



Fort Oranje tourism: Community and cultural reproduction in the city of Ternate

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ABSTRACT

The increasing utilization of cultural heritage sites as tourism spaces raises important questions regarding how communities contribute to the preservation and transformation of cultural meaning. However, most studies on cultural reproduction have primarily focused on formal institutions such as education and family, leaving the role of public heritage spaces underexplored. This study aims to examine the process of cultural reproduction within community activities at Fort Oranje, Ternate City, and to analyze how the site functions as a social arena in the perspective of Pierre Bourdieu. The research contributes to the development of cultural reproduction theory by demonstrating the significance of community-driven practices in shaping the meaning and sustainability of cultural heritage tourism. This research employs a qualitative method with a case study approach. Data were collected through non-participant observation, in-depth interviews with site managers, community members, conservationists, and tourists, as well as documentation. The findings reveal that Fort Oranje, as a cultural heritage site, has been reinterpreted as a dynamic social and cultural space by communities such as the Ternate City Community Network (JARKOT) and Ternate Creative Space. Cultural reproduction occurs through the interaction of field (Fort Oranje), agents (communities), and practices (cultural activities), supported by various forms of capital, including social, cultural, economic, and symbolic capital. This study concludes that cultural reproduction is not limited to formal institutions but can also emerge through repeated cultural practices in public heritage spaces.

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1. Introduction

Since the end of World War II, the phenomenon of tourism has been growing in Indonesia. According to [Tangian & Wowiling \(2020\)](#) tourism is an activity that involves many parties, one of them that plays a crucial role is local community. In the context of tourism in Fort Oranje, the local community is one of the aspects that determine preferences for tourists ([Pratama et al., 2023](#)). Aside from supporting tourist interest, communities play an active role in the process of cultural consumption and reproduction through various sustainable social practices ([Susanto et al., 2019](#)).

The role of the community in reproducing culture in Fort Oranje is explained by [Pratama et al. \(2023\)](#) which states that the community has an important role in cultural development as well as the main actor in the utilization of Fort Oranje. Moreover, [Pratama et al. \(2023\)](#) go to say that activities and festivals organized by the community at Fort Oranje are the main attraction for

tourists to visit. The various tourism activities in Fort Oranje include historical tours, architectural exploration, education, and cultural experiences.

The institution that bridges communities in utilizing the space within Fort Oranje is the Ternate City Community Network (JARKOT). This organization participates as a forum for bringing together creative communities and acting as a liaison in designing and organizing community activities and festivals in Ternate City. Currently, JARKOT has transformed into the Ternate Creative Space, which has a similar role (Agustang & Alwi, 2025; Hasibuan et al., 2025).

This research was conducted at Fort Oranje in Ternate City, North Maluku Province, Indonesia. Fort Oranje was founded in 1607 by Cornelis Matelief de Jonge and initially named “Benteng Malayo” on the ruins of a Portuguese fort built around 1522 but was later renamed “Benteng Oranje” by Froncois Witterz (Clercq, 2018). Initially, Fort Oranje, the first Dutch fort, was a settlement for Dutch people in Ternate, which later became the center of the Dutch government (Rakuasa, 2025). This fort was larger than the castle in Batavia, measuring 180 m x 165 m. This fort also served as the headquarters of the VOC in the Dutch East Indies until Governor General Jan Pieterszoon Coen moved his headquarters to Batavia in 1619 (Suwindiatrini & Nayati, 2024).

The selection of Fort Oranje as a research location is based on its strengths and opportunities as cultural tourism. Fadlhy et al. (2015), stated that Fort Oranje is a cultural heritage object that has the highest strengths and opportunities aside from cultural heritage objects to be used as cultural tourism. Fadlhy states that some of the supporting factors include easy access, strategic location, supporting facilities and infrastructure, easy-to-reach facilities, well-maintained and attractive object conditions, and authenticity in building construction (Priyatna, 2025; Setiawan & Arnidayanti, 2025).

Fort Oranje, as a cultural heritage site, is not merely seen as a relic of the past but also holds symbolic meaning and contributes to the formation of collective identity. Aji & Setrodiharjo (2022) study emphasized that cultural heritage, including artifacts and ancient objects, is authentic evidence of national identity. Therefore, utilizing cultural heritage as a historical tourism destination, combined with the community as the primary actor in its utilization, creates a harmonious blend in cultural preservation. However, it cannot be denied that utilizing cultural heritage as a tourism space and community activity often faces challenges between preservation interests and spatial utilization, as explained by Diarta (2017), needs to have different management approaches.

In addition, with regards to historical narrative, Sunjayadi (2019) argued the importance role of the community in attracting millennials and Generation Z (Gen Z) to visit historical sites. Various community activities around the tourist sites provide additional attractions for tourists to come to (Sunjayadi, 2019). In the context of Fort Oranje, these activities can be in the form of festivals organized by the community within and around the fort.

Community activities in supporting tourism activities in Fort Oranje were specifically explained by Simabur (2022) who mentioned the “Tara La No Ate” festival organized by the community proved to be an attraction for tourists to visit. Tourism activities in the form of cultural experiences are one of the aspects that are also raised in the festival. Meanwhile, studies on communities in the process of cultural reproduction have been conducted by many previous researchers, including (Chung, 2024; Susanto et al., 2019; Zheng et al., 2025), who focused on specific communities as the objects of study.

This study will examine the cultural reproduction of community activities at Fort Oranje, Ternate City. The purpose of this study is to understand the cultural reproduction process that occurs within a cultural heritage site and the relationship between the community and the cultural

heritage site itself. Although numerous studies have been conducted communities as agents of cultural reproduction, this study will specifically position cultural heritage sites as an arena for cultural reproduction processes, which rarely been explored. This research is expected to contribute to the development of the concept cultural reproduction by showing that this process does not only take place through formal institutions and education as explained by Pierre Bourdieu, but can also occur through cultural practices carried out by communities and public spaces based on cultural heritage. Therefore, this study seeks to explore this area: combining the idea of the utilization of historical sites with the role of community in cultural reproduction.

Despite the growing body of literature on heritage tourism and community participation, significant gaps remain in understanding how cultural heritage sites function as active arenas for cultural reproduction. Existing studies on Fort Oranje and similar sites have predominantly focused on tourism attractiveness, visitor preferences, and economic impacts, while overlooking the sociocultural processes through which communities actively reinterpret and reproduce cultural meanings. On the other hand, studies on cultural reproduction, particularly those inspired by Pierre Bourdieu, have largely emphasized formal institutions such as education and family as primary sites of cultural transmission. As a result, limited attention has been given to informal public spaces, such as heritage tourism sites, as dynamic fields where cultural reproduction occurs through everyday practices and community engagement.

This study offers a novel contribution by positioning Fort Oranje not merely as a passive cultural heritage object, but as an active social field in which communities negotiate, reinterpret, and reproduce cultural values through sustained practices. By integrating the concepts of field, habitus, and various forms of capital within the context of heritage tourism, this research provides a more comprehensive analytical framework to understand how community-driven activities shape both cultural meaning and spatial utilization. Furthermore, the study highlights the role of organized community networks, such as JARKOT and Ternate Creative Space, as key agents in mediating the relationship between cultural preservation and contemporary social use.

The urgency of this research lies in the increasing pressure faced by cultural heritage sites to balance preservation with public utilization. As heritage spaces are increasingly transformed into multifunctional tourism and social arenas, understanding the mechanisms of cultural reproduction within these contexts becomes crucial for developing sustainable management strategies. This study therefore provides both theoretical and practical insights, contributing to the discourse on community-based heritage management while offering implications for policymakers and cultural institutions in optimizing the role of communities in preserving and revitalizing cultural heritage sites.

2. Theoretical Framework

Utilization of Historical Buildings as Tourism Objects

Cultural tourism involves the movement of people to cultural attractions outside their usual place of residence, with the aim of gaining new knowledge and experiences to satisfy cultural needs (Ruan et al., 2024). According to Uysal et al. (2012), heritage represents the contemporary use of the past and serves as both a cultural and economic resource. The transformation of Fort Oranje from the VOC headquarters to a modern tourist destination illustrates how historic buildings can continue to generate value from the past into the present.

Law Number 11 of 2010 concerning Cultural Heritage is the legal basis in Indonesia that regulates the preservation of objects, buildings, structures, sites, and areas of high value (50 years old, distinctive, historical/scientific) through protection, development, and utilization. This law

emphasizes the role of government and communities in the management and protection of cultural heritage on land and in water. Rössler (2023) argues that the utilization of historical buildings as tourism products is one way that can be done so that these buildings can survive. Therefore, the utilization of historical buildings as a tourist attraction is one of the efforts in preserving cultural heritage.

Buildings, structures, or historical relics have their own charm that can bring local and foreign tourists (Anisah et al., 2023). Perić et al. (2021) outlined a concept of pull and push factors of tourism which include: 1) infrastructure and accessibility, 2) security and safety, 3) activities or festivals, 4) cultural and historical sites. This explanation is in line with the explanation put forward by Soldatenko et al. (2023) which says that tourism pull factors are external factors that attract tourists to travel based on interests or preferences. Based on the results of research conducted by Pratama et al. (2023) related to the influence of tourist preferences on visiting decisions to Fort Oranje, it shows that the availability of facilities, ease of accessibility, cultural heritage, recreational activities, and culinary in front of Fort Oranje are determining factors for tourists in choosing to travel to Fort Oranje.

The utilization of historical buildings as tourist attractions not only preserves cultural heritage, but also contributes to the economy of the surrounding community. According to Bakalo et al. (2025), the existence of historical buildings that are used as tourist attractions can create jobs for the community by opening trade businesses. In his article, Kuqi & Vishaj (2024) agreed that the existence of historical buildings can foster public awareness and concern for history.

Community, Cultural Reproduction, and Forms of Capital

In general, a community consists of core elements that include interaction, support, shared experiences and goals, a sense of belonging, and often physical proximity (Mir et al., 2024). Through these repeated interactions, communities indirectly build collective knowledge, skills, and social networks that enable them to strengthen their position in the public sphere. A study by Linggasani & Putra (2017) found that creative communities play a role in making public spaces more attractive to visit and in providing avenues for social interaction within and between communities.

The position of an individual or group within this social structure is determined by the possession of various types of capital, as described by Garnham (1993): social capital, cultural capital, symbolic capital, and economic capital. Economic capital refers to material resources such as money and assets that can be converted into other forms of capital. Cultural capital encompasses knowledge, skills, education, and competencies that enable an individual or group to gain legitimacy in a particular social position. Cultural capital can take the form of knowledge of local history or even the ability to craft cultural narratives so that they are accepted by the community. In an effort to achieve social legitimacy, Bourdieu then divided cultural capital into three forms: embodied state, objectified state, and institutionalized state (Whigham et al., 2020).

Meanwhile, social capital refers to an individual's ability to build and maintain a durable network of relationships that can be leveraged to gain support and access to resources. Social capital is formed through interpersonal relationships, group solidarity, and relationships with broader institutions. Symbolic capital, on the other hand, represents a form of recognition, prestige, or legitimacy. Symbolic capital emerges in the form of reputation or public recognition of an actor.

In addition to the concept of capital, Bourdieu also proposed the concepts of habitus and fields as crucial elements in understanding cultural reproduction. The concept of habitus, proposed by Bourdieu & Passeron (2000), is crucial in explaining how the relationship between humans and material objects generates recurring social practices. Habitus is a system of enduring dispositions

that determine how individuals think, feel, and perceive. These dispositions are formed through individuals repeated social experiences in a particular social space. Meanwhile, the field is the social space where actors interact and compete using their capital. Fort Oranje, as a cultural heritage site and a field for the community, is certainly not neutral. In the concept of neo-materialism, material objects such as spaces, buildings, and cultural artifacts are not only seen as material objects but also play a role in shaping human consciousness, actions, and experiences (Bennett, 2010). In line with this, [Blommert & Bulcaen \(2002\)](#) explain that material space becomes an arena where values, norms, and habits are learned and repeated, naturally reproducing culture.

Cultural reproduction occurs through the interaction of capital, habitus, and arena. According to [Bourdieu & Passeron \(2000\)](#), cultural reproduction is the process of transmitting cultural values, knowledge, and practices through seemingly natural social institutions. Bourdieu and Passeron also explain that cultural reproduction occurs through rituals, social institutions, social spaces, and intergenerational interactions. In the study of spatial materiality by [Widianingsih et al. \(2023\)](#), habitus and field are connecting mechanisms that explain how material objects, social spaces, and human actors interact in maintaining cultural practices over time. Similar findings can be found in [Crăciun et al. \(2022\)](#) who stated that cultural preservation occurs in a dynamic relationship between agents and fields, which become their social spaces. Cultural heritage as a field contains historical materiality (objects, buildings, and structures), which also influences the habitus of the community as agents in preserving culture.

3. Method

This research made use of qualitative research with a case study approach. In general, qualitative research methods are used to understand and explore phenomena that are of concern to researchers ([Creswell & Guetterman, 2019](#)). The use of this research method also aims to understand social phenomena in the form of tourism from the informant's perspective. Meanwhile, the use of a case study approach aims at exploring and examining holistically the various interconnected aspects of the tourism phenomena at Fort Oranje. In addition, data collection in the form of observations, interviews, and documentation in the form of photographs will be featured in this research.

The unit of analysis in this research is the community, tourists, and the manager of Fort Oranje. The various communities being studied are English village community, music community, art. These communities were chosen because they are active in Fort Oranje and are also members of Jaringan Komunitas Kota Ternate (JARKOT). In this research, observation is carried out as a strategy to understand people, with the aim of being able to see activities based on emic knowledge to get an explanation of the culture under study. The observation was carried out to find out how the activities of managers, communities, and people in Fort Oranje by focusing on activities and festivals in Fort Oranje as well as their impact on tourism of the area. Meanwhile, the interview technique conducted in this research uses stratified purposeful sampling with the aim of being able to describe how the role of the community and its impact on tourism activities with the in-depth interview method to explore specific information through individuals or groups. Interviews were conducted following a pre-made data set. Data collection in the form of observations and interviews in this study was carried out from October to December 2024.

4. Result and Discussion

This section present findings on how the community plays a role in revitalizing tourism activities at Fort Oranje, referring to Cultural Reproduction ([Bourdieu & Passeron, 2000](#)). This finding shows

how Fort Oranje as a material object influences the course of community activities, its influence on cultural preservation.

Fort Oranje

Fort Oranje is a fort located in Gamalama Village, Central Ternate District, Ternate City. Initially, Fort Oranje, the first Dutch fort, was a settlement for Dutch residents in Ternate and later became the center of Dutch government (Cornelissen, 2007). As seen in Fig. 1, Within the context of colonial history, this fort held a crucial position as the center of Dutch administration and control in the North Maluku region. Fort Oranje covers an area of approximately 180 × 165 meters and comprises several structures that are officially recognized as National Cultural Heritage, while at the same time serving as a public space for the community.

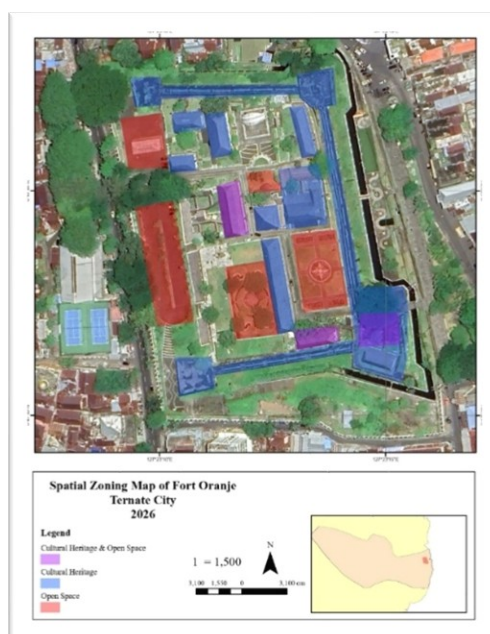


Fig. 1. Spatial Zoning Map of Fort Oranje

Over time, Fort Oranje's function has undergone a transformation. Today, the presence of open spaces (Fig. 2), fortification structures (Fig. 3), and gun magazine storage (Fig. 4) within Fort Oranje make it a tourist attraction and a National Cultural Heritage Site that must be protected and preserved. The fort's transformation from a colonial administrative center to a tourist destination demonstrates a shift in the building's meaning, from a symbol of (colonial) power to a social space and tourist destination as it is reinterpreted by the community.



Fig. 2. Structures of Fort



Fig. 3. Open Spaces in Fort Oranje



Fig. 4. Gun Magazine Storage

Spatially, Fort Oranje has a large, accessible open space, supported by its central location in Ternate City. This allows the fort to function as a public space, enabling various social, cultural, and creative activities. As a National Cultural Heritage Site, the fort is under the jurisdiction of the Cultural Preservation Center (Balai Pelestarian Kebudayaan), its preservation institution. Meanwhile, the National Cultural Heritage Decree (SKCBN) for Fort Oranje states that its custodian and ownership remain under the Ternate City Government.

The large number of visitors to Fort Oranje is influenced not only by the building's historical significance, but also by the active role of the community, which regularly hosts festivals, cultural performances, and other creative activities. Today, over 200 communities are connected and growing within the fort, making it more popular than other forts in Ternate City.

Community Development Within Fort Oranje

The community's entry into Fort Oranje began after its revitalization in 2017, when the previously occupied by military personnel became vacant. Concerns about the damage caused by the empty spaces within the revitalized fort sparked the idea to reactivate the fort's spaces. The local government then proposed reactivating these spaces to one of my informants, Zandry. The initial plan to reactivate the fort was to organize various events such as music, traditional dances, and other performances. However, concerns about the sustainability of these events led Zandry to ultimately decide to create a community network called the Ternate City Community Network (JARKOT), inspired by the "Bandung Creative City Forum." The idea for this community network began with an event called the "Ternate Community Party" in 2017. However, in its implementation, the event was chaired by an event organizer and only interpreted as an annual event where communities showcased their talents to the public. From this event, Zandry realized that

communities in Ternate City were not yet connected and there was no structured data collection on community existence. As Zandry explained: "If we [the communities] didn't get connected, how could we turn on the activities inside the fort?"

After the Ternate Community Festival, JARKOT successfully brought together 47 communities and provided them with spaces for activities, exhibitions, or performances. JARKOT then conducted focused-group discussions (FGDs) with these 47 communities to map and categorize each community's focus. Since 2018, monthly community activities within Fort Oranje have been held regularly, focusing on various areas, such as photography, cultural festivals, exhibitions, and more. With a clear structure and the achievement of the goals of activating Fort Oranje's spaces, the community's monthly activities were finally funded by the regional budget (APBD). This led the communities to join JARKOT and build a more organized collaboration, thus optimizing the use of Fort Oranje's space in Ternate City.

During the Fort Exploration event conducted by the Ternate Heritage Society, we saw how the community activated Fort Oranje's space through educational activities. This activity features a historical tour of the fort, a narrative presentation of colonial traces, traditional music and dance performances, and the release of lanterns, where visitors not only listen to explanations about the heirlooms but can interact directly with the cultural heritage. The annual event at Fort Oranje concludes with the Ternate Community Festival held at the end of the year. The Ternate Community Festival includes traditional music and dance performances, a photography exhibition, community film screenings, Small Medium Enterprises (SMEs) bazaar, and a cultural parade involving various arts communities. This festival takes place at Fort Oranje with visitors from various backgrounds. After the Ternate Community Festival in 2018, the number of active communities at Fort Oranje continued to grow, reaching around 150 in 2019, coinciding with the "Tara La No Ate" festival. This is 'highlighted by [Simabur \(2022\)](#) who stated that the "Tara La No Ate" Festival makes Fort Oranje a center of creativity in Ternate City and its activities can attract tourists to visit the tourist attraction.

From [Lukito et al. \(2025\)](#) perspective, Fort Oranje represents "contemporary uses of the past," while also functioning as a cultural and economic resource. This is reflected in the use of spaces within Fort Oranje, which have changed function since its initial construction until now. The community has revitalized these spaces through cultural, artistic, educational, and other events or activities. This finding is confirmed by ([Pratama et al., 2023](#)), who stated that the community plays a crucial role in cultural advancement and is the primary actor in the utilization of Fort Oranje.

The community at Fort Oranje demonstrates strong agency in initiating and revitalizing tourism activities within the area. Through various activities such as cultural festivals, exhibitions, historical tours, and other creative activities, the community actively contributes to revitalizing the fort as an attractive destination for both the public and tourists. In supporting this process, JARKOT acts as a mediator connecting various communities in Ternate City with the local government, allowing activities and festivals organized by the communities to run more focused and organized. Currently, JARKOT has transformed into Ternate Creative Space, which carries out a similar role, with the vision of making Fort Oranje an inclusive open space, where every community can express themselves freely and equally.

The community's use of Fort Oranje's spaces also has a positive impact on the local community. [Linggasani & Putra \(2017\)](#) noted that the creative community plays a role in making public spaces more attractive to visit and used as social interaction spaces. This finding has been bolstered by one of visitors' account, who stated that: "It is enjoyable coming to Fort Oranje now, 'coz, aside from its spacious area, there are many [cultural] activities here!"

The large number of visitors to the fort area has encouraged the creation of a productive economic hub in the heart of Ternate City. Several communities have even developed spaces within the fort into cafes to support their economy (Fig. 5). These cafes serve as social spaces, fostering organic interaction between the community, visitors, and the public.



Fig. 5. Rottom Coffe

Utilizing Fort Oranje: Opportunity and Challenge

So far, we have discussed about Fort Oranje and how can the communities grow inside the fort. This then raises a fundamental question regarding its sustainability, “to what extent can Fort Oranje actually be explored by the community?” Fort Oranje is a National Cultural Heritage, with its structures and buildings protected under Law Number 11 of 2010. The Fort Oranje National Cultural Heritage Decree prohibits all members of the public from transferring ownership, damaging, stealing, and changing the function of the cultural heritage. With Fort Oranje’s land area reaching 22,000 m² and consisting of several buildings with different statuses as public spaces and cultural heritage, management often faces difficulties in controlling activities at Fort Oranje.

As stated in the SKCBN (National Cultural Heritage Registration Certificate), Fort Oranje’s ownership rests with the Ternate City Government, while its preservation is handled by the Cultural Preservation Center (Balai Pelestarian Kebudayaan). In practice, this division of authority is not yet fully integrated. Interviews with Fort Oranje conservationists revealed that they often face challenges due to limited information regarding changes occurring at Fort Oranje, particularly in monitoring and communicating potential damage. As was the case in 2024, the management stated that members of a particular community were living within the fort, which is clearly prohibited within a cultural heritage site.

This situation demonstrates a lack of coordination between the owner, conservationists, and the community, the primary actors in the utilization of Fort Oranje. As a result, the community often faces unclear boundaries regarding the usable space. To address this issue, the Cultural Preservation Center (Balai Pelestarian Kebudayaan) Region XXI and the Ternate City Government, as the conservationists and the owners, are expected to create a zoning system to map out which parts of the fort may be used, and which may not be altered. This zoning system will serve as clear technical guidelines for spatial use, ensuring that all parties, including the Cultural Preservation Center, local government, and the community, have a shared understanding of the boundaries and regulations for use of the area. With this zoning system, it is hoped that activities within the fort will be more focused and will not disrupt the authenticity of the structure.

Furthermore, the presence of Ternate Creative Space and other communities focused on historical and cultural issues, such as the Ternate Heritage Society, opens up opportunities to build collaborative management models. The existence of structured and organized communities

demonstrates that communities possess the social capital and collective capacity to be formally involved in area governance and as partners in cultural heritage monitoring. This empowers communities not only to act as users of the space but also as custodians and actively participate in disseminating information regarding the condition of cultural heritage. This, of course, must be supported by a reporting system that is easily accessible to all.

Fort Oranje is not only known as a cultural heritage site among the people of Ternate City. The fort is also understood as an open space that provides social space for both the public and the community. The presence of a large public space at Fort Oranje makes it a strategic location for community development. Furthermore, the presence of a community at Fort Oranje also provides a forum for people to express their interests, talents, or even hobbies in Fig. 6 and Fig. 7 while strengthening social interaction among themselves. The meaning of Fort Oranje as a public space is reflected in the statement of an informant who stated that "Fort Oranje is a premium space in the center of Ternate City that can provide social space for its people".



Fig. 6. Taekwondo Community



Fig. 7. Football Community

Fort Oranje's open-air character is also recognized by fort preservationists. In an interview, they explained that the fort is not considered a cultural heritage site for ritual, sacred, or religious purposes, and therefore, its interior spaces can be used as open spaces, allowing for a variety of activities within. So, what is the relationship between historic buildings, open spaces, and the community that is the primary actor in utilizing Fort Oranje? The existence of JARKOT and Ternate Creative Space has demonstrated the ownership of capital as described by (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2000). Cultural capital is manifested in the community's knowledge of local history, Ternate's cultural narrative, artistic and creative skills, and the ability to package events with cultural themes. In this case, cultural capital in Bourdieu is associated with the inheritance process within the family environment, produced collectively through social interactions and cultural activities carried out by the community. Social capital is manifested in inter-community networks, relationships with local governments, cultural heritage preservation institutions, and permits with visitors and the

public. Economic capital is demonstrated by how they can collaborate with local governments to obtain funding and space assistance. Meanwhile, symbolic capital is reflected in how JARKOT and Ternate Creative Space receive recognition from local communities in Ternate City, as mediators connecting communities.

Then what is the role of Fort Oranje as a field and historical building? In an interview with Fort Oranje's management, it was stated that several buildings, such as the Spice Museum, the Warehouse, and the original fort structure, are parts that cannot be altered in any form or construction. Under these conditions, the fort's material character remains unchanged and is governed by strict regulations that directly define the boundaries of space use and direct the community to adjust the scale, type, and form of its activities within the fort as explained in neo-materialism. The open public space within Fort Oranje, which serves as a sanctuary for the people of Ternate City, is both shaped by and, on the other hand, shapes creative community activities, incorporating elements of local culture (Blommert & Bulcaen, 2002).

This process can also be understood through Bourdieu & Passeron (2000) concept of habitus, where routine community activities at Fort Oranje have formed a collective habitus, the fort is understood as a space for expression, activity, and social interaction. This habitus allows the community to interpret the fort not only as a historical building, but also as part of their social and cultural life. This is emphasized in an interview, which stated, "People grow up with cultural narratives, therefore, culture and history can be deeply embedded in each person."

One example of a community with a cultural theme and which is still active today is the Traditional Music Community (Fig. 8). These statements demonstrate that the fort's material space also shapes the imagination, actions, and even the activity choices of the community that grows within it. The intersection of various local cultural elements, from performing arts to exhibitions and cultural discussions within the fort, allows for an intense cultural experience. Furthermore, the fort, in this case, strengthens the historical atmosphere and visitors' experiences with local culture.



Fig. 8. Traditional Music Community

In the concept of neo-materialism as explained by Bennett (2020), it is said that material objects play a role in shaping human consciousness, actions, and experiences. In this case, the fort as a material object, also influences human social practices and habitus. This is to say that these social practices are inherited and sustained, within the concept of cultural reproduction. According to Bourdieu & Passeron (2000), cultural reproduction is the transmission of cultural values, knowledge, and practices through seemingly natural social institutions. Bourdieu's understanding of habitus as a supporting factor for cultural reproduction reflects the cultural themes of events and community activities at Fort Oranje. Furthermore, Bourdieu also explains the elements that are prerequisites for cultural reproduction: fields, agents/actors, and practices. A field is a social space where individuals and groups carry out certain social practices.

In this context, Fort Oranje can be understood as a field where various actors, such as communities, cultural institutions, and the public, interact and reproduce cultural practices and values. As explained previously, material objects are not neutral but play a role in regulating social practices. The community and Fort Oranje form a complementary relationship in the process of cultural reproduction, where the fort serves as a material space that influences the community's habitus as an agent in driving cultural practices.

Although neo-materialism has been described previously as a supporting factor for habitus, it would be incomplete without recalling the concepts of cultural capital and social capital as agents in cultural reproduction. Cultural capital is reflected in the community's knowledge of local history, Ternate's cultural narratives, artistic and creative skills, and its ability to package events with cultural themes. Meanwhile, social capital is manifested in inter-community networks, relationships with local government, cultural heritage preservation institutions, and its connections with visitors and the public. Thus, cultural and social capital play a dominant role in establishing the community as an agent of cultural reproduction.

The realization of cultural reproduction at Fort Oranje is also inseparable from the social and cultural practices carried out by the community. Through activities and festivals with cultural themes and repeated events, they serve as a medium for maintaining knowledge from one generation to the next. In this regard, JARKOT and Ternate Creative Space, with their several form capitals have acted as agents and initiators of cultural practices within Fort Oranje.

The sustainability of these practices is reflected in the planning and implementation of community activities. In an interview with JARKOT and Ternate Creative Space administrators, it was stated that cultural narratives as local identity are a key principle in designing the annual roadmap for all community activities. In fact, the Regional Cultural Preservation Center (Balai Pelestarian Budaya) XXI once collaborated with JARKOT to create a festival.

In addition to showing creative communities in utilizing various forms of capital as described above, researchers will also show differences in the distribution of resources among community actors. In this context, JARKOT and Ternate Creative Space have a dominant role in connecting various communities and coordinating their activities. This condition shows that JARKOT AND Ternate Creative Space possess dominant social capital among other communities. It is undeniable that the actors within them have significant access to resources, as well as legitimacy in managing activities within the fort, by acting as a bridge between communities, government, and society.

Dominance in social capital at JARKOT and Ternate Creative Space can also be converted into economic capital through its relationship with the government. In this case, economic capital is created through sponsors and the state budget. In other words, dominance in social capital will also affect the economic capital owned by the community. However, the cultural reproduction that occurs at Benteng Oranje does not entirely reinforce resource inequality among communities. On the contrary, JARKOT and Ternate Creative Space, as community networks formed at Benteng Oranje, function as collaborative spaces that open up opportunities for various communities to interact and participate in activities within them. Thus, the existence of JARKOT and Ternate Creative Space becomes a competent agent in the process of cultural reproduction at Benteng Oranje.

5. Conclusion

This research shows that Fort Oranje does not only function as a Cultural Heritage and historical tourist attraction, but also as a public space whose existence is reinterpreted and reproduced by the community and society. The transformation of Fort Oranje's function from being the center of

colonial government into a public space and cultural tourism reflects the shift in the meaning of the building. However, its status as a Cultural Heritage whose existence is protected by law directly and indirectly dictates and limits the use of this historic building despite its open spatial character and easy access to all levels of society. The results of this research show that cultural reproduction in Fort Oranje takes place through a complex interconnected mechanism between fields, agents, and practices. The existence of JARKOT and Ternate Creative Space, which connect more than 200 communities in Ternate City, allows for the regular management of activities within the fort. These community activities not only increase visits but also create a space for social interaction and a more productive economic cycle. With the presence of the community, tourism at Fort Oranje relies not only on the building's historical value but also on the social practices that take place within it. Cultural reproduction in this study is demonstrated as a process of adaptation from what is usually done by formal institutions to the community, with the festival acting as an intermediary.

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