

THE CONCENSUAL INTERACTION BETWEEN A TRADITIONAL VILLAGE AND HOTEL INVESTORS

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the agreement and consensus between Kedewatan as a *pakraman* (a traditional village) in Ubud, Bali, Indonesia and hotel investors. It is done as a qualitative approach and analyzed by using two theories of critical cultural studies, namely the communicative action of Jurgen Habermas and the theory of hegemony by Antonio Gramsci. Data are obtained through observation, document studies, and in-depth interviews. The results of this study found three consensuses between Kedewatan villagers and hotel investors. First, the formal legal investment consensus that has an agreement in the form of the contribution of the hotel investor during the investment in Kedewatan Village. Second, the social consensus is the agreement of Kedewatan and hotel investors to employ the local community of Kedewatan Village as hotel employees in accordance with their competencies. Third, the cultural consensus is the agreement of both parties to appreciate the local culture and wisdom of local people to be adopted by the hotel investors who set up their business in Kedewatan Village.

Keywords: consensual interaction, village, hotel investor, share.

INTRODUCTION

Kedewatan Village in Ubud, Bali, Indonesia, continues to be demanded by hotel investors as a place to invest. In fact, the area is enlivened by the presence of international hotel the Ritz Carlton Mandapa in 2016. In less than a year, another new hotel called Impiana is under construction along with the Golden Tulip Resort Ubud and the Waldorf Astoria Ubud which are in charge of its licensing process (Pitanatri and Putra, 2016: 25). Related with the rise of investors invested in the hotel sector, it is not mistaken if some of the local figures, one of them is Cok Ace (Tjokorda Oka Artha Ardhana Sukawati) argues that Ubud will continue to grow, especially in tourism sector (Sukawati, 2004: 72; Sukawati, 2009).

Ubud is one of few villages pioneering tourism business in Bali. So far, it is a part of Bali tourism which belongs to a paradigm called *pariwisata budaya* (cultural tourism) (Sutama, Mudana, and Astawa, 2017);

<http://ojs.pnb.ac.id/index.php/IJASTE/article/view/536>), especially a subparadigm called alternative tourism in the form of *desa wisata* (“tourism village” or village tourism) (Amerta and Mudana, 2017; <http://ojs.unud.ac.id/index.php/ecs/article/view/32124>). The village has played a very important role in the development of Bali tourism.

The growth of the tourism sector, especially the entry of investors to Ubud area has been foreseen by many parties. Picard (1992: 120) predicts many investors will be interested in investing their shares in Ubud area. That prediction does not missed, precisely the 1998-era star hotels, such as Four Seasons Sayan that has been completed its operation and become a provider of accommodation for tourists who want to stay in the area of Ubud. However, the entry of investors to the area of Ubud is not without challenges. In the preliminary data of the study, some of Four Seasons Sayan hotels had argued with the local community of Sayan, Ubud regarding the problem of contribution to the indigenous, traditional villages (*desa-desa adat*) (Sukawati, 2006: 222).

If other indigenous villages in Ubud occasionally encounter cases of disputes between the investor and the local community covered by the media crew, that phenomenon does not appear to occur at Kedewatan Village. At the beginning of the study through interviews with I Wayan Matra, a vice representative of Bendesa (head of traditional village) in Kedewatan, on February 19, 2017, it is known that the hotel investors who invest at Kedewatan Village actually disagree with the neighboring villages for various things. Kupu-kupu Barong hotel as an example, arguing with Bunutan village in 2015 for violation of customs. In addition, during the soft opening process of the Ritz Carlton Hotel Mandapa, obtained information that this hotel is also arguing with the neighboring village of Tegal Kuning in 2016 about their area as a hotel view that does not get a decent compensation.

Both of those information indicates that there is agreement between Kedewatan Village and the investor which has not been appointed in research. The consensus agreement of indigenous villages of Kedewatan and the hotel investors as well as the urgency of the research because it can be a model for other indigenous villages to escape from similar conflicts that may occur in the future. Therefore, this study examines the consensus of investors in indigenous village of Kedewatan. This condition is also relevant to the characteristics of cultural studies aimed at criticizing the phenomenon of

specializing the dominance of capitalist society (Sardar and Van Loon, 2005: 9) including the tourism sector.

METHODS

In essence, this research is a tourism study with the approach that use the theory of cultural studies. The research and writing process are designed qualitatively and critically. The obtained data come from field observations, interviews with investors or investorage, the administrators of the indigenous village of Kedewatan and local communities. In order to obtain valid data, literature reviews and library studies are also conducted as supporting data on consensus between Kedewatan indigenous village and hotel investors. In this research, documentation studies used an agreement between Kedewatan Village with the hotel investors and the *perarem* (traditional rule) of Kedewatan Village toward business entity.

To examine the problems, two critical theories of cultural studies were used. The first theory is the theory of hegemony by Antonio Gramsci which reflects the dominative power of the ruler with all forms of persuasive submission (Gramsci, 1976). The reason for choosing this theory is very relevant with the condition of the hotel investor which is identical with the power and is assumed to do the dominative practice to Kedewatan Village in investing. The Second theory is the theory of communicative action from Jurgen Habermas to find the key words in the consensus between Pakraman Kedewatan (traditional village) and the hotel investor. It means, these theories are chosen because it comprehensively discloses the discourse (choice of words, ways of delivery, and consensual action) between the investors and the Kedewatan Village).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Kedewatan is included on the seven villages that exist in Ubud district. Kedewatan has two *banjar* (group in the village) namely Banjar Kedewatan and Banjar Kedewatan Anyar. The administrative center itself is managed in Kedewatan. Data from BPS Gianyar 2015 provides information that this 150 hectare village has an inhabitant of 2,237 people with different professions. In the tourism sector, Kedewatan Village

development competes with other villages in Ubud sub-district. The argument is based on three facts.

The first fact, related to the main tourism superstructure, Kedewatan Village has many attractions besides the beautiful natural attraction and culture. The tourists able to take rafting activities provided on the area. Kedewatan Village has three companies that provide rafting services namely Payung Rafting, Sobek, and Ubud Rafting. Besides rafting, other activities that tourists able to do is trekking by utilizing the position of Kedewatan Village which is passed by the Ayung river as a selling point.

The second fact, in the hotel sector as supporting tourism (supporting tourism superstructure), Gianyar BPS data of 2015 shows there are six star hotels and nine *melati* (jasmine/non-star) hotels in that area. For the record, Kedewatan Village has the most number of star hotels in Ubud sub-district.

The third fact, Kedewatan Village has a complementary means of tourism (supporting tourism superstructure) such as the presence of a restaurant that provides local cuisine such as Kedewatan chicken rice of Bu Mangku or Kayana stand with its grilled ribs which tastes not less than Nuri's stand.

Through document study has not yet found any track record of the hotel investors who invested in Kedewatan Village have problems to the extent covered by the mass media as mentioned in the background of this study. In an effort to explore social interaction between the investor with Kedewatan Village information obtained from Wayan Matra on May 20, 2016 that this condition has been created since the establishment of the Amandari hotel in the 1990s. If it analyzed, the hotel-investor's practice scheme that established its business in the 2000s, such as Ritz Carlton Mandapa and Impiana Hotel is a structured act of the success of the Amandari hotel establishment as a benchmark in "adapting" to the condition of Kedewatan Village. For strengthening that argument, obtained information from the secretary of the Office of Investment and One Stop Service (PMPTSP), Gianyar Regency, I Gusti Ngurah Suwastika in an interview on October 26, 2017 the process of investing requires a long process, especially the arrangement of Surat Izin Tempat Usaha (SITU, license for business site) involving the approval of the local indigenous village. Therefore, it is needed to do a preliminary study

(feasibility study) of the hotels that have been previously successful in obtaining the agreement of the indigenous village.

The above process starts from the arrival of the investor as the *krama tamiu* (individual or people coming from outside) who are represented by their agent conducted socialization by presenting about hotel construction starting from environmental impact analysis, duration of project work up to transparency of development fund in Wantilan of Kedewatan Village. The indigenous villagers then also held a meeting with the residents about the approval of investment in their area. The result of the agreement of the villagers and the Kedewatan then submitted to the investor or representative agent. If agreed, then the investor just signed the points of mutual agreement. If it is not agreed, the investor can think in advance or be advised to find locations in other areas.

According to I Wayan Matra, the village manager of Kedewatan who was interviewed on July 10, 2017 and supported by data of Kedewatan Villagers and Four Seasons Sayan Hotel granted by Bendesa Kedewatan Village, Sang Putu Pertama, there are three consensus points, namely formal legal consensus, social consensus, and cultural consensus, which became the agreement between the investor of the hotel and Pakraman Kedewatan.

Formal Legal Consensus

The first consensus is the formal legal consensus on investment. The consensus includes the approval of the investor with Kedewatan Village in the pre investment phase as well as on investment management. The investor must pay some compensation as a mortgage fund or base money in accordance with the initial agreement of investment establishment. In a study at the Four Seasons Sayan and Ritz Carlton Madapa hotels, the large amount of compensation amounted to one percent of the total cost of investment development. According to I Wayan Matra and Sang Putu Eka who were interviewed separately, the bonding fund is flexible and can be repaid three times in accordance with *perarem* of Kedewatan Village about retribution to business entity located in Kedewatan Village in period of 2015-2017.

In the pre investment phase, the investor is charged with an annual *pengaci* fee that is the replacement land of local's property that being used by outsider as an annual

compensation as much as a half kilogram of rice/acre multiplied by the amount of area that used. The annual compensation cost range of the annual shovel can be changed according to the local rice price. After construction began, investors had to keep promises to pay a monthly donation of 4 million rupiah and 5 million after the soft opening period. In addition to a number of donations in the pre investment phase, the hoteliers also spend some money to become village members, as residents of the service and charged with the cost of water use compensation (*subak* fee) every month.

B. Pungutan biaya Retribusi Bulanan Badan Usaha tertentu untuk Penggunaan pelemahan atau pewidangan milik Desa Pakraman Kedewatan, disesuaikan dengan klasifikasi badan usaha sebagai berikut:

- Badan Usaha kecil perseorangan (penghitungan asset dibawah 100juta) : Rp. 50.000,-/Bulan
- Badan Usaha kecil perseorangan (penghitungan asset antara 150juta – 500juta) : Rp. 100.000,-/Bulan
- Badan Usaha perseorangan (penghitungan asset antara 550juta – 1 milyar) : Rp. 500.000,-/Bulan
- Badan Usaha dalam bentuk PT, CV,FA (penghitungan asset antara 1 Milyar – 2 Milyar) : Rp. 1.000.000,-/Bulan
- Badan Usaha dalam bentuk PT, CV,FA (penghitungan asset diatas 2 Milyar) : Rp. 1.500.000,-/Bulan
- Restaurant/Spa Rp. 1.000.000,-/Bulan
- Restaurant & Spa Rp. 2.000.000,-/Bulan
- Badan usaha aktivitas pariwisata Rafting Rp. 2.000.000,-/Bulan
- Badan usaha sarana akomodasi/hotel berdasarkan klasifikasi tersebut dibawa ini :
 - 1 Villa Pribadi : Rp. 250.000,-/Bulan
 - 2 Villa untuk disewakan (5 – 10 units) : Rp. 500.000,-/Bulan
 - 3 Villa untuk disewakan (10 – 15 units) : Rp. 750.000,-/Bulan
 - 4 Hotel berbintang 1/Melati : Rp. 1.000.000,-/Bulan
 - 5 Hotel Berbintang 2 : Rp. 1.500.000,-/Bulan
 - 6 Hotel Berbintang 3 : Rp. 3.000.000,-/Bulan
 - 7 Hotel Berbintang 4 : Rp. 4.000.000,-/Bulan
 - 8 Hotel Berbintang 5 : Rp. 6.000.000,-/Bulan

Figure 1

Consensus contribution of Kedewatan Village and the hotel investors.

Assessing the consensus between the *pakraman* and the investor related to the compensation levy is not a levy for the migrant population. That compensation is based on Regulation Number 39 Year 1999 on Human Rights, Government Regulation Number 25 Year 2000 on the Authority of Provinces as Autonomous Regions, and Bali Province Regulation Number 3 Year 2001 about Pakraman (Traditional Village). The point of agreement on compensation which became the consensus of Kedewatan Village has also been agreed through an internal fence involving community figures in that area.

Analyzing the phenomenon of consensus between the villagers of the *pakraman* and the hotel investors, there was a simulation of the consensual hegemony theory and the theory of knowledge power. Kedewatan Village has the power that is able to hegemonically consensus the investors for accepting to follow all of the rules of investing in that region. The power that referred to is none other than the consensus that is contained in the investment *perarem* which became the hegemonic tool of the Kedewatan Village to fight symbolically against capitalist ideology, socialism, and feudalism from the investor side of the hotel (Piliang, 2004: 357).

In its practice, the agreement changed into consensus because of the communicative competence of each party, namely Kedewatan Village representatives and investors. The *pakraman* seem to do non-violent subjugation through *perarem* investing with ethics of moral and equality discourse such as on the cost of fastening and *pengaci* charged to the investor of the hotel.

Social Consensus

In addition to the compensation that has been reviewed, Kedewatan Villages and the hotel investors are also conscientious to contribute on the social context. In agreement between the *pakraman* and the hotel investor, Four Seasons Sayan in decision letter Number 04/SPB-BJR/IX/2012, obtained data about social consensus that hegemony the investor of the hotel parties. The point of the agreement is that investors are also required to employ at least 40 percent of the workforce from the *pakraman* in accordance with standardization, competence and capacity of the investors.

In fact, according to I Wayan Matra's information, hotels in the Kedewatan Village area adhere to this social consensus but the competence of local communities are not fully in line with the criteria set by the hotel investors. In line with Matra, Sang Putu Eka also confirmed that currently the public can only be accepted at the craft level (staff) position and not sitting in department head position.

This study found the phenomenon of social goodness. That is done by the investor parties of the hotel outside the consensus agreement of both parties. The phenomenon is the investor provides training for the hotel excellent students from Kedewatan Village.

According to Sang Putu Eka, the hotel parties always give opportunity and prioritize the students of Kedewatan Village to do the internship (training) which is the school program. Another phenomenon that is gained in this research is grants or religious aid outside of CSR (corporate social responsibility) funds to the community when holding a religious ceremony.

From Wayan Matra's information, this provision does not bind the hotel in writing and the nominal range is not specified. Matra also said that donations is given in the form of rice or consumption during the ceremony take place or cash depending on the financial condition of the hotel concerned. In addition to Matra's statement, Sang Putu Eka informed that the *pakraman* did not use the presence of investors as a livelihood or source of donations. Some related donations such as for Nyepi holiday celebration in the form of Ogoh-ogoh construction are not directly charged to the hotel but are distributed by Kedewatan village.

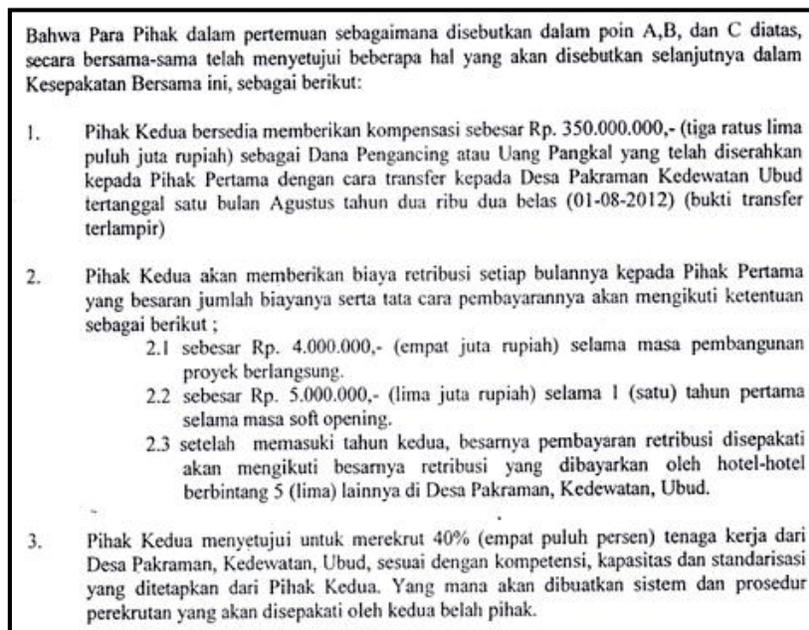


Figure 2.

The practice of social consensus between Kedewatan Village and hotel investors.

Analyzing the phenomenon of social consensus between Kedewatan Villagers and the hotel investors, is very much in line with the simulation of the theory of communicative action from Habermas. Consensual hegemony can occur if the actor in

the *pakraman* can convince the investor by touching the emotional side and stating the issues of equality such as Habermas ideas in Edkins and William (2009: 251-252).

Meanwhile, from the perspective of hotel investors, social consensus is a sensitive issue that can threaten the existence of investments into capitalist machines of investors. For the further study of social consensus between Kedewatan villagers and hotel investors, this phenomenon answers why hotels in the region rarely having conflict with local people. The investor gets a fortress of protection from the Kedewatan Village through mutualism that exists between both parties.

Cultural Consensus

In the consensus of this culture, the consensus applies in the agreement between the investors and the village of Kedewatan. In the observation studies at the Ritz Carlton hotel, Four Seasons Sayan, and Puri Amandari, showed that all hotels adhering to carrying out this cultural consensus with three evidences.

The first evidence, the practice of adopting the form of hotel buildings that follow the rules and norms of local wisdom in Ubud. The Balinese architecture that they created is not rigid but instead transformed into something unique and thematic from their hotel with its Balinese design.

The second evidence, the practice of appreciating local culture by collaborating with art workers to perform at their hotels. The art workers invited to perform are from the local *pakraman*. The information provided by Wayan Matra in an interview dated May 20, 2016 also confirmed that the hotel does use the services of local residents in several art performances at events such as gala dinner (dinner).

The third evidence, the Hindu-Bali trust award as the spiritual essence of the hotel. Hotel Mandapa Ritz Carlton is owned by locals descended from Jakarta but interestingly when laying the first stone using the Hindu-Bali belief through the process of *mecaru* thus stated by Wayan Matra. Similar to what happened at the Four Seasons Hotel, they even routinely performed *odalan* (religious celebrations according to Hindu belief) as the essence of their hotel anniversary. This would be a contraction for the tourists who stay and become more valuable than just staying.



Figure 3
Application of cultural consensus in the form of hotel buildings
in the village of Kedewatan.

Analyzing the cultural consensus of both parties, it appears that their interaction is the embodiment of community-based tourism ideology by promoting culture. From the perspective of cultural studies, Kedewatan Village phenomenon managed to hegemonically consensus the investors as embodied by Gramsci (1976: 57-58). With the evidence already presented, it appears that the investor successfully hegemony symbolically by using the consensus of both parties. The investor as the hegemonic party is not in a disadvantaged condition. Investors actually having benefit because it is legally formal on the track on the tourism ideology in Ubud that promotes community-based Tourism by promoting culture.

CONCLUSION

Consensual interaction by long negotiations between Kedewatan Village and the hotel investors in Ubud are pointing into three conclusions. First, there is a formal legal consensus that affects investors from the pre-investment phase, development to investment management phase through the agreement of both parties. Second, through the ethics of social equality discourse then, social consensus was born so that the hegemony of hotel investor able to give donation to create mutualism between both parties. Third, through the cultural hegemony which became the consensus of both

parties, there was a community-based ideology simulation that promoted by the local culture in Kedewatan Village.

The point is, in the interaction, there is a process of consensus between the parties involved. Borrowing the concept of Giddens (Barker 2005, 2014), there is a duality of structure, between the "top" objective structure, i.e. the owner of tourism capital, in this case the hotel investor in Ubud and the subjectivity of the "bottom", i.e. the Kedewatan Village community. Therefore, there is a mutual understanding between the different needs between the two parties about the problem in many destinations or other tourist destinations, both in Bali and outside Bali.

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