

Negotiating Space in Kampung Urug

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ABSTRACT

Kampung Urug, a traditional village having rich heritage and cultural sites, is in Bogor, West Java. This village is divided into three parts: Urug Lebak, Urug Tengah, and Urug Tonggoh. Kampung Urug has a cultural identity that triggered distinctive socio-cultural awareness. This identity is created from two big narratives of the government and the key figure of Kampung Urug. The aim of this research is to explore the mythical narrative, social norms, and rules of capitalism in Kampung Urug. It specifically answers a research problem trying to discover how traditional culture and modernity meet in the social realm of Kampung Urug. This research applies ethnography method through in-depth interviews and field observations aiming to collect data and information from the interviews, photos, and video documentary. Cultural studies approach is used to explore Abah Ukat as the key figure when describing Urug Lebak society. In conclusion, this article will offer new perspectives on Kampung Urug as a part of Geopark Pongkor and how the people created their own boundary by working with the Government to retain their cultural identity and cultural heritage.

Keywords: *Kampung Urug, space, mythical narrative, capitalism, and social norms.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Bogor is one of the cities in West Java which has many tourist attractions and cultural sites. One of the areas in Bogor that is considered a tourist attraction is Kampung Urug. It is located specifically in Sukajaya Bogor Village and has various narratives. Kampung Urug is divided into 3 areas, namely Urug Tonggoh, Urug Tengah, and Urug Lebak [1].

realized by having the actors negotiated during the development of the Geopark Pongkor and registering Kampung Urug as one of the Geopark Pongkor areas. Researchers have made observations in Kampung Urug and traced more detail information on it. One of the narratives that has unfolded is the narrative regarding 5 ancestral mandates of Kampung Urug.

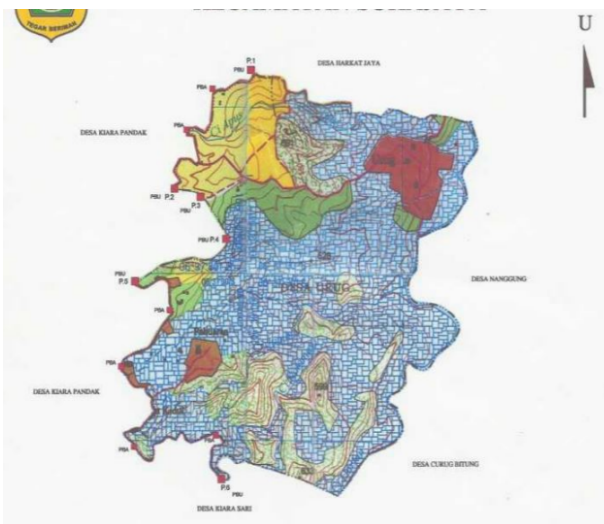


Figure 1 Map of Kampung Urug (Iskandar, 2017).



Figure 2 Kampung Urug as part of Geopark Pongkor [2]

The focus of this research is Urug Lebak Village and the way space negotiation process takes place through traditional meets modernity. Such process can be

In addition, Kampung Urug has special cultural values such as the existence of traditional houses. There are three traditional houses, namely *Gedong Gede*, *Gedong Leutik*, and *Gedong Panisan*. *Gedong Gede* is commonly used for traditional ceremonies in Kampung Urug, as well as a residence for Abah Ukat as the traditional leader of Urug Lebak Village. Abah and his family live together in *Gedong Gede*. *Gedong Leutik* is a tomb containing twins from the descendants of the first traditional leader. The baby is considered a blessed offspring [3]. *Gedong Panisan* is used during the end of

the *Seren Taun* ritual in Kampung Urug and for storing the offerings.

There are 5 traditional rituals that are usually held in Kampung Urug according to the mandate of the two ancestors: *Muludan*, *Seren Taun*, *Sedekah Rowah*, *Sedekah Bumi*, and *Muharaman*. These five rituals must be celebrated annually for the continuous welfare of Urug Lebak people [4]. Based on the 5 mandates that Abah Ukat has conveyed to the researchers, it shows that he used a narrative so that the Urug community accepted Abah Ukat's decision to register Kampung Urug as a cultural heritage and part of the Geopark Pongkor area.

This research cannot be separated from the role of a traditional leader in Kampung Urug namely Abah Ukat Raja Aya. Based on the interview with Abah Ukat, he is known as *olot* (Sundanese word for traditional leader) in Kampung Urug. Abah has led Kampung Urug since 2004 [5].

Abah Ukat believes himself to be the scion of Prabu Siliwangi and Urug people. The Urug community believes in *olot* since they believe that the customary leader received *wangsit* (revelation) from the ancestors to become a leader [6]. Abah Ukat recognized as a highly respected indigenous leader and a role model for the *olot* in Kampung Urug. Abah Ukat hopes that in the future, the Urug Lebak Village will be the center of Kampung Urug. According to Rosmana [6] traditional leader in Kampung Lebak Urug will become *Olot* for the entire community of Kampung Urug.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

A few literatures regarding Kampung Urug, commodification of rituals and geopark were collected during the research. There are some groundworks on Kampung Urug especially on indigenous survival and informal leader roles of Kampung Urug's community as well as research on Kampung Urug's history and culture including the life of Kampung Urug's community [3] [4] [6]. Furthermore, based on the previous case studies, ritual commodification and Geopark also occurred in one area in China. This is indicated by the positive impact on an area that has been designated as a world heritage by UNESCO and has succeeded in escaping poverty. One of the cities that has been positively affected is Kaiping Dialou City, China.

A few Kaiping City villages chosen as world cultural heritage area by UNESCO. This is due to the existence of the city's late 19th century traditions which are still well preserved [7]. Kaiping residents who used to only wear shabby clothes and live in modest homes now can wear silk and satin clothes as well as live in large houses [8].

Geopark Pongkor is a geological conservation area. The best streamlined method for attaining geo-conservation is by raising citizen's senses regarding the

geo-heritage site worth. This worth include scientific, aesthetic, educational, tourism, economic, and intrinsic situation. The value of geo-heritage site will be the promotion of geo-tourism [9] [10] [11] [12] [13]. There are several positive benefits that can be obtained through the construction of the Geopark Pongkor: (1) Geopark offers new job opportunities along with the cultural activities and economic; and (2) sustainable cultural activities that can provide real economic benefits to local communities [14].

3. RESEARCH METHOD

This qualitative research applies ethnographic method by collecting data in the field. The data that has been collected is written according to the situation in the field [15]. Data collection was carried out in Kampung Urug, especially Urug Lebak Village. Data in the field is documented by taking photos, video recordings, and interviews with the traditional leader of Kampung Urug and the residents. Sundanese spokespersons accompanied the field research due to the researcher's limitation in Sundanese.

Several concepts for this study include commodification by Appadurai [16] [17], hegemony according to Gramsci [18] [19], and myth by Walker [20]. Commodification according to Appadurai [17] can occur when the difference between objects and commodities is shown in the exchange of goods. The exchange of goods occurs when an object can be exchanged for another object, or the object is exchanged to obtain a certain economic value. According to [16] commodities can be interpreted as objects that have economic value. The situation that occurs in commodities according to [16] can be divided into three parts, namely (1) the commodity phase of any social life is related to objects that can be considered as commodities. The objects usually have a biographical aspect, such as heirlooms, stamps and antiques; (2) the commodity candidacy of anything refers to the standards and criteria (symbolic, classification and moral) that determine the exchange of things in any given social and historical context; and (3) the commodity context in which anything may be placed.

Hegemony according to [18] is an indirect consensus that is considered an active commitment that exists in the view of a legitimate high position. According to [19], supremacy is obtained in two ways: (1) domination (*dominio*) or coercion (*coerce*) (2) intellectual and moral leadership. The second method was chosen by Gramsci to be used as hegemony. According to [20], myth is a narrative in which there are strong supernatural elements that are told repeatedly to give an emotional impact and meaning. These three concepts will provide a deeper explanation of the spatial negotiation analysis that occurred in Kampung Urug. It can be proven by Abah Ukat's efforts to list Kampung Urug as a cultural heritage, Kampung Urug as the Geopark Pongkor area and Abah Ukat's relationship with other figures during

the development of Geopark Pongkor as UNESCO's international world heritage.

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This section describes the negotiation Negotiation among Abah Ukat, Bogor Culture and Tourism Office, as well as PT Aneka Tambang, as the authority for cultural conservation and Geopark labeling. Negotiations that were initiated by Abah Ukat to promote Kampung Urug include the registration of Kampung Urug as part of a cultural heritage, Geopark Pongkor, and UNESCO.

In realizing these three discourses, both the Bogor Culture and Tourism Office (*Disbudpar*) and PT Aneka Tambang were involved in negotiations to achieve certain political goals. Abah Ukat as a cultural agent in Kampung Urug has a special agenda which is to fulfill the wishes of Bogor Culture and Tourism Office and PT Antam to turn Kampung Urug into a cultural heritage and Geopark Pongkor. Another political goal is the inclusion of Kampung Urug in the UNESCO world heritage. All these efforts were made so that Kampung Urug was registered as an international cultural heritage.

4.1. Kampung Urug as Cultural Heritage

Abah Ukat has collaborated with the government to develop Kampung Urug as a tourist attraction. Negotiations were undertaken by Abah Ukat in order to realize his ambition to carry out the restoration of the traditional house in Kampung Urug. Other various efforts have also been put to develop the infrastructure. Abah also hopes for government's grant to maintain the traditional buildings in Kampung Urug.

Abah Ukat received funds as the assistance for the rehabilitation of traditional buildings in Kampung Urug which could be completed in 2010-2011. The assistance that Abah Ukat received from Bandung Government is 400 million IDR from the APBN (State Revenue and Expenditure Budget). The remaining funds were then used by Abah Ukat for other purposes to preserve traditions in Kampung Urug. This situation proves that Abah Ukat's efforts are running smoothly [5].

Additionally, Abah's statement regarding the government's permission to use APBN shows that the government has fully trusted the customary leaders of Kampung Urug. Abah Ukat is given the privilege to make any decisions related to the government funds. This indicates that the government "recognizes" Abah Ukat's position as the traditional leader of Kampung Urug.

Abah Ukat's privileges have yielded significant results for the people as Kampung Urug was successfully registered as a cultural heritage in Bogor. Based on the statement of the Bogor Culture and Tourism Office, there is legitimacy for designating Kampung Urug as a cultural heritage in accordance with

Law No.11 of 2010. The regulation states that buildings built for more than 50 years can be categorized as a cultural heritage. This condition shows that the government is using the applicable laws to designate Kampung Urug as a cultural heritage [5].

Based on recommendations from the Bogor Disbudpar cultural heritage expert team, Kampung Urug Traditional House meets the criteria as a cultural heritage, including (1) the age of the traditional building is more than 50 years; and (2) it has a special meaning in terms of history, science and education. The special value in history can be seen from the age of the building which becomes the historical heritage in Bogor Regency. Regarding the scientific value, the Traditional House of Urug Lebak Village has information on past civilizations that are important for archaeology and history. The last value is related to education, for this traditional house can be used as a means of learning and education for the current generation to study the lives of their predecessors in the past [21].

Given the existence of Abah Ukat who played a significant role in the development of Kampung Urug, the local government also paid more attention to the traditional leader. In fact, considering Abah Ukat has reached old age, leadership regeneration in Kampung Urug should be seriously considered. However, the replacement of customary leader cannot be carried out with modern regulations such as elections or regional elections. The people of Urug believe that the *wangsit* regarding the new traditional leader will later be given from the ancestors to Abah Ukat. Thus, Urug residents do not have the freedom to democratically choose the greatest customary leader to lead them [5].

The success of Abah Ukat in registering Kampung Urug as a cultural heritage was expressed by Mr. EL as the Bogor Disbudpar representative. He explained the decision to conduct the restoration of the Kampung Urug Traditional House to the researchers. According to him, the efforts to establish a cultural heritage in Kampung Urug were carried out for the sake of preserving the cultural heritage. This cultural preservation appears in the Bogor Disbudpar budget. The collaboration between Abah Ukat and Disbudpar Bogor can take place to maintain the continuity of the tradition of Urug Lebak Village [5].

The preservation of cultural heritage in Urug Lebak Village received assistance from the Bogor Culture and Tourism Office. The assistance is provided in the form of grants since Disbudpar believes that the tradition in Urug Traditional Village should be maintained. The funds are used to renovate traditional buildings and to carry out traditional rituals. Based on [5], there is an implication of the government's interest in forcing indigenous peoples to follow cultural heritage rules, so the customary and cultural values in Kampung Urug are maintained. Thus, Kampung Urug can remain a traditional destination for tourists. As consequences,

Scope of Urug people’s movement is completely limited due to the applied rules that have been set.

Regarding the Disbudpar's statement on the preservation of Kampung Urug, the budget is allocated to accommodate the preservation of cultural heritage. This condition shows that the interests of the Urug people are prioritized by the local government for inaugurating cultural heritage in Kampung Urug. The representative of Urug people is Abah Ukat, so as the traditional leader of Kampung Urug he was able to communicate freely with the Bogor Disbudpar. It can be seen from the failure of Ustaz R who requested the development of Kampung Urug from the government [5].

4.2. Kampung Urug as Cultural Heritage

The success of establishing Kampung Urug as a cultural heritage does not stop Abah Ukat's ambition to introduce Kampung Urug to the wider public. There is a statement from one of the Urug residents regarding the plan to include Kampung Urug as part of the Geopark Pongkor. In this case, Bogor Regency Government is responsible for issuing the policy. This situation shows that the initiative to manage Kampung Urug came from the government. This was marked by the government's effort to register Kampung Urug to the Geopark Pongkor, as seen in the statement [5] said, "Urug Traditional Village has become an integrated part of the Geopark Pongkor, so the government of Bogor Regency is the one who set it."

The interview explained the requirements that Geopark Pongkor must be integrated with the traditional village. This provision has been stated in the Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia No. 9 of 2019 concerning Geopark Management (Earth Park) for activities, education, conservation, and sustainable economic development. Since officially becoming part of the Geopark Pongkor, Kampung Urug has succeeded in developing its potential in the tourism sector as Geopark development increases public enthusiasm and understanding of the environment. Thus, it is hoped that public awareness for the preservation of the earth and environmental welfare will increase.

The biodiversity in the Geopark is diverse and rich. Apart from being a tourist attraction, Geopark will create new economic opportunities for the community. Since being promoted as a tourist attraction, the Geopark has indirectly been commodified. This shows the existence of the commodity candidacy of anything [16] in which everything that has symbolic, classification, and moral criteria can be exchanged and made into commodities [16]. In this case, the Geopark which was originally used as a place for exploiting geological mineral resources has now changed its function to become a tourism commodity that has historical and economic value.

Currently, the Geopark area covers 15 districts 172 villages. These villages have a wide variety of cultures, biodiversity, and amazing geological wealth. Geopark Pongkor also has various tourist destinations, including Cikaret Tourism Area, Nirmala Tea Plantation, Berundak Waterfall, Cikawung Waterfall, Sawer Waterfall, Cipiit Waterfall, Rahong Waterfall, Cihanjavar Waterfall, Walet Waterfall, Cikudapaeh Waterfall, Seven Waterfall, Batu Tujuh Waterfall, Alteration [22]. The tourist attractions in the Geopark Pongkor area indicate commodification. This can be seen from the function of the Geopark which is not only a means of knowledge for the community regarding mining issue, but also a tourism destination for economic benefits [17]. The Geopark area coverage can be seen in the following map.

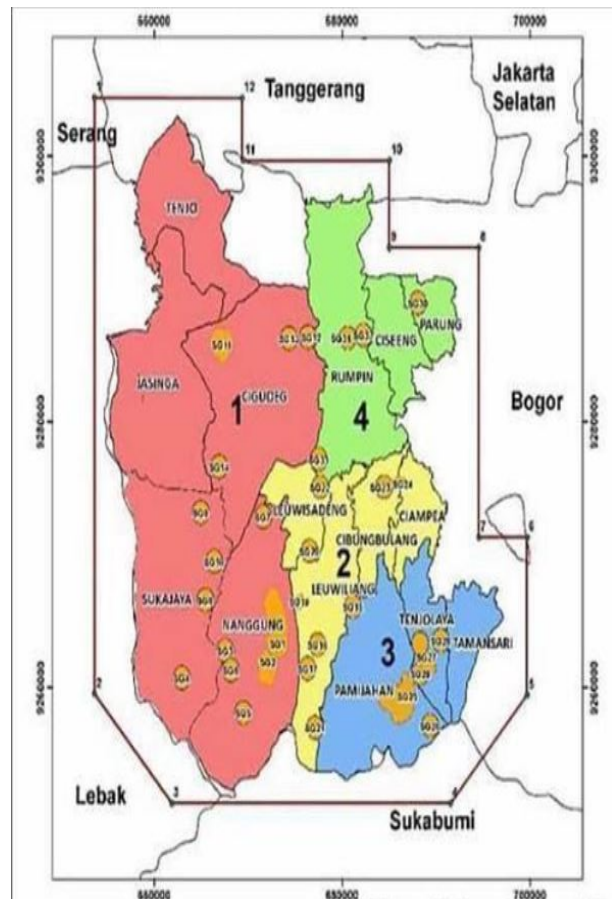


Figure 3 Map of Villages in Geopark Pongkor [2]

Disbudpar Bogor is taking further steps in promoting tourism in Kampung Urug. They have registered Kampung Urug as part of the Geopark Pongkor area, as the representative stated, "I have entered the Geopark Pongkor. Because there are several sites that have not been inaugurated. But the process is ongoing" [5]. Abah Ukat, who also aspires to make Kampung Urug more popular, supports the Bogor Disbudpar efforts to include Kampung Urug into the Geopark Pongkor area. Abah Ukat's wish can finally be fulfilled through cooperation with Bogor Department of Culture and Tourism.



Figure 4 Geopark Pongkor Inauguration with Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy [23]

The inauguration of the Geopark Pongkor took place on November 30, 2018 and was followed by the signing of the inscription by the Minister of Tourism, Arief Yahya [24].

Bogor Disbudpar's efforts to make Kampung Urug a part of the Geopark Pongkor finally paid off. Thus, the hegemony of the people of Kampung Urug is held by the Bogor Culture and Tourism Office in collaboration with Abah Ukat [18]. This can be seen in the efforts made by Disbudpar Bogor regarding the construction and development of the Geopark Pongkor and has been regulated by the Provincial Government. According to Pak PD (Bogor Disbudpar representative), the biggest obstacle in developing a Geopark lies in the narrow road access around Kampung Urug. The government of West Java Province is also making efforts to provide aid of 5 billion IDR. This effort was made to revive the traditional nuances of Sundanese customs. This can be seen from the efforts to renovate a modern house by turning it into a traditional Sundanese building in Kampung Urug [5]. These conditions indicate the formation of traditions that are deliberately created in certain way to bring tourists memories back to the past [25].

Abah Ukat also wants Kampung Urug to gain recognition in the eyes of UNESCO. UNESCO has initiated the World Heritage Sites (WHS) program which aims to designate areas having rich culture, history, and science as world heritage [26]. As a result, areas that have been designated as world heritage by UNESCO have been able to escape poverty. One of the cities that has been positively affected is Kaiping Dialou City, China. The world cultural heritage area chosen by UNESCO were a few villages in Kaiping city. This is because the city's late 19th century traditions are still well preserved [7]. In the past, Kaiping residents wore shabby clothes and had modest home, but they are now wearing fine clothes and having large houses [8]. There are several steps that must be taken by Abah Ukat and Urug people so that their village can be listed in

UNESCO, one of which is to show the original Urug tradition. If successful, then Kampung Urug will be able to improve the economic conditions of the society.

Various efforts were made by the involved parties for the success of recording Kampung Urug's name in the UNESCO list of cultural heritage. The efforts that have been made by stakeholders include the restoration of traditional houses, the inclusion of Kampung Urug as part of the Geopark Pongkor, and the registration of the Geopark Pongkor to UNESCO. Based on a statement given by the Head of Bappedalitbang Bogor, the Geopark Pongkor is in the area with the highest poverty rate in Bogor Regency [27]. The development of the Geopark Pongkor is expected to improve the welfare of people in the Geopark area and open up new economic opportunities. In addition, the development of the Geopark Pongkor aims to educate residents on mining and the geological wealth of Mount Pongkor. This condition indicates the existence of commodification. The marking of commodification can be seen in the development of the Geopark Pongkor into a tourism destination.



Figure 5 Museum of Pongkor Mining [24]

In addition, the economic benefits that residents in Kampung Urug and Geopark Pongkor have received since being promoted as tourist attractions also signify a commodity [17]. Thus, there has been a change of people's livelihoods to suit the tourism industry. For example, Abah chose to provide his house as lodging for tourists [5]. Based on the information of one Urug resident, Abah Ukat's ambition to make Kampung Urug known as a tourist destination has been successful. Abah took the initiative to provide facilities for Urug tourists. Lodging facilities are provided in residents' homes for the tourists.

Furthermore, Abah Ukat often collaborates with Bogor Tourism and Culture Office so that Kampung Urug is registered as the Geopark Pongkor development area. The inclusion of Kampung Urug into the Geopark Pongkor can be smoothed out through myths about

ancestral mandates, the naming of Kampung Urug, the Kingdom of Pajajaran, and the meeting of the Prophet Muhammad with the grandson of Prabu Siliwangi [5]. Based on the opinion of [20], “myth is a narrative; there is a very strong supernatural element and is told repeatedly to give an emotional impact and meaning”. This condition shows the power of myth that Abah conveyed to Urug people. Tradition is created by repeatedly instilling norms and behaviors.

4.3. Kampung Urug as Cultural Heritage

Abah Ukat believes that Kampung Urug has the right to be the cultural heritage of Bogor Regency where the traditional houses in Kampung Urug especially the *Gedong Gede* traditional house are also registered as the cultural heritage. All of this was done by Abah Ukat to maintain the continuity of tradition and culture in Kampung Urug. Therefore, Abah often has good relations with the Central Government to develop Kampung Urug.



Figure 6 Geopark Pongkor Banner [5]

Abah Ukat who holds the highest position in Urug Lebak Village has the privilege to collaborate with Bogor Culture and Tourism Office with PT Antam. This condition also illustrates the position of Abah Ukat which is privileged by the concerned authorities in Kampung Urug. In this case, there is hegemonic influence that makes the residents of Urug Lebak Village participate in the management of the Geopark. Hegemony [19] can be seen in Abah Ukat's attitude which was able to make the Urug people agree to the plan to include Kampung Urug in Geopark.

Kampung Urug development was generate through the construction of the village facilities which is supported by the government. This information was obtained from an interview with Disbudpar Bogor, "There will be facilities that will be supported by the Ministry of Education and Culture. We've been there,

until now there has been no more answer whether it was facilitated or not”, [5]. The plan to introduce Kampung Urug to the international level is indeed being discussed by the Ministry of Education and Culture. However, the Ministry of Education and Culture's decision is still unclear. Nevertheless, Abah Ukat as the traditional leader of Kampung Urug still tries to focus his attention on village infrastructure’s development. Abah still holds the position which enables him to communicate with the government. The Ministry of Education and Culture has also prioritized Abah to continue collaborating to promote Kampung Urug as a tourist attraction.

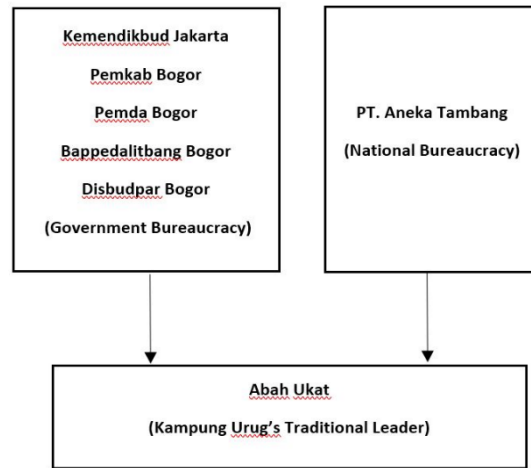


Figure 7 Flow of Funds Bureaucracy in Urug Lebak Village [5]

Based on Figure 7, you can see the structure of authority involved in the development of Kampung Urug. Abah Ukat has made various efforts to make Kampung Urug as a cultural heritage. In this case, he has teamed up with government authorities, both regional and central. There is a role of strength and power to make the people of Kampung Urug bound by prevailing social values and system norms. Strength and power also influence the flow of funds allocated for the holding traditional ceremonies in Bogor Regency. In addition, the budget is also used for the preservation of customs in Kampung Urug as well as preserving ancestral heritage.

Based on the statements that have been stated above, it can be concluded that Abah Ukat occupies the highest position above the city government and the central government. Abah, who holds the highest authority, certainly has a personal ambition and agenda to advance Kampung Urug according to his wishes. His priority now is the exposure of Kampung Urug as a tourist attraction that is in demand at the international level. Based on the power relation diagram in Figure 8, the residents of Kampung Urug do not have direct access to the government. The people only relay their problem to Abah Ukat, and he conveys it to the government. Therefore, Abah Ukat is known as the most important

party in turning Kampung Urug an international cultural heritage.

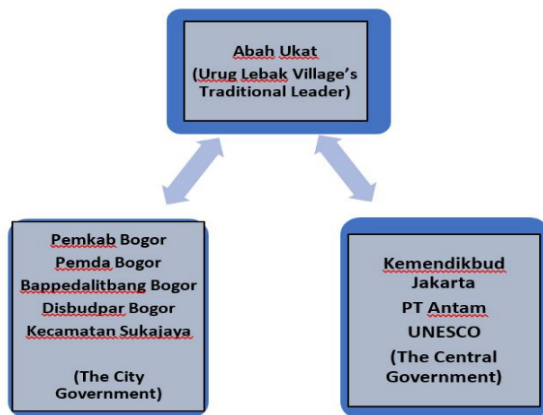


Figure 8 Abah Ukat Power Relationship with the Central Government, Local Government, and Urug Residents [5].

5. CONCLUSION

During the fieldwork, a lot of documentation through videos, interviews, and pictures were collected. The documentation shows that Abah Ukat has the highest position to entrench myth and other narratives to Urug people to pursue his ambition to register Kampung Urug as cultural heritage and Geopark Pongkor area. It helps to create many new work opportunities for Urug people such as providing lodging to the visitors. This research hopefully could give new insights to other studies regarding traditional village as cultural heritage and traditional village development into Geopark Pongkor area in West Java, Indonesia. To conclude, the analysis shows that customs are built because there is a transactional process. In other words, all efforts have been made to maintain the sustainability of Kampung Urug despite of various interests surrounding Kampung Urug.

AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

All authors contributed to the study conception and design. Material preparation, data collection and analysis were performed by Prita Setya Maharani and Tommy Christomy. The first draft of the manuscript was written by Prita Setya Maharani and all authors commented on previous versions of the manuscript. All authors read and approved the final manuscript.

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