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# Capitalist Community in Tourism Development: Cultural Study Perspective

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The study of capitalist society in tourism development based on the perspective of cultural studies is more emphasized on the relationship between politics and tourism, especially in terms of how tourism can change the composition of power and values in a Tourist Destination Area and vice versa. This research is a literature review research with qualitative descriptive analysis. Based on the results of the analysis of literature documents, this study finds the pattern of tourism development and its processes are the answers to conflicting values and interests; tourism can change the composition of power and values in a tourist destination in the form of domination as the exercise of power; tourism grows and develops in the midst of political changes that are strongly influenced by space and time; the study of tourism politics has presented three key players in tourism development, namely the state, society and market; capitalization and commodification arise as a result of the globalization of the tourism market or as a result of the internationalization of tourism; the placement of tourism in the capitalist space as a consequence of tourism politics will talk about who gets what, where it is obtained, and how to get it; and in studying tourism politics, it is necessary to know the political theory and political values that underlie public policy decisions, both explicitly and implicitly.

*Keywords: capitalist society, cultural studies, domination, capitalization, communication*

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## INTRODUCTION

The study of capitalist society in tourism development is more emphasized on the relationship between politics and tourism, especially in terms of how tourism can change the composition of power and values in a Tourist Destination Area and vice versa. Tourism patterns and processes are a response to conflicting values and interests. Although tourism development is interesting from a social science perspective, some tourism research only focuses on studying tourism from an economic and market perspective, with the main role being government policies that affect economic development caused by tourism (Williams *et.al.* 1991).

From the focus of tourism research which is only centered on the economic and market side, it can be seen that the approach used tends to be a narrow economic approach, functionalization and de-contextualization (Richter, 1989). For example, while research can consider both gross and net economic impacts on the demand and supply of tourism products, issues regarding the distribution of existing labor and income and leisure time in Destinations and other developing areas are not discussed much. This means the problems of “who gets what”, “where”, “why”, and “how” remain unsolved. All forms of tourism development involve the dominance of a set of values over a number of alternative values through the exercise of power. Craik (1991: 321) argues that the relationship between hosts and visitors in tourism can only be understood in the context of international relations between developing countries and prosperous western countries. Thus, tourism policy cannot be separated from the social environment in which tourism takes place.

According to Simmons and Dvorin (1977) in Hall (1994:138) states that a specific policy analysis on the environment will revolve around identifying the components of the state and dynamic characteristics of an environment, especially the environment associated with the policy. Furthermore, Majone (1989) in Hall (1994:138) states that a simple problem cannot be solved by only offering a theoretical solution that does not consider the constraints that exist around the environment. Therefore, it would be very wrong to use ideal standards in assessing policy tools, because these standards must relate to the specific environment in which these policy tools are used. Thus, the environment in which public policies are made must include values, norms, understandings, ideologies and technical considerations that are in accordance with the criteria in selecting policies to be implemented so that there is clarity in their operations.

Britton (1991) places social criticism of tourism within the framework of a capitalist society, in addition, Urry (1990:23) states that the consumption of tourism services cannot be separated from the social relations involved in it. Therefore, the consideration of political factors in tourism activities, especially in the use of leisure time, is not merely the result of economic and social power, but also the result of political struggles.

Based on this description, with the development of tourism, it is necessary to study the involvement of the capitalist community in tourism development. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to examine the involvement of the capitalist community in tourism development based on the perspective of cultural studies, with more emphasis on the relationship between politics and tourism, especially in terms of how tourism can change the composition of power and values in a Tourist Destination Area.

## RESEARCH METHOD

This research is a literature study research. Sugiyono (2012) states that literature study is a theoretical study, references and other scientific literature related to culture, values and norms that develop in the social situation under study. According to Snyder (2019), literature review can be treated as a research methodology. Furthermore, according to Onwueg and Frels

(2016) the literature review method is also known as the literature method or also referred to as the Comprehensive Literature Review. In the end Comerasamy (2012) stated that the literature review method is a theoretical analysis methodology that examines and discusses material theoretically and descriptively, and in certain contexts a comparison can be made with a concept.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **Understanding of Tourism Politics**

Tourism grows and develops in the midst of political changes that are strongly influenced by time and space. When capitalists experience changes in form and structure, tourism also undergoes changes in form and structure in large numbers. This means that understanding tourism cannot be separated from an understanding of capitalism. Richter (1989) mentions mass tourism as a good example to explain modern capitalist industry and socio-cultural phenomena. The western nation's industrial capitalism has undergone a very sharp structural change around the 1980s with shifts from regional, national and international in the opportunity to increase capital and employment opportunities. In this shift, tourism is an important component and is considered postindustrialism or postfordism. According to Prasiasa (2011:13) postfordism leads to a model of social and political regulation that stabilizes the relationship between consumption and accumulation, namely between how much consumers or tourists spend and how much the tourism industry earns.

Tourism is part of the globalization of the international economy, independent and broadly networked with a diminishing dependence on the state as a unit of international economic organization. With the very dramatic economic changes that affect the culture that leads to fragmentation, the image, form of performance, market power and views of tourists have a big influence on the tourist experience in traveling (Urry, 1990).

Leisure time is not just time free from routine work, but has become a commodity. In a capitalist society, people's leisure time is shaped directly by what the "culture industry" has to offer. Under these conditions, the state sees it as an effort to adjust and provide support to the culture industry so that people feel the impression of their political actions (Wilson, 1990). The ideology formed is only to legitimize the relationship between the cultural industry and the dominant ideology. Ultimately, this kind of ideology helps to perpetuate that having fun and being entertained is really a benevolence for its political consequences (Wilson, 1990).

In the three players or the three actors of the tourism industry, the state, civil society and market will appear. Talking about market issues means also talking about consumers in this case tourists. In the context of tourism politics, the ideology of "consumer power" also encourages and respects the choice of leisure time as an individual freedom. In terms of political understanding associated with domination and supervision, tourism politics should be kept away from capital related to leisure time. The bureaucrats should also direct the use of leisure time to educational activities.

In addition to leisure time, one of the important aspects that is happening now is that various places are made into tourism commodities in the form of tourist attractions. This occurs as a result of thinking about the globalization of the tourism market as a result of capitalization and commodification. The tourism production system jointly "sells" places to attract tourists, tourism facilities are created to complement the sales promotions carried out, with the aim of providing a quality experience to tourists. This means that a place is made into a commodity and turned into an experience and image for tourists to enjoy and consume.

Making stop overs at certain locations on different tourist routes from one place to another can consolidate existing production relationships. The difference will reflect the hierarchy of the holiday sphere and social classes. According to Cater (1987) class differences

can be classified unequally to each other, in terms of production, wealth and power, so that they can cause conflict with one another in terms of domination and subordination. Therefore, in tourism politics it is not only concentrated on one aspect that includes the public environment, but also the environment that is outside the public environment. If this condition occurs, it will be able to ignore the wider impact of the process of restructuring and territorial accumulation in the new capitalist style.

One indication from the demographic side related to tourism development is the emergence of urbanized areas around tourist attractions. The urbanized area positions itself as a consumption center in a capitalist system that continues to worldwide. Character creation by leveraging cultural capital forms the basis for creating or reviving regional and international investment milestones. On the basis of creation that has these characteristics, tourism products can be used as an important element in the context of tourism politics. Because politics is not far from power, "who gets what", "where", "how" and "why", it is appropriate if tourism is identified with capitalist society.

Research with the political dimension of tourism tends to be incidental with social, economic or environmental considerations as its focus. Even if it is related to tourism policy, research with the political dimension of tourism should consider what is the goal, and not what and how it happens. It can be further argued that in tourism research the relationship between politics and tourism can occur at the international, national, regional, local and individual levels. Each of these levels will describe the dynamics of the structure and dynamics of the analysis of the research. If the analysis includes the ongoing capitalism system, tourism research will be able to describe the social meaning and materiality of space and place created in the practice of tourism itself. The description according to Britton (1991:478) can be included in the "accumulation process". If it is associated with the phenomenon of tourism, especially leisure time, then the phenomenon is related to the struggle to control time and space involving groups in society, an attempt by the dominant group to seek legitimacy through the existing Tourism Law, while in On the other hand, there are groups that reject the Tourism Law for various reasons.

To reveal the "accumulation process" in the form of the arrangement of relations between people and places in tourism, requires a theory that clearly recognizes and reveals tourism as a capitalist activity organized by the system of social dynamics, by linking production, social and ideology. An analysis of how tourism production systems market and package society, is a lesson in political economy and the makeup of social realities and social structures, both from the point of view of visitors and host communities, tourism capital and cultural industries, or countries of various kinds. systems involved in it.

Research on tourism also revolves around conflicting ideologies and values. Most tourism research, especially those related to policy analysis, is trapped in intellectually preconceived notions about decision making, which place more emphasis on "knowing that" rather than "knowing how" and neglecting the artistic aspects of policy analysis. Almost all tourism research considers the subject matter as a value-free approach.

Tourism is a major element of some of the main problems in the economy in the current political era. Examples are capital internationalization, regional and national restructuring, urban development and economic growth (Britton, 1991). Politically critical understanding of economics with a few exceptions (Urry, 1990) is almost always neglected. For example, in discussing the politics of sustainable tourism, the main focus tends to be on ecological issues and economic processes, while the political and cultural framework does not receive attention.

In studying tourism politics, it is necessary to know the political theory and political values that underlie public policy decisions explicitly and implicitly. Because the analysis

produces different strengths and weaknesses, political tourism researchers tend to use a theoretical approach to attack policy problems.

In research on tourism politics, a dialectical approach is also adopted, with the starting point being the views that exist in the community. The conclusion is, not formal evidence, but a mutual understanding of the issues discussed. However, several tourism studies fail to explain tourism as a complex social phenomenon.

Politics of tourism that aims to analyze policy usually begins with the premise of possibility, with a point of view that is debatable and constantly changing, rather than absolute principles and rigid facts. Policy analysis does not produce formal evidence but only convincing arguments. Policy analysis assists general deliberations through criticism, advice and education. Policy analysis also provides a standard of argumentation and scientific structure for public discourse. Therefore, knowledge of policy making and the interaction of elements in the policy environment is absolutely necessary if there is a will to influence the process of tourism policy making, tourism development and tourism resource management.

### **Tourism Politics: Cultural Studies as Scalpel**

Tourism development that is oriented towards pursuing growth (growth) by relying on capital from the capitalists and moreover placing tourism in the context of capitalism will have a lot to do with what is called domination, which in this case can happen in a society where tourism is developed or also in an area where tourism development is carried out. The sources of domination that hit the community and the area can come from two things, namely the government through the resulting policies related to tourism, and capitalism through invested capital with the aim of extracting as many natural and cultural resources as possible in the area. As a result, society which is one of the representatives of civil society will be pressured by two political forces, namely the state with its policies and market interests brought by capitalists. If this condition is not addressed, society and tourism will be eroded by the growing political dynamics.

To prevent the destruction of tourism as a result of political pressure from the state and the market, academic research with a political perspective on tourism is needed, especially how to overcome the domination of the state in tourism policy making. In addition, Agger (2005:362-363) states that academic work with a certain perspective will be able to show how domination operates and how domination can be resisted and overcome from human daily life as well as from above, by politicians and policy makers. If the cause is known, with appropriate actions in accordance with existing needs and capabilities, surely the destruction of tourism due to politics will be overcome, of course supported by applicable research results to eliminate the concerns of Matthews et.al. (1991:122) about the lack of research that raises the interests behind tourism development.

In the context of postmodern situations, Richter (1989:277) states that existentially in postmodern situations the power of the nation-state is eroded. Instead of a centralization of the state, power has instead surrendered to local and partial agents who handle a series of local and partial policies. In its application in the field, indeed some of the affairs related to the development and operation of tourism have been handed over by the state to its agents, but these agents act as capitalists, so that what is expected by the postmodern conditions that plague tourism is not achieved because it seems to be handed over to agent, but the agent is still governed by the policies made by the state itself. If there is resistance from the community from the area where the tourism was developed due to policies that are considered by the community to be detrimental, the state will use one form of postmodern politics, namely the politics of certainty. According to Richter (1989: 278) in the politics of certainty always seek confirmation of the fact that they have made the right choices. Therefore, the state will not want to be simply resisted from the tourism policy that has been rolled out, because they have considered the right choice of the policy.

According to Soden (1991), in the political conditions of certainty made by the state through its tourism policy, the community as part of civil society will not simply accept tourism, they will carry out contestation and resistance. Thus the state must be ready to make several alternative policies for a tourism problem. These policies will be contested by policy makers in a wider society, with the hope that the community will review their various considerations before making a choice. In this condition, the community will be enriched with democratic experience in determining alternative choices of tourism policies. If these policies do not satisfy the needs of the community, resistance will arise.

From various matters related to tourism politics (starting from power, domination, certainty politics run by the government, contestation, resistance as described above), and in particular from 226 (Bali Tourism Statistics 2005:66) interesting places to visit. visited on tours (places of interest) in Bali, it turns out that most of them are in rural areas. Therefore, the political understanding associated with tourism development in Bali which has many places of interest in villages is to interpret politics from a broad understanding perspective, meaning that traditional villages in Bali have no other way but to enter the political arena, so that traditional villages do not can be tricked into producing the interests of dominant groups, but has the ability to formulate and fight for its own interests.

In terms of protecting traditional villages against various dominations caused by tourism development, it is not enough just to make rules or awig-awig, but also need to be accompanied by various understandings of the various interests that exist and are brought by tourism, including the ideology behind the development of tourism. This is the focus of attention, because ideology is the last bastion and is part of identity politics. In addition, tourism does not need to be politicized, because it will bring destruction to the community and the area where tourism is developed. For example, Richter (1989:253) states that due to politicization of tourism in the Philippines, among others, with its Martial Law, tourism in that country is destroyed, and one of the reasons is because the government is too intervening and links tourism with political activities in the country.

One of the proposed solutions to prevent abuse of the influence of power in tourism is to implement a public management strategy in tourism activities. This is expected to encourage sustainable tourism development that protects the community and national resources, both natural and cultural resources. This expectation is in line with Elliott (1997: xii), that political tourism must be able to protect nature and society.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

Based on the results of the analysis, this study found that (1) tourism can change the composition of power and values in a Tourist Destination Area (DTW), which is in the form of domination as the exercise of power; (2) tourism grows and develops in the midst of political changes that are strongly influenced by space and time; (3) the study of tourism politics has presented the three players or the three actors with their components, namely the state (state), society (civil society) and the market (market). The components that have recently been included as players and actors in tourism politics and at the same time are sociological influences are the market (market); (4) capitalization and commodification arise as a result of the globalization of the tourism market or as a result of the internationalization of tourism; (5) the placement of tourism in the capitalist space as a consequence of tourism politics will talk about "who gets what", "where is it obtained", and "how to get it"; (6) in studying tourism politics, it is necessary to know the political theory and political values that underlie public policy decisions, both explicitly and implicitly.

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