

Cultural identity through an educational school trip: voices of indigenous Papuan students

Abstract

Educational school trips may contribute to student visitors' cultural identity by facilitating exposure to new cultural values. This study sought to analyse how indigenous Papuan student visitors from a secondary school in Indonesia make meaning of their own cultural identity, and further, explore their responses to the cultural issues faced by young Papuan generations. The study employed a grounded qualitative methodology, which allowed respondents to voice their own opinions on cultural identity. The results include 3 themes: Becoming more Papuan; Clarifying and understanding the cultural context and; Self-reflection. This study reveals how students in the trips conceptualize cultural understanding as a bridge to their cultural identity. Furthermore, they brought the larger ideas of Papuan identity and community values and demonstrated intention to maintain it through conservation and preservation. Several recommendations are provided for future research in the tourism and education fields to foster cultural experiences for student visitors from different cultural backgrounds.

Keywords: School trips, Papua, cultural identity, Indonesia

1. Introduction

The positive outcomes of student trips have been examined for decades, although the prevailing academic focus has been on students in higher levels (i.e. university or college) traveling abroad on long (more than one-day) trips. The discussion notes how these trips improve students' psychological cognitive skills, future planning, and personal development, and contribute to intercultural competence due to students' immersion in a new environment, different from their original 'home' environment (Gmelch, 1997; Rowan-Kenyon & Niehaus, 2011; Wallace, 1999). This aligns with many graduate outcome statements by higher education providers which maintain the importance of nurturing global citizens who are simultaneously embedded in their local communities. For example graduates from Griffith University in Australia are expected to be both '*effective in culturally diverse and international environments*' and '*socially responsible and engaged in their communities*' (Griffith University, 2019).

However, studies on students' short-term domestic travel at lower education levels, such as the secondary level, and travel impact seems to have attracted less interest. Yet imparting values at earlier levels of education is vitally important as 'schooling can and should help to solve social and environmental problems by developing responsible citizens' (Beames & Ross, 2010:95). A survey of academic papers (e.g. Cater, Low, & Keirle, 2018; Ishii, Gilbride, & Stensrud, 2009; Purdie, Neill, & Richards, 2002) reveals that the perceived experiences of student participants in short educational trips has had limited examination, but few of these studies, to our knowledge, have focused specifically on the experiences of indigenous students' with regard to their own cultural identity (Ritchhart, 2007). This is important because, perhaps to counter the need for globally aware future citizens, they are aware of their own culture and have attachment to both community and place. Although little is known regarding the cultural identity outcomes

of trips for students, the importance of travel in assisting the understanding of both their own and other cultures has attracted recent interest (for example Diekmann, Vincent, & Patwardhan, 2019). Indeed, ‘anthropological analysis of cultural identity regarding cultural nationalism and transnational identity studies are beginning to look at tourism and travel as grounds for academic inquiries’ (Sobel, 2009:230). For example it has been shown that ‘the awareness of students of their own contexts increase significantly while living and researching in another context’ (Portegies, De Haan, Isaac, & Roovers, 2011:105). However, with the exception of a recent compilation by Mura & Khoo-Lattimore (2018) research has largely focused on western educational and travel systems with little or no examination of other cultural contexts.

Noting these gaps, this paper explores how indigenous Papuan students at the high school level in eastern Indonesia make meaning of their cultural identity through their experiences when visiting two cultural venues on a one-day non-residential trip. This makes important theoretical contributions, with practical implications. Whilst traditional definitions of tourism maintain the requirement of an overnight stay (Fletcher, Fyall, Gilbert, & Wanhill, 2017), this also privileges western concepts of travel (Cater, 2006; Yang & Khoo-Lattimore, 2018). Less developed societies are unlikely to be able to support educational systems involving costly overnight and/or overseas travel. A more contemporary definition of tourism would rather maintain that displacement outside the normal environment is fundamental to travel and the learning opportunities that can arise. Therefore the mindset, rather than the degree or length of travel is important. This particular case explores how such visits can support cultural understanding and contribute to cultural identity and preservation. In a practical sense, we have shown elsewhere that such experiences have significant potential to shape future travel behaviour (Dabamona & Cater, 2019), so even these shorter trips have important long-term implications for the tourism industry. Participating in trips to cultural and heritage attractions can also provide deeper engagement for future visitors and promote preservation of local traditions, customs and culture (Ramkissoon, 2015). Therefore, this paper examines how students respond to these trips and considers how these responses relate to the contemporary cultural issues currently faced by Papuan students.

2. Literature review

2.1. Between travel and identity

General concerns about tourism and cultural identity have been discussed in previous academic works, recognising that ‘the tourism sector is deeply connected to intercultural issues’ (Diekmann et al., 2019). Di Pietro, Guglielmetti, & Renzi (2018) underlined that culture and cultural heritage are the most important foundation for creating and maintaining values of identity, ownership, and citizenship. Ragheb and Beard (1982) noted in their early work on leisure motivation that whilst developing intellectual competence, mastering of skills and abilities, and seeking solitude were important personal motivations, social elements cannot be neglected in terms of identity and belonging. Thus, motivations and experiences of travel relate to notions of self and identity (Desforges, 2000), whilst tourism ‘shapes the ways in which one relates to and understands self and other, nation and nationness’ (Palmer, 2005:8). However, in an era where national identity is becoming increasingly unstable, cultural identity becomes more important. Notably, Hall (2009) describes cultural identity operating on two levels, in

terms of shared culture, where people have history and ancestry in common but also notes there are also significant dissimilarities. Therefore, cultural identity is not just something that exists already but also something that develops.

The work of Megeirhi, Woosnam, Ribeiro, Ramkissoon, & Denley (2020) underlines that individuals' cultural worldview is made up of (a) intercommunity and intergenerational linkages; b) recognition of cultural values; c) awareness of cultural loss; and d) preservation of tradition and customs. Each is positively related to residents' cultural awareness and their intentions to support cultural heritage tourism. Their research participants, residents across nine distinct communities in Tunisia indicated concern for the sustainable protection and enhancement of their cultural heritage resources (i.e. self-cultural identification, the importance of traditions, customs, beliefs, and practices of our own culture).

According to Hou, Lin, and Morais (2005) and Prentice (1993), attachment to one destination, such as a cultural tourism site, can be useful to understanding someone's cultural identity or self-image. Previous literature has clearly indicated that cultural venues offer outstanding benefits such as gaining awareness of and understanding cultures and cultural identities (Bachleitner & Zins, 1999; Yan & Bramwell, 2008). Low (1992) suggested that such a place may spur the personal adoption of cultural values if individuals obtain direct experience of the place in search of their origin and genealogical roots. Previously, Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff (1983) claimed that identity was linked to a specific place, where one might define and express one's identity. They claim that this occurred not simply through one's relationship to others but also through experience of a physical setting. Whilst there have been many studies that have demonstrated how diasporic tourism maintains cultural identity through homecoming (for example Tan & Abu Bakar, 2018), more recently Cater, Poguntke, & Morris (2019) have shown how some tourists cultural identities can also be reinforced by travelling to settler societies.

Despite this, culture is dynamic and heterogeneous by its very nature. A study of Xu, Morgan, and Song (2009), for example, comprised a cross-cultural comparison that focussed on two different student cultures, those of the UK and China, in relation to the importance and preferences given to activities in travel. They described how cultural dimensions invite distinct, and significantly different, interpretations of travel experiences between the two groups. Citing what has been suggested as "Hofstede dimensions" in cultural influences, as theorized by Hofstede (1980), Chinese students were claimed to be affected by cultural norms, such as Confucian values and respecting older generations. Moreover, they were found to pay more attention to famous places and learn other history and cultures such as learning the language. Meanwhile, UK students, having more experiences with, and a long tradition of, travel and educational trips, are likely to show individual pleasure, excitement and socializing rather than to be deeply involved in cultural interpretation.

Research by Klak and Martin (2003) identified students' attitudes after participating in Latin American cultural celebrations and the change following exposure to cultural difference. They found improvement in intercultural sensitivity to cultural protection, as well as to openness and acceptance of other cultures. However, it should be noted that the respondents here were from higher level students with multicultural backgrounds. Conducting overseas trips to Israel in a study that integrated an anthropological approach, Sobel (2009) reported findings regarding how students constructed their Jewish identity and connection to Israel on such trips. Using

photographic analysis, the students expressed critical interest in wanting to learn more about the conflict over land ownership and correlated their American Jewish cultural identity with the “real Jewish” in Israel. Moreover, curiosity towards Palestinian values was also unconsciously developed and they began to strongly intertwine the concept of being Jewish with Israel, which, prior the trip, were viewed as separate.

2.2. Cultural Identity and Attachment

Going further, some studies on the relationship between cultural identity and trips have explored sites that can provide a particular connection between visitors and place. In many circumstances, a place can provide attachments that mediate its bond with visitors, particularly if connected to visitors’ historical or cultural backgrounds. As Besculides, Lee, and McCormick (2002) and Esman (1984) indicated, aspects of the unique attributes of the cultural background, such as family bonding, community pride, and ethnic identity can lead to increased pride in cultural identity. Low and Irwin (1992) argue this is caused by place attachment, which includes cognitive and emotional linkages associated with the place. They also claim that visitors with no connection may also gain elements of belonging to and identity attachment with the place.

As ‘the relationship between people and spatial settings’, the construction of place takes many forms and involves ‘a plethora of terms’ (Ramkissoon & Mavondo, 2015:2594). Ramkissoon, Smith, & Weiler (2013) for example consider place identity as a sub-construct of place attachment, along with place dependence, place affect and place social bonding in order to understand visitors’ pro-environmental behavioral intention. Their quantitative study reported a positive relationship between pro-environmental behavioral intention and place identity that lead to visitor satisfaction. Meanwhile, from the cultural studies perspective, the term place identity may provide an individual a strong emotional attachment to particular places or settings (Proshansky et al., 1983) if an affective and cognitive bond or link is created. Moreover, place identity provides a symbolic link and experience between an individual and a place (Williams & Vaske, 2003), considered successful if the place is associated with elements of attraction, familiarity, and inspires frequent visits (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001). Moreover, many argue that cognitive, behavioral, and emotional dimensions can be fostered as a result of the interaction (Hashemnezhad, Heidari, & Hoseini, 2013; Low & Irwin, 1992).

In addition to educational values and providing learning experiences for students, as documented in Falk & Dierking (1997); Kisiel (2003); Koran & Baker (1979); and Tal & Morag (2007) sites such as museums are locations for cultural understanding. In such places, Perera (2013) has argued that cultural identity can be the basis upon which future generations learn to protect and preserve elements of their history, culture or heritage. Meanwhile, Griffin (2004) demonstrated that students contextualise their trip (i.e. museum experience) into their sociocultural perspective, personal life, and identity.

These observations may have particular importance for future generations to ‘indigenise knowledge regarding cultural heritage development’ (Yang & Ong, 2020:6). Indigenous identity is established through self-identification, cultural affinity, proof of descent, language, and/or community acceptance (Sarivaara, Maatta, & Uusiautti, 2013). However, identity is grounded in the history of a people’s primordial relationship to place, through time-bound stories (Aikau, 2008) inextricably connected to ‘country’ and traditional knowledges (Lee, 2017). Indigenous tourism nurtures the cultural arts,

encourages language revitalization and the retention of traditions in ways that counter 'victim' narratives (Carr, Ruhanen, & Whitford, 2016).

2.3. School trips

School trips are often positioned as a subset of educational tourism (Ritchie, 2003) the main aim being to provide alternative teaching characterized by authentic experience and contextual learning (Behrendt & Franklin, 2014). The term 'school trips' is used broadly but mainly combines education and travel activities to a specific sites. Some scholars, for example, speak of school excursion tourism (Dale, 2007; Ritchie & Coughlan, 2004) while others focus on school trips, educational trips or field trips specifically for students (DeWitt & Storcksdieck, 2008; Larsen & Jenssen, 2004). Ritchie (2003) noted that such trips can be divided into two types, either an integrated part of lessons in school and part of formal learning (i.e. curriculum-based trips) or for extra-curricular purposes. The type of excursion is particularly important and may influence the planning and decisions to undertake a school excursion by teachers, parents and pupils (Ritchie & Coughlan, 2004).

The goals of school trips vary based on learning objectives, topics and disciplines (See Dohn, 2013; Griffin & Symington, 1997; Orion & Hofstein, 1994; Patrick, Mathews, & Tunnicliffe, 2013; Tal, Alon, & Morag, 2014; Lai, 1999). The learning values obtained focus the integration of knowledge with authentic practice that enable students to experience lesson content and concepts directly in a real environment. This provides a useful picture of how trips could contribute to students' learning experience as they encounter concrete experience of trips and the discovery of new things (Falk & Ballantyne, 2012; Mouton, 2002). Furthermore, the experience obtained in such a trips can be both deliberately planned for, or accidental and unintentional. Unlike a classroom or laboratory which is often described as rigid, passive learning and largely teacher-led, school trips offer less pressure and more autonomy for students. It has been indicated that the interaction process of trips may provide students a proactive role in expressing ideas and thoughts and allow more authority over their learning as well as to enable active but relaxed and enjoyable learning (Dabamona & Cater, 2019; DeWitt & Hohenstein, 2010). Since school trips appear to bring a strategy through learning experiences, they should be considered an alternative option to enrich the concepts taught in classroom teaching.

3. The research context and venues

This research took place in Jayapura, the capital city of Papua Province in the eastern part of Indonesia. Integrated in 1969 and currently still undergoing political upheaval, Papua is considered the largest island in Indonesia with more than 2.6 million people and 75% of the population living in rural areas (Marshall & Beehler, 2011; Pamungkas, 2015). Although the numbers are still under debate, according to Griapon and Ma'rif (2016), there were 248 tribes inhabiting the island, which are, in general, divided into two main groups: coastal and highland tribes. Whilst the indigenous population of Papua is mostly Melanesian, several decades of government sponsored transmigration policy have significantly diluted the dominance of these ethnic groups in larger cities, particularly in cities such as Jayapura. For example, whilst 76 percent of the population of Papua province is Papuan, this is not the case in Jayapura and its environs (Ananta, Utami, & Handayani, 2016). This integration has led to declining cultural

knowledge, particularly among the young. However, recent changes in government policy, and significantly greater autonomy for the region since 2001 have led to a renewed interest in indigenous culture that is partly expressed in the school curriculum. This study does not examine the specific threats to Papuan culture (for which colonialism is largely to blame), nor the degree to which that culture may be commodified or manipulated for political ends, rather it is interested in how experiential learning can contribute to cultural awareness and preservation.

Two cultural venues, the Cultural Museum of Cenderawasih University and Abar Village, were selected as the sites suitable for educational school trips. Their selection was based on calculating conditions (i.e. safety, facilities, educational guides, and cultural and historical values presented) and their appropriateness for the secondary school curriculum, in particular regarding lessons on art, culture and local content. As one of the museums' tasks is 'enhancing of the role of museums as centres of knowledge and education; improving the practice of preservation and protection of cultural heritage' (UNESCO-ICOM, 2012:5), the museum was considered appropriate to educate students on local indigenous culture. Subsequently a cultural village was also identified due to its role in preserving indigenous knowledge (Mearns, 2006, Madusise, 2015)

Referring to Ritchies' (2003) categories of school trips above, the trips conducted to the museum and cultural village were designed by teachers to linked to in-class curriculum, particularly to lessons on the Papuan indigenous cultures. Curriculum topics were specific themes focused on two- and three-dimensional cultural objects related to the cultural presentation. The trips were all categorized as one-day educational school trips, which started at around 9 a.m. and finished at around 4 p.m. At each venue, students spent between 1.5 – 2.5 hours, and one included making traditional crafts that originated in the village. Prior to the trips, a pilot study with five students was conducted to identify elements that could improve the trip quality and data collection and yielded changes with regard to logistics, time allocation, interview location and question wording.

3.1. Cultural Museum of Cenderawasih University

The Cultural Museum of Cenderawasih University was the first venue for in the research. Built in 1973, it is mainly known for its cultural collections obtained by the US Rockefeller family. There are currently 2500 cultural objects listed in the museum's collection list. However, due to limited space, the management deploys a rolling exhibitions programme to their collection, displaying half of the total objects and interchanged every five to seven years. According to the Association of Indonesian Museums (2010), the cultural collections are divided into types, including equipment related to living livelihoods such as farming, hunting and fishing; clothing and body jewellery; war equipment; objects to pay for assets (dowry, fines, etc.); sacred objects; transportation equipment; and musical instruments. As its function is to preserve cultures and educate visitors, this museum is known to many schools in Jayapura as a site for lessons related to Papuan culture, namely art and culture and local content. At present, the museum provides two educational tour guides to assist students, and, upon request, in special circumstances, one of the academics from the Faculty of Anthropology will be assigned to help run the tour.

3.2. Abar Village

Abar Village is one of the main potential tourism attractions in Papua, inhabited by mostly by the clan Felle from the Assatouw tribe, and known for its traditional clay pottery and traditional fishermen's lifestyle. Located on the outskirts of Sentani Lake, Behabol, Darsono, and Respati (2017) indicated that the village plays a significant role in the local economy due to the characteristic of localised crafts and maintaining Papuan arts. Although the village can be accessed by road, visitors tend to arrive by boat to shorten their travel time and enjoy the view of Sentani Lake. Making traditional pottery, "Sempe" or "Helle" is a favourite activity for visitors, including school students. The process is unique, involving traditional tools and manual handcrafting, and is often accompanied with story-telling that engages the pottery's cultural values and meaning, including myths attached to the pottery (Maryone, 2017). Guided by a local tour guide, school students are mostly welcomed at a traditional port village and are presented with the history of the village and the tribe. This is followed by a brief tour of the village before heading to a workshop provided by the villagers to practice making pottery.

4. Methodology

Qualitative work in Asian tourism research is gaining increasing recognition (Mura & Khoo-Lattimore, 2018) alongside established positivist approaches. This research adopted such a qualitative methodology in which data was sought on the participants' experiential perspective and meanings related to the school trip. Denzin & Lincoln (2008) pointed out that a qualitative methodology helps to gain a deeper understanding of the perceptions and meanings articulated by participants. It can further accommodate the researcher's elaboration of complexity and presentation of the phenomenon in greater detail (Punch, 2005). Therefore, this approach is suitable for analysing and describing experiences via direct participant reflection, without interference from researchers, but is nonetheless limited by the framework design imposed by researchers (Veal, 2006).

Data collection was completed as part of a doctoral project examining experiences and perceptions of field trips by secondary school students and associated stakeholders in Jayapura, Papua by the first author/field researcher (Dabamona, 2020). Two forms of data collection were employed in the current study, in-depth interviews and observations during the educational trips. Interviews were used for collecting qualitative data to reconstruct the perspectives of the participants (Mason, 2002). This conversational exchange between the researcher and participant is useful for collecting information in complex situations (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Using an interview protocol, interviews were conducted in an informal setting to avoid students' nervousness. In addition, the in-depth interview format helped to accommodate adjustment if the participants gave signs of awkwardness. Probing questions elicited participants' comments about their cultural identities; behavioural and emotional aspects of their attachment to their culture were discussed, as well as recent cultural issues. All interviews took place between 9 and 3 p.m. at the school and arranged by both the schools and the first author. Interview length varied between 13 and 23 minutes per student, all interviews were recorded and stored following archival standards with password protection and ethical requirements for research with youth. Interviews were carried out in the Indonesian language that the students used every day, but contained a significant number of Papuan dialects, phrases, and idioms with which the first author was familiar. For example, one respondent noted "*Museum paling andalan sekali*". However, the word "*andalan*" is not common in

Indonesian, originating from the Papuan word "*handal*" meaning "reliable". In Papua, people often add the suffix "-an" and omit "h" to express informal admiration, in this case meaning "so cool". Thus, the phrase can be understood as "*the museum is so cool*".

Observations were conducted during the educational school trips in their natural loci where the phenomenon was being studied. As Mackellar (2013:57) argued, 'it requires the researcher to become involved as a participant in a social setting and make descriptive observations of him/herself, of others, and of the setting.' In addition, observation helped to capture the physical contexts of Papuan students' expressions, affect (Ramkissoon & Mavondo, 2015) and kinaesthetic experiences (Cater & Cloke, 2007), as well as to provide a supporting element to make contextual sense and meaning from other collected data (Kawulich, 2005; Taylor-Powell & Steele, 1996). During the trip activities at both venues, the field researcher actively moved around with students and took research notes on their discussion and expressions, as they related to cognitive, behavioural and emotional dimensions of students' interactions which were linked to Papuan identity and culture.

A constructivist grounded theory approach was employed to analyse the data. Grounded theory principles rely on building categories based on reducing raw data into concepts that are coded and interpreted using a constant comparative approach (Charmaz, 2014; Strauss & Corbin, 2014). As Ghezeljeh and Emami (2009) pointed out, this approach views the data and the process of analysis as based on the shared experience of participants, researchers and data sources. Researchers who adopt this approach need to reconstruct the obtained data into a multi-vocal story based on participants' voices in order 'to get at meaning, not at truth' (Charmaz, 2000:526). Inclusion of voice in this study approaches decolonised cultural perspectives (Aquino, 2019), in the context of Indonesian/Papuan identity politics. Arguably, the inclusion of dissonant issues in community tourism contributes to healing of cultural divisions (Dann & Seaton, 2001).

4.1. Participants

Although the school trips involved 40 secondary school students coming from diverse cultural backgrounds (Papuan and non-Papuan), students of Papuan origin formed the subject of this study. Several secondary schools in Jayapura were contacted and approached directly to explain the aim of study. Among these, two schools piloting educational and cultural programs at the national and provincial level responded positively and volunteered their students and teachers. Prior to the trips, students were given an approval letter that was to be signed by a parent/guardian. Purposive sampling was applied to participants, based on criteria that fit the study (Willig, 2013). First grade students were selected as the topic in the classroom had a strong connection to the aim of the trips. Moreover, first grade teachers related to the lesson were available to accompany the students on Saturday. The students were self-selecting (only those interested to learn about the venues). As the research aim engages cultural attributes, eligible participants were indigenous Papuan students who were born Papuan and generally consider themselves "culturally Papuan". In the final stage of data collection, 19 students (13 females and 6 males) agreed to participate in the interview (see Table 1). Because all the students were from an ethnically diverse urban setting as described above, their cultural identities were somewhat diluted as noted below. Whilst the sample is a relatively small number, the "thick" rich interview data allowed for detailed qualitative analysis and was

appropriate to exploration, in some depth, of the individual lives of a small group of people (Sedgley, 2007).

Table 1. Profile of the research participants

Participant	Gender	Age	School	Parents' Occupation	Domicile
Student 1	F	15	SMAN 1	Public servant	Abepura
Student 2	F	16	SMAN 1	Public servant	Abepura
Student 3	M	16	SMAN 1	Private employee	Abepura
Student 4	M	16	SMAN 1	Private employee	Abepura
Student 5	M	17	SMAN 1	Public servant	Abepura
Student 6	F	16	SMAN 3	Private employee	Waena
Student 7	F	16	SMAN 3	Private employee	Waena
Student 8	M	16	SMAN 3	Private employee	Abepura
Student 9	F	17	SMAN 3	Private employee	Waena
Student 10	F	16	SMAN 3	Public servant	Waena
Student 11	F	16	SMAN 3	Public servant	Waena
Student 12	M	16	SMAN 3	Public servant	Waena
Student 13	F	15	SMAN 3	Private employee	Abepura
Student 14	F	16	SMAN 3	Private employee	Abepura
Student 15	F	16	SMAN 3	Private employee	Waena
Student 16	F	17	SMAN 3	Private employee	Waena
Student 17	M	17	SMAN 3	Private employee	Waena
Student 18	F	16	SMAN 3	Private employee	Waena
Student 19	F	16	SMAN 3	Public servant	Waena

4.2. Data Analysis

The process of data analysis began by transcribing all data into Microsoft Word, which was then formatted and imported into NVivo software (V.11). Transcripts were translated into English as described above. Inevitably, there is a danger that translation may incur some loss of meaning of words that cannot be fully captured by the English language or the indigenous context. However, given the first author is a qualified English teacher, and immersed in the indigenous culture, fidelity loss was minimized. Data was read and re-read to familiarize the researchers with the context and meaning and 'to understand the people [in the] studies' (Patton, 1990:392) before moving on to the coding process that led to categorisation. Thus, the categories built were "grounded" in students' voices, terminology and their experience. The coding process was embedded an inductive approach where the findings emerge from the frequent, dominant or significant categories implied in raw data, without the constraints imposed by structured methodology (Thomas, 2003). This helps to avoid misconception before the analysis which can obscure the truth in the actual content.

Adopting what has been suggested by Charmaz (2000, 2014) on coding for grounded data analysis, there were 3 stages applied: *initial coding*; *focused coding*; and *theoretical coding*. The *initial coding* stage was employed line-by-line, based on the

meaning that emerges from the data, and gerunds were applied in all initial coding. The codes were all temporary and adjustable. We often returned to research questions and aims, since the open coding stage can produce irrelevant codes. Memos were used to capture our thoughts about the codes and concepts, as this attends to the researcher's reflexivity (Charmaz, 2014). Moreover, NVivo codes were also employed to avoid forcing the data with preconceived theoretical concepts, as well as adding a level of richness. The codes that seemed unclear were placed in one code and recoded when we became more familiar with the data. We also were flexible in the coding process as the material sometimes has multiple meanings and can be coded more than once. For example, expressions of "feeling curious" were coded both in 'emotional' effect during the visit and 'amazement' code while seeing cultural objects. We then moved to next stage of *focused coding*, when the data implied saturation and no new concepts were found. *Focused coding* was considered important to identify deeper codes that have analytical values and appeared relatively frequently in relation to research questions, as well as to regroup the previous codes that were previously fragmented, 'to bring coherence to the emerging analysis' (Crosseti, Goes, & DeBrum, 2016:50). We regrouped open codes into emerging focused codes and linked these to memos to explain the rationale. This produced new levels of emerging code and improved the conceptual clarity. For example, some codes such as belongingness and identity, cultural degradation, high values-traditional values were put into hierarchical structures under an emerging code "self-concept on culture". In addition, at this stage the data became saturated and formed the pattern of cultural identity. Finally *theoretical coding* was focused to link core categories and assist in telling the analytical story within a theoretical direction (Charmaz, 2006). Once again memos that contained abstraction and reflection were helpful in linking, comparing and assessing core categories as well as to reflect the ideas, patterns and interesting events. Three core categories finally emerged to represent the overarching themes discussed by research participants, as discussed in the results.

4.3 Researchers' position and reflexivity

Both researchers and participants have potential to influence the results as they both share space in the research process (England, 1994), and their attached identities can influence our perceptions (Bourke, 2014). Although this can be a challenge to integrity and trustworthiness; and possibly lead to research bias, ethical responsibilities bounded the researchers to be honest and to reproduce voices of participants. The first authors' personal position who acted as field researcher was central in the symbolic interaction process. Although ethnically and culturally non-Papuan, he was born and raised in Papua, with many Papuan friends, allowing him to assess and criticize preconceived knowledge. Furthermore, as he was previously a teacher in a secondary school, teaching students from multi-ethnic backgrounds with a similar age range to the current research participants, his values and perspectives inevitably influenced interpretation. These shaped his positionality as both cultural outsider and insider (Dewan, 2018). Due to his cultural experiences and familiarity with the research setting, the research was conducted in 'in a more sensitive and responsive manner' (Bishop, 1998:148). However, his non-Papuan identity at the same time may neutralize attachment to the cultural insider values and act as a balance to maintain objectivity. Indeed, Yang & Ong (2020) note that being from the oppressed side does not necessarily guarantee a subaltern perspective. In addition, cultural interpretation was further expanded as the co-authors checked the codes

derived for internal and external consistency. Whilst the co-authors are all western, they have considerable experience in working in indigenous settings and remain sensitive to their complexities. The team remained sensitive to cultural complexities throughout the research by ensuring that the research design was co-creative; discussing the ethical context with the field researcher; suggesting use of neutral, decolonised language in the survey instrument wording; piloting the instrument with potential participants and making changes where confusion or misunderstanding arose; discussing findings and interpretations with the researcher to ensure use of a cross-cultural lens; and ensuring that indigenous voice is heard in evidentiary quotes and as theme names in the analysis.

Nevertheless, all the authors found working on the Papuan context particularly interesting since it evidenced distinctive worldviews which contrasted with the research epistememes of other cultures (such as Indonesian, Tongan, New Zealand Maori, Welsh etc), and highlighted the importance of legitimising 'other ways of knowing' in understanding the tourism phenomenon (for example Cater et al., 2018; Cave & Dredge, 2020). The result is a critical polyphonic analysis derived from the personal and professional perspectives (Yang & Ong, 2020) of all the participants. 'Walking the talk' in this way, follows through the co-authors' commitment to cross-cultural research design; co-creative processes; critical tourism and privileging of indigenous voice.

Furthermore, Lichtman (2013) argued that confirmation via the researchers understanding the participant context can provide more credibility in interpreting the data and its meaning in a larger context. To assist the process, a research diary was employed to prompt insights and shape emerging themes. The field researcher recorded each activity taken and followed comments and reflections. Nadin & Cassell (2006:216) argue that putting reflexivity through practice helps to develop ideas, guide the research process and encourage all researchers 'to explore our own beliefs concerning what constitutes good research'. The diary coupled with observational notes was therefore also useful to improve research credibility. This is because the study employed triangulation by using these different sources of information that help to clarify research findings. Moreover, the transcripts of individual interviews were also given to participants to check or clarify information given or errors and to add more information if necessary. In this paper direct quotes were used in the current report as a means to describe participants' own words and to strengthen the researcher's claims. As Riley (1995:636) suggested, quotation allows 'the respondents to impart their own reality, cataloguing the socially constructed knowledge of informants rather than the hypothesizing of the investigator', further increasing the trustworthiness of the results. The co-authors contributed to the analysis from the positionality of western researchers experienced in data collection in Papuan and Pacific Island cross-cultural contexts, heritage preservation, qualitative and multi-sited ethnographic methods and educational pedagogy. Respectively, they provided critique to the thematic analysis, methodology and added depth to the literature.

5. Results

Following extensive data analysis, three pivotal categories emerged regarding how indigenous students articulated the meaning of Papuan cultural identity and how they discussed cultural issues because of the visit. These categories are:

5.1. Becoming 'more' Papuan

The category of becoming ‘more’ Papuan was well reflected in many open codes, indicating pride when encountering cultural presentations. Both places seemed to successfully incorporate cultural materials and activities that strengthened feelings of Papuan identity. Although Papuan culture and art lessons and local Papuan content are embedded in the class curriculum, the cultural elements students gain are limited and tended to repeat what they obtained at the previous level. Many participants conveyed that they were familiar with common cultural objects taught in the class such as ‘Noken’ (meaning x), ‘Tifa’ (meaning x), or ‘Pikons’ (meaning x); but to observe and experience these physically helped them to improve their knowledge. Student 3 explained that they had only seen pictures in the classroom and the explanation was not detailed; thus, direct experience through the trip helped him understand Papuan culture in greater depth. Another example was well illustrated when one student commented on his experience in both venues, explaining his reaction to Satan dress (see figure 1) and indicating his surprise regarding facts he encountered in Abar Village about traditional crafts-makers.

I have never known about Satan dress. This is new for me and I feel surprised that we in Papua have such a thing. And about in Abar village, I barely knew the traditional handwork of clay is still exists. The cool thing is, they are the 15th generation. It is interesting to me and improves my imagination and my self-confidence as Papuan (Student 12)

Many Papuan students described that the visit was worthwhile for them due to their previous lack of Papuan cultural knowledge and holistically improved their understanding of Papuan culture as they reflected on various cultural objects in the museum. This further indicated that a rich interplay with Papuan cultures occurred for students through interaction and connection with the place. As one student articulated, how the museum collections affected his perspective of himself as Papuan:

In the museum I think I am a Papuan, but I don't have good knowledge about Papua. So, it made me to have something like [understanding of] Papuan cultures through the collections and learn[ing about] the cultural values (Student 17)

Meanwhile another female Papuan student from SMAN3, Student 6 stated that the visit changed her perspective on her own culture, encouraging her to be more appreciative and more responsible “*especially for Papuans, because I am Papuan as well*”. Another Papuan student voiced a similar opinion, describing how previously Papuan cultures were unattractive to her. Being exposed to presentations about her own culture changed her cultural understanding and made her feel more engaged with it:

Honestly at first before the trip I feel like don't really care about (Papuan) culture and feel more interested in music which is happening right now. In fact, after the trip, it looks to me Papuan cultures are very interesting... It makes me like... interested more and more (Student 9).

During the interview the student indicated feelings of amazement to find that Papuans have many unique tools and are culture-rich, while specifically mentioning cultural collection objects, such as the arrow-proof vest from the highland tribes and the Satan clothes.

Figure 1. Students in front of Satan clothes, Museum of Cenderawasih University



Interestingly, some students seemed to indicate that learning about other Papuan tribes was as important as learning about their own tribe. After the cultural presentation, for example, it was obvious that students walked through the museum corridor searching for their own tribe collections. However, upon encountering other Papuan collections they often stopped, read the panel information, and discussed aspects of the collection among themselves. The museum guide would often further assist by explaining the collections. This indicates that in both venues cultural identity emerged as comparative. While in Abar village, for example, the students' notion of distinct tribes appeared to dissolve and was replaced with "Papuan" identity as a whole, and students also acknowledged the role of the venues in preserving cultural identity. One student who originally came from a different tribe indicated this when she described the visit to Abar village:

Both places are good...like they work really hard to protect Papuan cultures. Abar village for example, they work hard to preserve the traditional potteries of Papuan. We (Papuan) should be proud of them (Student 15).

Although it must be noted that the term "Papuan" is broad because it reflects hundreds of tribes in Papua, many students seemed to indicate that similarities in physical characteristics and culture enjoined Papuans. Learning about other tribes at both venues did not affect many of their specific identities as a member of a specific, singular "tribe," but reflected ideas about being Papuan more generally.

5.2. Clarifying and understanding the Papuan cultural context

This theme identified how both venues served to provide information that clarified students' understanding of their own cultural identity in the context of Papua. Making

sense of their respective place in the region allowed the students to connect to their culture and to link it with meaning that had been imparted to them from other sources (family, society, books etc.). Papuan students seemed aware that to learn about own cultures was a precious thing. Expressions such as “*It was good to know our roots*”; “*I learn many things, stories values and function*” or that the “*trip was valuable because I found many cultural values different to what I have understood previously*” were some examples of this. These comments both indicated that what they encountered indeed enriched their knowledge, while the last comment indicated that the encounters both imparted new knowledge and clarified previous knowledge at the same time. Moreover, for the majority of Papuan students, the novelty of touching the museum collections, engaging in culturally enriching activities, such as working with clay to make traditional pottery in Abar Village, and building interactions with local community demonstrated that contextual immersion was significant in relation to previous classroom learning. As one participant, student 12 said of the atmosphere of the venues: “*It [classroom teaching] could be different. I believe we cannot experience the real atmosphere like we had in both cultural venues*”

Another finding indicated that both venues stimulated deeper curiosity towards and imagination of students’ roots, particularly while observing museum collections. One student expressed this while describing the object she saw, which prompted her to call her father to aid clarification:

It was a shield. You can find it near the black statue. I was told that they brought it from Waikimo. Females are forbidden to see it. It can cause infertility according to myth. I felt surprised when I heard that, I then called my father straight away to ask but he did not know about that collection (Student 7).

The trips also generated reflection on participants’ social perspective and cultures. The cultural values and local wisdom embedded in Abar gave Papuan students an understanding of how such crafts foster equal status for every villager. This meaning was indicated by Student 1 in the interview as she responded: “*They use to put papeda (traditional food) in a big Sempe and the head of tribe will share it to villagers equally*”. However, some responses indicated the contrast between cultural aspects of “their world” and of the “villagers’ world”. For example, one participant described her experience of cultural immersion when she found out more about the local people’s life in the village. Her experience challenged the stereotypes she brought to the trips as a Papuan coming from a city where, commonly, the contemporary lifestyle is interpreted as ignoring local cultures:

I could see they are living in an unpretentious way. I learn a lot about it. Like their bond. It is like they have something precious in their village. I think they have so many interesting things. Nowadays Papuans are developed well and have more modern life. Cultures sometimes are forgotten (Student 2)

Generally speaking, the majority of participants seemed to realize that living in the city posed a threat to cultural connection. In addition, it seems that this could also decrease self-identification and self-awareness of cultural identity. However, through participating in the trips, students are allowed to revalue key principles of cultural local wisdom and associated it into their socio-cultural values in their environment. In addition, it is clear

that personalising aspects of cultural life through connection to local community changed the way some students looked at their culture and Student 2 for example, represented this case.

Meanwhile, for other students, seeing the museum collection was described as developing a personal cultural connection that enriched previous understanding and had the potential to extend this into future generations. One student indicated:

It (the trips) was useful. I am from the Nafri tribe. I saw collections of ancient rows and spears from my tribes that I have never seen before. They have specific patterns and have meanings. I could share this with my children for sure (Student 1).

5.3. Self Reflection

Prompted by becoming “more” Papuan and increased understanding of the Papuan cultural context, especially through the cultural values promoted in the venues, students gained greater understanding not just of themselves, but of representations of young Papuans. Despite some challenges that were described such as students’ behaviour, time management, and anxiety while crossing the lake, many Papuan students reported that the trip activities helped to provide a personal cultural learning experience and that place mediated feelings of Papuan identity. After engagement with the Papuan tour guides, it seemed that their cultural interest increased, as Student 5 for example remarked that the guide “*can explain his collection in detail and also incorporate cultural stories and myths of belief making it easier for us to enjoy the tour*”. Meanwhile students from both schools indicated all guides were relaxed, using everyday language, but that the most important thing was their expertise in Papuan cultures and arts (see figure 2). As a result, it opened their eyes to responses to contemporary Papuan cultural issues, as Student 14 described: “*through school trips, we can see and observe the original place, meet them [local Papuans] and make contact with them. The point is we can experience them and feel the real experience*”. Despite the positive cultural insights in this quote it is interesting to note the detachment and ‘othering’ that remains here.

Figure 2. A local craft maker in Abar village demonstrated how to make pottery



In addition, some concerns about cultural issues were captured, indicating that Papuan students went through a meaningful process of evaluating destination cultural assets and showed emotional responses regarding belongingness and identity as a result of being connected to cultural attributes in both venues. The majority of Papuan students, for example, remarked on the issue of cultural preservation in describing their interaction with cultural Papuan objects and the local people present at both the museum and at Abar village. One example can be seen from one interview:

Perhaps the way they preserve their culture and custom. I mean, it is a rare thing to find that local arts and culture nowadays still exist... if younger generations refuse to conserve it, I am afraid Sempu will be lost (Student 2)

Another participant, Student 11 provided reflections when she saw that there were no other visitors at the museum during the school tour and concluded that it was like no one really cared and realized the importance of Papuan culture. Similarly, her friend indicated that society had changed, and that the young generation tended to experience cultural degradation:

Perhaps everything has changed now. Like the way people think. The young generation tend to think cultures are unimportant things to learn [about] and look outdated. So...It is more like the way people think (Student 19)

Meanwhile, other comments on the cause of cultural degradation blamed globalization and westernization, arguing that social media has taken over young people's lives and that the western lifestyle has affected the way they live.

According to Papuan students, the venues and cultural activities that they visited were full of symbolic meaning and this successfully improved their awareness of the importance of culture. One student represents the issue as he commented:

Ehm...more like my understanding on Papuan art and culture. In the museum each collection has its function and value. At first, I was like “why do they put ugly things in here”; but when the guide started to explain I realized these things have functions and meanings. There are so many of them [that are] important. It will be useful for sure. Hav[ing] a chance to make [this] trip makes us understand the value in traditions. Like in Abar village as well (Student 4)

6. Discussion and theoretical contributions

It is clear that these cultural encounters influenced the way that students identify and refer to themselves as part of Papuan culture. This might be best understood as a result of their exposure to cultural attributes within the venues. Describing their experiences, the majority of Papuan students seemed to conceptualize cultural understanding as a bridge to their “*cultural identity*”. This sense of attachment was fostered through interaction with the culture, via the museum collections, guides’ presentations, traditional craft-making, and even interaction with local community in Abar village. A recent study of identity conducted by Cater, Poguntke, & Morris (2019) illustrated that identity was acquired in many ways, such as by learning relevant history, visiting places, and meeting people related to identity in situ. The words of Casakin and Kreitler (2008:80) best describe the phenomenon when they state that ‘attachment [is] an emotional bond formed by an individual to a physical location due to the meaning given to that location through processes of person-environment interactions’. The term “becoming more Papuan,” for example, indicates the emotional feeling of being Papuan that arose in students as a reaction to encountering Papuan cultural attributes that they considered representative of their own identity, and as a result of fostering social bonds (particularly in Abar Village through interaction with the local community).

Megeirhi, Woosnam, Ribeiro, Ramkissoon, & Denley (2020) noted that individuals’ cultural awareness is positively related to their intentions to support cultural heritage tourism. In line with this, the empirical findings above have provided clear evidence that the trips extended antecedent intercommunity and intergenerational linkages; recognition of cultural values; awareness of cultural loss; and preservation of tradition and customs. Indeed, the students indicated the role of school trips in increased self-awareness of approaching cultural identity issues and the realisation that they could make an active effort to maintain their cultural identity.

It is important to note that social contact and cultural exchange within heterogenous cultures in Papua might result in a degraded cultural identity and feeling less Papuan. Conversely, transformative cultural experiences through such immersion in home culture can reinforce identity to be more Papuan. Such illustrations are in line with previous research, which found that student participants engaged in cultural activities in Costa Rica, showed pride when they conceptualized the community and their own identity (Anglin, 2015). Clarification of identity also comprised a cognitive element in this study, as the venues provided tangible objects and experiential learning activities that imbedded students with the culture to develop a sense of cultural belonging. Developing a symbolic relationship with cultural place through attaching emotional meaning and values to it creates a deeper perception and allows individuals to build a bridge to their roots within that locale (Altman & Low, 1992).

The research also suggests that the link between educational trips and the cultural values attached to each destination engages Papuan students to think about their social

identity. In many ways, ‘social identities and cultural knowledge are mutually constitutive’ (Halloran & Kashima, 2006:144). For example, by reflecting on “living in an unpretentious way” and the concept of a community “bond” in Abar village, students associated these features as characteristic of and normative to being Papuan. Although it can be argued that the conscious awareness of the culture was potentially gained by the experience of living comfortably as a Papuan in the city, which favours the individualistic lifestyle of urban community, the notion of identity in the study was more likely to indicate relevant aspects deployed in the social and cultural setting. Rather, participants’ engagement in cultural presentation, craft making, and interactions with locals improved identification of ethnic identity (see the category *clarifying and understanding the Papuan cultural context*). As Halloran and Kashima (2006) argue, activities carried out in certain contexts and involving certain people, including certain tools and objects, can stimulate and activate particular domains of meaning. As noted in the introduction it is particularly important that school students have access to these experiences as part of their education, as it is suggested that early development of responsible citizens can ‘help to solve social and environmental problems’ (Beames & Ross, 2010:95) at both local and global scales.

In addition, the key issues touched upon in students’ reflections on the content of their trips commonly reflected a positive relationship to cultural identity, underpinned by a strong concern about issues currently faced by the Papuan community, such as cultural identity and its degradation. This idea has been previously underscored in studies related to student visitors engaging with a particular cultural identity (see Anglin, 2015; Hou et al., 2005). Moreover, although the context of this study may not substantially represent student visitors as a whole, previous literature has addressed the awareness gained by visitors regarding support for preservation and conservation issues (see Buonincontri, Marasco, & Ramkissoon, 2017; Moscardo, 1996; Ramkissoon, 2015). It is important too to emphasise that activities that foster a participatory approach in educational school trips enable students to explore and interpret the cultural venues and contribute to a collective sense of meanings associated with place. Participatory activities help students to self-reflect on themselves in one particular identity and place and stimulate critical ideas on how they see themselves as Papuan in their daily life. In the context of this study, this reflection was sometimes intertwined with transition from having no experience of these cultures, to demonstrating appreciation of and showing concern for the cultures after participating in an authentic experience. The next stage would be to investigate how these intentions regarding cultural preservation might translate into actual behaviour over the long term.

The themes of preservation, conservation and cultural awareness displayed in the Papuan students’ reflections can, on the other hand, arguably have been affected by the context of conflicts across diverse cultures (i.e. Papuan and non-Papuan, including western, cultures). Tomlinson (2003) has argued that the effects of cultural globalization cannot be simplified, as the phenomena encompasses the cultural processes and manifestations in complex ways. However, Chua (2004) suggests that there has been agreement in less developed countries that rapid globalization and westernization is positioned to be a threat to local culture and may have impact on influencing personal identity of young people. Initiatives such as that described here provide a valuable counter to these threats, providing valuable ‘space for participants to engage in critical self-reflection, which is the starting point of decolonisation’ (Yang & Ong, 2020:5).

7. Conclusion

This paper is an important contribution to understanding non-western travel and mobility, and it also adds to critical qualitative research on Asian tourism (Mura & Khoo-Lattimore, 2018). Such local field trips, with cultural elements, cultural objects, attributes, and people, can play a significant role in strengthening and shaping identity processes, as well as contributing to and maintaining identity. It was also indicated that being exposed to the culture with all the cultural attributes of that place could effectively promote cultural awareness. Having such opportunities at school level provides a foundation that should not be left to tertiary education, particularly in countries where only a small minority proceed to do so. Papuan students were further motivated towards preservation issues as they recognize Papuans are facing cultural degradation. Moreover, it is worth noting that some students in this study showed no dichotomy in cultural identity, interpreting Papuan cultural identity as entailing a whole sense ethnic belonging, which was not specific to the singular identity of any one tribe.

The study also has important implications for the tourism attractions themselves regarding the presentation of cultural material to optimize visitor experience and positive impacts that might result from their effort in supporting education, especially in student segments. Therefore, it is important for attractions to be more actively involved in collaborating with schools in designing and developing approaches that are integrated with the school curriculum. This will strengthen cultural identity material and raise critical awareness of the problem of cultural degradation. As the study engaged interactive exploration and observation combined with cultural activities such as making crafts, it can encourage students to pursue an active learning approach. This study indicated that students brought with them the larger ideas of Papuan identity and community values and showed concerted effort to maintain it through conservation and preservation. Moreover, the attitudes of students toward the venues are influenced by the experience they perceived. Cultural materials and activities are key aspects to encourage students and schools to revisit or recommend the venues to others. This can be in the form of a deep impression from the experience gained in location and enjoyment of learning outside the classroom. In addition, school groups help improve the image of cultural sites to visitors who may label them as unattractive and unsafe to visit due to the current socio-political situation in Papua. This, if linked to school and parent's interest in cultural travel, is indicated as the biggest obstacle.

In future, it would be worthwhile to further explore place based elements of this study in more detail, for example the concept of “sense of place” that has been posited by Relph (2008) and Tuan (1980) from two perspectives, the “insiderness” and “outsiderness” of visitors who have different cultural backgrounds. Although we did not observe gender differences, previous work on gender and place attachment (Ramkissoon & Mavondo, 2015) could also be extended. These elements are significant for the management and interpretation of such sites as they seek different markets. Moreover, it would be valuable to further examine the qualitative experience of attachment in cultural, natural and historical venues, adding to the excellent quantitative work that has been conducted in this field (for example Ramkissoon et al. 2013; 2015; 2018). Such an approach would help to account for the subjective element of tourism activities, and indeed the dynamic nature of identity itself.

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Glossary:

- 1 Nafri tribe : Nafri tribe is one of the indigenous tribes who live in the central area of Jayapura
- 2 Papeda : Papeda is a typical food for Papuans, made of Sago trees.
- 3 Satan dress : Traditional clothes used by some Papuan tribes (i.e. Asmat or Komoro) for the eviction of the evil spirit
- 4 Sempe” or “Helle : Traditional crafts originated from Abar village made by clay
- 5 Waikimo tribe : Waikimo tribe is one of the indigenous tribes who live in membramo district

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