

# Symbolic Capital as an Elite Dominance Practice of Puri Agung Ubud

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## Abstract

The role of Puri Agung Ubud is vital in upholding the religious, social, cultural, and economic ties with the local community's life in Ubud Traditional Village. Nevertheless, in practice, it is evident that representatives from Puri Agung Ubud are frequently observed engaging in acts of control, wherein they attempt to exert dominance or superiority in these aspects of society by utilizing their accumulated social, cultural, and economic capital as symbolic capital. This symbolic capital showcases their status, prestige, authority, and legitimacy. This occurrence highlights the employment of symbolic capital as a means of control by the elite of Puri Agung Ubud. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to explore the reasons behind the use of symbolic capital as a tool of control by the elite of Puri Agung Ubud. The theoretical framework underpinning this analysis draws upon Bourdieu's structural generative theory and Scott's patron-client theory. Employing a qualitative research design rooted in critical social science, data collection is executed through meticulous observations, insightful interviews, and a comprehensive literature review. This study revealed that the social capital, cultural capital, and economic capital of the Puri Agung Ubud elite accumulated symbolic capital to increase their status in obtaining recognition. This phenomenon is motivated by strategies to maintain and expand power, capital struggles, and distinction strategies.

Keywords: Symbolic Capital, Elite; Domination; Puri Agung Ubud

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## 1. Introduction

The figures of Puri Agung Ubud play a crucial role as guardians in preserving the order of religious, social, cultural, and economic dimensions integrated into the life of the Ubud Traditional Village community. Nevertheless, empirical observations reveal that individuals from Puri Agung Ubud frequently engage in acts of dominion, wherein deliberate efforts are invested to assert control or manifest dominance across these multifaceted domains within the societal milieu. This exertion is facilitated through the strategic utilization of their amassed social, cultural, and economic capital, which is subsequently transmuted into symbolic capital, emblematic of their stature, renown, authority, and legitimacy.

Regarding the concept of symbolic capital as a means of dominance exercised by the elite of Puri Agung Ubud, Geertz (2017) and MacRae and Putra (2016) posit that the ritual practices within the palace served as a potent force propelling political dynamics. These rituals notably cast the nobility as pivotal actors and artisans, the clergy as directors, while other constituents, devoid of noble lineage, assume roles as supporting cast or observers. Suwartawan and Panuju (2019) concur, along with Suwitha (2015), asserting that Puri Ubud adeptly employs strategic political communication methodologies to safeguard the continuity of Balinese existence and cultural traditions. Subudi (2012) offers a perspective underscoring the paramount significance of palace leadership within the community, particularly in engendering culturally transcendent artifacts during

the transition from an agrarian society to a tourism-centric landscape. This transition is further characterized by the dissemination of life philosophies among the populace, encapsulating a form of leadership ethos.

The convergence of these diverse viewpoints emphatically underscores the presence of compelling areas necessitating thorough scholarly inquiry and critical evaluation. The enduring vitality of the Ubud Traditional Village community in upholding the Tri Hita Karana doctrine, encompassing harmonious relationships between the spiritual, human, and environmental domains, remains palpable. While the advent of global values propels the community toward pragmatic and economic pursuits, the sacrosanctity of religious and cultural principles maintains precedence. This can be attributed to the community's discerning and flexible disposition toward change amidst the tide of globalization, attributed in great measure to the resilient nexus between the community and the palace (Sulandjari and Ardhana, 2017: 64-66).

The Puri Agung Ubud depicts traditional symbols of enduring authority, which persistently wield influence or power to uphold and legitimize the palace's position (Tejawati, 2017: 2-3). Within the Puri Agung Ubud, three notable figures are Tjokorda Gde Putra Sukawati, Tjokorda Oka Artha Ardana Sukawati, and Tjokorda Gde Raka Sukawati. These three figures are descendants of the last monarch, Tjokorda Gde Agung Sukawati, and they bear elite status due to their successful attainment of roles that carry influence, control, and authority within the community (Bottomore, 2006: vii). The power sources held by the elite of Puri Agung Ubud in shaping their assets and closely related to facets such as religious rituals, cultural customs, spirituality, art, traditions, tourism, etc., as these aspects constitute domains of capital acquisition.

The authority wielded by the elite of Puri Agung Ubud has a significant dominance as a pivotal influencer in the realm of religious activities within the community. It is notably evident in the execution of prominent ceremonies at the temple. The palace elite consistently assumes the role of Pangajeg Karya Agung (the leaders of major ritual ceremonies) and contribute essential resources, including knowledge, skills, offerings, and financial contributions, which function as both capital and investments dedicated to the divine (Wintara, 2020: 44). The elite's involvement in religious endeavors is an integral component of community life (Subudi, 2012: 195). The power and knowledge embedded within their practices vividly illustrate the tangible manifestation of symbolic capital dominance.

The utilization of legitimacy to establish dominance within the religious domain is further evident during the enactment of the Ngaben ceremony (cremation ceremony) at Puri Agung Ubud. The Ngaben ritual, which involves substantial resources and an extensive temporal span, consistently incorporates a prologue encompassing preparatory arrangements, construction of the cremation tower, aggregation of ceremonial offerings, conceptualization of the festivity, and a concluding phase dedicated to tidying the cremation site and managing residual ashes. The interpretation of this ritual is characterized by its grandeur, theatricality, substantial cost, and expansive scope. Notably, it serves as the most assertive mechanism for reaffirming aristocratic status. Within the local community, the performance of this ritual is denoted as Karya Gde Ratu or the grand undertaking of the king. It encapsulates a form of religious dedication in which the acts of service and worship seamlessly conflate (Geertz, 2017: 198-199).

The practices of dominance exhibited by the elite of Puri Agung Ubud are also manifest within the domain of arts and traditions associated with cultural aspects. The instruments of power wielded by this elite group are intricately linked to historical influences, notably underscored by Tjokorda Gde Agung Sukawati's success in fostering Ubud as a nucleus of visual arts. This legacy has been perpetuated by subsequent generations who have significantly contributed to establishing Ubud as a center for performing arts. This pivotal role has endowed the elite with a cultural asset, exemplified by the Ancak Saji, a venue for dance performances, and the ownership of the cultural resource represented by the Museum Puri Lukisan Ubud (Putra, 2016: 161-162). Artworks acquire a distinct existence as symbolic entities within cultural practices when they are duly acknowledged and recognized – in essence, when they are socially institutionalized as artistic creations embraced by appreciators who validate them as such (Bourdieu, 2010: 15).

The power in the form of symbolic capital possessed is intrinsically connected to the support of caste factors. The caste system that is held serves as the foundation for legitimacy, showcasing a reinforcement of the identity of power (Geertz, 2017: 48). As a member of the Tri Wangsa group, the palace elite are positioned in elevated places (Linggih) and accorded respect beyond others (Dwipayana, 2004: 49-50). This arrangement is possible due to their status, which underpins the elements of power within their dominant practices, affording them influence to control aspects of religion, society, economy, and culture in shaping the community's belief system. In this vein, the underlying cause of the domination exercised by the dominating faction over the dominated faction discovers its origins in the socio-economic background of the elite. Over the course of societal evolution from historical epochs to the contemporary era, the stratification or hierarchical arrangement of societal segments has persistently existed, thus establishing a framework conducive to the dynamics of dominance and submission.

Symbolic capital signifies a form of honor and authority, serving as a potent form of legitimacy where there exists societal acceptance or acknowledgment of the practices being undertaken, concurrently binding the community (Haryanto, 2015: 9). The robust power held within the realms of religion, society, economy, and culture that the elite of Puri Agung Ubud advocate for establishes a nexus of legitimacy between symbolic capital, dominance-engendering practices, and the exertion of power. Hence, this study aims to critically analyze the utilization of symbolic capital as a practice of dominance by the elite of Puri Agung Ubud.

## 2. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework utilized in this study encompasses relevant theories that are deemed applicable to the research subject, aiming to achieve the intended objectives. This study is analyzed utilizing Pierre Bourdieu's theory of generative structures and James C. Scott's theory of patron-client relationships.

### 2.1. Theory of Generative Structures

Bourdieu introduces three novel perspectives for comprehending societies. Firstly, the application of the habitus concept is deemed successful in overcoming the issue of the individual-society dichotomy, agent-structural social framework, and freedom-determinism dichotomy. Secondly, Bourdieu attempts to unveil mechanisms and strategies of domination. Thirdly, Bourdieu elucidates the logic of practice among social actors within an inequitable and conflict-ridden social context. Bourdieu posits that the social realm is shaped by myriad autonomous fields (including religion, culture, politics, gender, art, not solely economics) that define models of dominance within society (Holilulloh, 2016: 99).

The correlation of this research with Bourdieu's theory of generative structures illustrates how the elite of Puri Agung Ubud act as agents shaping habitus through the capital they possess, encompassing social capital, cultural capital, and economic capital. This accumulation eventually culminates in the formation of symbolic capital strategically employed within specific domains, particularly in aspects of religion, society, culture, and economy. This deployment of symbolic capital becomes instrumental in their practices of dominance.

### 2.2. Theory of Knowledge Power:

According to Scott as cited in (Ansyari et al., 2019: 14), patron-client relationships entail interactions primarily characterized by instrumental exchanges between an individual of higher social and economic standing (the patron) and someone who holds a lower position (the client), whereby the patron employs their influence and resources. The objective of this relationship is to protect the less privileged individual (the

client), who, in turn, is expected to deliver support or personal services to the patron. The patron-client bond is built upon and centred around an unequal exchange between the two parties; hence, the capital provider assumes the role of the patron.

The correlation of the study with Scott's theory of patron-client relationships exhibits how the patron-client relationship exists between the elite of Puri Agung Ubud (as patrons) and the community of Ubud Traditional Village (as clients). It is due to the reciprocal interaction taking place within the realm of symbolic capital, serving as a practice of dominance by the elite.

### 3. Research Method

The study employed a critical social science approach to deliver a relatively fresh theoretical perspective in observing, comprehending, and analyzing social realities. This paramount social science perspective has made a substantial contribution to the advancement of the field of social sciences. Qualitative research is employed to describe and analyze phenomena, events, social activities, attitudes, beliefs, and thoughts of individuals or groups (Sugiyono, 2010: 102). The study employs two sources of data: primary data and secondary data. Primary data including observation and interview is obtained directly from informants regarding the research objective, while secondary data is collected through literature review, document analysis, and field studies. Analysis of the research data employed inductive analysis for its easier to describe. However, at this phase, the research outcomes can be determined by concluding symbolic capital as a practice of dominance by the elite of Puri Agung Ubud.

### 4. Result and Discussion

Concerning the utilization of symbolic capital as a mechanism of dominance by the elite within Puri Agung Ubud, three key factors give rise to the formation of an accumulation of capital manifesting as symbolic capital. This symbolic capital is subsequently harnessed to assert dominance across the domains of religion, societal dynamics, cultural practices, economic activities, and political engagements within the confines of Ubud Traditional Village. These factors are intricately tied to strategic endeavors aimed at sustaining and augmenting the authority of Puri Agung Ubud, the persistent pursuit of capital accumulation, and the demarcation of the elite from the general populace within Ubud Traditional Village.

#### 4.1. Strategies Employed to Sustain and Augment the Power of Puri Agung Ubud

According to the concept of Robert A. Dahl (as cited in Haryanto, 2017: 47-48), power refers to the ability to influence someone. It also entails the utilization of diverse resources (assets or capabilities) to elicit compliance from others. Fundamentally, power takes the form of a relationship as power-holders exert their control. Similarly, power is consistently tied to power sources, scope, and domains. Power sources are related to wealth, trust, status, resources, and influence. Power scope serves as an indicator of power, referring to activities, behaviors, attitudes, or decisions that become the objects of power (Budiardjo, 2008: 62).

The application of symbolic capital as a tool for dominance by the elite of Puri Agung Ubud exposes the implementation of strategies to uphold or expand the authority of Puri Agung Ubud. The insights derived from Bourdieu (as referenced in Takwin, 2005: 21-23) assist researchers in dissecting the mechanisms underpinning the strategic utilization of symbolic capital as a means of dominance by the elite of Puri Agung Ubud. The notion of strategy and concept entails a contest within positions across varying forms of capital within their respective domains. Two distinct strategies are employed: the strategy of reproduction and the strategy of exchange, both contributing to the preservation or acquisition of power.

#### a. Reproduction Strategy

The reproductive strategy employed by the elite of Puri Agung Ubud becomes evident through their utilization of a leadership approach. In alignment with the research outcomes of Subudi (2012: 196), it is apparent that the palace instigates a form of leadership known as Dana Sueca, characterized by a service-oriented leadership that provides material and immaterial resources selflessly to the community. The strategy aimed at reproducing power also encompasses the application of political communication tactics. This notion is substantiated by the study conducted by Suartawan and Panuju (2019: 75), wherein it is expounded that Puri Agung Ubud sustains the authenticity of its traditions by playing climactic roles and exercising influence within societal engagements. Through assuming leadership roles in social organizations, establishing artistic studios, occupying council positions, and assuming regional leadership responsibilities, the palace adopts strategies that effectively contribute to political communication, thereby safeguarding the enduring existence of the palace's traditions.

The reproductive strategies employed by the elite of Puri Agung Ubud within their undertaken practices are meticulously designed to preserve and enhance their authority. The investment of symbolic capital elucidates how the elite safeguard or amplify their status through legitimacy, thereby securing power. This is manifested through the networks they possess, their positions as leaders in religious ceremonies, contributions to the maintenance and construction of temples, support for customary and religious activities within the Ubud Traditional Village community, offering cattle in Ngaben ceremonies, involvement in the Pangempon Temple Gunung Lebah Camphuan, participation in Ngaben ceremonies at Puri Agung Ubud, crafting and performing sacred masks, ownership of assets such as Ancak Saji Puri Agung Ubud and Puri Lukisan Museum Ubud, cultural event control in Ubud, educational initiatives, roles within Puri Agung Ubud, economically valuable family assets, authority, and political positions.

The possessed legitimacies within their dominant practices shape a reproduction of power, where symbolic capital assumes a pivotal role by engendering a power reproduction within the elite. It is achieved through the formation of its legitimacy and the establishment of dominance. It underscores the presence of reproductive strategies that uphold or expand power through investments in symbolic capital. In their power reproduction, the elite of Puri Agung Ubud also perpetuates symbolic capital as a practice of dominance to their descendants, thereby continuing the legacy of authority. As elucidated by Wulansari and Hartono (2021: 186), this regeneration or inheritance process embodies a form of enculturation that can be interpreted as cultural assimilation. Regeneration is carried out to pass down the dominant practices from the elite to their descendants, encompassing religious, societal, cultural, and economic aspects.

During an interview, Tjokorda Gde Raka Sukawati, a notable figure from Puri Agung Ubud, highlighted that the essence of regeneration is to serve as a reminder to their progeny of the ancestral legacy of nurturing the community and preserving the spiritual core of Ubud across all dimensions. This heritage is transmitted to the elite as guardians, and subsequently, these practices are regenerated within their descendants to impart the profound values of their roles and duties as inheritors of the Puri. This sentiment was revealed in the subsequent interview.

*"...kedepannya kan apapun peran puri dalam agama, sosial, maupun budaya, dan ekonomi memang sudah harus dari saat ini sudah diwariskan peran tersebut diberikan kepada keturunan supaya nilai luhur yang dulu dibangun oleh leluhur puri masih terjaga dan masih bisa mengayomi masyarakatnya tentunya kan untuk yadnya semuanya..."* (Tjokorda Gde Raka Sukawati at Puri Camphuan, 21 April 2023).

In light of the aforementioned interview, the practice of regeneration emerges as a strategic facet within the reproduction landscape. The religious, societal, cultural, and economic facets within Ubud Traditional Village function as arenas for the elite of Puri Agung Ubud to construct authority and pursue coveted forms of capital.



The strategy of regeneration, functioning as an investment mechanism, emerges as a means to sustain their dominion. Consequently, the regeneration strategy is harnessed as a mechanism to cultivate symbolic capital, serving as a practice of dominance through subsequent generations. It engenders a continuum of the elite's power manifestation.



Fig. 1. The Involvement of Tjokorda Angghara Sukawati and Tjokorda Mandhara Putra Sukawati in the Sacred Mask Restoration Process at Puri Agung Ubud. (Source: tjokgderaka\_sukawati)

The figure above substantiates how the descendants of the elite are progressively shaping a practice intrinsically intertwined with habitus and supported by capital within the religious domain. The form of dedication displayed within this sphere bestows authority in the guise of reverence. Furthermore, the inheritance strategy illustrates how the elite pass down their possessed capital, including social, cultural, economic, and notably symbolic capital, deemed crucial in the power dynamics realm.

Additionally, the elite delivers formal and non-formal education, imparting skills and knowledge to their descendants within the community's religious, societal, cultural, and economic practices. It confirms that the offspring of the elite inherit the aptitudes necessary for the continued reproduction of power through the dominant elite practices. Moreover, the reproduction strategy is also evident in how the elite leverage social media, as a tool to exhibit diverse activities spanning religious, societal, cultural, economic, and political domains. These platforms, namely YouTube and Instagram, function as instruments to construct the elite's image, identity, and standing in the modern digital landscape.



Fig. 2. Instagram Account of Puri Agung Ubud & Tjokorda Gde Raka Sukawati, (Source: Doc. Wintara, 2023)



Fig. 3. YouTube Account of Puri Saren Agung Ubud & Tjokorda Gde Raka Sukawati, (Source: Doc. Wintara, 2023)

Instagram and Youtube accounts depicted above manifest the presence of practices encompassing religion, society, culture, economy, and politics. These platforms serve as conduits in the reproduction strategy, effectively showcasing that traditional symbols of power endure even in the modern era. The practices undertaken by the elite of Puri Agung Ubud are outcomes of their expertise and talents, which are then translated into natural-seeming capabilities that mature through their activities, ultimately forming a habitus. This habitus is fortified by capital, representing a focused potency, a distinctive force operative within a specific domain (Takwin, 2005: 16-17).

#### b. Exchange Strategy

The strategic maneuvers of the elite through their practices hinge upon the utilization of diverse forms of capital, including the exchange of social, cultural, economic, and symbolic capital, transformed into alternative capital forms. It serves the intent of preserving and expanding their authority. Following the thoughts of Bourdieu (1990: 230) and MacRae (2005: 408), the diverse forms of social power metaphorically represent modalities that continually transform and interchange with one another. This concept is closely tied to the notion of capital conversion or exchange, which is a strategy for symbolic capital creation. The conversion of social, cultural, and economic capital allows for the acquisition of specific authority, particularly within the context of the elite of Puri Agung Ubud.

According to MacRae and Putra (2016: 207), Puri Agung Ubud transforms economic capital into two distinct types of political capital. The first is couched within traditional terminology, while the second is framed in more contemporary political discourse. This conversion is facilitated by the unremitting cultural capital that serves as a bridge between the palace and the community. The conversion of social capital by the elite of Puri Agung Ubud into political capital is evident in the way their social networks indirectly function as a form of political capital.

Cultural capital is also subject to conversion into economic capital, revealing the role of cultural norms in shaping and perpetuating social status. This transformation becomes apparent in instances such as the Puri Agung Ubud, the Ngaben ceremony held there, Ancak Saji Puri Agung Ubud, Museum Puri Lukisan Ubud, and the management of cultural events, all of which are turned into economic assets, generating financial advantages for the elite of Puri Agung Ubud. This type of economic capital is intricately tied to the tourism realm, an arena marked by endeavors to gain economic value. MacRae (2014: 5), asserts that Puri Agung Ubud undertakes substantial financial capital investment, which subsequently yields significant symbolic capital. It is observed in their efforts to seemingly reconstruct cultural heritage within the local community while concurrently aiming to proliferate tourism attractions.

The ensuing exchange strategy is centered on the transformation of symbolic capital into a form of political capital. The symbolic capital owned by the elite in Puri Agung Ubud mirrors their status as descendants of Ubud's last King, reinforced by their held positions, prestige, authority, and influence encompassing religious, societal, cultural, and economic domains. It vividly describes how the elevated legitimacy of the elite can be

converted into political capital. The ingrained identity within the elite is reflected in their constructed understanding of the realities they confront. Consequently, the elite employs political marketing to shape a political image that sways the public's support.

Symbolic capital is closely intertwined with symbolic power as defined by Karnanta (2013: 12), referring to the power to transform and create reality, which is recognized, acknowledged, and deemed legitimate. Within the social reality existing in society, it appears to be a realm for the elite of Puri Agung Ubud to shape symbolic capital and power.



Fig. 4. Tjokorda Oka Artha Ardhana Sukawati with a dancer during the staging of "Calon Arang," displaying the "Salam Satu Jalur" (Source: Instagram tjokgderaka\_sukawati)

Figure 4 illustrates how the elite of Puri Agung Ubud strategically employ their symbolic capital, utilizing their status and legitimacy as performers of sacred mask dances, as a means to exchange for political capital and garner societal support, particularly within the religious domain. It is visibly demonstrated through their photographic presentation, embodying the "Salam Satu Jalur" gesture, emblematic of the political alliance between I Wayan Koster and Tjokorda Oka Artha Ardhana Sukawati (Koster-Ace), who held the first position in the 2018 Gubernatorial and Vice Gubernatorial election. It exemplifies how the symbolic capital strategic utilization by elite members functions as a practice of power domination, delineating a distinctive boundary between the palace and the general populace, inducing a false consciousness, and reinforcing the legitimacy of an established societal order.

#### 4.2. Capital Struggle

Bourdieu's perspective portrays society as an interconnected arena characterized by a struggle for power. This arena encompasses various domains, such as religious, social, cultural, economic, and political spheres. Within each, agents occupying established positions or creating new ones engage in a competitive struggle for control over specific interests or resources inherent to the respective arena (Bourdieu, 2010). The capital struggle by the elite of Puri Agung Ubud can be classified within arenas encompassing religious and customary practices, cultural and artistic activities, tourism, and political engagement.

##### a. The Capital Struggle within Domain of Religious and Customary Practices

According to Bourdieu (as cited in Verter, 2003: 153-155), the realm of religion constitutes a hierarchically structured arena aimed at gaining prestige and power. The religious domain requires the mastery of strategies to achieve expected goals. Authority within religious practices typically results from the ability to fulfill religious needs or cater to the lay audience. The control over material resources is a function of the affinity between power and religion.



The form of struggle by the elite of Puri Agung Ubud in the religious arena demonstrates the elite as agents owning habitus and the same resources as other social agents within Ubud customary village. The image and perception of the palace are crafted through subtler elements and religious values, extending to traditions such as contributing to temple renovations, participating in village activities, aiding religious ceremonies, and so forth (MacRae, 2005; Suwitha, 2015: 116).

An illustration of the pursuit of resources through the utilization of symbolic capital as a practice of power can be observed through the elite status of Puri Agung Ubud as the Pangempon of Gunung Lebah Camphuan temple. This case reveals the utilization of symbolic capital as a means of asserting dominance while striving for resources. By holding a position of authority, the elite can exert control over the power dynamics that influence the community members engaged in the temple ceremonies. This indirect influence enables the elite to accrue social capital through the establishment of networks and social relationships, consequently bolstering their symbolic capital.

The elite of Puri Agung Ubud also holds a significant position as the "Pangrajeg Karya" (chief of main rituals). As the Pangrajeg Karya Agung, they wield control over the execution of primary ceremonies and contribute essential resources such as knowledge, skills, offerings, or financial support as capital or investment to the divine (Wintara, 2020: 44). This dynamic operates within the realm of religious and customary practices, underscoring the pursuit of resources by the elite. Within this context, the elite stake their practice and resources, reflecting a struggle for social capital in acquiring social networks within the Ubud Traditional Village community. Moreover, this endeavor represents a quest for symbolic capital, aiming to enhance their social status.

The elite of Puri Agung Ubud demonstrates a significant possession of high economic capital, with their assets dominating the Ubud Traditional Village. As prevalent elites, they have the capacity to harness social capital to establish social networks and symbolic capital, thus reinforcing their elevated social status. A parallel perspective is offered by Suartawan and Panuju (2019: 77) that the Puri Agung Ubud family is recognized as an established Puri in Gianyar, particularly due to their ownership of rice fields and tourism-related assets.

#### b. The Capital Struggle within Domain of Cultural and Artistic Activities

The Ubud Traditional Village possesses a cultural uniqueness that is embodied in its art paintings, dance performances, and traditional architecture. It displays how the village's potential, rooted in cultural identity and artistic expression, evolves into a battleground for various stakeholders to contend for resources. Culture also becomes a space for political interests to clash among different groups, each vying for dominance and power, as highlighted by Putra (2008).

The ownership of the Puri Lukisan Ubud Museum, the Ancak Saji of Puri Agung Ubud, the Tedung Agung studio, cultural performances, and educational initiatives serve as instruments wielded by the elite of Puri Agung Ubud to execute a strategic dominance mechanism, particularly in the pursuit of resources. It underscores the inherent cultural and artistic potential of Ubud Traditional Village, where numerous entities possess museums, venues for cultural performances, studios, events, and more. Hence, the cultural and artistic domain becomes a battleground where these elites compete for resources, leveraging their economic assets to secure a dominant position in the contest for cultural and economic resources. Consequently, this contributes to their symbolic capital amplification, manifesting as an elevated elite status.

When culture and the arts are commodified within the tourism domain, which inherently intersects with economic aspects, it triggers a rivalry among agents possessing comparable cultural resources. In this competitive colosseum, the vanquisher emerges as individuals with substantial economic capabilities and an esteemed status, exemplified by the elites of Puri Agung Ubud. These elites possess a more robust economic

foundation compared to their counterparts, bolstered by their impressive educational background and fortified by their symbolic capital.

#### c. The Capital Struggle within Domain of Tourism

According to Sulandjari and Ardhana (2017), tourism in Ubud is embedded in culture, nature, and spirituality. The tourism model developed aligns with the area's inherent potential, which revolves around the uniqueness of its culture. The dominant local cultural artistry in Ubud coexists alongside modern amenities and infrastructure, such as contemporary markets, restaurants, homestays, villas, and the like. Nevertheless, within the context of village tourism in Ubud, there seems to be a manifestation of modal struggle by the elites of Puri Agung Ubud. This struggle is demonstrated in their utilization of the cultural-based tourism potential as an arena for the modal resources' pursuit.

The elite of Puri Agung Ubud exhibits their modal struggle through the transformation of assets into economic capital. It is evident in properties like the buildings within Puri Agung Ubud, Palebahan Ancak Saji, Puri Lukisan Ubud Museum, and their family's religious ceremonies. These transformed assets underscore the commercialization of culture within the tourism industry, converting them into commodities with economic significance. Notably, their focus on tourism-related assets is evident in land ownership, encompassing establishments like Hotel Tjamphuan, Pita Maha Resort, Puri Agung Ubud, Puri Lukisan Ubud Museum, Ancak Saji Puri Agung Ubud, Yayasan Bina Wisata, Sakti Garden Resort and Spa, The Lair Restaurant, Simply Social Restaurant, One World Retreats, and more. The strategic utilization of these economic assets within the tourism sector improves the elite's economic capital, thereby reinforcing their symbolic capital. This accumulated capital is wielded as a powerful tool for asserting dominance within the tourism realm of Ubud's traditional village.

#### d. The Capital Struggle within Domain of Politic

Elections serve as a platform for the mechanism of elite circulation, determining the occupants of political positions within the government. The political arena becomes a space that can facilitate the enhancement of symbolic capital among the elite of Puri Agung Ubud. As noted by Wintara (2020: 70), in the political domain, Tjokorda Oka Artha Ardhana Sukawati once faced a setback during the Gianyar Regent election, which was conducted through the Gianyar Regional House of Representatives. This setback caused disappointment within the Puri Agung Ubud family. Nevertheless, this failure indirectly led Tjokorda Oka Artha Ardhana Sukawati to expand his network connections for future endeavors.

As per MacRae and Putra (2008: 109 - 117), during the 2008 Gianyar Regency election for the position of Regent and Deputy Regent, the contest did not merely reflect competition among political parties. Instead, it was a contest between the Puri Agung Ubud and Puri Gianyar, two royal houses. The political contest arena in Gianyar in 2008 showcased a rivalry between two candidate pairs. Candidate number 1, Anak Agung Gede Bharata, partnered with Putu Yudha Thema and was supported by the PDIP party. They competed against the candidate pair Tjokorda Oka Artha Ardhana Sukawati and Dewa Made Sutanaya, who was backed by the Golkar party, Democratic Party, and other parties forming the Gianyar Bangkit coalition, which emerged victorious. Similar to 2018, when the elite of Puri Agung Ubud, Tjokorda Oka Artha Ardhana Sukawati, engaged in political contests at the provincial level, vying for the Deputy Governor seat for the 2018-2023 term alongside I Wayan Koster, who was running for the Governor position as number 1 candidate, supported by several prominent parties (CNNIndonesia.com, 2018).

In light of this phenomenon, Tjokorda Raka Kerthayasa also highlights that possessing substantial knowledge, a massive support base, and significant economic resources is highly efficient and enables an

individual to engage in political contests, particularly in striving for power control. This sentiment is echoed in the following interview.

*“...pengetahuan, massa, dan modal ekonomi yang cukup ada itu kan harus dimiliki ketika bertarung kepolitik dan ketika memiliki tiga aspek tersebut maka diberikan jalan untuk menuju kontestasi politik praktis tapi kan sekarang tergantung hasilnya seperti apa dan ya modal tersebut harus dimiliki seseorang untuk mencapai kuasa yang diinginkan...”* (Tjokorda Raka Kerthayasa at Puri Ibah, 22 April 2023).

Based on the interview, securing victory in political contests requires a combination of knowledge, a massive support base, and economic resources as a means to attain power. Throughout this endeavor, the significance of symbolic capital becomes evident, as it serves as a subtle yet powerful indicator of high status. Consequently, elites harness the political arena to enhance their symbolic capital, thereby exerting influence to augment their social, cultural, and economic capital. Hence, the struggle for capital by the elite of Puri Agung Ubud in the realms of religion and customary practices, cultural and artistic domains, tourism, and politics entails practices aimed at accumulating social, cultural, and economic capital, all of which converge within symbolic capital. The elite are highly active in structuring, constructing, and producing their positions, ultimately achieving their desired objective.

#### 4.3. Distinguishing Factors Between Elite of Puri Agung Ubud and the Ubud Traditional Village Community

Quoting from Bourdieu's perspective (as cited in Jatmiko and Abdullah, 2021: 106), the concept of differentiation refers to an action undertaken by individuals to distinguish themselves and showcase their social class within society. Differentiation is employed by the upper class to emphasize their distinctive status compared to other lower societal classes. The strategy of differentiation can be observed in the social lives of the elite community of Puri Agung Ubud, where they are respected and esteemed due to their status as descendants of the last king of Ubud, Tjokorda Gde Agung Ubud, whose contributions were crucial in the development of tourism in the Ubud Traditional Village.

In terms of religion, the differentiation between the elite and the general populace is also evident, as the Puri elite are still prioritized in roles such as Pangrajeg Karya (ritual leaders), Pamucuk Karya (ceremonial leaders), performers and creators of sacred masks, as well as key figures in the maintenance and construction of temples. Tjokorda Gde Raka Sukawati further highlighted that the position of Puri Agung Ubud is consistently prioritized within the realm of religion, where there exists an authority responsible for upholding the proper execution of rituals under established traditions. This sentiment is reflected in the following interview statement.

*“...puri ini kan memiliki peran yang utama dalam agama pangrajeg, pamucuk, pembuat topeng sakral dan masih banyak lagi itu kan tugas puri sebagai pengayom maka dari itu harus ada arahan supaya gimana pelaksanaan upacara berjalan baik dan benar dan sepatut mungkin kan kita harus bisa memfasilitasi memang puri selalu diutamakan ya dalam upacara agama karena tugas sebagai penuntun dan mengontrol upacara itu harus seperti apa dan ya tatanan agama kan harus terlaksana dengan benar”* (Tjokorda Gde Raka Sukawati at Puri Camphuan, 21 April 2023 ).

The statement by Tjokorda Gde Raka Sukawati closely resonates with the statement made by Tjokorda Gde Putra Sukawati in an interview. In this regard, the elite of Puri Agung Ubud is metaphorically placed at the pinnacle of a pyramid, signifying their elevated position where they bear the responsibility of guardianship. This concept is articulated in the following interview excerpt.

*“...Puri dengan masyarakat ini kan seperti piramid ya, puri ini diujung pertama ditaruh dan selaku itu bisa tidak kita mengayomi, memberi wawasan terhadap masyarakat kaitan dengan kehidupan sehari-hari...”* (Tjokorda Gde Putra Sukawati at Puri Agung Ubud, 23 April 2023).

Based on the interview, religion, and traditional customs serve as a domain for the elite of Puri Agung to establish and display their distinctiveness from the general community in Ubud Traditional Village. The authority and control exercised by the elite in every religious and customary activity represent a form of power derived from symbolic capital, creating distinctions. The prominent position they hold is illustrative of how the highest echelons of power are held by the elite.

The position as the Pangempon of Gunung Lebah temple also serves as a distinguishing factor between the elite and the general community. The elite exerts control and authority over the implementation of ceremonies at the temple, which naturally involves the community's participation in these rituals. This differentiation is carried out by the dominant class to underscore their unique status in contrast to the less privileged. Disparities are also evident in terms of cultural ownership, where the cultural assets owned by the elite of Puri Agung Ubud still outshine and dominate, including holdings such as the Museum Puri Lukisan Ubud, Ancak Saji of Puri Agung Ubud, and the Sanggar Tedung Agung, among others. Furthermore, the differentiation within a cultural context extends to religious practices, one of which is the Ngaben ritual, a death ceremony.

According to Geertz (2017: 21), the theater is used to dramatize the obsessions of the ruling class, as seen in the "Ngaben" ceremony in Puri Agung Ubud. It illustrates the existence of social inequality in the form of "varna" or "caste" distinctions and the pride associated with social status, evident through honorific titles bestowed upon the rulers. It highlights how the grand Ngaben ceremony serves as a strategy to reinforce distinctions, ensuring that the elite remains the dominant class. From the educational point of view, the elite also creates differentiation through their educational backgrounds and proficiency in foreign languages.

The spoken language also serves as a means to establish distinctions, where when communicating with figures from Puri Agung Ubud, the community communicates in a refined manner. This aligns with Subudi's perspective (2012: 194) that the community of the Ubud Traditional Village positions the Puri Agung Ubud family in high regard and with the utmost respect. Communication with Puri figures often involves using refined language and displaying courteous body language. The process of positioning oneself to attain differentiation is referred to as "distinction." In this context, symbolic domination entails utilizing symbols to create differences and exert influence without being perceived as oppressive. Instead, it is seen as a normal practice and gains approval from those being influenced.

The pattern of differentiation between the elite of Puri Agung Ubud and the community of the Ubud Traditional Village is also linked to analysis through the patron-client theory. Scott, as cited in Ansyari, Harsato, and Fitriyah (2019: 14), clarifies how the reciprocal relationship between the patron (elite) and the use of their authority and resources distinguishes them as the highest class. It results in clients (the community) delivering respect and providing personal services to the patron. The patron-client relationship between the elite and the community illustrates how symbolic capital as a practice of elite domination is highly respected and esteemed. Consequently, this bond between patrons and clients establishes a distinctive pattern that positions the elite as the dominant class through entrenched traditions.

## 5. Conclusion

The utilization of symbolic capital as a means of exerting dominance by the elite of Puri Agung Ubud can be attributed to three fundamental factors that contribute to the rationale behind employing symbolic capital in this manner. Firstly, it functions as a strategic tool for sustaining or expanding the power held by the elite of Puri Agung Ubud, achieved through the reproduction strategy and the capital exchange strategy. Secondly,

this practice aligns with the pursuit of accumulating capital, occurring across diverse domains such as religious and traditional customs, cultural and artistic spheres, tourism endeavors, and political involvements. Lastly, it signifies a strategy aimed at setting apart the elite from Ubud Traditional Village community. Across domains encompassing religion, society, culture, economy, and politics, the elite maintain their dominant position, while the community assumes a subordinate role, facilitated by the utilization of symbolic capital as a method of exercising control.

The novelty discovered findings and the prospects they reveal highlight three key aspects. Firstly, the accumulation of social, cultural, and economic capital among the elite of Puri Agung Ubud translates into symbolic capital, enhancing their status, prestige, authority, and legitimacy. A significant finding is the presence of "Taksu," a form of symbolic capital held by the elite, which imparts charisma, allure, charm, and magnetic attraction. Secondly, the strategies employed by the elite to sustain and expand their power encompass reproductive strategies such as inheritance, investment of symbolic capital, economic investment, as well as crafting an image and identity through social media platforms like Instagram and YouTube. The findings indicate the conversion of social capital into political capital, cultural capital into economic capital, and symbolic capital into political capital, among others. Additionally, the utilization of symbolic capital as a practice of domination serves as a tool to advocate for various forms of capital within different domains and functions as a strategy of differentiation between the elite of Puri Agung Ubud and the community of Ubud Traditional Village.

The findings also shed light on a third aspect revealing how these dynamics lead to social inequality and perpetuate patterns of patron-client relationships. Furthermore, the culture and arts of the community have become a political domain. The elite also gains added value from their practice of domination in the realm of cultural tourism, particularly in augmenting their economic capital and, consequently, enhancing their symbolic capital. Lastly, in the political sphere, their actions result in political contestations, evidenced by their victories in the Gianyar Regent Election of 2008 and the Bali Governor Election of 2018.

The theoretical framework applied to the research allows the researcher to adopt a critical perspective in unraveling the usage of symbolic capital as a practice of domination by the elite of Puri Agung Ubud. Bourdieu's theory of generative structures helps to uncover the domination strategies, including reproduction and conversion strategies that the elite employs to maintain or acquire power. It sheds light on factors related to the pursuit of capital, differentiation strategies, and their impact on social, cultural, economic, and political aspects. Additionally, the utilization of Scott's patron-client theory illustrates the ongoing relationship between the elite and the Ubud Traditional Village community, resembling the relationship between rulers and their subjects. This framework highlights the continued dominance of the elite and the subordinate position of the community. Ultimately, through these theoretical frameworks, the study can effectively address and illuminate the issues at hand, offering a critical analysis of the studied phenomenon.

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