The study shows how photographic images with no people, showing the tranquil lands, are consistent in all types of space representation, including natural space (n = 542, 34.9 per cent), cultivated landscape (n = 68, 4.4 per cent), history/heritage (n = 194, 12.5 per cent) and tourism product (n = 246, 15.8 per cent). Images of tourists are the second highest proportion of people representation in the natural space, cultivated space and history/heritage categories. Meanwhile, the local people/host and the interactions between the tourists and hosts appeared the least. The municipals/regencies also tend to show a place as empty of human. Figure 2 shows how 'the people' category functions to enhance and convince potential tourists of the attractiveness of the space.
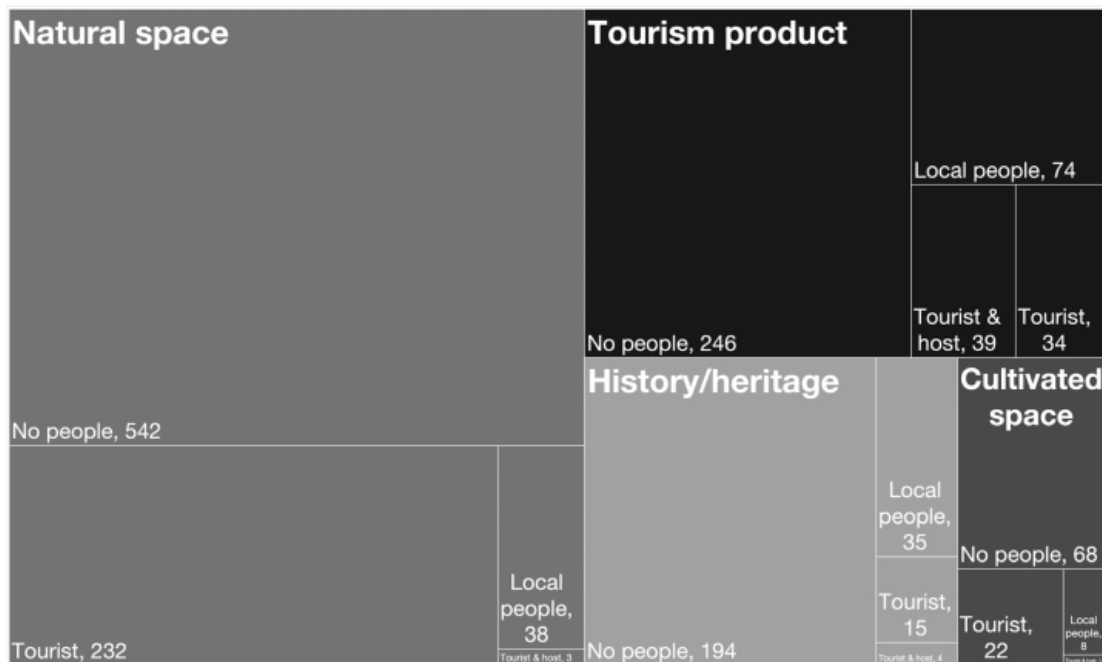
Natural space	Tourism product		
No people, 542	No people, 246	Local people, 74	
		Tourist & host, 39	Tourist, 34
Tourist, 232	History/heritage		Cultivated space
	Local people, 38	Local people, 35	No people, 68
	Tourist & host, 3	Tourist, 15	
	No people, 194	Tourist & host, 4	Tourist, 22	Local people, 8

Figure 2: Frequency of photos depicting people in tourism brochures, by brochure and people categories.

Representation of geographical space

The tourism brochure attempts to represent local identity in terms of geographical space. In the previous research questions, geography become the second portion of the tourism brochures. Hence, we dwell into this data by understanding the physical tourism environment (Hunter 2012) through four typologies: natural landscape, cultivated landscape, history/heritage and tourism product. The natural landscape refers to open spaces with natural characteristic such as mountains, beaches, forests, lakes or skies. Cultivated landscape, on the other hand, is nature, which has been pruned, gardened or altered, such as gardens, parks, paddy fields and golf courses (Hunter 2008). Heritage, as an important means of influencing national and community identity through soft power, refers to any cultural or historical phenomenon that is evidence of achievement (Hunter 2008; Žugić and Konatar 2018), including arts, carvings, reliefs, costumes, landmarks, histories, etc. Last, tourism product (Hunter 2008) refers not only to the product itself but also facilities, accommodations and even culinary products and services. These categories are formulated in Table 2.

The categorization attempts to sort tourism representation in terms of the characteristics of spaces (Table 2). In all major islands, the natural landscape is represented in the highest number ($n = 861$) of tourism images of local space. The examples of natural landscape in this study are mountains, beaches, lakes and skies. Local products and/or commodities, such as facilities, accommodations and culinary products, are shown in the second highest number of images ($n = 393$). History and heritage are the third highest number of subjects in the images from all major islands ($n = 248$). Meanwhile, the lowest number is represented by the cultivated spaces ($n = 102$). Most

Table 2: *The characteristics of spaces in the tourism brochures of Indonesian municipalities/regencies.*

Island	Natural landscape		Cultivated landscape		History/ heritage		Tourism product		Total	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Sumatera	169	10.5	24	1.5	43	2.7	54	3.4	290	18.1
Java	243	15.1	25	1.6	115	7.2	262	16.3	645	40.2
Kalimantan	146	9.1	29	1.8	53	3.3	28	1.7	256	16.0
Sulawesi	82	5.1	11	0.7	31	1.9	33	2.1	157	9.8
East Indonesia	221	13.8	13	0.8	6	0.4	16	1.0	256	16.0
Total	861	53.7	102	6.4	248	15.5	393	24.5	1604	100.0

representations of cultivated landscape are of gardens, parks, paddy fields and golf courses.

This also shows the narrow understanding on how development of tourism in the municipalities/regencies can be obtained. Economic aspect seems to be assumed as the major way of developing tourism rather than highlighting the attractive factors of people-to-people interactions ($n = 47$), cultural heritage preservation ($n = 248$) and unique geographical landscape ($n = 1080$). The questions should be sharply address by municipals/regencies government upon 'why tourists come to a place?' Unique identity, people friendliness and cultural diversity are mostly factors that predominantly bring people elsewhere rather than whether or not the places have modern government building, economic support offices and other economic representations, which rather show similarity and modern features across different municipals/regencies. The Indonesian government also committed to spend IDR 4.9 billion ($320 million) for promoting tourism (Ministry of Finance 2016). Of this budget, 15 per cent (IDR 735 billion) is used for boosting the tourism performances of provinces/municipals/regencies. This budget places Indonesia in the top 10 tourism spenders in the world (World Bank 2018). Significantly, as tourism brochures are produced massively using the taxes of the people, representation of a place should also consider right of the local people to proclaim the ownership of the places which potentially the resemble of unique identities of the place. It is important to provide responsible understanding on how tourism may also possess threat to the social identity and ways of local life via the dominant economic power of tourism industry. Therefore, assessing the representations of diverse identities through tourism brochures can also shed light on the nexus of theoretical understandings of diversity, identity in tourism, commercial aspect and practical evaluations with the aim of accommodating more inclusive portrayals of 'the people' in tourism advertising (Alderman and Modlin 2013).

The communication and cultural aspect in tourism sector has been largely concerned only with the commercial and industrial interests. An alternative point of view that involves evaluating tourism through the ways it helps society to represent identity and diversity is demanded in many scholars' discussions (Higgins-Desbiolles 2010; Chabbra 2010; Alderman and Modlin 2013). Tourism and tourism marketing are not just a set of communicative aspects and ideas related to commercial services. Tourism brochures should be evaluated critically as a cultural tool, which can affect the structure of social

relations, empower the local community, construct local and political interests through tourism policy and legitimate social categories and identities.

Ethnic population representation

Culture and ethnicity are viewed as the 'soft power' of a nation's charm (Dinnie and Lio 2010; Hurn 2013), which is able to influence other nations using culture and character as part of country's diplomacy (Dinnie and Lio 2010) in order to build a nation's positive reputation (Dinnie and Lio 2010) and economic investment (Hurn 2013). Furthermore, cultural heritage represents the country's people, values and history (Hurn 2013; Žugić and Konatar 2018; Ratriyana 2020).

From 23 provinces examined in this research, we tracked ethnic/tribe groups in nineteen provinces (82 per cent) from the data of Bureau Central of Statistic (2019) in terms of the ethnic/tribe populations who live in the selected municipalities/regencies. The data from the rest of the provinces cannot be tracked from this official database. There is a total of 80 ethnic/tribe groups represented in this research. Each province has various ethnic/tribe groups; however, some have dominated the population. For example (Table 3), Minangkabau has dominated the population of West Sumatra (88.35 per cent), Java has dominated in both Central Java and Yogyakarta Provinces (97.19 per cent) and Bali has dominated in Bali Province (84.96 per cent).

In another aspect, the tourism brochures of municipalities/regencies also tried to represent some indigenous ethnic/tribe groups as their local people even though they only occur there in small numbers, such as Nias (1.4 per cent) in Sumatera who live in Nias Island, Melayu (2.9 per cent) in Java Island, Kaili (0.9 per cent) and Bugis (1.6 per cent) in Sulawesi Island, and Dayak (11.7 per cent) in Kalimantan Island (Table 4). This is because of their uniqueness in terms of cultural performances and their early settlement history in the islands. This fact comes out despite the majority of total population coming from another ethnic group, such as the Java tribe in Java (76.8 per cent) and in Sumatera Island (38.3 per cent). Therefore, the reasons for a tribe to be depicted as representative of the location are mainly their early settlement history, which means that the place can be considered their 'original' location; and their unique cultural identity as a tourism spectacle.

To understand the representation of ethnic identity and diversity, it is important to evaluate the visibility and invisibility of certain ethnic groups (Alderman and Modlin 2013; Burton and Klemm 2011), communities (Coon 2012) and cultural representations (Amoamo and Thompson 2010). Thus, in this research project, we started by considering some ethnic/tribe groups, which may have spread and assimilated widely to other provinces across the nation (Bureau Central of Statistic 2019). From 23 provinces examined in this research (Table 3), we tracked ethnic/tribe groups in nineteen provinces (82 per cent) using the data of Bureau Central of Statistic (2019). There are several groups, which have spread to many provinces, such as Java ($n = 11$, 47.8 per cent), Sunda ($n = 9$, 30.1 per cent), Tionghoa ($n = 8$, 34.8 per cent) and Batak ($n = 8$, 34.8 per cent). These groups have spread into 23 provinces in Indonesia.

When municipalities/regencies show diversity, they generally only represent the 'original' ethnic group in their area (Table 3). The tourism brochures of municipalities/regencies do not include the ethnic groups who have spread to and assimilated in different provinces. For example, Tionghoa, as a minority ethnic group, does not get any representation in the tourism brochures even

Table 3: *Majority of ethnic/tribe groups in each province.*

No.	Province	Ethnic group	Population (people)	%	Ethnic in tourism brochure	Pic (*n*)	%
1	North Sumatera	Batak	6,671,346	44.75	Nias	11	18.3
		Jawa	4,979,284	33.40	Melayu	9	6.9
2	West Sumatera Barat	Minangkabau	4,869,186	88.35	Minangkabau	5	3.6
3	Jambi	Melayu	1,218,305	34.66	Minangkabau	1	1.7
		Jawa	1,048,530	29.83	Melayu	6	28.5
4	South Sumatera	Melayu	3,051,985	36.37	Melayu	11	0
		Jawa	2,098,711	25.01			
		Batak	2,387,379	28.45			
5	Lampung	Jawa	5,491,029	65.00	Lampung	10	14.9
6	Jakarta	Jawa	3,818,760	36.17	Melayu	28	13.2
		Betawi	2,986,804	28.29			
7	Central Java	Jawa	34,796,324	97.86	Jawa	11	58.2
8	Yogyakarta	Jawa	3,709,602	96.53	Jawa	114	52.1
9	East Java	Jawa	31,639,809	79.70	Jawa	1	1.9
10	West Kalimantan	Dayak	2,155,717	43.10	Dayak	34	100
11	Central Kalimantan	Dayak Ngaju	1,265,667	46.62	Dayak	6	5.2
		Jawa	588,310	21.67			
		Banjar	570,935	21.03			
12	East Kalimantan	Jawa	1,125,348	30.24	Dayak	24	23.3
		Bugis	774,421	20.81	Banjar	4	44.4
13	South Kalimantan	Banjar	3,155,061	74.34	Bugis	20	10.2
14	Central Sulawesi	Kaili	6,491,668	21.60	Kaili	3	12
		Bugis	4,694,438	15.62	Bugis	4	5.1
15	North Sulawesi	Minahasa	1,073,257	43.20	Minahasa	32	45
		Sangir	566,441	22.80			
16	South Sulawesi	Bugis	3,957,913	45.12	Bugis	1	5.3
		Makassar	2,603,521	29.68			
17	Gorontalo	Gorontalo	no data	–	Gorontalo	5	7.7
18	West Nusa Tenggara	Sasak	3,409,307	68.00	Sasak	2	4.3
19	East Nusa Tenggara	Atoni/Dawan	1,145,803	21.00	Manggarai	11	5.3
		Manggarai	818,430	15.00			
20	Bali	Bali	3,684,630	84.96	Bali	2	4.5
21	Southeast Mollusca	Kei	no data	–	Kei	1	33.3
22	Central Mollusca	Ambon	no data	–	Ambon	–	–
23	Papua	Papua	482,603	51.48	Papua	14	25

Source: Bureau Central of Statistic Indonesia (2010).

Table 4: *Ethnic/tribe groups who spread and assimilate in different provinces.*

Ethnic group	Spread in *n* province	Percentage by collection (%)
Bugis	7	30.4
Dayak	6	26.1
Melayu	7	30.4
Sunda	9	39.1
Tionghoa	8	34.8
Jawa	11	47.8
Batak	8	34.8

though it has spread and assimilated in different provinces. The same is true of the Javanese ethnic group, which has spread in large numbers to some provinces in Sumatra, but did not get any representation because Sumatra is not the island they are originally from.

The current research explored the reproduction of cultural domination and the marginalization of cultural identity and population by identifying the invisible groups in the tourism brochures. The system of power in municipal/regency governments determines who has the opportunity to decide who should be represented in the tourism brochures. Furthermore, the politic of representation in tourism may also lead to the decisions in the municipals/ regencies to give attention or to abandon the preservation efforts of culture and livelihood support in tourism cycle for those who are not being represented (Alderman and Caspersen 2018; Swiley-Woods 2019). In the current research, we found that the constant reproduction of cultural domination depends not only on the decades-long circulation of images (Niskala and Ridanpaa 2016), the market system (Higgs 2015) and historical processes (Umamaheswari 2018), but also on the perception that the uniqueness of places should only be represented by the original ethnic/tribal identity of the area. This may strengthen the cultural domination of the most populous ethnicity and marginalize newcomers or other minority groups. The invisibility of ethnic groups or minorities is problematic because it indicates the power exercised by municipal/regency governments in selecting who should be promoted in the tourism brochures and thus, implicate more on the political decision to preserve or abandon certain group of people (Alderman and Caspersen 2018; Swiley-Woods 2019).

Although it is important to showcase the original or dominant ethnic/tribe group in representing a place or region, the demonstration of cultural diversity is also likely to be attractive to cultural tourists who value experiences of cultural diversity on their travels. Cultural diversity is also a form of soft power, suggesting a place that welcomes outsiders, treats minorities with respect and showing the character of the people in a place (Dinnie and Lio 2010; Hurn 2013). The demonstration of diversity may show how differences and minorities are embraced in a population and a place. This notion is also an important aspect of a sustainable approach to producing culture, preserving cultural identity and implementing the nation's principle of 'unity in diversity' and the image of 'the nation of diversity'.

Regencies/municipalities in many nations may differ in terms of culture. Representing a regencies/municipality as a monolithic culture will not do

justice to this diversity (Kim 2010). Each ethnic group needs recognition of its local identity. Potentially, municipal/regency governments are small units of government that have the responsibility to represent the more specific cultural identities of ethnic groups and to utilize financial resources for tourism promotion for the representing the diversity (Gustafsson et al. 2012).

Occupational representation and political aspect

The economic benefit derived from tourism may depend on how the destination's identity is communicated to the market (Pomering 2013), including the representation of its social and economic conditions (Žugić and Konatar 2018). Local people are often depicted as those who 'serve' or as the object of the gaze. This issue has long been of interest to scholars and can be explored by examining the representation of occupations (Alderman and Modlin 2013), clothing (Hyung 2013) and interactions with the 'tourists' (Hunter 2008) in the tourism brochures. The current research not only wants to see how the municipal/regency governments organize the representations of their 'own' places and their 'own' people, but also to develop questions related to the dominant roles and jobs of local people that are depicted in their 'own' tourism brochure. It is important to consider how the reproductions of dominant images in tourism brochure occur not only in the realm of 'west seeing east', but also in terms of their 'own' places and people, due to the presence or absence of reflexive understanding of visual representation in tourism brochures of Indonesia (Cahyanto et al. 2013).

The majority of the occupations (Table 5) represented in tourism brochures related to culture and art (n = 273, 44.8 per cent) – i.e. dancer, crafter and traditional music player – and tourism employment (n = 53, 8.7 per cent) – i.e. guide, driver and culinary personnel.

Other occupations represented in tourism brochures are also related to agricultural activities, such as farming and fruit picking (n = 76, 12.5 per cent). Official personnel, such as regents and mayors, are represented in the tourism brochure (n = 165, 27 per cent), although this might have no relationship at all to tourism itself. These pictures also occur in tourism brochures in several provinces, for example in Kalimantan (n = 57, 46.7 per cent) and Sumatera (n = 58, 45.7 per cent). Meanwhile, brochures from Java (112) and the east side of Indonesia (46) show more cultural activities such as festivals, traditional vehicles, rituals and other cultural events. Jobs that relate directly to tourism (n = 53, 8.7 per cent) are also shown in this study, including waitresses,

Table 5: Type of representation of occupation in tourism brochures.

Category (occupation)	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Culture and art	273	44.8
Agricultural	76	12.5
Industrial	6	1.0
Tourism	53	8.7
Officials	165	27.0
Religious activities	37	6.1
Total	610	100

receptionists and people who provide other services in tourism. A small number of photographs (*n* = 37, 6.1 per cent) show religious-related activities such as religious leaders and rituals involving groups of people; these are unique occupations in Indonesia, a nation whose people consider religion to be an important part of society. The last occupation is industrial-related activity (1 per cent), images of which show people who work in fabric manufacture, or managers/engineers who work around sites of development.

The results of this study show that municipal/regency governments most commonly represent six type of occupation in tourism brochures: culture and art performances, agricultural-related job, industrial workers, tourism-related jobs, government officials and religious personnel (Table 5). Some jobs sustain the imaginings of an agricultural nation, such as farmers and fisherman (Chetty 2011). The cultural and art performances and tourism-related jobs also sustain the tourism cycle, which involves entertainment, performances and services (receptionists, waitress and chefs) (Alderman and Modlin 2013; Bandyopadhyay and Nascimento 2010).

Religion becomes more important in Indonesia (Fealy and White 2008), religious practices, activities, attributes and leaders (Timothy and Iverson 2006) are included in occupational representations to attract tourists with religious purposes. Furthermore, the concept of *halal* tourism is growing in the nation (Jaelani 2017). People with religious motivation undertake pilgrimages to some strong Islamic religious areas in Indonesia (Jaelani 2017), making religion-related occupations important material to be represented for municipalities/regencies. These depictions are important in some areas where religious buildings or rituals are considered sacred places, which people may have strong reasons to visit.
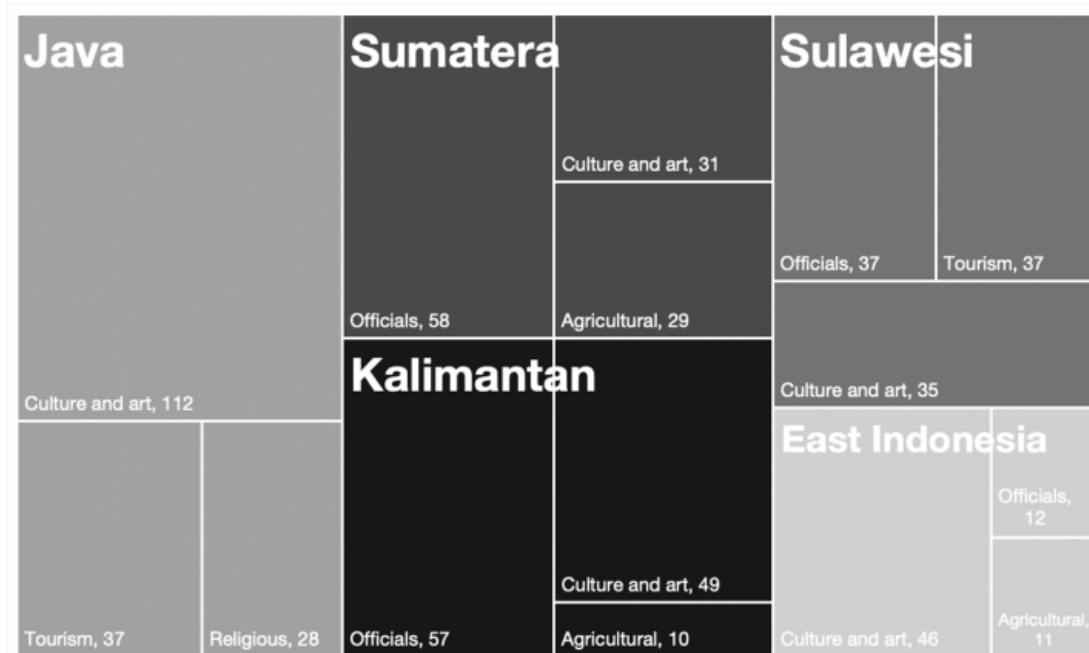

Figure 3: Type of occupation in tourism brochures by island.

The variety of occupations and activities indicates how the municipal/regency governments interpret the jobs as attractive culturally, and politically. In Sumatra ($n = 58$), Sulawesi ($n = 37$) and Kalimantan ($n = 57$) islands, for example, images of government officials predominantly show those who are in power and the activities of the government officials such as meetings, working and official ceremony. The current research also finds frequent photos of the head of regencies or municipalities in the cover of tourism brochures, which occupy more than 20 per cent of the page. Why should tourism have linked to government officials?

When an official appears frequently in the tourism brochures, it shows that they have power to decide who will present (Ott et al. 2011) and narrate the tourism story (Avraham and Dougherty 2012). In fact, there are unequal cultural distribution and power relations (Manning 1978; Britton 1979), where the tourism brochure becomes an exclusive tool to promote people with power. Ideally, representations in tourism promotion should show culture, character (Gudjonson 2005) and emotional elements (Anholt 2006). However, the representation of these officials shows that tourism brochures could not be detached from the political objective of regency/municipal authorities who wish to promote themselves and their activities by misusing the authoritative power in tourism brochures.

This analysis shows that the tourism brochure is not just a marketing tool but also a cultural and political tool, and that a dominant group controls the tourism imagery (Pomering 2013). This finding is significant in the Indonesian context since it is important to evaluate the values that underpin the representations in tourism brochures. The current study shows that tourism brochures have the political power to represent and showcase the exclusive power elites, and the authorities' use of power (Alderman and Modlin 2013; Cole and Morgan 2010), which may not have any direct connection or correlation to the questions of why someone should visit a place.

DISCUSSIONS

Using this data, researchers can point out the importance of evaluating a communication tool and media in order to critique the stagnant processes of image reproduction, which may sustain inequality, authoritative power misuse, racial bias and cultural marginalization. It is important for communication scholars in Indonesia and elsewhere to point out and evaluate these problems in order to demand a more responsible and inclusive approach to tourism media, which may silence the potential diversity of place and people (Alderman and Modlin 2013; Higgins-Desbiolles 2010).

In this research project, we were able to capture the ways in which municipal/regency governments in Indonesia interpret their own tourism spectacles, commodities and identities as a parade of diversity. In this parade, the representation of different identities of the place and people is exhibited as a spectacle in the media using a uniform and narrow way without an understanding of what diversity in the place should mean (Hunter 2012; Gunnarsdóttir 2011; Nicolleta and Servidio 2012). As a further contribution, this research also complicates the selection of representations and the choices about ways of depicting places and people that may include and exclude others (Feighery 2011; Alderman and Modlin 2013; Benjamin et al. 2020).

Those that are most frequently included are (RQ1) the economic and geographic aspects of product/services, (RQ2) the natural and history/

heritage images, (RQ3) the dominant population and/or people from the place of origin and finally (RQ4), occupations that depict people in the tourism cycle, agricultural activities, government/political positions and religion-related roles. The visibilities of these categories should be evaluated critically on whether or not it can demonstrate the tourism strength and cultural diversity.

On the other hand, those who are least visible or invisible are also included in this study as the point from which further investigation and representation should begin. These objects could be examined further in future evaluations of places at the municipal/regency level: for example, the local people, which can show the aspect of cultural diverse identity (RQ1) could be emphasized; cultivated spaces and heritage, as the least priority could be targeted for some municipal/regency development programmes (RQ2); minorities and the diversity of ethnic/tribal groups, such as newcomers and smaller numbers of indigenous groups could be represented (RQ3); and occupations (RQ3) related to the educated sector of society could be shown to highlight the quality of educative participation at the municipal/regency level. This understanding is valuable for the advancement of strategy in displaying diversity in Indonesia and elsewhere. This study also contributes to practical evaluations to accommodate more inclusive portrayals of places and the racial/geographical politics of representation for policy-makers, academics and marketers in the tourism sectors (Alderman and Modlin 2013).

In terms of limitations, as a quantitative study, this research could not represent equal data for Sulawesi ($n = 319$, 10.5 per cent) and the eastern part of Indonesia ($n = 368$, 12.2 per cent). Their images are underrepresented by comparison with other regions, especially Java and Sumatera islands, which were represented in 60 per cent of the total images due to the limited availability of the brochures in the exhibition. This study also only examines tourism brochures made by the authority, which means that the community's ideas and content were not fully explored. A reflexive approach to understanding the ways in which communities voice their identities might be an alternative for further research in which researchers could also gain a much more inclusive insight into how local people want to be represented in tourism media (Cahyanto et al. 2013). Collaborative research with communities to discover their ideas and creativity could be beneficial for expanding the potential tourism market and representing diversity in a participatory and sustainable way.

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