International Journal of Engineering & Technology, 7 (4.28) (2018) 548 -554

International Journal of Engineering & Technology

Website: www.sciencepubco.com/index.php/IJET

Research paper



Building Tourism and Sociopetal Cultural Understanding Through Proxemics Sharing of Authentic Artefacts from the Tongkonan of North Toraja, Indonesia

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Abstract

Existing theories of intercultural communication recognize each communication act as an authentic space that is filled with symbols that have cultural context. In the sense, that a group of signs will have different meanings for people of different cultures. In proxemics theory, sociofugal and sociopetal axis explain nonverbal factors of a place, which can attract or restrain the engagement of people in communications. Tongkonan, the dominant culture in the Indonesian region of North Toraja, has frightening death symbols, which have become a major attraction and talking point for visitors. Travellers observe and learn about these symbols and are also encouraged to share this learning with friends and relatives. The North Toraja tourism industry has come to recognize that this word of mouth promotion is more effective than media coverage in promoting both tourism and cultural awareness among outsider communities. This research involved observation study plus interviews with tourists in Kete Kesu Village in North Toraja in order to found interest both local Indonesian and international tourists in interacting with fixed-feature space, semi fixed-feature space, and person-to-person space in Tongkonan. A number of typical Tongkonan symbols such as buffalo horns, human skulls and jaws of animal victims, that normally restrain the desire of people to communicate, in this case, become an attraction in intercultural communication.

Keywords: *Proxemic, Sociofugal and sociopetal axis, Tongkonan, Indonesian tourism.*

1. Background

There have not been many studies on intercultural communication in travelers who prioritize sensory equipment in various tourism activities. The use of the five sensory instruments, namely: touch, sight, hearing, smell, and taste - actually has been done in daily practice in various tourist sites, both traditionally and modern. Traditionally, the Balinese in Indonesia maximize the use of five sensory devices to provide tourists with sensations, through dance moves, shouts of kecak and gamelan sounds, incense and frangipani scents, the aroma of typical food, to relaxation massage. Universal Studios in Singapore provides a sensational attraction that stimulates the functions of these five senses. With each sophisticated tech game that stimulates the eyes, hysterical shouts and laughter, the aroma of popcorn, hot fried chicken, and the friendliness of cartoon characters who are always ready to take pictures together. Each sensory sensation attributes the individual's memory to the spaces present in the sights.

Sensory experience that shape the meaning of tourists to the spaces that exist in this cultural tourism sites, is an interesting study. This research has not attracted many researchers in relevant science, such as communication science, sociology, anthropology and psychology. However, cultural research at the individual level provides a concrete overview of the process of dialectical space in tourist attractions in different cultures. Spaces in tourist attractions is a cultural container that has a collection of artifacts and cultural symbols that are an attraction for tourists. Authentic local cultural artifacts are a magnet for visitors of different locations of cultures, because they contain distinctive cultural meanings and contain their own values. The spatial distinction with a number of local cultural symbols is the subject of discussion during the tour, and after they returned to the culture of origin. With a variety of different cultural backgrounds, the meaning of symbols in the cultural space will be perceived differently as well. Hence, just as text, the meaning of symbols in the cultural space is not only those of the culture of origin, but in people of other cultures who understand it.

Along with the thundering development of communication technology that emphasizes the mass self-communication, then the approach of microcosm in tourism studies also become relevant related to cultural significance on the cognition of tourists. Study of this cultural significance can be done with a proxemic approach, through the dimensions of sociofugal and sociopetal axis [1]. The ability of intercultural communication in the context of the cultural spaces of the tourism managers is needed to give satisfaction in traveling. Through the provision and absorption of accurate and precise information, tourists can get a more desirable picture that is able to provide the expected meaning of local culture. If cultural meaning through cultural spaces is in line with tourist expectations, the cultural dialectika is successful in encouraging intercultural interactions called sociopetal axis. However, on the contrary, the imprecise meaning and not in accordance with the expectations of tourists will prevent the creation of interaction and can lead to the failure of intercultural communication, this is called the sociofugal axis.

Authenticity becomes important in the tourism industry. Things that are considered “one of the kind” and very different from the daily lives of tourists, will create an attraction. But on the other

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hand, the difference is actually fatal when the idea of authenticity is not able to be translated according to the setting and context of the tourist space. Quoting Sommer's statement [2]: "Suprisingly little is known about the way people use space… And almost unexplored area is microecology or the way that people in pairs or small groups arrange themselves" (p.116). The micro-cultural study of space discusses the process of communication intercultural relationships through different relationships, settings and cultural contexts to tourists, through proxemic sharing of local Tongkonan cultural artifacts in North Toraja, South Sulawesi, Indonesia.

Tongkonan is an architectural heritage that contains the cultural values of indigenous people in North Toraja. The whole life of indigenous peoples is centered in it. The spaces in the Tongkonan complex are laden with unusual cultural symbols, because they are closely related to death. For example, the body of a family member laid in the house waiting to be buried months letter, is an act based on the belief in the ancient teachings of Aluk Todolo. North Toraja people believe that death is the main door to immortality, so it needs to be prepared better by offering sacrifices. In the traditional ceremony Rambu So'lo, buffaloes and sacrificial animals can reach hundreds of tails, because the more animals are sacrifices widen the way to nirvana. All traditional ceremonies must be carried out in the Tongkonan complex, as a center of activity and also a cultural symbol of each traditional family.

To understand this different culture, Tongkonan as a cultural space can be a medium for sharing the culture of North Toraja to immigrants and tourists. Various artifacts and cultural symbols in Tongkonan provide information on North Toraja culture, that is still being carried out today when modern religion is known to this community. Understanding of this unique local culture is also the door to introduce a number of values of the North Toraja tradition that are noble and sustainable. Understanding a culture by other cultures, will lead to closeness and allow sharing of cultural experiences to others, both directly and through social media [3].

Sociofugal and sociopetal orientation is one of the proxemic dimensions that aims to find out what things are in the space, which can bring or move individuals into interaction. Sociofugal is related to what matters what can make tourists feel close to the symbols that exist in tourist attractions, while sociopetal associated with what things can make tourists feel away with the symbols in the tourist attractions [1]. Individual satisfaction is formed, based on cultural symbols perceived positively by individuals of different cultures. In a number of tourist attractions, these symbols can provide dramatic meaning and increase the attention of the human senses in responding to satisfaction with what is perceived senses. These symbols need to be known to be more utilized in providing sensory satisfaction for tourists visiting North Toraja, especially in new tourist attractions that have not been visited by many tourists.

According to Hall [4] space in proxemic concept consists of three parts: 1) Fixed feture-space (permanent space); 2) Semi fixed feature-space (semi permanent space), and; 3) Person-to-person Space (personal space). Each space has cultural symbols that can encourage interaction or retain interaction in intercultural communication. The attractiveness and disinterest of the space symbol is related to the meaning of each individual different culture, which can be concluded in the context of sociofugal-axis and sociopetal-axis from the tourist attractions in North Toraja. This research attempts to answer some questions as follows: 1) Why proxemic sharing of authentic artefacts from the Tongkonan of North Toraja building sociopetal cultural understanding ?, and; 2) Why the sociopetal cultural understanding of proxemic sharing increasing the societal wellbeing of tourist activity in North Toraja?

2. Proxemic sharing by sosiofugal and sosiopetal axis

Culture can be learned through space. Space contains a number of symbols made by one community and understood by the community and those outside the community. According to Hall [4] divides space into three parts. Fixed-feature space is a permanent space that cannot be changed anymore. Symbols in this space generally do not give impetus or the ability to withstand human interaction. In contrast to the semi-fixed-feature space that can change the position of the load so that it can be formed according to the required interaction needs. In semi-fixed-feature space this space in communication is most likely to be studied [1]. Whereas in the person-to-person space the space that occurs is more flexible because it is related to the distance from one person to another. These three spaces are the field of proximate study, which is the way people perceive space in relation to their cultural background.

One of the proxemic dimensions of obtaining tourist satisfaction is through a number of space symbols that bring closeness to tourists to bring satisfaction. Likewise, findings were found in the form of space symbols that kept informants from interpreting their meaning in a cultural context, giving rise to feelings of displeasure and dissatisfaction. Laurens [5], classifies personal space and its relationship to architectural design, in two spaces: 1) Sociopetal Space, which refers to an order that is able to facilitate social interaction; and, 2) Sociofugal Space, which is the opposite of sociopetal space. If sociofugal space can increase the intensity of interaction and the passion of communication, while sociofugal space can reduce the occurrence of interaction so as to minimize the creation of communication.

In this study, sociopetal space occurs when individuals can obtain meaning that enables them to interact symbolically in the spaces that exist in tourist attractions. While in sociofugal space, individuals are not able to obtain meaning related to their background, to the symbols of space that exist in the tourist attractions. The meaning [6] becomes important in emphasizing the interaction of individuals with space, thus giving rise to sensations in the perception of their space (p. 83). Tourists who are able to capture and translate symbols on tourist attractions will be more passionate in interacting and communicating, so that it will provide satisfaction when traveling in these locations. This satisfaction is needed so that tourists not only feel the sensation personally, but also through social media. Because the ability to translate these symbols varies from individual to individual, it is necessary to know the universal meaning of the symbols that exist in different cultural tourists. A better understanding of the sociofugal and sociopetal context of a number of symbols in the fixed-feature space, semi-fixed-feature, and person-to-person, is assumed to encourage the intensity of tourist communication in personal, group, and mass communication.

3. Tongkonan kete kesu in north Toraja

North Toraja Regency is a new district which was expanded in 2013, from Tana Toraja Regency, South Sulawesi Province, Indonesia. The North Toraja region with the capital of Rantepao has an area of 1,151.47 sq km which covers eighty percent of all tourist attractions in Toraja. North Toraja's natural and cultural potential is widely recognized as "one of the kind" in the world, so that many interesting tourist locations to visit. It takes 10 hours of travel by tour bus or two hours of flight on Monday and Thursday, from the city of Makassar to the city of Rantepao. Accessibility is one of the challenges for tourists who want to visit North Toraja. With the number of tourists that tripled in 2016, the North Toraja Regency is currently preparing the construction of an International Airport as an alternative gateway in collaboration with the international airline Garuda.

Conditions of location that are difficult to reach, on the other hand, become one of the supporting factors that safeguard the natural and cultural nature of Toraja. Toraja is in the foothills of the green valley surrounded by the ridge of the mountain range, according to its name which comes from the word "to ria ja" meaning "people from above". This community was originally better known as a

resident of the Sa'dan plateau which was higher than the Luwu and Sidenreng regions [7, 8]. These "isolated" Toraja communities are protected from outside cultural influences, which make their traditional settlements and cultures original and authentic, compared to other traditional megalithic cultures in Indonesia. Toraja funeral ceremonies are very complex and elaborative, at the expense of many buffaloes and various burial methods, such as: hanging coffins, stone graves, graves of caves.

This Toraja traditional settlement has been a UNESCO cultural heritage [9] and is included in the 2017 Indonesian Tourism Award nomination as the Most Popular Traditional Village [10]. There are 10 traditional settlements or Tongkonan in North Toraja and Tana Toraja, namely: Palawa, Bori Perinding, Kande Api, Nanggala, Buntu Pune and Rante Karassik, Ke'Te Kesu', Pala 'Toke, Londa, Lemo, and Turnakke [9]. According to Head of North Toraja Tourism Agency, Mr. Hardly Patriano, there are two tourist destinations, namely cultural tourism and nature tourism. Tourist attractions covered in cultural tourism, for example: 1) Kete Kesu, the tongkonan complex consisting of houses, barns, twigs, sus, village forests, and graves in natural caves; 2) Londa, the oldest tongkonan complex, lies between limestone mountains, and still used today; 3) Kali Menggori, which is a complex tongkonan which has Menhir stones with a height reaching 3 meters; 4) Palawa, the Tongkonan complex which has residential houses, barns, and artificial tombs; 5) Sandan toparana, which is the center of traditional weaving craft. Patriano also said that, although the oldest tongkonan in North Toraja is Palawa, but Kete Kesu is a primadonna of tourists and a symbol of North Toraja tourism.

The location is located on Kete Kesu Street, Bonoran Village, Panta'rukan Loko Village, Kesu District, North Toraja Regency, South Sulawesi Province. Kete Kesu village is about 4 km to the southeastern city of Rantepao or travel time about 10 minutes by four-wheeled vehicles. Tongkonan Kete Kesu is a complete hundred-year-old Toraja indigenous settlement complex consisting of Banua (traditional houses) and Alang (lumbung); Rante (terrain) and Liang (grave), also Kobong (agricultural land) and Bubun (water source/ well). Unlike other traditional Toraja settlements, Tongkonan Kete Kesu is in one complex or not spread, with rice fields (kobong) and lakes (bubun) being beautiful panoramas before entering this traditional village. On the inside of Kete Kesu village there is a stone grave estimated to be over 500 years old with a ceremonial land containing 20 stone menhirs. Inside the lower stone graves are the remains of human skulls and bones, as well as in the center of the grave in the form of the rock. The noble stratum was buried at the highest peak of the stone tomb, along with some of their possessions. In addition to the grave stone, there is also a tomb-shaped house called Patene along the road to the rock. but also a museum called the Museum of Indo 'Ta'dung, which is located inside Banua Rura Lompo paired with Alang Tarra.

From the beginning of 2017 to April 2017 there are 1,445 international tourists visiting Kete 'Kesu. Dominating of French tourists 334 people, from the Netherlands 254 people, Germany 2017 people, Spain 56 people, and Japan 50 people. While local tourists in the first half of 2017 reached 44,652 people. Local tourists are dominated from Makassar as many as 11,084 people, Palopo 4,731 people, Makale 4,401 people, Rantepao 3,984 people. While the local tourists from outside South Sulawesi most of Jakarta 2,321 people, Kendari 428 people, and Bandung 354 people [11].

4. Tongkonan cosmology in proxemics theory

Tongkonan Toraja is not just a house or a place to live, but a settlement that adapts the cosmological concept. Banua and Alang are horizontally coupled, crossed vertically with Rante and Liang, which are places to perform Aluk Todolo rituals, such as Rambu Tuka' and Rambu Solo' signs. At every Tongkonan, banua and alang are always in a row facing each other as a symbol of the couple husband and wife. Banua always faces north to show the position of worshiping Puang Matua (the supreme God), with Alang facing south. The ceremonial ground is a courtyard extending between banua and alang called Ulu Ba'ba or Rante, which extends westward and eastward.

In addition to following the direction of the wind as the basis of its cosmology, in general Tongkonan also takes the concept of cosmology vertically based on the belief of Aluk Todolo which views the universe (cosmos) in three parts. The first part is "Dunia Atas" called 'Ulunna Langi' (the head of the sky), in the form of a triangle from the face wall called sondong para or lido puang (face of the gods), symbolized by the roof and face. This section is at the highest level where the Puang Matua dwells, which maintains the balance of day and night in the world and is associated with "the sun" [12, 13]. The second part is "Dunia Tengah" located on the surface of the earth where humans live life (padang) and must carry out offering and worship ceremonies in each phase of life. The second world is also a meeting place between the upper world and the lower world, the middle world is connoted as harmony, mutual cooperation, and most importantly represents the notion of harmonization, and as a place of ceremony. In the Aluk Todolo belief, harmonization is the balance of the natural order, the balance of orders and prohibitions (pemali-pemali), which regulates social balance, the balance of horizontal mobility and the balance between the East, and the West, North and South. While the third part is "Dunia Bawah" which is under water and identified as subordinate and bad (hell). This section is supported on the head of Dewa Pong Tulak Padang who supports and gives spirit (spirit) to Tongkonan and human life on earth.

Toraja cosmology in a proxemic perspective is related only to a horizontal perspective, namely the division of space zones according to the direction of the wind. The fixed-feature space in Tongkonan is a natural environment and the position of the tongkonan is in the traditional village complex, namely kabang and bubun. Semi-fixed-feature space is the placement of cultural elements in banua, alang, rante, and liang. While the person-to-person space is related to the movement of tourists, local residents, traders, and managers in the tongkonan.

5. Research methods

This descriptive qualitative research seeks about the meaning of space through symbols in different cultures. The research approach through interpretive social science paradigm, which studies social science with specific objectives and focuses on human interaction [14]. Data collection was carried out by conducting purposive in-depth observation and interviews of a number of tourists. Interview results are processed by coding gradually: 1) open coding; 2) axial coding; and 3) selective coding, then making comparisons among them systematically, then integrating these separate themes/ main categories into one main idea [14]. During the coding process, the data were analyzed using thematic methods referring to the characteristics of the proxemic dimension.

To achieve the goal of qualitative applied research, the determination of informants is directed to the specificity of the research problem, by selecting each case that is in accordance with the objectiveful criteria. Two categories of informants are needed, namely local tourists and international tourists. The specific criteria for informants is they have ever been to Tongkonan Kete Kesu in North Toraja. This study did not determine informants based on gender, age, ethnicity, or other topics related to proxemic. In addition, the researchers also collected secondary data from the head of the tourism department of the local government of North Toraja Regency.

Primary data collection is done directly through observation and interviews, one by one, after visiting Tongkonan Kete Kesu. Before conducting interviews, the research team conducted observations and collected secondary data in the form of interviews with

the Head of North Toraja Tourism Office (November, 24, 2017). Interviews were conducted with six local informants and two international informants (November, 25-27, 2017). Triangulation of the results of the interviews was carried out when composing transcripts of interviews, namely in February-March 2018. Triangulation was carried out in discussions with the research team which was followed up by clarifying several things that were missed while in the field, through whatsapp and email communication media by the interviewer.

6. Discussion

Some research say that intercultural communication is easily understood through symbols. The problem is, often the meaning of symbols is different in different cultures. It is similar in the context of intercultural understanding in Tongkonan Toraja Utara. Spaces that exist on Tongkonan have their own meaning in accordance with cultural differences of each tourist. This study obtained several symbols in three space contexts in Tongkonan that have different meanings, which can enhance intercultural communication interaction. This is necessary considering that each tourist is a promotional medium for other potential travellers [3].

According to the Proxemic [4], a number of cultural symbols that exist in the context of space can raise communicating attitudes or may lead to reluctance to communicate. Sociofugal and sociopetal not only apply to the semi-fixed space [1], but in this research also found in fixed space space, and person-to-person space. From the informant's description can be seen that the fixed feature-space is able to trigger communication. The more tourism objects will be seen, the more talks that the tourist will have with traveling friends, locals and tour guides. Even if the attractions are not good, for example the street corner left without green plants, - but still part of the communication, although later became a bad recommendation for the tourist location.

Nevertheless, the criticism of the sociofugal dimension in the Proxemic concept in Tongkonan Toraja Utara is aimed at the sociofugal context which should lead to reluctance to communicate, but instead it becomes a sociopetal context because it encourages individuals to learn more about the unusual objects in the local cultural perspective. For example, the existence of skulls on a stone grave scattered on the ground in a cave, for many local tourists creates fear but then creates interaction within the group. Moreover, there is growing interest in documenting and exploring further. Although there were one or two people who withdrew, the study did not explore it any further. In addition, most local tourists come with groups, with limited time they use to take pictures and buy souvenirs.

International tourists have a greater curiosity about this symbol of death, for example by examining the coffin of the corpse placed inside the house, then discussing it with a tour guide or a member of the house who lives there. Unfortunately, due to being a tourist village, the authenticity of artifacts in Tongkonan Kete Kesu is less favored by international tourists, because of the lack of opportunities to communicate directly with local residents. International tourists are also aware of hygiene issues, which they think are very important for North Toraja children to have a hygiene attitude in their own environment.

Another thing is Muslim tourists, who feel uncomfortable with the wandering of some local pets. For example, dogs that roam at tourist sites and pigs are seen by tourists during the trip to the tourist sites. Based on Books [1], this suggests that certain symbols that conflict with values possessed may inhibit even "turn off" communication. This shows a feature of space not stand alone in terms of attracting people to communicate (sociopetal) and kill communication (sociofugal).

There are several conditions that precisely between these dimensions interact both fixed features, semi fixed features and also the dimensions of person to person in determining whether the condition of the space can be sociopetal and sociofugal. The three spaces can provide their own sociophilal and sociopetal dimensions. So, in this case, symbols become tools for explaining different cultural spaces and creating intercultural interactions, but they are not easily accepted as new values that provide comfort in intercultural communication in the space.

7. Conclusion and recommendation

Tongkonan Kete Kesu in North Toraja has the authenticity of space through unique artifacts and cultural symbols. This uniqueness is well understood by Torajans who still practice customs according to the ancient teachings of Aluk Todolo [7, 8, 13, 15]. However, the cultural messages contained in this Tongkonan need to be translated by visitors who find it difficult to find meaning related to their different cultural backgrounds.

The perspective of local and international tourists shows that things that are considered important to local culture can be interpreted differently by their culture. There are several values in the cultural background of tourists who can actually resist the interaction process in this intercultural communication. In the fixed space feature, international tourists are very fond of the silhouette of the green Tongkonan scene and the almost non-problematic access. Local tourists tend to overlook the common scenery in a number of Indonesian tourist sites, and choose access that is easily accessible.

The semi-fixed space feature has many things that encourage interaction and the creation of intercultural communication. Local tourists enjoy a row of custom houses (banua) in pairs with a granary (alang) in accordance with the picture in various booklets and photos about Toraja. Hundreds of buffalo horns are lined up causing an interest in local culture, whose information is dug through associates and merchants around the site. The interaction intensified as it entered the stone cemetery, past souvenir shops and Patane statues. International tourists love to explore the traditional house associated with the cultural story of the tour guide who is very master of Toraja custom.

The flexible space feature that exists around the individual, according to this research gives a lot of appeal to the intensity of intercultural communication. Cultural information in discussions with local tourist friends deepens interaction, as well as souvenir merchants who have kinship with tongkonan Kete Kesu. Things that are difficult to understand within the framework of immigrant cultures, are better accepted and understood in this person-to-person feature. Intercultural meaning in interpersonal communication becomes an interesting finding in this research. The person-to-person space provides a more appropriate proxemic sharing opportunity in instilling an authentic North Toraja cultural understanding. In international tourists, the interaction in the person-to-person space is constrained by language. Unlike the local tourists who are in groups, most international tourists have private tour guides, so cultural interaction is often done in small groups of tourists and their tour guides. This cultural information will be more intensive and profound if done with tour guides coming from North Toraja. They will travel further to explore more deeply about the culture of North Toraja.

Table 1. Primary Data Analysis Results

Type of Space	PROXEMIC DIMENSION	
	SOCIOFUGAL	*SOCIOPETAL*
Fixed-Features Space		
Access		V
Gate Location		V
Vehicle Circulation	V	
Parking Area	V	
Office Manager		V
Souvenir Shop		V
Cave Grave		V
Tongkonan		V
House of Residents	V	

Toilet		V
Semifixed-Feature Space		
Ticket Counter		V
Visitor Seating		V
Place of Taking Picture		V
Direction Signs		V
Entrance		V
Outside		V
Information Board		V
Information Centre		V
Shady Place		V
Trees		V
Person-To-Person Space		
Visitor Interaction		V
Manager Interaction		V
Merchant Interaction		V
Local Citizen Interaction	V	
Total	**4**	**20**

Source: Tobing and Paembonan, 2018

Tourists who come to visit North Toraja have diverse cultural backgrounds. The important thing in doing intercultural communication is to understand cultural differences to avoid things that can keep the desire to interact. Research shows that visitors experience some barriers to cultural differences such as: 1) Different religious visitors, especially Muslims who in their religion are prohibited from contacting certain animals, such as dogs and pigs; 2) Different country visitors, usually with a regular and clean culture, making it difficult to accept dirty environments and children not littering in place, and; 3) Cross-town visitors, who travel at limited cost on weekends without stays. They take recreation by bringing their own food and drink to be enjoyed in the sights.

Following the discussion and conclusion above, this study recommends to North Toraja District Government: 1) Synergize the various cultural symbols of this Tongkonan with other cultural attractions that exist in the North Toraja community, to increase the number of day trips to North Toraja; 2) Involve the role of local residents, local traders, and tour guide professional services to be significant in providing information related to cultural differences, and: 3) Continue this research on a larger scale, with macro proxemic implementation through quantitative methods.

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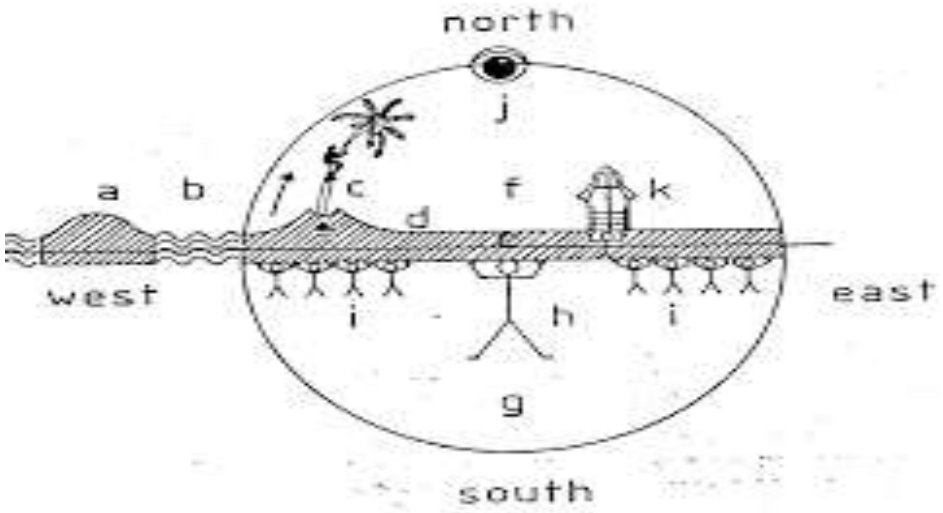
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Appendix



Fig. 1: Tongkonan Kete' Kesu
Source: (Redaksi, 2017)



Caption: a. *Pangko'*. b. *Tasik* (sea). c. Mount *Bamba Puang*. d. *Puya* (The land of all the soul). e. *Padang/lino* Middle-earth/human world. f. *Langi*. g. Underworld. h. *Pong Tulak Padang*. i. Spirit in the earth. j. *Puang Matua* ini Zenith or *Ulunna Langi*. k. *Tongkonan.*

Fig. 2: Universe in Toraja Cosmology by Kis-Jovak (1988)
Souce: (Soesandireja, 2016)

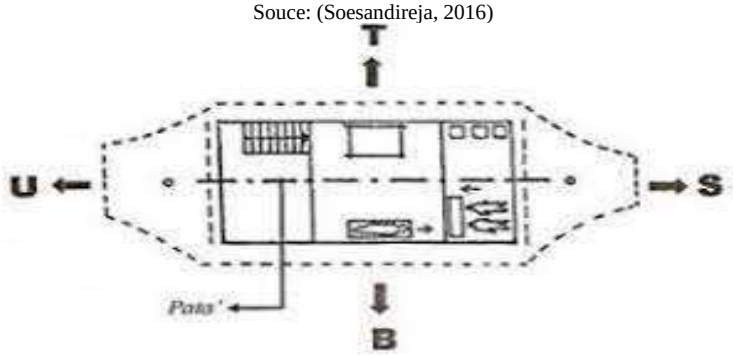


Fig. 3: Tongkonan in Body Pieces
Source: (Said, 2004)



Fig. 4: Stone Cave as Fixed-Feature Space in Tongkonan Kete Kesu
Source: Tobing, 2016



Fig. 5. Buffalo Horns and Human Skulls as Semi Fixed-Feature Space
Source: Tobing, 2016



Fig. 6: Tourist and Souvenir Merchants as Person-to-Person Space
Source: Hutahaean, 2017