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Cultural Capital as the Basis for Developing Tourism at Kuta Traditional Village

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Penelitian ini tertuju di Desa Adat Kuta yang merupakan desa adat pertama di Bali berkembang pesat sebagai desa adat tujuan wisata dan fasilitas kepariwisataan tersatuan dengan fasilitas pertumbuhan krama desa adat. Ada tiga masalah yang menjadi perhatian dalam penelitian ini, yakni bagaimana proses modal budaya sebagai dasar pengembangan pariwisata, faktor-faktor apa yang mendukung modal budaya sebagai dasar pengembangan pariwisata, dan macam modal budaya sebagai dasar pengembangan pariwisata di Desa Adat Kuta. Penelitian dilakukan menggunakan metode kualitatif secara otomatis, melalui analisis dan dilakukan secara deskrptif kualitatif dan interpretatif. Secara umum penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menemukan peranannya bagi pariwisata, modal budaya sebagai dasar pengembangan pariwisata, khususnya di Desa Adat Kuta. Pada tahap sosial budaya akan terdapat proses dominasi dan subordinasi budaya secara dinamis selama perkembangan pariwisata global. Pada tingkat individual, di satu sisi dapat ditemui proses resistensi terhadap proses globalisasi, khususnya dalam mengenai keberadaan desa adat, namun di lain sisi terjadi reproduksi identitas budaya untuk memenuhi motivasi atau selera wisatawan, serta proses globalisasi agar pariwisata berkelanjutan dan berkelanjutan.

This study was conducted at Kuta Traditional Village, the first traditional village which has been growing fast as a tourist destination. Its tourist facilities are integrated with the facilities needed by the villagers. There were three problems discussed in this study; they are how the cultural capital was used as the basis for developing tourism, what factors caused the cultural capital to be used as the basis for developing tourism, and what was the meaning of the cultural capital used as the basis for developing tourism at Kuta Traditional Village. Qualitative method was used and the data were analyzed descriptively, qualitatively, and interpretatively. In general, this study was aimed at identifying the new understanding of the cultural capital used as the basis for developing tourism, especially at Kuta Traditional Village. In the socio-cultural level, the process of domination and subordination was identified to take place dynamically following the development of global tourism. In the individual level, on one hand, the process of resistance to the symbolic manipulation of market ideology and the struggle for cultural identities politics was shown by the villagers to maintain the traditional villages, on the other hand, cultural identity reproduction took place to fulfill what was motivated and desired by tourists. In addition, the process of globalization also took place so that tourism would develop sustainably.

Keywords: Kuta traditional village, globalization and cultural capital.

Tourism is one of the main sectors developed to increase the state and regional revenues in Indonesia. Every region in Indonesia develops its tourism sector based on the uniqueness of its cultural capital; each has its own specific characteristic. The Government of Bali, through the Regional Regulation Number 3 of 1974 which was then renewed to be the Regional Regulation Number 3 of 1991 concerning Culture-Based Tourism, has determined the Hinduism-inspired Balinese Culture as the capital for developing tourism. Cultural practices still dominantly attract tourists to come to Bali (Prameswari, 2005; Ardika, 2007: 74).

From the perspective of cultural studies, the above mentioned Regional Regulations reflected that the
government had hegemony over the traditional villages in Bali, including Kuta Traditional Village, which are socio-culturally based on Hinduism. The hegemony the local government had over Kuta Traditional Village, Kuta Sub-district, Kuta District, Badung Regency was in line with the theory of socio-critical hegemony proposed by Gramsci and reflected the hegemony the state had over its people in developing culture-based tourism. The government applied social authority and leadership to its people as the subordinate class by acquiring consensus from them to succeed the development of tourism, which, currently cannot be separated from the influence of globalization and ideology of capitalistic market.

As the basis for developing tourism, the social relationship of the cultural capital to tourism at Kuta Traditional Village had been used by the state and entrepreneurs in tourism to persuade the society to accept the market ideology which was full of competition and pragmatic life style. According to Abdullah (2006: 16-19); and Pendid (1996: vii), culture does not only determine code of conduct which should be obeyed in society or serve as guidance in religious practices but has also become a capital for promoting tourism by individuals, the entrepreneurs in tourism, groups or particular institutions in order to acquire economic benefits.

The present study was conducted at Kuta Traditional Village, the first traditional village in Bali, which had been most rapidly developing. In addition, it also had integrated facilities of tourism. Therefore, the present study was highly interesting and important. The reasons were that the cultural capital did not only affirm its function for Kuta Traditional Village, but its performance was also highly prominent in giving solution to the development of tourism. From the perspective of socio-culture, the process of cultural domination and subordination could be observed dynamically taking place in line with the development of global tourism. From individual perspective, on one hand, the process of resistance of Kuta Traditional Village to the symbolic manipulation of the market ideology and the political struggle for cultural identity to maintain the existence of traditional village could be observed; one the other hand, the reproduction of cultural identity as an attempt to fulfill what the tourists needed and the process of globalization so that tourism would develop sustainably also took place.

The present study was focused on three problems; they are (1) how the process of the cultural capital, as the basis for developing tourism, took place; (2) the factors causing the cultural capital to be used as the basis for developing tourism; (3) what were the meaning of the cultural capital used as the basis for developing tourism at Kuta Traditional Village?

In general, the present study aimed at finding a new understanding of the cultural capital used as the basis for developing tourism, especially at Kuta Traditional Village. On one hand, it was observed that the members of the traditional village supported the market ideology of tourism as an attempt to improve economic welfare, develop creativity and preserve culture; on the other hand, it was also observed that the members of the traditional village resisted the capitalistic market ideology which was regarded as destroying the cultural capital. In particular, the present study aimed at finding how the cultural capital took place, what factors contributing to the cultural capital, and the meaning of the cultural capital as the basis for developing tourism at Kuta Traditional Village.

The qualitative method was uniquely used in the present study, meaning that the data were descriptively, qualitatively and interpretatively analyzed. The quantitative data in the form of tables were only used when necessary. The informants were purposively determined and the data were collected through observation, interview, and library research. The results of the present study were informally presented in the form of narrations as well as formally presented in the forms of pictures, photographs, and tables in eight chapters in Indonesian language.

There were two reasons why the present study was conducted at Kuta Traditional Village; the first reason was that it was the first traditional village in Bali which had developed most rapidly as a tourist destination; and the second reason was that its tourist facilities were integrated with the ones which were prepared for the traditional village.
LITERATURE REVIEW, CONCEPTS, THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK, AND RESEARCH MODEL

Literature Review

Concepts
1. Cultural Capital
Cultural capital in the present study refers to a specific strength of the community of Kuta Traditional Village which is based on the traditional and contemporary tangible and intangible asli kita karya (palemahan, panyangan, panyanggang) used as the basis for developing tourism to complete tourist activities. The cultural capital includes friendliness, the way of managing a tourist village and beautiful beach as fishermen, masseurs, goldsmiths, vendors selling souvenirs, and the coastal activities, vendors have something to do with the sea, the sun and the sand, ritual ceremonies such as molot (pilgrimage performed at the beach), syah buah (fruit fighting), penggamboran (the day before Nyepi which is celebrated with procession of ogh-ogoh, ngembak gend (the day after Nyepi)

which is usually celebrated with what are termed as pasar majalanga and upacara nengak merama, gamelan orchestra, ngekowung (harmony performance performed around the village), penjar competition, architecture reflected by holy places, Balinese style, and contemporary Kuta Carnival Event.

2. Basis for Developing Tourism
The basis for developing tourism in the present study refers to the basis used to develop a region, which is, in this case, Kuta Traditional Village, as a tourist destination.

3. Kuta Traditional Village
Kuta Traditional Village refers to a traditional law-based group of people who adhere to a traditional unity and ethics of life association which has been inherited from generation to generation bound to Kahyangan Tiga (three holy places such as Desa Temple, Pasah Temple and Dalem Temple). They have their own palemahan (area), property and regulations regulating the area which has now been a tourist destination. It is stated in the Bali Regional Regulation Number 3 of 2001 concerning Desa Pekraman (Traditional Village) that the term “desa adat” (traditional village) has been legalised by the Local Legislative Assembly to be “desa pokraman” (another name for the traditional village) at Kuta Sub-district, Kuta District, Badung Regency. However, the villagers of Kuta Sub-district still refer to their area as “Desa Adat Kuta” rather than “Desa Pekraman Kuta”; as a result, in the present study, the term “desa adat” is still used.

4. The Basis for Developing Tourism at Desa Adat Kuta (Kuta Traditional village)
Desa Adat Kuta (Kuta Traditional village) which is based on tri kita karya (palemahan, panyangan, and panyanggang) has traditional and contemporary, tangible and intangible cultural capital as the basis for developing tourism to complete tourist activities.

Operationally, the indicators of the cultural capital Desa Adat Kuta (Kuta Traditional Village) has include the activities which have something to do with the sea, sand and sun as palemahan (the area), friendliness, the ways of life of managing the beach and the area of village as, for examples, fishermen, masseurs, goldsmiths, souvenir selling vendors, Balinese style houses, and contemporary

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Kuta Carnival Event as part of panodangan (part of Tri Hita Karana involving how people are related to each other and environment), ritual ceremonies such as the procession going to the beach as pilgrimage, tawur kasanga (sacrifice ceremony) completed with tabuh rih (cock fighting), pengengukkan (the day before Nyepi “Quiet Day”) completed with the procession of ogoh-ogoh celebrated as part of Nyepi celebration, ngembak genti (the day after Nyepi) completed with pawer majalengka and sanglik marana ritual ceremony, gamelan orchestra, ngelawang, penjor competition, architecture in the form of holy places; these are all part of parhyangan (part of tri hita karana involving how people are related to the Creator).

Theoretical Framework
In the present study of the cultural capital used as the basis for developing tourism at Desa Ahe Kuta (Kuta Traditional Village), several theories were eclectically used. They are the theory of Hegemony proposed by Gramsci, the theory of Co modification proposed by Karl Max, the theory of Power, Knowledge and Truth proposed by Foucault, and the theory of Deconstruction proposed by Derrida.

Research Model

![Diagram of cultural capital and tourism development]

1. **Cultural Capital**
   - Intangible & Tangible
     - Palemahan (Nice Beach)
     - Panodangan (Friendly Attitude, Life Style, Art)
     - Parhyangan (Religious Tradition)

2. **Process of Cultural Capital as Basis for Developing Tourism at Kuta Traditional Village**

3. **Factors Causing Cultural Capital to Be Basis for Developing Tourism Development at Kuta Traditional Village**

4. **Meaning of Cultural Capital as Basis for Developing Tourism at Kuta Traditional Village**

**Sustainable Community-Based Tourism**

Remarks:
- one way direct relationship
- two way interrelated direct relationship
- expectation to achieve.

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The research model above describes the phenomenon of cultural capital used as the basis for developing tourism. The tradition and globalization in the perspective of cultural studies show binary opposition; on one side, two poles attract each other for different interests; on the other side, the process of globalization takes place in which the local culture and global culture form and become part of one another.

The Tebesia Karana-based cultural capital of the traditional village has been used as the basis for developing tourism. The traditional village, as the owner of the intangible cultural capital in the domain of patrimonial such as beautiful beach, and the tangible cultural capital in the domain of pawongan such as friendly attitude, arts and religious tradition, as the basis for developing tourism, on one hand, should be able to maintain the sustainability of the cultural capital of the traditional village from the cultural influence of tourism; on the other hand, they are also used to fulfill the market taste, hegemony in tourism, pragmatic lifestyle, and should also be able to make adaptation in the process of globalization. How the process took place, what factors causing the cultural capital to be used as the basis for developing tourism at Kuta Traditional Village, and what were the meanings of the cultural capital used as the basis for developing tourism at Kuta Traditional Village were the problems of the present study. After the problems were answered, several conclusions were drawn as the novelties which were assumed to reflect the community-based sustainable tourism development.

RESULTS

The Process of How the Cultural Capital Was Used as the Basis for Developing Tourism at Kuta Traditional Village.

Historically, before Kuta Traditional Village was developed into a tourist destination, it used to be the village of harbor. The population of Kuta Traditional Village was made up of different ethnic groups. In addition, the Balinese people, as the majority, came from different villages in Bali. They stayed there with different goals; many were looking for jobs, many were coming to trade, and many others were coming as tourists. The origin of the name of Kuta for the traditional village had not been revealed yet. However, etymologically, the word kuta meant fortress or city. Formerly, the village was named Kuta Minba, which was popularly well-known as an area controlled by the Mengwi Kingdom in the 18th century. Minba meant alas (forest). Kuta Minba meant Kuta Forest. The fishermen living at Kuta Village were the descendants of the fishermen of Semarjaya Magahadi who stayed there when Gajah Mada came to subjugate Bali in 1334.

The process of the cultural capital used as the basis for developing tourism at Kuta Traditional Village could not be separated from the foreigners who had come to Bali such as Madz Johansen Lange who was more popularly known as Mr. Lange, and Vannie Walker, who was more popularly well known as K’tut Tantri or Miss Mako. Mr. Lange established a copra factory and opened an export-import business in 1839. In addition, he was trusted as a post officer at Kuta by the Kesiman King named Gusti Ngurah Gede Kesiman.

In 1930s K’ut Tantri, as a foster child of a Balinese King, founded a hotel named “Swara Segara” whose building highly showed off the local cultural capital. From when the hotel was designed to how it was managed, K’ut Tantri involved the local people. However, what she did was strongly criticized by the Dutch Colonialist as it was regarded as disturbing the power the Dutch Colonial Government had in Indonesia.

From 1960s to 1990s tourism was developed on a large scale and entrepreneurs with huge capital came. In addition, such a large-scale development of tourism was also supported by the policy of the government to develop culture-based tourism for which the Bali Regional Regulation Number 3 of 1974 was issued. The traditional village members who were friendly, open, and highly tolerant underwent what was referred to as euphoria as the cultural capital they had, which was used as the basis for developing tourism, economically benefited them.

When the New Order came into power from 1980s to 1990s, the Government of Badung Regency and Puskom Angkatan Darat (PUSKOAD) participated in the management of the business units and arts market of Kuta Traditional Market. The traditional village members became angry. Then, a negotiation was held and as a result, the cafes and
the tourist facilities managed by the PUSKOAD were demolished. In 1999 it was decided that Kuta Traditional Village could manage the beach and arts market. When the tragedy of bomb blast took place on 12 October 2002, the traditional village members quickly and spontaneously used the cultural capital they had for handling the impacts of the tragedy such as assisting the victims and performing ritual ceremonies to make the area purified again. Neither anarchism nor revenge, which the security forces were afraid of, was done. The cultural capital they had which included friendly attitude, high tolerance and being creative in making innovations made it change from individualism into collectivism as reflected from the programs of the Kuta Carnival Event. As a consequence, Kuta Traditional Village kept becoming a safe and comfortable tourist destination.

The Factors Causing the Cultural Capital to Be Used as the Basis for Developing Tourism at Kuta Traditional Village

The factors causing the cultural capital to be used as the basis for developing tourism at Kuta Traditional Village were the necessities of tourists, hegemony in tourism, the change in the way of life of the Kuta Traditional Village members, and the image as a global village.

The necessities of the tourists visiting Kuta Traditional Village made its members change their professions and work in tourism sectors. The deconstruction of cultural practices to develop tourism showed that there was a synthesis between the economic order and symbolic power, meaning that symbolically Kuta Traditional Village had full power over its cultural capital; however, in practice, it could not be separated from the capitalist market ideology-based hegemony in tourism. The stronger hegemony had caused the cultural capital to be used as the basis for developing tourism after the government issued the Bali Regional Regulation Number 3 of 1974 concerning Culture-based Tourism.

The change in the way of life from being agricultural into being pragmatic was in line with what was required by the market of tourism. This caused the Kuta Traditional Village members to quickly make adaptation so that their cultural capital would have practical values and be useful to improve their welfare and could be used as the basis for developing tourism. The cultural capital which included friendly attitude, the way in which they managed the village area and beautiful beach by working as fishermen, massagers, goldsmiths, and vendors selling souvenirs, the activities having to do with the sea, the sand, and the sun in the beach, religious traditions such as the procession of mudhak ritual (pilgrimage) to the beach, tawur lempung (sacrificial ceremony) completed with ibul roh (rock fighting), procession of agah-agah as part of Nyei (quiet) Day celebration, agembak geni (the day before Nyei Day) which were celebrated by activities such as pasar magalanga, and manghek mawuna ritual ceremony, gamelan orchestra (traditional music), ngelawang (hurong performance performed around the village), penjor competition, architecture in the forms of holy places designed using Balinese style, and contemporary Kuta Carnival Event.

Using the cultural capital as the basis for developing tourism, the cultural capital of Kuta Traditional Village had become part of the culture of global tourism; as a result, Kuta Traditional Village had the image of being a global village, an image which was a pride now. The phenomenon of globalization appeared in line with the pride of the members of the traditional village as a global village as could be seen in the programs of the Kuta Carnival Event and the fact that tourists were free to enjoy the cultural practices performed at Kuta Traditional Village.

The Meaning of the Cultural Capital as the Basis for Developing Tourism at Kuta Traditional Village

The meanings of the cultural capital used as the basis for developing tourism at Kuta Traditional Village included innovative meaning, religious meaning, the meaning of cultural preservation, and the meaning of welfare. The innovative meaning was oriented towards what was expected for in the future in accordance with the local and global contexts of the development of tourism; as a result, what would appear was what was referred to as simulacrum. In addition, the local people would be getting more simulated and deceived in a global image which was full of competitions. It was expected that tourism could increase the local people’s standard of living; therefore, they should keep innovating the cultural capital they had so that it could attract tourists and
increase the number of tourists coming to Kuta Traditional Village.

By innovating their cultural capital, which could not be separated from the identity of the traditional village which was religious, it was hoped that it could be developed and preserved. In the development of tourism at Kuta Traditional Village, what was referred to as cultural involution took place. This term was borrowed from Clifford Geertz and used to refer to the fact that, as far as the present study is concerned, the traditional village members wished to be modern while preserving their culture; therefore, they needed to get money from tourists who were identical with modernization. The religious meaning of the cultural capital used as the basis for developing tourism was regarded as being able to strengthen the local people’s self-identity and belief in the things which were religious-magical in nature. As a result, what was referred to as “cahaya maya” would appear to show that the activities of tourism were in harmony with the religious activities which would then lead to a welfare life. At Kuta Traditional Village, it could be observed that the sacred activities were performed at the same time as the profane tourism activities, meaning that the phenomenon of postspirituality, which was indicated by the fact the worldliness got mixed with godliness, took place. The cultural capital the local people had was undergoing what was referred to as art by metamorphosis, a change from ritual activities to theater, as could be seen from the fact that the ritual procession melasti, which was performed in the beach was organized in such a way that stages, as the ones needed for performing art, were needed so that it could be well watched by tourists while doing their activities having to do with the sea, the sun and the sunset. This phenomenon, at the same time, reflected the struggle for politics of identity that the nihita karana-based Kuta Traditional Village still survived in the middle of the development of global tourism.

It was believed that tourism could improve the local people’s economy. However, the highly strong pressure of the market ideology, as a result of hegemony in tourism, made the expected local people’s welfare had not been achieved yet; many local people were getting marginalized in the development of tourism. A symbolic manipulation of market ideology, that is, the fact that among the sparkling activities of tourism and the rapid growth of the facilities of accommodation, there were still many local people who were in poverty. Although Kuta Traditional Village had the symbol of power and strength in the forms of units of businesses along the beach, arts market, and the credit union called LPD, they had not been able to entirely improve the local people’s welfare among the economic crisis and the strong pressure of the market ideology.

Although the credit union “LPD” gave loans to help the poor local people develop their economic businesses, there was a fall in regard to their interest in obtaining loans as they were afraid that they would not be able to return the loans or they were afraid that they were not able to manage the loans well. Their limited knowledge of entrepreneurship made them afraid of making use of the loans provided by the LPD independently. They became economically marginalized as they were not equipped with the knowledge and skills needed in tourism and this condition was termed as “kijung nyirip pangkung”, meaning that the deer went back at the bank of a ravine as it could not see the direction well. The local people become poor and victims of the capitalistic market competition. This could be seen from those who had to sell the land which had been inherited from their ancestors; as a result, they were becoming homeless and lived in unselvish residences.

The novelties of the present study are as follows:

1. The process of the cultural capital used as the basis for developing tourism at Kuta Traditional Village took place spontaneously as a result of the euphoric attitude of the local people who creatively and openly welcome tourism as a sector which economically benefitted them;

2. The development of tourist facilities, the attitude and activities of the traditional village members in tourism gave the village a new social status, that is, a modern and global village;

3. The cultural capital used as the basis for developing tourism was symbolized as a cahaya yadnya. What is meant is that the cultural practices and tourist activities were believed to be a cahya (Vishnu’s mythical weapon) which was expected to revolve to a better life in globalization era. The term cahya yadnya was identical with what is termed as globalization in cultural studies, meaning that local products
were globally produced and that global products were locally produced in tourism development. The phenomena of simulacrum and postspirituality appeared at the same time as the process of globalization:

(4) When the bomb blast took place on 12 October 2002, the cultural capital was used as the basis for handling its impacts. The local people showed high tolerance and creatively innovated the local culture to establish the image of Kuta Traditional Village as a tourist destination as reflected by the ritual procession of Karangtuban and Kuta Carnival Event.

(5) The euphoric era of tourism was over and the cultural capital used as the basis for developing tourism at Kuta Traditional Village reflected a struggle for a political identity as the realization of the local people’s resistance to the market ideology so that the traditional village could be retained.

(6) The negative impact of the cultural capital used as the basis for developing tourism could be seen from the fact that many local people did not have it any longer; therefore, they were referred to as “kidung nyirig pampungkung”, meaning that the door went back on the bank of a river; as it could not see the direction, it finally fell down the river. The door, in this case, symbolized the local people who did not have any cultural capital any longer as they were the victims of the capitalistic market;

(7) The struggle for eliminating the symbolic manipulation of hegemony in tourism to realize the sustainable community-based tourism still needed support from the government (state), the market and the society.

CONCLUSIONS

The process of the cultural capital used as the basis for developing tourism at Kuta Traditional Village started by Mr. Lange and K’tut Tantri, who came to Bali for business and a tour. From 1960 to 1990s the hegemony in tourism was getting stronger indicated by the issue of the Regional Regulation Number 3 of 1974. When the bomb blast took place on 12 October 2002, the local people showed their capital culture when handling its impacts.

The factors which contributed the cultural capital as the basis for developing tourism at Kuta Traditional Village were motivation and tourists’ necessities, hegemony in tourism, the change in the way of life, and the image of becoming a global village.

The meanings of the cultural capital used as the basis for developing tourism at Kuta Traditional Village were the meaning of innovation, the religious meaning, the meaning of the preservation of cultural capital, the meaning of politics of identity, and the meaning of welfare.

Apart from the conclusions mentioned above, it is suggested to all the stakeholders that they should keep giving contribution and paying attention to the local people as the owner of the cultural capital used as the basis for developing tourism so that what the local people required would match what tourism required and there would not be any symbolic manipulation.

It is suggested that the cultural capital should be maintained by all the community layers through the politics of culture so that the local people would not be marginalized in the middle of the rapid development of tourism.

It is necessary to build a strategy of symbolic investment to create superior human resources in tourism. In this way, the traditional villages in Bali in general, and Kuta Traditional Village in particular, will not only be able to manage LPD or arts market but will also be able to build a star hotel to improve their standard of living.

It is necessary for the other traditional villages in Bali or the other regions in Indonesia which are interested in using their cultural capitals as the basis for developing tourism to conduct a comparative study at Kuta Traditional Village in order to obtain new knowledge or to enrich their insight into globalization as the consequence of the development of global tourism.

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