

Distinction, Trajectory, Aromatherapy as Capital Distribution on AgroTourism Destinations Bukit Waruwangi, Serang-Banten

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Abstract

Agrotourism and ecotourism immediately became a trend when the Covid-19 pandemic began to increase and social activity restrictions took effect. This particular market requires the foresight of tourism actors and local governments to provide an open interaction space for residents. This article aims to explain how the postmodern approach with its vision of empowerment is used in agro-tourism destination brands by finding typical behavior in its operations. Using the capital and distinction terminology of Pierre Bourdieu, this study uses a mixed-method approach in the form of network analysis in social media (Youtube, Instagram, and online media coverage) to obtain quantitative data. At the same time, in-depth interviews and observation explored qualitative data. The results show that data on all social media platforms showed positive sentiment. Meanwhile, the results of in-depth interviews show how visitors are willing to take the difficult path to get the essential experiences conveyed in their social media accounts. Data observations also provide an overview of herbal plants cultivation as a way of land use and reflect the habits of residents involved in this agrotourism operation. Thus, the location is the cultural capital, while the natural scenery is Bukit Waruwangi (BWW) symbolic capital as an agro-tourism destination. The voluntary testimonials of visitors in social media accounts are proof of BWW's extensive and networked social capital. While cultivating aromatherapy as a natural product beneficial for health, it is BWW's distinction to differentiate itself in the competitive arena. Aromatherapy and essential oil products are the trajectories of plants that are closely related to palliative medicine in the context of Indonesian culture.

Keywords: Agrotourism; distinction; tradition; capital; aromatherapy

Introduction

Tourism is one of the most affected areas of business during the pandemic. Almost two years have passed, no strategy can save this sector (Riski, 2021). Various ways are launched to keep this sector alive, one of which is through sporadic programs. Therefore, the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy (Kemenparekraf) launched small-scale tourism

(smaller size in tourism) through several activities, including tourist villages, culinary tourism, religious tourism, health tourism (wellness tourism and sports tourism). This step regulates tourist occupancy so that there are no crowds in one tourist destination (<https://kemenparekraf.go.id>, 2021). It shows that small-scale local tourism is a must. It is a new trend that grows during the pandemic to

fulfill human needs for relaxation and recreation and fulfill the operations of business actors in this field.

In addition to the amount, the format of tourism is more directed to be carried out outdoors (outdoor). It is what makes agrotourism and environmental tourism crowded with enthusiasts. Areas with vegetable, flower, fruit plantations (Ayu, et al., 2021), coffee, tea, and by utilizing the potential of the region (Romanenko, Boiko, Shevchuk, Barabanova, & Karpinska, 2020) in the form of highlands (mountains) to the lowlands (coast), has proven to be able to survive and thrive during this extended period of social activity restrictions (Safuan, 2021). Outdoor activities by utilizing the region's potential save tourism and the local economy (Maghfiroh & Rahmatika, 2021). It also makes local governments provide full support, making the triple helix role prominent in the agrotourism sector (Fitriana, 2017; Kubickova & Campbell, 2018).

Previous research on agro-tourism in various countries also proves the same thing, namely how agro-tourism can be a catalyst for regional economic problems (Na Songkhla & Somboonsuke, 2012), with or without a pandemic. Agrotourism is even predicted to be one aspect that maintains sustainable growth, especially in rural areas (Leco, Pérez, Hernández, & Campón, 2013; Stanovčić, Peković, Vukčević, & Perović, 2018; Evgrafova, Ismailova, & Kalinichev, 2020). Moreover, agro-tourism produces interactions between visitors and residents, resulting in new perspectives in the community (Marin, 2015; Sumantra & Yuesti, 2018) and other stakeholders in general (Budiasa & Ambarawati, 2014).

Previous research detected at least four factors that influence visitor interest in agrotourism, namely unique environmental characteristics, complete facilities or supporting facilities, services, and location (Muslim & Mulyono, 2021). The problem is if you only rely on natural beauty and clean air, the agro-tourism business can reach a saturation point. Experience, value, and satisfaction are the primary keys to visitor loyalty (Leo, et al., 2020). Agrotourism is a destination that still requires a distinction (Negacz, 2021) which can become the main character of an agrotourism destination. In some countries, the history, activities, and production lines of fruit

or vegetable are designated as the 'distinction' that characterizes the city's agrotourism (Bitsani & Kavoura, 2012). This distinction is the focus of this article, especially by relating it to Pierre Bourdieu's capital terminology.

Theoretical Framework

Capital in Bourdieu's terminology is not always analogous to the mode of production. More than that, capital becomes the prominent supporter when the agent behaves to externalize habitus in various social arenas. There are two significant groups of capital mentioned by Bourdieu, namely economic capital, which is tangible and cultural capital, which is more intangible (Bourdieu, 1988). Bourdieu calls capital an 'accumulation of history' (Calhoun, LiPuma, & Postone, 1993), a resource not only about economics. According to him, ownership of cultural resources and social and symbolic capital are equally essential in the efforts of agents to fight in the arena.

Bourdieu also defines social capital and symbolic capital. Social capital includes relationships, networks, or kinship that assist agents in expanding the influence of their cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1980). Meanwhile, symbolic capital is any form of representation with a value that many people easily recognize (Bourdieu, Wacquant, & Farage, 1994). Bourdieu also offers the distinction concept to show the 'different' agents in the arena based on capital ownership. Not only to be different from parity, but the distinction can also be a way for agents to show their existence, defend themselves, and try to reach other classes (Bourdieu, 1996). *The distinction* implies the preferred taste for goods and how to consume them.

In Bourdieu's study, tourism is a broad field for theorizing on cultural and taste issues with a wide scope (Jiang & Xu, 2017; Stringfellow, MacLaren, Maclean, & O'Gorman, 2013). The choice of destinations and all forms of tourism consumption manifests the habitus and proportion of one's capital ownership (Ahmad, 2013; Ahmad, 2014). On the other hand, tourism managers also optimize cultural capital (Jingyi & ChanChung-Shing, 2018) to be able to create unique tourism with distinctive characteristics (Thurnell-Read, 2017), as well as utilize social capital promoting destinations (Carvalho, 2014). This social capital eases interaction with visitors (Thompson & Taheri, 2020) and local

governments (Pimentel, 2017). Tourism destination managers also use this social capital to expand their relationship with other players in the association arena (Li & Barbieri, 2020).

Especially for agro-tourism managers, social capital potentially expands relationships and builds networks to support destinations growing in this business (Khazami & Lakner, 2021). On the other hand, the critical perspective also sees a shift in capital orientation in residents where agrotourism is located. Rural life with cultural capital with the habitus of agricultural society (Brandth & Haugen, 2014; Stotten, 2016) is transformed into economic capital for the benefit of certain parties only (Blas-Yañez, Thomé-Ortiz, & Espinoza-Ortega, 2020).

Material and Methodology

This article uses a mix-method research method with network analysis to obtain quantitative data by crawling online media news and social media that ever mention Bukit Waruwangi, while in-depth interviews, document studies, and non-participant observations use qualitative data collection techniques. The research object in this article is an agro-tourism destination in the Serang area, Banten, namely Bukit Waruwangi (BWW). BWW is an interesting object to study because it is an agro-tourism destination. Its operations only opened in 2019 ahead of the Covid-19 pandemic, after previously being only a location for animal farms (cows, buffaloes, and goats), as well as a coffee shop on a hill. Thus, the unit of analysis in this study is the organization, namely Bukit Waruwangi, as an agro-tourism destination. It is out of general tourism in the Banten area, primarily concentrated in the mountains and beaches.

This mixed methods research follows Bourdieu's thoughts, who never explicitly mentions the most suitable method for tracing the habitus-arena-capital trilogy. For Bourdieu,

all three are ambiguous concepts, and there is no single, authoritative and consistent definition (Crossley, 2013). Bourdieu tried his best to stand between the subjectivists and the objectivists simultaneously. His thinking is always 'beyond objectivism and subjectivism. Bourdieu believes there is always a subjective aspect to objectivity and vice versa. It is precisely this duality that makes knowledge of social practices produced and reproduced continue to grow.

To achieve the criteria of goodness, researchers maintain credibility with several alternative triangulation as follows (Willis, 2007); *firstly*, member checking, it carried out by researchers involving third parties, namely actors who have experience with Bukit Waruwangi. *Secondly*, participatory research is an effort when the researcher discusses findings with the main actors in Bukit Waruwangi. *Thirdly*, vast experience in the environment is the provision of a 'pause' for data collection that researchers can use to see the development of phenomena, starting from quantitative to qualitative data collection. *Fourthly*, peer review is an effort to disseminate ideas about research, taken by researchers to get different perspectives on the topic studied. *Fifthly*, researcher journaling is the publishing parts of research results in reputable journals to maintain the validity and originality of the data. And finally, audit trails is an effort when researchers documented the findings in a recording device diary and continue with the text inscription process.

Results and Discussion

Cultural Capital and Symbolic Capital Determine Distinction

The results of the study indicate that there is a proportion of capital owned by Bukit Waruwangi which can be distinguished as Bourdieu's terminology, with a qualitative data matrix as follows;

Table 1. Qualitative Data Matrix and Capital Distribution

No.	Item	Category	Concept	Remarks
1	Located in Padarincang Village, Serang, Banten, Bukit Waruwangi on 120 hectares of hilly area. There are rivers, waterfalls, and local plantations (fruit and vegetables).	Natural resources	Symbolic Capital	The given natural resources represent symbolic capital, and the manager only manages these resources to meet the agro-tourism aspects.
2	Bukit Waruwangi is the only agro-tourism destination in Serang Banten, while other tourist destinations in this	Location	Distincti on	Stand out of parity in general tourist destinations—scarcity by

	region are generally the sea, beaches, mountain forests, old towns, and culinary delights (https://dispar.bantenprov.go.id, 2017). Access to and from Bukit Waruwangi is hard to pay with sunset views from the top of the hill.			demanding access to experiences that differentiate of elsewhere.
3	Bukit Waruwangi is owned by the family of a former state official. His network of friends is one factor that turns this business into agro-tourism to get the local government's support.	Relational	Prior Cultural Capital turns to Social Capital	Social Capital is obtained from the legitimacy of the local government. Proximity to several political figures also accelerated the popularity of Bukit Waruwangi.
4	Swimming pool facilities, animal husbandry (cows, buffalo, horses, and deer), glamping, and lodging are standard facilities. The extent of green open space and the contours of the hill land is maintained, making Bukit Waruwangi the choice of Banten and Jabodetabek residents for alternative agro-tourism destinations.	Physical Evidence	Economic Capital	The facility's establishment is supported by the economic capital of the owner/investor. In the end, the facility can also generate income for the manager.
5	90% of workers are residents.	Human Resources	Social Capital	Empowerment of residents is a way for BWW managers to gain community acceptance.
6	Land for essential oil-producing plants (turmeric, aromatic ginger lavender, red ginger, lemongrass), including laboratory embryos for distillation and product packaging.	Product identification	Distinction	The distinction is obtained from seeing the trajectory that residents have made. Along with the access to Bukit Waruwangi, residents have a habit of drying the harvested ginger root in front of their houses.
7	Essential oil aromatherapy products have become a new feature of Bukit Waruwangi. The breeding of essential oil-producing plants as aromatherapy ingredients is the answer to the opportunity for discourse on health care during the pandemic.	Product identification	The cultural capital that forms the distinction	Unlike other agro-tourism tours in vegetable and fruit gardens, BWW has chosen local plants that produce essential oils as its new distinction.

Source: Researcher Process, 2021

The qualitative data matrix above shows how BWW shows its distinction through symbolic and cultural capital, namely the location (hill and Serang) and nature (scenery, tourism) which became its initial

characteristics. It is also in line with extracting quantitative data on online media coverage related to Bukit Waruwangi, which shows a concentration of themes (word cloud) as shown in the following figure;



Figure 1. Word Cloud Online Media News about Bukit Waruwangi
Source: Researcher Process, 2021

The focus on the theme of online media coverage above shows how Waruwangi Hill has become a natural tourist destination in Serang. The media also recognize 'the otherness' of destinations in the Banten region as the distinction of Bukit Waruwangi.

The second characteristic, the cultivation of plants that produce aromatherapy products, is also Bukit Waruwangi's effort to bring up other features, which come from the trajectory of the habits of the Indonesian people in general, and the residents of Padarincang in particular. According to Bourdieu, the trajectory or traces of life's journey is the point where the habitus is visible. Trajectory provides many models of future action applications and 'provides' agents with diverse recreational experiences based on their awareness, sensitivity, and reflection in each arena (Grenfell, 2008; Yang, 2014).

In this context, Bukit Waruwangi can see the opening of the arena context as a new niche market during the pandemic. Demand has soared for multivitamin products to herbal products that are believed to increase antibodies, such as honey, turmeric, Curcuma, and ginger, since President Joko Widodo, at the beginning of the pandemic, shared 'tips' to ward off viruses by consuming decoctions of the three medicinal plants (Mutiah, 2020). Not 'mitigated,' the popularity of this 'jamu Jokowi' has drawn attention from international media (kompas.com, 2020). This is the new arena facing the BWW. Therefore, cultivating ginger, citronella, turmeric, and aromatic ginger on a large area of land is a social reproduction for Bukit Waruwangi to fulfill its positioning as an agro-tourism destination.

Careful reproducing herbal plants are also following the trajectory of medical

traditions in many countries. Traditional herbal plants, such as aromatherapy products and essential oils, have also been trusted as media for treatment (Clodoveo, Camposeo, Gennaro, Pascuzzi, & Roselli, 2014; Ismail, Lubis, Manurung, Sihotang, & Simanjuntak, 2019), especially for palliative treatment (Armstrong, et al., 2019). The trajectory is the same as Serang residents' job category: farmers and planters of coconut, peanut, coffee, melinjo, cloves, pepper, rubber, vanilla, cocoa, and spices

(<https://biropemerintahan.bantenprov.go.id>, 2021). It confirms the ownership of BWW's cultural capital, which can determine its distinction in the next stage.

Business growth that is still related to health, such as BWW's agro-tourism and its aromatherapy products, turns out to be very closely related to the cultural context. Culture shapes the health of individuals or people with the same beliefs and values, which determines the same thoughts in the community. It also determines what health products they consume and how they consume them (Akhagba, 2017). It can be the main reason for Bukit Waruwangi to adopt the trajectory of residents and traditional health discourse in Indonesia by cultivating plants that produce these aromatherapy products. At least this can be an essential aspect that can anticipate the acceptance of the public who may become consumers.

Simultaneously, cultivation also requires care and processing to add value to these herbal plant products. Therefore, the embryo distillation laboratory has been prepared to produce an oil extract whose value is very high in the market. Moreover, the consumption of aromatherapy and essential oils is often

associated with the representation of a postmodern society that requires tranquility, mental and physical stability, and an increase in spirituality (Barcan, 2014). Another study even noted that aromatherapy could reduce headaches, anxiety, depression, etc. (Ali, et al., 2015). Here, they are not only following the

trajectory of the local community; but also they are the managers of this new plantation. Once again, the ownership of cultural capital has proven itself capable of converting BWW's economic capital ownership through this further distinction. Here's the description;

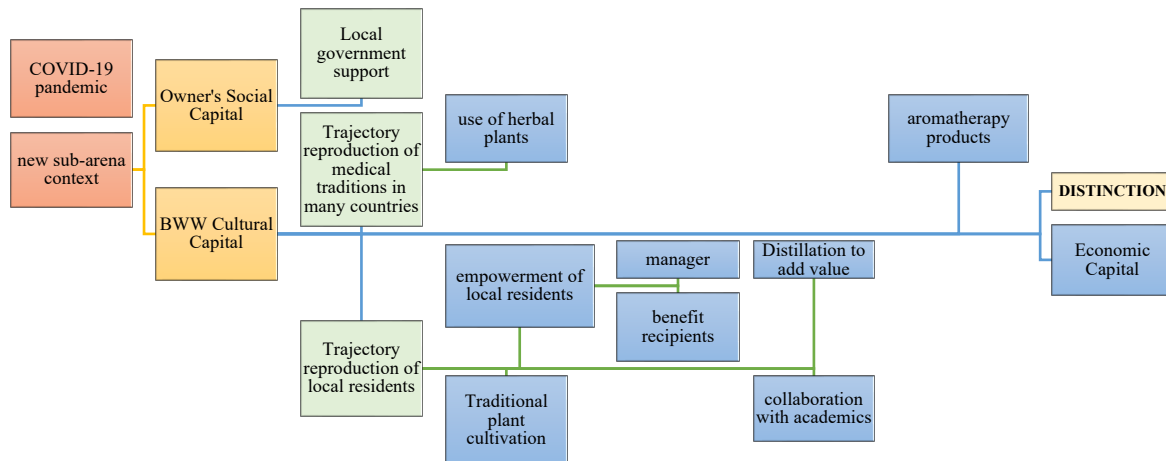


Figure 2. Ownership of Bukit Waruwangi Capital and Distinction
 Source: processed by the author, 2021

Concerning Bourdieu's thinking, BWW as an agent and its social practice—which makes it an agency in Giddens's terminology—produces a relational form, which transcends reality in the context of the appropriate arena. Relationships are built on relationships, resulting in agency representations that are intersubjective and reflections of agents with nature (Veenstra & Burnett, 2014) and other related arenas and other participating actors. It is part of the Bukit Waruwangi primary distinction, which is not immediately recognizable and even duplicated easily.

The problem is, processing traditional plants into aromatherapy products such as essential oils requires a process that is not easy and only produces small volumes. That is why aromatherapy oil extracts are only used in tiny amounts (per drop count). In the end, the exclusivity of 'scarcity' reoccurs, and it will undoubtedly have an effect that needs to be considered by BWW managers when

determining market prices. Producing a commodity will surely eliminate the aspect of strengthening the trajectory of residents' empowerment which is the distinction of BWW, and will enhance economic capital. It needs to be the primary consideration in the following product branding strategy.

Combination of Social Capital and Symbolic Drivers of Voluntary Behavior

On the other hand, the symbolic capitals provided, such as hilly terrain, scenery, and air quality, which are the primary resources that make BWW superior according to visitors. Remarkably, visitors denied almost all the infrastructure weaknesses that BWW has not provided. Visitors capture stop time in the experience of visiting BWW on their social media account pages. Data from social media networks shows that almost all of these voluntary behaviors have positive sentiments, as shown in the following figure;

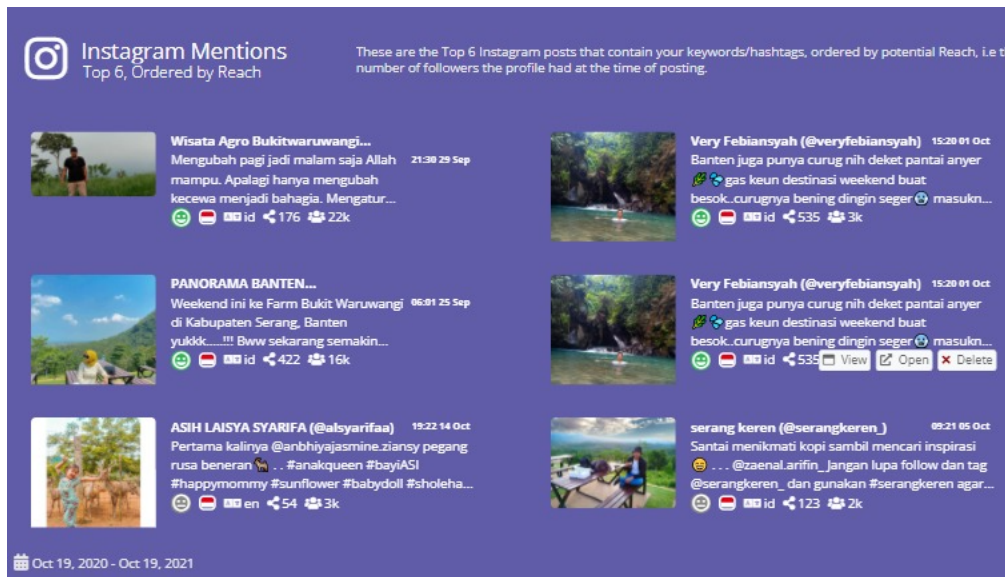


Figure 3. Mentions & hashtags on Instagram about Bukit Waruwangi
Source: Researcher Process, 2021

Rank	Channel	Profile	Followers / Rank / Subscribers	Mentions	Engagement	Sentiment
1		PANORAMA BANTEN @panorama_banten	16k	20	15k	
2		Very Febiansyah @veryfebiansyah	3k	9	4k	
3		Wisata Agro Bukitwaruwangi @bukitwaruwangi	22k	12	2k	
4		serang keren @serangkeren_	2k	7	834	
5		Very Febiansyah @veryfebiansyah	3k	1	535	
6		Hemalani putri @its_me_hemalani	541	5	430	
7		Nina Patrisia @ninapatrisia	1k	8	416	

Figure 4. Mentions & Sentiment Content on Instagram about Bukit Waruwangi
Source: Researcher Process, 2021

What's interesting about this network data is that quantitative network analysis can lead to the perspective of the network as an entity that is connected to other entities and is not atomistic. In quantitative network analysis, the entity relationships are indicated by dots (actors as nodes), directions/lines, and arrows. Replication can also be counted to find out what accounts can be part of the BWW 'communication channel'. In quantitative analysis of social networks, the problem is that network attributes that are visible—but cannot be manipulated—can't be revealed. Therefore, to see the social networks in online media, it is also necessary to analyze content/text to

understand the context and identity of connected actors. Identity in online media is a contextual interaction tool, and the linkage between social relations and this context produces specific and intentional meanings between these actors.

From the figure, negative sentiments have appeared even though they are not in proportion to the positive sentiments displayed. However, BWW managers still need to regularly monitor the fluctuation of this sentiment to anticipate public opinion. It is, of course, to predict the emergence of a bad image that may appear at the beginning of BWW's

growth as a new destination in the agro-tourism business.

On the other hand, the ownership of the owner's cultural capital is combined with symbolic capital. BWW also has significant implications for the reliability of social capital in other arenas. The owner's network of friends extends from the local government to other politicians. The owner's ability to make BWW an agro-tourism destination that is different from other destinations in the Serang area contributes to regional income. It achieves the cultural capital of the city of Serang. Automatically, it registers itself as an area that (also) has agro-tourism destinations such as those in other regions in West Java.

This mutual relationship can actually provide mutual benefits. BWW can expand awareness about BWW as an agro-tourism destination through local government officials' accounts and testimonials from politicians who have stopped by. With the ownership of their cultural capital as public figures, of course, the expansion of BWW's network can be mediated through the connection of their social capital with many supporting accounts (Li & Barbieri, 2020). These officials can attract new public sympathy, namely BWW visitors with the support given to regional agro-tourism potential.

Simultaneously, the expansion of social capital can also be done by BWW through employee accounts, although previously, BWW's internal communications also needed to be organized first. The vision of 'maintaining' this business can be achieved by providing comfort for employees and pro-employee policies. With this strategy, not only does it get retention, BWW can also do branding without paying through testimonials on social media pages of employees who are happy with the policy.

From all the data matrices, researchers can at least discuss several essential elements that describe the trajectory variations and capital placement of BWW as an agro-tourism destination. The main thing, Bourdieu's belief about the two main poles of capital (cultural and economic) which will have implications for the ownership of other capital (social and symbolic) is at least broken by the findings in this study. Bourdieu does not predict that symbolic capital can emerge by itself or become a naturally given aspect. It is at least shown by all the 'natural aspects' of BWW,

which are the main resources that open the door to ownership of social capital in its operation. Thus, ownership of symbolic capital is not a consequent condition of ownership of cultural and economic capital. It can stand independently, or even determine the achievement of economic capital in a more specific context, such as BWW as an agro destination.

The ownership of this given symbolic capital is often not fully realized by the agent or the actors involved in it. Routines are in the same arena constantly, making managers who are mostly local residents 'only' place BWW as an 'object,' instead of an objective structure that can be reflected on other actors, namely visitors. Visitors even believe this natural aspect to be the main distinction that many BWW agents remember.

In another section, Bourdieu also gives the term 'the body as a historical' (Bourdieu, 1983, p. 13) because of the body's ability to absorb sensory experiences and remember them as part of its stock of knowledge. Bourdieu also discusses a separate chapter on the body being on auto-pilot due to habitual automation (Bourdieu, 1980). Likewise, the agro-tourism experience and aromatherapy distinction are part of this structure.

The combination of symbolic capital in the form of all aspects of nature and the distinction of aromatherapy products that embody Bukit Waruwangis's cultural capital has a significant impact on health (Lakhan, Sheaffer, & Tepper, 2016) —especially during the current pandemic. This alloy is even touted as a new form of medicine (Ross, 2014, p. 161). Instead of going through clinical trials reproducing scientific understanding of efficacy and consolidating biomedical power, the alternative health arena is a culturally holistic health practice. And to understand the meaning and therapeutic potential of non-biomedical health practices, it is necessary to understand the values embodied in what might be called 'well-being discourse', namely the ways in which many people perceive themselves and their bodies. The discourse of well-being defines health as an individual's specific fulfillment, joy and balance, characterized by the ability to navigate challenges in life actively. Well-being is thought to be based on an awareness of one's emotions and manifestations and a willingness to explore and express oneself. Thus, this

discourse reproduces the essential ideals that shape the normal and desirable understanding of the self: the individual's uniqueness, his actions, consciousness, reflexivity (Sointu, 2012).

This is also in line with Bourdieu's thinking about the subjectivist-objectivist duality. Even according to existentialist thinkers, human existence lies in the 'feelings embodied in the body' which is always in contact with other people and the awareness channeled through language, discourse, and history. Therefore, experience is always placed in the context of 'time', so that humans can anticipate the same event in the future. Humans are also always in the matrix of spatial relationships in the world surrounding them, so meanings emerge from these (worldly) thoughts and activities. BWW visitors fix this in their voluntary social media account page discourses, namely experiences that record their existence in time and space, being in nature and being involved in their activities.

Conclusion

The agro-tourism business—such as the one run by Bukit Waruwangi in Serang, Banten—is part of the creative economy industry that requires high creativity and sensitivity to the potential of nature, consumers, and the wider arena of tourist destinations. Therefore, placing symbolic capital by recognizing local residents' cultural capital and trajectory is one strategy with minimal resistance in the arena. In fact, it is the combination of symbolic and cultural capital that will actually produce a distinction and increase economic capital, both for the owner, government, and local residents.

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