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MOBILITY OF THE NEW CLASS IN THE TOURISM INDUSTRY

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Abstract

The study focuses on empirically addressing the disputes among the researchers over the source of injustice in the tourism industry by the class structure. First, related to the theory of postindustry which suggests that class should be more human. The second, related to Marx theory that class should be more orderly and degraded. This study uses the concurrent triangulation mixed method. The analysis of the interclass relationship shows a strengthening class i.e. the professional class (54.5%) with the higher bargaining power against the capital class (1.5%) and the proletariat class (44%). This condition reinforces the post-industrial theory which shows that the open system, technological advances, and specification facilitate the mastery of expertise towards a higher level of professionalism based on the border-cross protean career and not a consistent proletarian process. This study estimates that the transformation of the proletariat class into the new class structures is increasingly stronger, in line with the growing tendency of the professional class towards a dual position as the workers and professionals-capitalists ranging from the small to the big scale.

Keywords: class, mobility, tourism industry

INTRODUCTION

Recently, the articles on the work class structure (for example, Ehmer, 2014; Evans and Colin, 1998) and the repeated disputes over the relationship among classes in the tourism industry have significantly drawn the public interests and reviews in various scientific articles (see, Marx, 2006; Goldthorpe, 2000; Magnis-Suseno, 1999; Guy and Allen, 1975; Friedman, 1974). The study on the emerging new classes to the welfare issues, however, is inadequate in number.

In fact, a new class energizes an individual to be more active, not simply as having the equal opportunity; everyone can get into any classes. By the reason, everyone might strive to climb up to the higher class for better welfare and not to be alienated. Nearly all sectors, government agencies, and the world institutions build the political commitment to improving the welfare of allegedly alienated class. In this, a series of reviews, discussions, seminars, conferences, and workshops

have been conducted like the ILO's annual conference 2009 in Bali.

As explained previously, many have written reviews on the class structure in the tourism industry such as Wright and Martin (1987), Wright and Singelmann (1982), Farmer (1966), and Friedman (1974). The reviews, however, focus more on dichotomy of two antagonistic classes i.e. the proletariat and the capitalist class. Unlike the previous studies, this one examined the possibility of the newly emerging classes particularly interclass analysis with the introduced harmony and then developed by Anker (2002), so as to build prosperity to all classes. The term "class" refers to a group of workers in various business types in the tourism industry based on the equal properties (Rose and Karen, 1997). To this extent, the definition of class analysis was chosen as it explores the class categories (Rose and Karen, 1997) and has significance for the new classes to bear (Korpi, 1983), and is empirically tested (Anker, 2002).

In particular, this study aims to analyze the class structure within the

work structure of various business types in the tourism industry in Kedonganan-Jimbaran Bali. Finally, this study is expected to encourage the alienated class to climb up and provide the direct input the policy holder to provide access to them.

METHODOLOGY

The class structure is perceived in a structure of work in various business types in the tourism industry in Kedonganan-Jimbaran Bali with the use of concurrent triangulation research method as follows: the in-depth interviews were done to 10 informants with the snowball sampling technique, whereas the field observations were carried out in different tourism business purposively selected at the same time. Meanwhile, the questionnaire-assisted survey was conducted to 789 respondents as the samples of workers drawn at random sampling of 8,641 workers in 528 tourism businesses (see, Table 1. The Distribution of Respondents by the Types of Business in the Tourism Industry

No	Types of Business in the Tourism Industry	N	Percentage
1	Tourist Destination Area (DTW)	4	0.5
2	Tour and Travel Business (BPW)	5	0.6
3	Accommodation	210	26.6
4	Culinary	295	37.4
5	Souvenir	216	27.4
6	Spa	46	5.9
7	Tourism consultant	1	0.1
8	Meeting, Incentive, Conference, and Exhibition (MICE)	9	1.1
9	Village-owned Tourism Enterprises (BUPMD)	3	0.4
	Total	789	100

Source: primary data 2016

Of 9 types of businesses in the tourism industry, the respondents fall into the various types of tourism businesses, among others, are as follows: 37.4%, 27.4%, and 26.6% for culinary, souvenirs and accommodation respectively. This suggests that the three types of business become the most dominant business compared to the types of peripheral tourism business such as spa 5.9%, meetings and shows organization 1.1%, tour and travel 0.6%, natural landscape beauty 0.5%, the village-owned tourism enterprises

Morgan, 2007; Ritchie and Goeldner, 1994). The deep analysis was done to the qualitative data obtained from the interviews and observation along with the quantitative data of class group frequency with the use of SPSS 19 software. The inductive and deductive findings resulted from the analysis of triangulation were integrated into a single unified and mutually reinforcing findings (Creswell, 2012).

DISCUSSION

The field observations (2016) found that various types of businesses in the tourism industry are closely related to spatial geotopography, the effect of the capital circulation, and the available workers' conditions. Relatedly, the tourist attraction offered and the flourishing types of business in the tourism industry on the research site in Jimbaran - Kedonganan can be seen in Table 1.

0.4%, and 0.1% tourism consultant. The variations of the main and the peripheral types of business contribute to realize the real work in the tourism industry.

The structure of employment in the tourism industry is explained by the characteristics of the organizational structure and the working class structure. The organizational structure, which affects the class structure, falls into two characteristics i.e. the closed and open one (Observation, 2016). The effect is indicated by the correlation between the closed or open

organizational structure and the class structure. The more open organizational structure³³ will facilitate the working class climb up to the higher class. On the other hand, the more closed structure of organization³⁴ will make the working class stay stagnant or likely left behind³⁵. The open organizational structure gives bigger opportunity for the workers among the positions or businesses to switch jobs. Meanwhile, in the closed structure, the opportunity is more limited by the dominance and power of capital owners who employ the workers. As a result, the labors in the more open organizational structure will climb up the higher class faster, whereas the ones in the closed will likely climb down to the lowest class with the minimum standard of needs.

Such a dual organizational structure depends on the accumulated capital. The detailed observation in the research site (2016) indicated that the greater accumulated capital investment will lead to the broader management network, and the increasingly more complex worksharing arrangements with more open organizational structure as the consequences. The organizational structure in the tourism industry is growing dynamically³⁶ towards the

openness given the changes in technology, continuously developing position, accelerated accumulation and circulation of capital. Various types of the small, medium to large scale enterprises grow to the open one with the varied level of complexity and specialization³⁷.

Some business, however, remain closed and concentrated in the structure, but they exist as the peripheral or semi-autonomous business³⁸. Notably, the business apparently moves to the synchrony of work with the open organizational structure (Observation, 2016).

The main business and the peripheral one are symbiotically intertwined and contribute to create the working class in the tourism industry which can be microscopically (specific) and macroscopically (general) viewed. Inevitably, the microscopic and

Five-Year Plan (1969-1974), set in 1974, and gradually grew impressively in the first half of the 1980s. (Picard, 2006). During its development, the industry grew up well in the second half of the 1990s, and experienced a slight decrease at the end of the 21st century (2000s era) due to, among others, security issues in Indonesia by terrorism acts and bombings within 2000-2005; H5N1 avian influenza outbreak in mid 2002; natural disasters including tsunamis, volcanic eruptions, floods, and landslides.

³⁷When the business grows bigger, and the network is broader with more open organizational structure, the type of human resources for the positions is increasingly more complex. On the contrary, the smaller business will lead to less specialization of human resources needed. The specialization, however, does not suggest alienation but an integration of workers into the company vision and the workers deserve equal opportunity for career and achievement. In this, the workers' loyalty is not to dedicated to the boss or leader, but to the work accomplishments in achieving the company's vision. The career movement of workers within the organizational structure from one position to another, one business type to another, one industry to another and one country to another or across borders is known as the protean career in which the workers seek a series of experience in improving the skills and expertise for professionalism. This suggests that the workers, not the company set the career advancement (Observation, 2016).

³⁸The culinary, accommodations, and souvenirs business proved to fit the natural landscape with beaches and hills. Therefore, the three types of businesses seem to dominate compared to the others dubbed as the peripheral business. It supports not competes against the main business in terms of capital circulation and accumulation. It also gives important benefits towards the tourism industry with its mutual counter support with the main or peripheral business (Observation and mapping, 2016).

³³ The open organizational structure describes the structural work of a commodity production process that gives equal opportunity for each worker to shift the position or field of work that require specialized workers. Therefore, the position was based on the workers' expertise and professionalism. The positions formed in the structure is considerably influenced by the use of technology in every production process. The capital owners realize the importance of competence in that position. That's why they stay inside or entrust the management of the company to the management and staff with adequate expertise.

³⁴ The closed organizational structure depicts the work structure limited to the expansion of important positions for each worker. This limitation is caused by the prevailed inheritance system for filling positions in the organizational structure, both in terms of capital, descendant and position inheritance. Therefore, the top elites in the structure are mostly entrusted to the descendants of the capital owners of capital or colleagues despite their inadequate capability; closed for the lineage outsiders.

³⁵ Left behind in class refers to the workers becoming industrial screw-couplers and stagnant at work (Adimiharja, 2000).

³⁶ The tourism industry in Indonesia developed by the financial support from the World Bank (in 1968), IGGI (since 1966), and IMF (1970) (Picard, 2006). The idea was initiated since the first

macroscopic structure, position and rank issues, as well as capital ownership and non ownership are the determinant factors to realizing the working class structure. Nevertheless, the factors are not the sole determinant factors. The detailed observation (2016) during this study showed that other subsequent factors significantly affect the realized structure of the working class. Such factors, among others, are the domination and control over the workers; the workers' expertise and professionalism; and entrepreneurial capabilities, all of which are reflected in every commodity production process in 9 types of business in the tourism industry. The interviews with key informants in this study help describe the facts.

"...Nowadays the hotels or tourism enterprises need a lot of new positions. Many professionals sit on the positions with high turnovers. They perhaps seek for high salaries, peace, comfort, or career. I have also heard that quite many employees felt uncomfortable and then resigned because of the massive interfere by the owner. At present, everything is possible. As noted, in Kedonganan-Jimbaran, many people become new bosses with businesses like hotels, cafes, and restaurants after they gained enough experience during their previous jobs in in the tourism industry in a variety of jobs in the tourism industry several types of businesses previously..... that's it, many workers come in and come out with their different reasons, "(Informant, Farida, the employee at the Keraton Jimbaran Bali, July 2016).

"...That's it Sir ... many workers have indeed done dynamic move nowadays. Career in the tourism industry

has shifted considerably. The work structure also changes a lot. Seems to be the common demand, Sir. The hotels, restaurants or cafes in Kedonganan-Jimbaran must recruit new professionals to stay strong in the competition. That's why, the job switching from one hotel to the others is a common practice around here. To my mind, it's just fine. Even when fired from a hotel, the workers will just take it for granted³⁹. They could easily move to another hotel. Some of them even have better career despite being fired. They then worked in the cruise ships, then moved to several countries. One of them becomes the Food & Beverage Director in Jimbaran Intercontinental Hotel. Some switched job because of their good skills and professionalism. As I heard, some worked and moved to several companies in Australia, China, Saudi Arabia, Dubai, England, France, Switzerland, or the United States, by their the professionalism. "... Now everything is a completely transparent, Sir. It's simply because the work in the tourism industry is increasingly more complex and demands a lot of professional workers. "(Informant, Wayan Arcana, Human Resource officer in Four Season Hotel, July 2016).

³⁹As ruled, when a worker wants to resign, he/she shall send prior at least 1 month in advance to give the company enough time for a replacement to ensure a smooth job overhanding, and issue the certificate of work experience for workers (KKS Four Season Jimbaran, 2016). It suggests that the tourism industry also finds it hard to release workers as it is time consuming and costly for training the new ones in the company's corporate culture, history, duties and functions as well as team adjustments. A series of trainings shall be done amidst the hectic company operation the excellent service.

The informant's experience suggest that the working class structure has been very complex and diverse; allowing the professionals to switch job even across the border. This fact indicates the protean career in the tourism industry, which refers to the changes in career by the professionalism needs of workers, along with changes in the functions of the position due to the needs and progress of technology at the workplace (Noe, et al. 2000).

This represents the biggest challenge for the workers in the tourism industry workers⁴⁰ today i.e. high turnover⁴¹, tendency for career development, recognition, higher and better position. On the other hand, this phenomenon is also driven by the needs for professionalism in the tourism industry and the workers themselves. The advances in technology and tourist's behavior encourage the tourism industry to develop innovative office functions along with the professional workers. Thus, human resource turnover is a common practice. As the informants elaborated, the turnover is not only in Bali area but also across the country.

⁴⁰The workforce in the future will be more diverse and include people with more varied complexion, women, and new immigrants with special needs (Usmara, 2009). The special needs refers to some tour and travel agency or hotels which should employ the expatriates not for transferring knowledge and expertise to the local workers as the local workers to some extent have better ability. The expatriates learn from the local workers in with a 3-6 month apprenticeship. The expatriates are employed to ensure that the industry captures their country's market segment. For instance, a Japanese expatriates helps to target the Japanese market because they are more convinced, easier to communicate, understand their culture better, and know the best strategy for capturing this segment. Other expatriates from Italy, Greece, and Taiwan also do similar works (observation, July 2016).

⁴¹DinaskertranBadung Regency (2012) and Intelligence Unit Report (2012) noted that the turnover rate in the tourism industry business in several Asian countries per year is quite high at 20%, 14%, and 12% in Singapore, Thailand and China respectively. Particularly in Jimbaran -Kedonganan in the area of Bali, it reached 15% per year. The analysis indicates that the business in the tourism industry shall compete for the best workers to survive. Consequently, failing to meet the demand of best workers, the company will be left. This trend is also followed by the increasing number of new managers and entrepreneurs among the young people in the tourism industry (Observation and mapping, 2016).

This condition illustrates that the microscopic and macroscopic structure of the working class is increasingly more complex, open, and unable to get determined solely into the two major classes i.e. the capital owner (capitalists⁴²) and the proletariat⁴³ (workers)

The turnover pattern suggests that the existing working class structure is unable for classification into the two major groups i.e. the capital owners and the workers. Therefore, the professional class⁴⁴ exists in between as the new variation. This variation exists not only by the openness of the tourism industry towards the high turnover but also by its flexibility towards various investments, capital accumulation, and changes in technology. As table 2 describes, the overview of the work structure in the tourism industry in Kedonganan-Jimbaran reinforces such empirical insights.

⁴²Capital refers to the money invested to produce more money instead of consumption. The capitalists are dubbed as the bourgeois with capitalism as the spirit. It refers to the economic system in which capital owners produce commodities for profit.

⁴³The proletariat refers to the workers who sell their labor for an exchange.

⁴⁴In the area of Jimbaran-Kedonganan, 3 types of the working class exist i.e. the capital owners, professionals, and the proletariat with their equal relations. There is no single dependency prevailed, but choices by their potentials. Not applying the pattern of equality, they will be left by both internal and external customers. Customer is defined as a person who needs assistance. In the tourism industry, they must be well prepared to provide assistance to both internal and external customers e.g. mutually helping the internal customers or among the workers, workers with managers, or workers to the capital owners and mutually helping the external customers with suppliers, managers with relations, etc. (Observation and mapping, 2016).

Table 2 Work Structure in Tourism Industry in Kedonganan-Jimbaran
Work Structure of Employment in Tourism Industry

Organizational Structure	The Working Class Structure				
Open	DTW: Head, Div. Head and Employee	Owner/ shareholder/ boss		Investor	1,5
	UPW: Manager (Owner), Employee	Director/manager/Head	Manager	Professional	4,6
	Accommodation: Owner, Commissioner, Director, Manager, Supervisor, Worker	Supervisor/ Superintendent	Supervisor		14,5
	Culinary: Boss (Owner), Manager, Supervisor, Worker				
Closed	Souvenir: Boss (Owner), Manager, Supervisor, Worker	Manager, Supervisor, and Proletariat doubling Investor			35,4
	Spa: Boss (Owner), Worker				
	Consultant: Manager (Owner), Supervisor, Worker	Labor/ Staff/Worker/ Non tenure Worker/ Employee/ crew/clerk/ outsourcing	Proletariat	44,0	
	MICE: Manager (Owner), Worker				
	BUPMD: Head, Div. Head and Employee				
Total (N=789)					100,0

Source: Primary Data, 2016

Source: Primary Data, 2016

Details: DTW (*Daerah Tujuan Wisata*, Tourist Destination; BPW (*Bisnis Perjalanan Wisata*, Tours and Travels; MICE (Meeting Incentive Conference and Exhibition); BUPMD (*Badan Usaha Pariwisata Milik Desa*, Village-owned Tourism Enterprises

As Table 2 shows, if macroscopically classified, the working class structure falls into 3 major classes, i.e. (1) the capital owner, (2) the professional; (3) the proletariat. First, as the high rank worker, the owner invests capital for more benefit or profit in each accumulated production process of commodity. This group only consists of 1.5%, but it controls huge assets by more than 70% of the entire production process accumulated on the research site. Given the capability for asset control, this group has domination and control over all accumulated assets.

The second group refers to the professionals including managers, supervisors and workers with dual identity. This group is the largest in population on the study site compared to the owners and the proletariat. The professionals occupy 54.5%

population with 4.6%, 14.5%, and 35.4%, as the managers, supervisors, and workers with dual identity respectively. The group controls the asset management and has good bargaining power against the capital owners. In line with the duties, both the managers and the supervisors are responsible for incorporating the capital owners and the proletariat to achieve the company vision. To this extent, their loyalty refers not to the capital owners or directors, but to the work accomplishments. Therefore, job specifications, disputes over the domination and integrated control in the working class structure lead to the achievement of the company's vision.

The position of the managers and supervisors depends on the achieved company profits, not on the

capital owners. They stand on wages⁴⁵ or salaries⁴⁶ like the proletariat that is taken from the company profit, not the personal fund of the owners.

The third group refers to the low-level workers or the proletariat. They labor to exchange for wages or salaries to sustain their family's life with his family. They work in different status such as permanent workers and non permanent ones like interns, non tenure workers, daily-based workers or outsourcing. They compose 44% of the total working population in 9 types of business in the tourism industry on the research site. They contribute to the production process considerably in achieving the company's accumulated profit. Their wages or salaries with the standard of the regional minimum wage (UMR), however, are smaller than that of the above groups. Nevertheless, they deserve the same rights as the other workers to obtain decent work service facility in every production process.

The overall description of the working class structure indicates that the tourism industry has variedly developed and no longer been classified into two major groups i.e. the capitalist and proletariat, as the previous researchers categorized (see, Marx, 2006; Furaker, 1982). The working class in the tourism industry has been fragmented into the groups of professional workers in terms of capital, skills and expertise self-reliance and entrepreneurship. This professionalism bears a number of dual identities⁴⁷ among the workers in various businesses in the tourism industry. In addition to being the workers, they become the independent entrepreneurs by accumulating their capital into investment in restaurants, boarding

houses, cafes, souvenirs, homestays, and guest houses. They managed to mobilize themselves into the peripheral to the major entrepreneurs as Table 5.2 presents. As the peripheral entrepreneurs, they grow the same characteristics as accumulating a small scale capital beyond the main production resources of the huge capital owners. They have a different market segment⁴⁸. The profit is obtained from the surplus value of work yield⁴⁹.

⁴⁸ (3) The peripheral business obtains benefit from the major businesses, which among others are: (1) when an Executive Chef of the major hotel demonstrates how to cook Balinese cuisine to promote the hotel's products throughout the world, it will indirectly and positively affect Bali culinary business such as food stalls, cafes, restaurants, etc.; (2) The product image will promote the images of Bali, industry, and region which positively affects the peripheral business; (3) In 1997-2000, the trend dubbed as timeshare was common practice. The local hotels in Bali tried to hijack the guests of major hotels by joining the marketing freelance. In this, the marketing intelligent worked to find the guest print out at the major hotels. They contacted the guests and offered a variety of discounts, gifts, and promises to draw their interest to move out and stay at their hotel or give the down payment for staying during their next year vacation; (4) Being aware of the situation in Bali, the guests who previously stayed in the major hotel would move to the smaller one to save money. On the other hand, few guests moved from the small hotel to the major one; (5) The small entrepreneurs, despite no promotion, with more major hotel's guests stroll around or conducts tour in the tourist destination, the peripheral business will get the positive multiplier effects; (6) the management of peripheral business is inspired by the professional major businesses. The workers' experience in the major hotels encouraged them to start their own business. In terms of the business competition, the star hotels give no effects to the non star hotels. If the major hotels take the market at the small hotel's rate, they will likely have problems with the operating cost. If the major hotels sell under the price standard to the tour and travel agency or the marketing network all over the world, they will lose trust and be prone to the blacklisting. Besides, lowering the standard or the attached image will complicate and destroy their own market. The tourism business refers to the image-based business with a standard of high profit-oriented which demands intensive marketing. Unlike the areas outside Bali, the marketing is commonly done by the government and the businesspeople just wait and compete for small number of guests especially during the low season. To their mind, the marketing is likely a cost center, not a profit center. As a result, the competitive advantage relies on the low price instead of appreciating the marketers to promote their products. The promotion which only relies on the government will be less efficient and effective and limited in the market coverage and funds (Observation to the marketing comparisons in Bali and Yogyakarta, 2016).

⁴⁹ In this context, the process of empowerment prevails through the work experience,

⁴⁵ Wages refer to money and others (can be goods like rice) which are paid as a reward or compensation for labor done at a non specified time.

⁴⁶ Salary refers to the remuneration which the workers receive in the form of money paid on a regular basis at a specific time such as employees or employees who receive a monthly salary.

⁴⁷ The detailed observation to this type of business indicates that some individuals who successfully transform themselves to be independents or stronger capitalist are generally driven by the spirit of hard work and high motivation. In addition, the open organizational structure allows them to do so (Observation, 2016).

They move and deserve any positions by their willingness and ability. The proletariat climbs up to the professional class, and the professional gear up to the investor class meanwhile the professional investors are willing for the dual status. Likewise, other classes likely move into a dual status. The mobility of both the proletariat and capital owner class into the professional class or otherwise reflects slightly with the intelligence-based class structure which the previous researchers observed (see, Ehmer, 2014; Furaker, 1982; Szelenyi and Martin, 1988). Another finding was the repeated previous class structure based on the perspective of Marx in the manufacturing industry dubbed as the intellectual class (Gouldner, 1980; Kitschelt, 1993). At last, the simultaneous movement of the work structure along with its implications determines the welfare and happiness in each class. To note, this study, however, serves as the encouragement for the future studies on reviewing the welfare of new class associated with the concept of decent work in various types of business in the tourism industry.

CONCLUSION

The above discussion concludes that the working class structure in the tourism industry has been varied and fragmented into the class of proletariat, capital owner and professional, the new one. The classes tend to move to the dual class status, for example, apart from being a Sous Chef at the Four Seasons Jimbaran, this worker also owns has the Blue Moon Cafe on Kedonganan beach, which he

which transforms the workers' mentality into professionals, the small entrepreneurs into the big ones and then into the capital owners inspired by various types of businesses in the tourism industry existing around (Kiyosaki (2010). Some, however, refuse to get promoted through a variety of management training beforehand as they feel comfortable with the existing position and worried about the complex work in the new position or by certain reasons such as a negative view toward mutation or demotion. (Observasi, Juli 2016). To take an example, a bellboy felt fine with his/her job as he/she received the guests' tips daily despite monthly; not having mental burden as the managers have and simply thinking that his/her current position is decent. (Observation, July 2016)

rents from of the *banjars* (community centers) in the area. The dynamic movement of this class determines their own welfare and happiness. Thus, it characterizes the class mobility and emerges a new class in the tourism industry.

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