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RELATIONSHIP OF AUTHORITY AND CONTROL IN 30 YEARS NUSA DUA BALI TOURIST RESORT

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ABSTRACT:

The planning and development process of the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort was started in the early 1970s, from 1983 to 2013 or 30 years has contributed greatly to the development of Indonesian tourism. Changes in the political map in post-reform Indonesia from an authoritarian Orde Baru regime to a democratic reformist government have contributed to the political power relations between rulers and society, including what happened at the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort. Behind all its success as a luxury tourist resort, Nusa Dua Tourism Resort holds a number of political-socio-economic problems that have been and are still being felt by the people around the resort since the beginning of land acquisition until now. This research focuses on some of the stakeholders from the business community, tourism professional associations, and the community around tourist objects and attractions. Changes in the social and political system in Indonesia in the form of power relations are not absolute, meaning that there is no full hegemony, as well as no total oppositional power relations. During the land acquisition process and in the early days of building and managing hotels at the Nusa Dua tourist resort, the community generally looked submissive, but in their hearts many were disappointed and had to accept intimidation if they expressed signs of rejecting or disapproving of the government project. Likewise, in the era of oppositional power relations today, there is not the slightest desire of the community to completely reject the idea of developing, managing, or structuring the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort. The community only protests, rallies, and takes oppositional actions against things that are detrimental while on other matters such as the creation of green tourism, the application of the tri hita karana teachings, the community supports. They support Nusa Dua to remain a luxury tourism area in a sustainable manner while the power

relationship between BTDC, investors, and the community is influenced by three ideologies, namely the ideology of global tourism, the ideology of green tourism, and the ideology of cultural tourism based on local values. The influence of global tourism ideology on the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort can be seen in the universal demand for the importance of security in tourism management. The positive change in power relations in the management of the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort, which was originally hegemonic, became more democratic by taking into account the wishes of other interested parties. In a brief sense, the hegemony of power has been lost in the political relations of the interests of each party at the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort.

PRELIMINARY:

In the last thirty years (1983-2013), the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort has become part of the development and development of the tourism industry in Bali in particular and Indonesia in general. Madiun said that in 2004, Nusa Dua Tourism Resort was the first resort in Indonesia to receive Green Globe certification, which shows the success of the development and management of this tourist resort in industrial development and environmental conservation. The Nusa Dua Tourism Resort also made an important contribution to Bali's achievement as a world-class tourist destination. Indonesia has been selected several times as the venue for international conferences which are all held at the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort. Except perhaps Jakarta, only Bali has facilities that meet the requirements for holding international events in Indonesia. Thus the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort has made an important contribution to the positive image of the Indonesian state and nation in the international world. The contribution of the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort to the positive image of tourism in Bali and the Indonesian nation in the eyes of the international community is the result of a combination of relationships or cooperation between the government, investors and the public.

Nusa Dua Tourism Resort has been managed by a state-owned company through the Bali Tourism Development Corporation (BTDC) since its inception. Starting in 2014, BTDC has rebranded or changed its brand to become the Indonesia Tourism Development Corporation (ITDC). In this study, the name BTDC is still used because the time period of the study was when this state-owned company was still called BTDC.

The planning and development process for this resort began in the early 1970s, preceded by a comprehensive study using foreign experts, the Societe Center pour l Equipement touristique Outre-Mer (SCETO) France. Funding is carried out by the Indonesian government with loans from international funding institutions such as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. A dry area of 350 hectares in the Nusa Dua area has been transformed into a world-class tourist resort, starting with land acquisition, road infrastructure development and five-star hotels. The first hotel to be built and operated was the Nusa Dua Beach Hotel, starting in 1983. The Nusa Dua Tourism Resort development project was the main program of the New Order government in developing the tourism industry as a source of foreign exchange. Erawan said that in the 1980s, when world oil prices fell, the government was looking for alternative income, and tourism was one of the things that was considered because it was considered to be able to quickly generate foreign exchange earnings, in addition to oil and textile exports. In fact, this is the case, since the 1980s and 1990s, tourism proved itself to be an important source of foreign exchange. The hotel industry, transportation business, travel agency, and apparel exports have also developed in line with the development of tourism. More than that, Indonesia has enormous tourism potential to be developed. Bali has proven beforehand how beautiful and unique nature and culture can become a captivating tourist attraction. It is not surprising then that the central government chose Nusa Dua in Bali as a pilot project for luxury resort development.

The presence of the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort from 1983 to 2013, or 30 years, has contributed greatly to Indonesia's tourism development. The Indonesian government through the Minister of Culture and Tourism (changed its name several times, and since October 2011 the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy) has made BTDC a model for developing tourist resorts in Indonesia. This can be seen from the establishment of LTDC for Lombok, Biak TDC, MTDC for Manado. The efforts in this direction are very concrete, marked by the participation of shares and sending staff from BTDC to these places. However, until the present year, not a single project like the BTDC has been successful in various regions in Indonesia.

Behind all its success as a luxury tourist resort, Nusa Dua Tourism Resort holds a number of political-socio-economic problems that have been and are still being felt by the people around the resort since the beginning of land acquisition until now. These socio-economic issues center on the political power relations between the community, the government, and later with the investors or investors who manage the hotels there. The intensity of the political power relations changes and varies according to the socio-political situation of the nation. When land acquisition efforts were made for the resort in the early 1970s, the community was subjected to pressure and intimidation. They do not get a clear picture of the acquisition process, the area of land that residents need to release, and the price or value of compensation they will receive. Nyoman Madiun in his book Nusa Dua, Modern Tourism Area Development Models (2010), which discusses the issue of local community participation in development, has noted all the difficulties faced by the community in land acquisition. Madiun wrote as follows:… what was felt by the community at that time were hegemonic pressures, both physically and mentally. Intimidation is a form of action most often experienced by people who are labeled as dissidents and always show a stubborn attitude in terms of land negotiations with the authorities at that time.

Madiun's opinion has been a topic of discussion in the community for a long time, even now. When land acquisition took place, the political power of the government was very high so that the community could not negotiate much, or if it could, it would definitely lead to defeat. Interestingly, the term used by Madiun in the above opinion is 'ruler', not 'government' or 'security apparatus'. Regardless, what was clear at the time, society was described as facing various 'pressures'. The process of land acquisition and development of the Nusa Dua Resort, according to Madiun's research, is full of "bitterness", in other words, it is not "sweet" at all. This can be understood because at that time, the political relations between the government or the authorities and the community were not balanced. President Suharto's government, which received full support from the military, was centralistic and authoritarian. According to Madiun, rather than disobeying and being intimidated, the choice of attitude shown by the community in the land acquisition process is' always resigned to the decision.

Given the unbalanced political power relations, this discussion focuses on the three pillars of political power relations in the management of the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort. Included in these three pillars are the community, the government, in this case the BTDC, and investors, namely

investors who manage accommodation businesses and other businesses related to tourism services at the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort.

The time period is focused on political power relations in the last fifteen years, 1998-2014, namely the post-reform era in Indonesia. Changes in the political map in post-reform Indonesia from the authoritarian New Order regime to a democratic reformist government also had an influence on the political power relations between the authorities and the people, including what happened in Nusa Dua. In the past, as written by Madiun, people were 'resigned' in dealing with the authorities, but in the post-reform era, people are now more daring to express their aspirations, carry out negotiations, and even carry out protests and concrete actions to realize their aspirations. Changes in the nation's socio-political system that have an influence on political power relations between the community and the government as well as investors in the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort. The study of the relationship of political power in the management of the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort was carried out by looking at how the three pillars which were the main stakeholders were involved in the process of finding agreement on various issues to achieve their respective goals. The focus of this discussion is to look at the political power relations of the three pillars of the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort.

First, the people in the Nusa Dua area from the beginning had the courage to openly convey their aspirations, conduct negotiations, and even fight against the two factions in the resort, namely BTDC and investors. This disappointment can be seen, among others, in the attack on the BTDC office and the BTDC Board of Directors' housing during the 1999 riots, in which a number of damages occurred in the house of office. The hegemony of political power in the New Order, which demonstrated harmony and security on the surface, quickly generated resistance and tension when reform took place. Political power relations began to occur in the forms of negotiation, resistance, and compromise during the reform era (the reading approach uses Stuart Hall's theory of various forms of hegemonic / counter-hegemonic relations).

Second, the political power relations between the three camps continuously occurred in a decade and a half (1998-2014), during which three main directors of BTDC were recorded, namely: Anak Agung Gede Rai (1996-2001), I Made Mandra (2001-2011)), and Ida Bagus Wirajaya (2011-2015), Abdulbar M. Mansur 2015-present). If traced back in the last 15 years, each president director faced a negotiation and compromise process between the institution he leads, in this case the BTDC, with investors and the public. The relationship model that is colored with intimidation is no longer the way it used to be, so negotiation is an option even though it is often not easy to find a solution. Sometimes, existing problems recur as a sign of the complexity of the problem or the difficulty of finding a lasting solution in the changing course of time. One example is the demonstration of a group of local taxi drivers against hotels in the Nusa Dua Tourist Resort which abandoned them to other taxi businesses, which did not allow them to queue at hotels like other taxi companies. Thus, the selection of the time period for this research is based on the existence of interesting empirical data to study.

Third, consideration of actuality and prevention of memory vanishing of what happened recently. The data about what happened and the figures involved in it are still alive so that comments and

opinions can be asked about the political power relations in Nusa Dua. The results of this study can be used as material for researching similar things that were probably evident during the early development of the Nusa Dua resort and in the following years.

Determining the scope of research time in the last 16 years does not consider what happened during the initial development of the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort as insignificant, but requires energy and time and research commitment that is heavier or as heavy as the research for the last 16 years. Since the reform era, people have had a wide public sphere to convey their aspirations, such as through the mass media, live demonstrations, or verbal protests to get what they understand as their rights. This does not only happen in the political, social, cultural world but also in the tourism sector. Often appears in mass media coverage where community groups close access roads to tourism facilities because they feel that they do not benefit from tourism in their area, instead they only get negative impacts ranging from the smallest things such as transportation noise, road damage, to losses. opportunity for financial gain. Things like this also happen at the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort, such as community protests against the closure of tourist access to shopping to art stalls run by the people right on either side of the road before the entrance gate to Nusa Dua. Meanwhile, the BTDC and investors consider the stalls lined up on the side of the road to look untidy and tarnish the beauty of the charm of the entrance gate to the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort so that they are facing the roadside, the local people feel that they are doing business on their own land and have the right to enjoy or seized business opportunities in the tourism sector, demanding that the wall be torn down. The conflict occurred and was resolved by negotiation, namely by cutting the height of the wall so that the stalls belonging to the people could be seen by passing tourists, while the stalls were neatly arranged so that they were as harmonious as possible with the beauty of the gates of the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort. There are still many problems that arise at the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort, but it must be admitted that this resort is able to maintain the stability and dynamics of investors' business and the role of the resort itself in providing world-class accommodation and conference facilities.

By conducting research on the political power relations between the government camp (BTDC), the community, and investors in the Nusa Dua area, it is hoped that the patterns of relationships that are detrimental and beneficial to all stakeholders can be identified so that the performance of Nusa Dua Tourism Resort in particular and Bali tourist destinations in generally can be further improved. The hope of tourism development for the people's welfare can be realized in accordance with the original ideals of making tourism development a support for economic development for the welfare of the community.

The impact of the efforts of the Nusa Dua Bali Tourism Resort by the government is directed at being able to become a stimulus for the economic development of the community at the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort, which has implications for increasing their level of welfare. Businesses at the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort can open up many job spaces that can accommodate the number of workforce in the area and its surroundings. This is proclaimed by the government in the form of regulations on national economic policies, regional economic policies in Bali as a derivative of national economic policies.

RESEARCH METHODS:

This discussion method uses a qualitative approach. The qualitative approach is not used in measuring the size, how much, (the number problem). The task of qualitative research is to reveal the things that happen behind the phenomenon in the form of why and how questions. Jensen and Jankowski, said that qualitative analysis focuses on measuring the object being analyzed in relation to a certain context, in contrast to generalized quantitative research. For Berg, qualitative method is defined as a quality which refers to what, how, when, and where the meaning of the thing under study. Qualitative research then refers to meanings, concepts and definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols and descriptions of something.

This type of research is a descriptive analysis. Descriptions are carried out to reveal the meaning of reality in the perpetrator's view, in the form of interpretation, understanding the process of an event (case), and so on. Analysis is used in understanding the phenomenon under study to reveal how the process occurs, why and so on. In this stage of analysis, this study uses a critical theory approach as previously described, and pays attention to the ongoing hegemonic patterns.

The relevant theories are used in this research. The qualitative research approach uses theory as a broad explanation of the behavior of the actors being studied, as a perspective perspective in seeing the phenomenon being studied, and as a reference at the end of the research conclusion. One of the functions of theory, as an explanatory tool, by Lather is as a reciprocal relationship between data and theory. According to Lather, data must allow building propositions in dialectical forms, on the one hand connected a priori theoretical frameworks (the theories used in research), and on the other hand retain a particular framework (the cases studied).) based on the compiled findings data, and theory is also used as a container where the findings data can be arranged into a series. In this discussion the theories used are intended to see the relationship between data with one another, and aim to reach reciprocal conclusions between the data set and the theories used.

DISCUSSION:

This discussion will include the results of previous research that are considered relevant to the study topic regarding tourism planning, development and policy, which adds to the understanding and comparison and reference.

Acep Hidayat, (2003) dissertation of the Padjadjaran University Postgraduate Program entitled: Implementation of Tourism Policy in the Perspective of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) a Study in the City of Bandung.

This study sees that tourism development in the past has been too pro-a small number of tourism stakeholders, conglomerates, and big investors. In line with the era of reform and regional autonomy, tourism stakeholders, especially people around tourism objects and attractions, have not felt the impact of current tourism development on their side. Thus, the problem of this research

is that most of the aspirations of tourism stakeholders have not been realized while the application of trade and have started gradually, which means that the tourism business competition with the nomenclature of Tourism and Travel Related Services is becoming heavier.

This research uses descriptive method with a qualitative approach. Data is obtained from informants, starting with the initial informant, and data that the initial informant could not provide is pursued through the second informant and continues until the required data is sufficient. Data were collected through informal and unstructured interviews using interview guidelines as a guide. For data requiring cross check, data source triangulation was conducted from Cibaduyut shoe craftsmen, restaurant entrepreneurs, and tourism officials at the provincial level.

This research focuses on some of the stakeholders, from businessmen, tourism professional associations, and communities around tourist objects and attractions, who are the parties that are governed as consumers of "tourism policy implementation". The outcome of this will depend on the empowerment of consumers, which is a new thing that enriches public policy theory in particular and technology in general.

The results of the study show that the implementation of tourism policies has not been able to realize the aspirations of tourism stakeholders because some of those affected (those who are governed) are not involved in the making of various joint programs, making regional regulations, and the lack of guidance and unclear tourism development programs. The understanding of GATS, especially Tourism and Travel Related Services (TTRS) is still weak and not the same among tourism stakeholders. This can become one of the obstacles in achieving tourism development goals. When linked with the research to be carried out, this research looks at the policies in the tourism sector and their implementation in the regions. The difference lies in the use of a theoretical approach where Acep Hidayat uses Edward III's theory, while researchers will see it with a theoretical approach of how to coordinate between sectors through organizations or government agencies at the provincial level. Another difference is that the policy study conducted is only on the GAT aspect, while researchers will see it from the concept of tourism development policy.

Hermana (2006) conducted a study with the title: "The influence of tourism strategic planning as a determinant of public management on the tourism development of Banten Province". The dissertation of the Padjadjaran University Postgraduate Program examines the implementation of tourism development in Indonesia which is required to be able to adapt itself to environmental developments, both on a national, regional and international scale relating to the fields of politics, economy and socio-culture, defense and science and technology. For this reason, the success of Indonesia's tourism development is determined by three things, namely: success in marketing, success in product development, and success in creating quality tourism human resources.

This study used a survey method with a quantitative approach in Banten province with the object of research, namely the officials of the Culture and Tourism Office through path analysis. The result of this research is that there is an epsilon value of 31.7546%, this shows that there are still many other factors outside of strategic planning that have an effect on tourism development.

The results showed that the strategic planning of tourism had a significant influence on the development of tourism in Banten Province, although it was still not optimal. Likewise, the main expectations of the interests of internal parties and the main expectations of external interests have a significant influence on tourism development. While the database and coordination factors have an insignificant effect on tourism development, this is interpreted as a challenge for policy makers to improve in the future. Furthermore, as a new finding, of course it must be realized because it involves various things, such as: human resources who control the tourism sector are still very rare so that their carrying capacity is weak, another aspect, namely the use of technology which is still lacking, this must be taken into consideration by policy makers, even though it requires costs. which is very expensive, and maybe also because the work environment is still new, because Banten Province is a young province in Indonesia. Strategic planning in tourism development is achieved by identifying and formulating various interests to develop tourism.

If Hermana explores how the planning side tries to produce a better tourism policy, the researcher will also try to see not only from the planning side but also how the existing planning is carried out in the form of interactions that occur between sectors in supporting tourism development. Iyus Wiyadi (2006) Padjadjaran University postgraduate dissertation entitled: Public Relations Strategies in Forming Perceptions, Attitudes and Preferences of Foreign Tourists and Their Impact on the Positioning of the National Tourism Industry. The research aims to determine (1) the influence of the national tourism industry public relations strategy for each of the perceptions, attitudes and preferences of foreign tourists towards tourism products in Indonesia; (2) the influence of perceptions, attitudes and preferences on the positioning of the national tourism industry; (3) prospects for the national tourism industry.

The data used in this research is based on cross sectional, using structural equation modeling (SEM) analysis method. The units of analysis are tourists from 11 tourist-generating countries visiting the 5 main tourist destination areas in Indonesia, namely: North Sumatra, West Sumatra, DI Yogyakarta, Bali and South Sulawesi.

The results showed: (1) the influence of public relations strategy for each variable on, perceptions, attitudes and preferences for national tourism products is significant; (2) partially the influence of perceptions, attitudes and preferences for tourism products on the positioning of the national tourism industry is 50.39%, 10.50%, and 9.34%. Meanwhile, simultaneously the influence of perceptions, attitudes and preferences for national tourism products is 70.17% and 29.83% is influenced by other factors; (3) the prospect of the national tourism industry is facing quite a large opportunity, namely the tendency of increasing the number of tourist visits from 2006 to 2009. This trend will increase if accompanied by the implementation of communication efforts, in particular a systematically formulated public relations strategy. and integrated. Thus it is hoped that it can restore the impression or image of foreign tourists on the national tourism industry as a provider of products or tourist objects based on attractions or natural attractions, cultural heritage of ancestors or ancestors, events, and commercial attractions.

The tourist resort of Nusa Dua, which is very well known, has received relatively little research, giving the impression that it is not comparable to its popularity. Based on the results of literature

search, there are very few studies or researches on the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort, especially on the social impacts of tourism on the people of Nusa Dua and its surroundings. In fact, the presence of luxury tourist resorts with thousands of hotel rooms and millions of room nights sold per year has caused many major changes there, ranging from socio-cultural, economic, demographic, and environmental impacts.

The population in the area is increasing, land prices have increased, and tourism service businesses have sprung up such as water tourism in the Tanjung Benoa area, north of Nusa Dua. Existing studies, which are also relatively small in number, only pay attention to the area around the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort or the socio-cultural aspects of the community which are not directly related to the elite tourist resorts of Nusa Dua. Most of the changes that occurred in NusaDua received coverage in the mass media rather than in-depth research. Given that there are still few studies on the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort in relation to social life there, it is important to carry out research on political power relations that discusses the relationship between the government (BTDC), businessmen, and the community.

As far as it has been found, there are only two important studies that focus on the impact of development and management of the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort, namely Nyoman Madiun's dissertation (2008) on local community participation in the development of Nusa Dua Tourism Resort, and Susrami Dewi's (2009) thesis on the role of BTDC. in poverty alleviation in Bualu and Tanjung Benoa Villages, Nusa Dua-Bali Tourist Resort. Both of them pay particular attention to the relationship between BTDC and the surrounding community. Madiun's dissertation, which was defended for a doctorate degree in the Cultural Studies Program at Udayana University, was published in a book entitled Nusa Dua: Model for Modern Tourism Resort Development (2010). As already mentioned above, Madiun's book actually discusses the forms, factors, and meanings of community participation around Nusa Dua in the development of the area. When viewed between the title and the content, it seems that the title of the book is made in such a way as to impress the title of the book for commercial purposes, because the connection with the content seems rather far. Apart from that, the qualitative study conducted by Madiun has an important position in the study of the development, development and management of Nusa Dua in relation to its relationship with the community. Madiun's research has made an important contribution in providing an understanding of the position and participation of local communities in the development and management of the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort. The things that do not get attention in Madiun's study are efforts or negotiations or resistance made by the community to free themselves from marginalization or from hegemony. This dissertation research will focus on political power relations by identifying and analyzing forms of political power relations as a means for local communities to free themselves from hegemony or the process of marginalization.

Susrami Dewi's research (The Role of Bali Tourism Development Corporation (BTDC) in Poverty Alleviation in Bualu and Tanjung Benoa Villages, Nuda Dua-Bali Tourism Area (2009) is similar to Madiun's research, using qualitative methods to reveal the recognition of the poor in Bualu and Tanjung villages Benoa on the minimal role of BTDC in poverty alleviation in the area. In his research, Susrami Dewi took a sample of 30 poor households (RTM), and found that 60% of them

had no assets. The rest (40%) had basic assets such as livestock and motorcycles (2009: 91). It is not clear whether the sample communities are those who previously released their land in the process of land acquisition for the Nusa Dua Resort or they suffer poverty because they do not have inherited land. Partnership and Community Development Program (PKBL), but according to Susrami Dewi program i tu implemented for imaging, charity images, far from systematic efforts to solve the problem of poverty of the population around the area (2009: 194). In her research, Susrami Dewi quoted how members of poor households (RTM) felt that the presence of BTDC did not change their standard of living, they were still poor. Poverty is caused by internal factors (poor quality of human resources, lack of embarrassment, disease) and external factors (the implementation of an outsourcing system for the use of labor by hotels, and land acquisition by the government).

At the end of her thesis, Susrami Dewi delivered a number of suggestions to BTDC to help the surrounding community, such as forming a separate Partnership and Community Development Program (PKBL) division in an organizational structure whose tasks are focused on poverty alleviation programs and focusing on the use of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) the poor (2009: 196). Susrami Dewi's research provides an overview of the presence of BTDC which is considered to have not been maximal in helping alleviate poverty in the surrounding community. Their point of view is seen from the RTM community, but from the BTDC point of view they will likely say that they have done many social obligations to help the surrounding community. Ideally, the presence of tourist resorts at BTDC not only scents Bali's tourist destinations, not only provides foreign exchange for the country, but also improves the standard of living and welfare of the surrounding community. If the living standards of the surrounding communities are very low, they will become a contrast in the luxury of the tourist resorts of Nusa Dua, which contrast will also tarnish the image of Nusa Dua. In contrast to Susrami Dewi's research, this study will observe how the political power relations or negotiations between the community and BTDC in solving existing problems. It can be said that this research makes Susrami Dewi and Madiun's research as one of the bases for investigating the political power relations between entrepreneurs, BTDC, and local communities.

Other research on the development of tourism services in Nusa Dua after this area developed as a tourist resort was also conducted by Ariasri (2005) and Iswarini (2013). Ariasri examines aspects of religious ceremonies in the Nusa Dua area as a tourist attraction. This study sees the community as having or appearing as a cultural attraction that contributes to the tourist attraction in Nusa Dua. The problem raised is the extent to which people get benefits back from their cultural arts practices. Of course, it is not easy to measure the return for cultural practices carried out by the community from income from the tourism sector because people carry out cultural practices also to or first of all to meet their social, traditional, customary and religious needs.

In contrast to Ariasri's research, Iswarini's research looks more directly at the business opportunities that can be enjoyed by the community for the development of the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort. Iswarini researched the business of traditional Balinese decoration facilities to be distributed to hotels in Nusa Dua, such as penjor, gebogan, canang rebong, and tamyang. These

traditional decorations or accessories are needed by many hotels in Nusa Dua, both for daily use and when there are big events such as meetings, incentives, conferences or exhibitions (MICE / meetings, incentives, conferences, exhibitions).

Apart from opening up economic opportunities, this business also had a positive impact on efforts to preserve Balinese culture. This effort can enable people to get economic benefits from the wealth of cultural arts and at the same time maintain the sustainability of the arts and culture itself. It's just that, Iswarini noted, the business opportunities that were previously taken by many people around Nusa Dua, recently have been taken by suppliers from outside areas, causing competition. On the basis of this literature review, it can be shown that research on political power relations between the community, BTDC, and investors in Nusa Dua Tourism Resort is important to carry out to enrich our understanding of the various dimensions of the impact of the development and management of the NusaDua Tourism Resort. Behind the business dynamics of the hotels in the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort, there are dynamics of negotiating interests between the three main stakeholders in the region, namely the authorities / government (BTDC), businessmen (hotel management investors), and people who continue to try to get business opportunities around growth. economy at the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort and its surroundings.

In general speaking, power can mean group power, king power, the power of state officials. So it is not wrong to say that power is the ability to influence other parties according to the will of the power holder. Robert Mac Iver said that power is the ability to control the behavior of others either directly by giving orders / indirectly by using all available tools and methods. Power usually takes the form of relationships, some rule and some are ruled. Humans act as both the subject and the object of power. In government it has a different meaning: "power" is defined as "the ability to influence someone to do something if not done", but this "authority" will refer to claims of legitimacy, justification and the right to exercise power. For example, society may have the power to punish criminals with the death penalty without a trial, whereas civilized people believe in the rule of law and legislation and think that only in a court according to the provisions of the law can have the authority to order a sentence. die.

In the development of the social sciences, power has been the subject of research in various empirical settings, family (parental authority), small groups (informal leadership authority), in organizations such as schools, soldiers, industry and bureaucrats (bureaucracy in government organizations) and wider society or inclusive organizations, ranging from the most primitive societies to states, modern nations or organizations (political authority).

As already mentioned in the background, a political power relationship is a relationship based on interests (vested interest) between various groups or entities that are in one regional entity. The term "political power relation" is a translation of the concept in English "power relation". The key word for this concept is 'power', an important term in various disciplines including and especially recently in Cultural Studies.

Political power or political power is defined by Van Dijk as "ownership owned" by a group (or its members) to control groups (members) of other groups (in Eriyanto 2008: 272). This control, as stated by Faucault and Gramsci, can be done directly through physical strength, but can also be

done indirectly or through persuasive means. Ownership of political power is determined by various things such as resources, money, status and knowledge.

The bureaucracy, as an institution, has its own political power. Page & Jenkins stated that political power does not come from the representation of the voice of the people, like politicians, but comes from certain professional skills possessed by this institution.

In serving the public, several other factors are involved in bureaucratic institutions. These factors can be grouped into structure, process, staffing, and the relationship between the government (bureaucracy) and the community. Policy studies expert, Gilbert stated that there are three important elements in policy (bureaucracy), namely process, outcome, and performance.

In relations with other groups outside of it (both interest groups and pressure groups), the power relation pattern between the bureaucracy and other parties can be divided into four relationship patterns: legitimate, clientela, parentela, illegitimate.

The Critical Social Theory paradigm adopts Karl Marx's social theory, which pays attention to the liberation of society or groups that are oppressed and marginalized due to social change. This theory can critically examine contradictions that occur in society and seeks to find the root cause by exposing what is hidden and making the implicit explicit. This theory is used considering that the problem of the process of transforming cultural capital into tourist attractions is closely related to human action and socio-cultural interactions which have a subjective meaning that must be interpreted in tourism development. Thus it will be found a more complete understanding of human action, given the phenomenon of human dimensions, and human action that cannot be separated from the ideology that develops in political power relations in the development and management of the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort.

Critical theory takes the direction of political concepts from classical political theory to a new theory of criticism. The narrow, deterministic view of classical political theory is broadened by political theory thinkers in the critical theory group. The thinkers of this group are very wary of the parts of political studies: ideology, power, and hegemony.

Democracy emphasizes the importance of the people's will which becomes the political direction of a country. On the basis of Men is the measures of all things, humans as political persons who have certain political wills must fulfill their needs in political participation to formulate political and social policies in an area called the state. The basis is that human beings actually have free will, and are free to determine their life choices, including their political choices and will.

In the early modern era until the mid-seventies, the global political idea of democracy was the politics of aggregative democracy. It is called that, considering that the participation (vote of the will) from all elements of society in a country is represented by a group of political elites. In a modern political system, this elite is the parliament. This form of representation of the popular vote is called the aggregative form. Democratic systems that use this form are called aggregative democracy. Until recently, this political system was adopted by most democratic countries. Meanwhile, a small proportion of others use a mixed pattern of aggregate democracy politics and other forms of politics.

Representation of the will of the community to this small group of parties in the course of its history has left some bad effects. First, in its aggregate form, the will of the people cannot be represented completely. Second, community participation, which is ideally direct and sustainable, can only occur in a few political events, such as elections, and a few other things. Third, elements of the political elite (parties) are not only tasked with representing the will of the people they represent in the process of the government of a country. Apart from the will of the people, there are other factors that determine the political actions of party elites such as personal interests, groups, and elements of interest groups, which cause not only that their political actions do not fully reflect the will of the people, but can also deviate from the will of the people. the people because there are many other elements that contribute to the political process. Fourth, an aggregative democracy system that relies on the majority of votes as a form of political policy formulation has implications for the absence of minority voices. The will of the majority then allows him to violate the rights of the minority party.

Gramsci, Althusser and their colleagues welcomed the German thinkers who were members of the Frankfurt School of Religion. The theory of hegemony is then explained further by this group of thinkers. Herbert Marcuse in his book One Dimensional Men (1961) shows how the form of government hegemony that carries out capitalistic political patterns to its people in uniforming them into one-dimensional humans.

Various criticisms of the aggregate political pattern have led the next thinkers to formulate a democratic system that can overcome the above problems. This formulation developed over time from the first generation of the Fankfurt School of Religion, to the youngest generation, one of which was Jurgen Habermas. Habermas initiated a fairly radical democratic political formula. Instead of the modern-day political thinkers who emphasized the importance of the system, Habermas actually saw the system in the end alienating humans — as political subjects — from political participation. Habermas proposed that democratic politics must return to its origins, based on the active participation of all elements of society. The idea of the argumentation process becomes acceptable to all parties if it meets the conditions "rationally acceptable", if it cannot be said to be "true". In Habermas terms, discourse dialogue (discourse) is what is called a form of "strange unreality" in communication in which subjects who become participants make an "unforced force of the better argument", with the aim of reaching an agreement about the validity of a statement or not. of the claims discussed. The presupposition sticks like an agreement which then represents a rational consensus. That is, the result is not an agreement obtained from seeking common ground, and discarding differences (compromise). However, consensus was reached after obtaining the strongest arguments. Criticism is vital in the talk of the communicative ratio. This can be said to be the spirit in the dialogue between subjects that Habermas wants. Because it can be criticized, the initial condition of the statement must be present in the mind of the speaker without distortion. Criticism can occur by building arguments. With the argument, the speaking subject can connect himself with the world of his life in a more orderly and rational form. In the practice of using communicative acts, a space is needed where humans can meet and communicate. This space is then referred to as the public sphere. The public sphere is the universe in which

people can interact and communicate with each other. A good public space will occur if each party releases their private spaces (private spaces with regard to their participation in making consensus decisions) into public spaces that can be accessed by all parties. In simple terms, hegemony can be translated / concluded as an effort of power in controlling a person, group, or the wider community to do something for the sake of having power in latent forms, so that the controlled parties do not realize that he / they are controlled by something against their will, which they believe that action. Hegemony does not use repressive powers, or other forms of real power action (see Gramsci, (Femia, 1981; Holub, 2005; Crehan, 2002; Laclau & Mouffe, 2001; Habermas, 1984 Various criticisms of the aggregate political pattern have led the next thinkers to formulate a democratic system that can overcome the above problems. This formulation developed over time from the first generation of the Fankfurt School of Religion, to the youngest generation, one of which was Jurgen Habermas. Habermas initiated a fairly radical democratic political formula. Instead of the modern-day political thinkers who emphasized the importance of the system, Habermas actually saw the system in the end alienating humans — as political subjects — from political participation. Habermas proposed that democratic politics must return to its origins, based on the active participation of all elements of society. The idea of the argumentation process becomes acceptable to all parties if it meets the conditions "rationally acceptable", if it cannot be said to be "true". In Habermas terms, discourse dialogue (discourse) is what is called a form of "strange unreality" in communication in which subjects who become participants make an "unforced force of the better argument", with the aim of reaching an agreement about the validity of a statement or not. of the claims discussed. The presupposition sticks like an agreement which then represents a rational consensus. That is, the result is not an agreement obtained from seeking common ground, and discarding differences (compromise). However, consensus was reached after obtaining the strongest arguments. Criticism is vital in the talk of the communicative ratio. This can be said to be the spirit in the dialogue between subjects that Habermas wants. Because it can be criticized, the initial condition of the statement must be present in the mind of the speaker without distortion. Criticism can occur by building arguments. With the argument, the speaking subject can connect himself with the world of his life in a more orderly and rational form. In the practice of using communicative acts, a space is needed where humans can meet and communicate. This space is then referred to as the public sphere. The public sphere is the universe in which people can interact and communicate with each other. A good public space will occur if each party releases their private spaces (private spaces with regard to their participation in making consensus decisions) into public spaces that can be accessed by all parties. In simple terms, hegemony can be translated / concluded as an effort of power in controlling a person, group, or the wider community to do something for the sake of having power in latent forms, so that the controlled parties do not realize that he / they are controlled by something against their will, which they believe that action. Hegemony does not use repressive powers, or other forms of real power action (see Gramsci, (Femia, 1981; Holub, 2005; Crehan, 2002; Laclau & Mouffe, 2001; Habermas, 1984)

The theory of hegemony comes from the thinking of an Italian Marxist named Antonio Gramsci. This theory is arguably one of the most important political theories of so many that existed at the end of the 20th century. In Indonesia, the relevance of its use was supported by the exercise of government political power for approximately three decades leading up to the end of the century, to be precise during the New Order era (1966-1998), which was very dominant and hegemonic. It is not surprising that the same theory is used very often to dissect problems that are closely related to political power, especially the political power of the government, during that time. Although in Indonesia during the New Order era there were several resistance, such as in Aceh, East Timor, and several other areas, in general many scholars agreed with the New Order's hegemonic political power.

The theory of hegemony includes cultural and ideological means in which ruling groups or dominant parties exercise and preserve their political power in society through consensus (agreement) against groups controlled by politically or dominated parties.

Using the hegemony theory, it can be said that the more agree the parties controlled by politics are with the political power exercised, the more successful the hegemony that occurs. In this case, ideas that are carried out in political power appear reasonable and legitimate as if they were the initiative of those under political power and not from other parties because first there has been internalization of ideology, culture, values, norms, and political aspects. In other words, the use of force and force reflects the ineffectiveness of the ideology exercised by political power. The more coercive the political power takes place, the less its hegemonic aspects will become.

CONCLUSION:

First, since the post-reform era there has been a shift in the form of power relations from hegemonic to negotiation, and finally to oppositional power relations. This change occurred due to changes in the social and political system in Indonesia. This form of power relation is not absolute, meaning that there is no full hegemony, as well as no total oppositional power relationship. During the land acquisition process and in the early days of building and managing hotels at the Nusa Dua tourist resort, the community generally looked submissive, but in their hearts many were disappointed and had to accept intimidation if they expressed signs of rejecting or disapproving of the government project. Likewise, in the era of oppositional power relations today, there is not the slightest desire of the community to completely reject the idea of developing, managing, or structuring the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort. The community only protests, rallies, and takes oppositional actions against things that are detrimental while on other matters such as the creation of green tourism, the application of the tri hita karana teachings, the community supports. They support Nusa Dua to become a luxury tourism area in a sustainable manner.

Second, the power relationship between BTDC, investors, and the community is influenced by three ideologies, namely global tourism ideology, green tourism ideology, and local value-based

cultural tourism ideology. The influence of global tourism ideology on the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort can be seen in the universal demand for the importance of security in tourism management. Around the world, tourist resorts whether open, closed, in a tourist attraction or in a theme park, safety and security are of prime importance. In the global tourism ideology that deals with the security of power relations work collaboratively.

In line with the global tourism ideology, the three pillars also have the same interest in accepting the ideology of green tourism or green tourism in the management of the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort. Making Nusa Dua an integrated green and beautiful area is in the interests of all pillars. BTDC and hotels have shown how they organize parks and manage hotel waste, while the community supports them through environmental protection in their respective areas. In the interests of cleanliness and maintaining the greenness of the resort, the relationship between the three pillars also runs collaboratively, it's just that the burden and responsibility for more resources lies on the two main pillars, namely BTDC and hotel management. If then BTDC appears to be more dominant in this regard, it is because of their strength in contributing to financing.

The influence of cultural tourism ideology and local wisdom is also a common interest because it is a characteristic that must be maintained by the three pillars to achieve the initial ideals of developing the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort as an integrated tourism area that not only preserves natural beauty but also cultural and traditional wealth. The specialty of Bali as a tourist destination is its distinctive cultural and traditional character which is both an attraction and a priority target for preservation. BTDC has taken the initiative to hold the Nusa Dua Festival since 1993 by inviting hotels to participate and inviting local and foreign communities to promote Balinese cultural arts in particular and Indonesia in general. It should also be noted the commitment of BTDC and several hotels in the resort to accept the presence of an accreditation system for the Tri Hita Karana Award based on local wisdom. So far, accreditation of tourism services is carried out by international certification bodies that come from outside, therefore attention to cultural tourism ideology and local wisdom is an interesting thing. In recent years, the THK Awards accreditation system has faced institutional disunity, thankfully accreditation for this award is still ongoing by two different institutions from those that used to be under the same umbrella.

Third, in giving meaning to power relations in the management of Nusa Dua tourist resorts, each pillar has a different strategy and it is determined by the position and interests of each. In this meaning between BTDC and hotel entrepreneurs there are almost the same interests, namely running a business to get high profits but being able to do business sustainably, but in practice they are also often trapped in miscommunication which makes their meaning of power relations different. The same thing happened between the community and the other two pillars. In this case, the community cannot be generalized as one group because in it there are groups, associations, unions, and figures who are often seen as speaking on behalf of the community, all of whom have different ways of interpreting power relations in the management of the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort. For example, the hotel has tried to fulfill an agreement to accept a certain number of workers from the community, and the community feels that this wish has been fulfilled, but if the taxi group feels

they are being marginalized from the right to enjoy the economic benefits of tourism, they hold a demonstration, occupy the hotel yard.

It can be seen from this discussion that there is a positive change in power relations in the management of the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort which was originally hegemonic to be more democratic by considering the wishes of other interested parties. In a brief sense, the hegemony of power has been lost in the political relations of the interests of each party at the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort. However, according to this it needs to be studied further. The forms of hegemonic power relations do not necessarily stop there. It has a variety of shapes and multiple sides. Is it democratic in the management of the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort and is it true that hegemonic power relations have disappeared from circulation at the Nusa Dua Tourism Resort?

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