RESISTANCE OF HINDU TRADITIONALISTS AGAINST SAMPRADAYA HARE KRISHNA IN BALI

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ABSTRACT

This research was conducted to understand the tension between two internal Hindu religious groups in Bali since 1984. The tension shows resistance of Balinese traditional Hindus to the Sampradaya or the spiritualist group of the Hare Krishna consciousness movement. The feud started from a hate speech on social media from both sides that leads to physical persecution. The research was conducted using a case study method, with interviews and observations at the scene and religious practices. This study found out that the conflict was rooted in different religious understandings between the Hare Krishna Gaudy Vaisnava theology and Balinese Hindu Traditional, as well as differences in acceptance of Balinese religious traditions. The contestation of the two parties escalated the feud on social media, then heated up to the closing of Hare Krishna's religious activities. The accumulation of tension was also triggered by religious activities and the appearance of Hare Krishna followers was considered to be in contrast to the Balinese traditional community, and the rite system was considered not to reflect Balinese customs. The research concludes that the institutional interaction between the two parties is deadlocked, although so far there is still a safety valve, namely Nyama Baraya, but the potential for conflict still arises. Similarity of ethnic background; dialogue intentions do not find common ground, the reintegration process is threatened with failure. A solution through dialogue is still the best step compared to resolving power or law enforcement, therefore efforts to bring the two parties together in dialogue must continue.

Keywords: *Hare Krishna, Hindu Traditionalist, Sampradaya, Bali*

INTRODUCTION

Internal friction in religious life is often unavoidable. This dynamic is experienced by all religions, both institutionally and subjectively partially in social life. Hindus in Indonesia are known to be relatively more tolerant in terms of religious perspectives, but this *Tirta* religion (term before becoming a Hindu Dharma) also experiences friction between groups in it because of unavoidable differences. Various factors can trigger internal conflicts, ranging from political interests, socio-economic backgrounds, perspectives on culture, or shifts in other resources (human and natural resources), while the root of the problem is often at the most basic layer, for example theological, but in certain contexts it needs to be studied systematically.

Hinduism, which is known in Indonesia today, is associated with Balinese Hinduism (Hindu Dharma), becoming a large current that has developed traditionally and has been institutionalized to the level of government. The Hindu religious structure itself in its development experienced an Abrahamic faith bias, the

reconciliation of polytheism with monotheism (Rudiansyah 1987: 89), since the beginning of the establishment of the modern state of Indonesia to gain recognition as a religious system (religion).

Hindu divinity itself in many opinions is considered an open theology. In other words, it accepts all ways and how humans believe in and come to the god worshiped. This open theological conception is also known as *ista devata* which means the God who is desired to be present at the time of worship. Ista Dewata is the manifestation of God in various forms such as Brahma, Vishnu, Isvara, Sarasvati, Gana. Furthermore, *ista devata* which means any way that humans do to understand God and worship him can be said to be Hindu, including the theological concept that places several God figures as worshipers (God personas) in various ways. In certain concepts such as glorifying Vishnu or Narayanan, worshiping Krishna (as an avatar of God/as God himself), this group of worshipers is usually called Vaishnava. For Vaishnavas, the figure of Vishnu is the most important as he is the god who maintains the earth and the universe after being created by Brahma, the creator. However, in the understanding of Tri Murti adherents the three deities are considered equal.

Apart from Vaishnavas, in Nusantara, Shiva worshipers are the most numerous, while Brahma worshipers are currently rare (Mantra 2010), different from Vaishnavas and Shivaism which have traditionally continued to this day. It is difficult to find devotees of Brahma as a separate sect within Hinduism in Indonesia, although in the past the Brahmanists, were recognized as living tradition especially during the era of the Tarumanegara (358-669 AD) (Mantra 2010). The most important and most adherent deity in Indonesia is the worshiper of Shiva, as the main person of God, whose activity is not only a figure

of dissolution, restoration, and destruction of the universe, but also as the center of the spirituality of nine gods, worshipers of Lord Shiva are called Saiva (sivaism) (Mantra 2010).

In the Balinese context, Hinduism has evolved into Tri Murti (three persons as manifestations of God), also known as Hindu Dharma, although in certain groups Vaishnavas and Saivas have their own concept of exalted God. According to Halbfass, although the Saiva and Vaishnava schools can be viewed as independent religious sects, there is a degree of interaction and mutual reference between theorists and poets from each tradition which indicates a broader sense of identity. A sense of coherence in the same context, as well as inclusion in the framework and outline (beliefs) in general (Halbfass 1991). In ancient times, Hinduism was classified into several categories called the "six darsanas". Until now there are only two of the six whose popularity still survives, namely Vedanta and Yoga (McDaniel 2007). Throughout history since the beginning of Hinduism in the Nusantara, many of these sects have developed dynamically, were institutionalized in the Majapahit era as Shiva and Sogata, then syncretic with Buddha (Shiva Sidhanta). Along with the fall of Majapahit, Hindus migrated from Java to Bali due to Islamization, until they were united in the Tri Murti by Mpu Kuturan (Mashad 2014).

Saṃpradaya is also a Vedanta tradition, a learning system with a college model. The *saṃpradāyas* are recorded as spiritual tradition lineages, is concerned with the succession of teachers to disciples, which form the lineage of the disciple succession transmitted through spiritual initiation. This means that there is a "sacred inauguration" commonly known as *diksa* and each *saṃpradāya* has its specific *diksa* ritual. The *saṃpradāya* has the living teachers

who are heirs to this previous teacher who is called the *guru saṃpradāya* who initiates his new followers.

The term sampradaya is not new in Hindu tradition, sampradaya has been known in the Nusantara for a long time as a system of learning Vedanta and *aguron-guron*, the term pasraman (*asram*) is also believed to be part of the legacy of the past. Recently, during 2020-2021, encounters between spiritualist and traditionalist groups initially developed well, but are now volatile. Number of events marked by the emergence of rejection reactions in several places at the end of 2019. This continued until mid-2020 and then occurred again in 2021. The friction between traditional groups supported by the Indigenous Village Council (Majelis Desa Adat Bali), along with dozens of groups expressing their rejection of the presence and activities of sampradaya, especially Hare Krishna in Bali. Various banners and billboards bearing hate speech were distributed in several locations of Balinese indigenous villages (*desa adat*), clearly stating their rejection of the teachings of Hare Krishna for various reasons, mainly because of the Hare Krishna belief which is considered to be outside the Balinese Hindu standard. Protests in the real world are also transformed through social medias. Several Facebook pages on behalf of individuals and traditional Hindu groups expressly reject the presence of Hare Krishna.

The relationship between the two groups in the past, which was expected to end in an elegant way because of the compromising image of Hindus, is currently experiencing serious upheaval. Rejection in verbal and symbolic forms has the potential to be transmitted physically if a conflict management system is not implemented properly. In this research opportunity, it is consideration necessary to collect data and deepen the problem of the rejection of Sampradaya. Particularly, Hare Krishna, which can later be formulated in a good resolution recommendation.

The existence of *sampradaya* within Indonesian Hinduism has been accommodated by PHDI (Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia), as a group that develops knowledge and spirituality. *Sampradaya* can simply be understood as a religious group that tends to develop spirituality, knowledge, and practice of yoga. Whereas in the Vedic tradition, the term *guru-sisysa* relationship is known which is traced to param-para, which takes place continuously, strung together in the line of spiritual education. However, why in the last few years the existence of sampradaya began to have serious contact with traditional groups, namely the majority of Hindu Dharma adherents especially in Bali Province? In fact, based on old events, the existence of sampradaya, especially Hare Krishna, had a bad relationship with traditional Balinese Hinduism, known as Hindu Dharma, as well as Sai Baba had also been denied his existence in 1994 by Balinese Hindus through government officials and PHDI Bali (Ali 1999).

Hare Krishna, since it was founded in New York in 1966, then entered Indonesia, but in 1984, there was a ban on the distribution of books and printed materials containing the teachings of Hare Krishna through the Attorney General Republic of Indonesia's decision number 107 of 1984. Even so, his teachings continued until the reformation period arrived, developed by several communities, institutionalized later and officially protected by the Parisada Hindu Darma Indonesia. For decades, especially during the reformation era, the existence of Hare Krisna and relations with traditional Hinduism have been coexistent, coevolutive, both developing even though they are not actively cooperating. This research was conducted with the following

formulation: "How is the rejection of traditional Balinese Hindu groups, carried out on the existence of the *Sampradaya* Hare Krishna group in Bali?". The main research questions concern how many things, based on the Case Study research approach: 1) What is the process of rejecting Hare Krishna by traditional Hindu groups and who are the actors involved?, 2) What are the challenges in efforts to maintain internal harmony among religious people in Indonesia, especially Bali? The aims of this study are to: deepen knowledge about the conflict and potential tensions between the Hare Krishna *sampradaya* and traditional Balinese Hinduism; Explore the problem from the various perspectives involved; Formulate conflict maps and solutions on a time scale based on existing good practices as an effort to handle conflicts.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Hinduism in the early days of its teachings was known as *Sanathana Dharma*, which means "truth that is eternal" (righteousness forever) from "which has no beginning and no end". Another version of the term Hindu became known since the Persians came to invade India in the 6th century BC, they named the local religious teachings as Hindu. Persian version of the theory also says that Hinduism comes from the root word "Indus" which refers back to the the river Indus, located in the Sindhu civilization, that also can be called "river of the people". Under the name *Sanathana Dharma*, Hinduism reveals itself to the world that eternal truth will exist forever, and it was the Rishis who first opened the tap (Knott 1998: 5).

The concept of divinity in Hinduism is also not uniform. Some schools refer to the monotheistic system, namely that which glorifies the single person of Vishnu, Krishna, or Shiva. While other schools are monism, which views that the gods are various manifestations of the Almighty (Hyang Widhi Wasa). Some of the Hindu sects are pantheistic, as mentioned in the Bhagavad Gita—which believes that God permeates the entire universe, but the universe is not God. Some Hindu philosophies postulate a theistic ontology (divine theorem) about the creation and dissolution of the universe, although some Hindus view Hinduism as just a philosophy, not a religion (Ulum, et.al 2017). In addition to the above, Hinduism does not recognize a single system of seeking "salvation" (salvation), but contains a number of paths and various forms of religious traditions (Rahardjo, et.al 2004: 2). Hindus who tend to be traditionalists rely on rituals as an important way to achieve salvation, but various views on rituals and other ways to reach God (moksha) can also coexist. Hinduism is also characterized by the belief in reincarnation or rebirth, and samsara, or the cycle of birth-death determined by the law of karma, then the idea of "salvation" is the state when the individual has completed the cycle that continues to revolve (Wardhana 2007). Based on the things mentioned above, Hinduism is seen as the most complex religion of all religions that still survive today.

Traditional Hinduism (Balinese) is united into a worship unit called the Tri Murti, after previously consisting of nine sects and competing for influence. The arrival of Mpu Kuturan changed the separate religious system into one Hindu unit which is unitary in nature, with three main deities: Brahma-Vishnu-Shiva. As long as there are records of Hinduism in Indonesia, apart from these nine sects, there are also independent sects, many variations of beliefs that emerged and established in Java and Bali (Mashad 2014).

The concept of divinity that is built in the Tri Murti is also interesting as the followers

of Shivaism in Java Island live and associate together with Buddha, so that they are then combined as Shiva-Buddha (Shiva Sidhanta). The three sects in the Tri Murti have three panditas consisting of Pedanda Shiva and Pedanda Buddha, Pandita Rsi can be attached to Vaishnavas, then Pandita Mpu are priests in the Shiva sect who come from the clan (*soroh*). Three priestly characters can lead religious ceremonies across borders, there is no dichotomy of sects and groups. In the event when the religious ceremony of Pedanda Shiva merges with Pedanda Buddha, becoming Shiva-Buddha, it has become a tradition that both of them must jointly complete the ceremony (*muput*) with their respective duties. The task that can be explained by each is that Pedanda Shiva oversees presenting God, while the task of preparing a place for God (*pelinggih*) is carried out by Pedanda Buddha. The concept of the primacy of worship remains in the Tri Murti. For Shiva followers, that Lord Shiva is the most important, occupying the highest place because of the last duty after the maintenance of nature by Vishnu, and creation by Brahma. Shiva is the return of all forms, the return of existence to its origin, melting the obsolete universe. Restore the human form into its five constituent elements, solid, liquid, heat, energy, and space, as well as other forms that are obsolete will be melted down again. Shiva itself means the one who gives good luck (*rahayuan*), who is kind, friendly, forgiving, fun, gives a lot of hope, gives happiness, and is also calm (Titib 2003: 239). For followers of Vaishnama, Lord Vishnu is the most important because by glorifying the preserver of the earth and the universe who will make the perfection of human devotional service, thus enabling the attainment of *moksha*, there is no need for reincarnation. The concept of *moksha* is linear with the majesty of Vishnu as the preserver

and important, because from Sri Vishnu the descent of the avatar of God Almighty to the world through the person of Sri Krishna.

Shiva-Buddhist syncretism in Siva Siddhant is a compromise on history since the Majapahit era over the two mainstreams Shiva and Sogata, so that it was institutionalized in two pandits at that time, namely Dang Acarya Kasiwan and Dang Acarya Kasogatan (Kardika 2019). After the collapse of Majapahit (1478), the two existences of Siva Sidanta's priesthood were brought to Bali, along with the emergence of the Pendanda Buddha Keling in Bali who was thought to have come from the Kediri or Kalingga area, following the wave of Shiva followers moving to Bali (the forerunner of the Hindu Dharma religion). The term Buddha itself is of various kinds, one of which is understood in Shiva Siddhanta is melting, so that Buddha oversees dissolving all negative things into stability, although in fact it cannot be separated from the teachings and values developed by Siddhartha Gautama, as the ninth avatar of God in the Hindu tradition.

Hare Krishna refers to a spiritual movement that has a theological foundation of Vaishnava Hinduism whose origins end in a holy figure in the 16th century, named Shri Krishna Chaitanya Mahaprabu (Dein and Barlow 2007). Hare Krishna literally means "victory for Krishna". This group claims the original reference to the holy book called Bhagavad-Gita. This movement first emerged in the United States in 1966 with the founding of the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) organization by AC. Bhaktivedanta Svami Prabhupad (ISKCON, 2016). The movement, which was officially established in Indonesia in 1979, existed in Indonesia long before this movement was officially established. This movement grew after the 1973 AC. Bhaktivedanta Svami Prabhupad

came to Indonesia to meet his followers (Interview with Prema, 25 April 2021).

Many studies on the hare Krishna consciousness movement have been carried out in Indonesia, including researchers at the Research and Development Agency and Training and Education Ministry of Religious Affair. Ahsanul Khalikin conducted a descriptive study of the presence of Hare Krishna followers in Tulang Bawang, Lampung. Ahsanul Khalikin explores the background aspects of the group's presence in Gita Nagari Hamlet, which is mostly inhabited by Hindu Dharma adherents, how extensive its influence is internally to Hinduism, and how its network is. Ahsanul Khalikin's research reveals several aspects about the persistence of Hare Krishna adherents who are centered in ashrams in introducing Krishna consciousness to Hindus, as well as the wider community, although its massive impact has not been described. The research describes the situation of the activities, teachings and activities of the followers of Hare Krishna, how spiritual practice as a strengthening of spirituality is the most important thing of the movement (Khalikin 2011: 195–226).

Ubaidillah and Suhanah (2017: 31) have mentioned that the position of Tri Murti in Hindu Dharma belief as the three most important personas of God, in Hare Krishna's understanding is a deity who is ordered to regulate the universe based on their respective duties and functions. The model of Divine consciousness in the ISKCON's belief, firstly is Baghavan, the God who manifests or has form in the form of Krishna. Second, Paramatna, the aspect of God that exists within the creature. The three Brahmans, God is intangible, but a ray called Brahmajoti or the aspect of Lord Krishna in the form of light, Sang Hyang Widi Wasa belongs to the level of God called Brahman. Ethically and morally, the core teachings of Hare Krishna consist of four principles that should not be violated by followers: 1) abstaining from meat, fish, and eggs, as a form of the principle of respecting life; 2) avoid drinking alcohol 3) not gambling; 4) not involve or participate in adultery practices. Apart from these four principles, Hare Krishna's teachings highly uphold the four pillars of faith: compassion; honesty; chastity; and austerities/self-control.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research was conducted utilizing the case study method, with a qualitative (quasi qualitative) paradigm. Case study research is centered on events, times, actors. Data collection techniques were carried out through document analysis; deep interview (Klem 2007). While the tools for data collection are recordings via mobile phones and interview notes.

The in-depth interview technique in this study was conducted to several informants who were categorized based on two information flows from opposing parties, then the other categories of informants were those who were relevant to the conflict. Relevance that means, is a direct link through policy or authority, as well as a subject that can describe the problem more deeply. The key informants in the research are those who are directly related to the event, either as a subject involved in the incident or as a person who explains the main affairs of aspects of religious teachings that cause friction and other aspects so that actions occur. In this case, the key figures are high-ranking officials from Hare Krishna (ISCKON; ISCKON Indonesia Foundation), key informants from officials from the Indigenous Village Council, Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia in Bali Province, as well as officials from the Bali Province Ministry of Religion. Other informants were obtained by category and

appointment as bonding and bridging, Balinese cultural experts and academics were interviewed to obtain a comprehensive picture of the case.

Furthermore, data collection technique is a study of information in the media, both mass media and social media, document analysis is also carried out on written materials provided by Hare Krishna officials, as well as written materials provided by other informants relevant to the research topic. The tools used to collect data are interview guide, observation guide, photo documentation and document analysis. Triangulation method can be done by researchers by comparing the data from several studies, interview transcripts and documentation.

Data Analysis in this study was carried out by the researcher using interactive data analysis techniques (Miles and Huberman 2014). This technique goes through three stages of important activities that must be carried out by researchers, namely presentation, reduction and drawing conclusions. Data validation was carried out through triangulation techniques on methods and sources. Then, triangulation of sources can be done by comparing the interview data from one informant to another.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Basic Elements of Tension: Roots of Conflict and Process

Modern Balinese society was formed since the arrival of Majapahit forces which changed, influencing the cultural structure of Bali. Majapahit is a kingdom that is estimated to have lived in the 13th century until 15th century, based in Trowulan, between Jombang and Mojokerto in the modern era, its power extends across the archipelago (Nusantara), its position is quite strong in central Java, East Java, and Bali. The existence of Balinese people is now related to Majapahit in the past, even the formation of Balinese society into social classes has been formed since the arrival of Majapahit who made power agreements with Balinese kings, also mobilized clergy and knights (Interview with Ida Pandita Mpu Acarya, 23 December 2020).

Previously, Bali did not recognize caste, relations between social layers only occurred between the king and his people, while the other two social classes had the role of the arrival of the Majapahit envoy, besides inaugurating a new king, also legitimizing the clergy class as their own dynasty. After the upper class was formed, consisting of the Kshatriya clan, the kings, and nobles, then the Brahmins were representatives of the clergy, then the top Balinese clan officials became the Sudras as the third class, all the time until now a separate class was formed called Soroh.

The caste system is entirely derived from heredity, no longer refers to social functions. For example, Brahmins are people who work in the spiritual field, the Kshatriya caste works as a government and military bureaucracy, Vis (*waisya*) entrepreneurs and traders, or Sudras who do work helping the *triwangsa,* or farmers. Currently, distinguishing between castes is quite difficult, most easily by identifying it by name or title. for example, people with the first names Ida Bagus, Ida Ayu, or Dayu come from a Brahmin family, while people with the first names Dewa, Anak Agung, Dewi, or Desak are recognized in some places as coming from a kshatriya family (interview with Ida Bagus Rimbawan, Jembrana cultural practitioner, 3 June 2021).

The Vis (waisya) are closer to the upper *wangsa*, people with the first names Gusti, Gusti Ayu, Dewa, Desak can also be considered as belonging to that caste (interview with I Ketut Sumiarta, 4 June 2021). The Sudras are better

understood as ordinary people with names without certain titles in front of them, for example Luh for girls. There are characteristics besides soroh, there are also three groups, namely Wong Majapahit, Bali Aga, and Pasek. Several other clans that are considered to have influence are Pande and Arya, caste in Bali is not strictly divided like in India, where socio-economic life is influenced by class structure, so the recruitment and salary system is also caste-based, even in the modern era. The three groups based on these origins, Wong Majapahit are those who have a genetic line with high-ranking currents, representatives of Majapahit both as kings and priests who spread in several places in Bali, even having direct or indirect influence on eight kingdoms in Bali (Interview with Arya, followers of Hare Krishna on 22 December 2020). In terms of building a balance between the three groups, the term *purusa* or the axis between Wong Majapahit and Bali Aga, the middle group, namely Pasek, Pande and Arya become the balancing axis/soroh in Bali.

According to Ida Pandita Mpu Acarya during interview on 23 December 2020, the arrival of Majapahit had a significant influence on unity in Bali, besides that it also left latent conflicts, because the structure of feudal society was preserved until the modern era.

Construction of Varna and Caste in Balinese Society

The caste formation in Bali may not be the same as in India, but the terms attached to the social structure tend to be the same, especially in terms of levels, functions, and social layers. According to Indian Social System (Ahuja 2015). The term caste does not exist in Hinduism, it is only known as varna, which indicates the classification of skills and functions of society in three fields, spirituality-government-business,

so it is classified as Brahmin-Kstarian-Vis (Ahuja 2015), then the fourth *varna* is Sudra which serves to help the three *varnas*. When was the caste formed? according to Ram Ahuja entirely because of hereditary inheritance due to endogamous marriage, the Brahmins marrying their own clan, as well as the other two dynasties. Caste itself refers to the term division of society in the top-down social structure and hierarchy, initially the division in Varna which was attributed to expertise and areas controlled by community groups or professions, but when their children were born, they were tied to the color of their parents.

The explanation of the caste structure on social functions in Balinese society is as follows (Putra 2021): 1) Brahmin, is a caste or social group that functions and devotes itself to the field of spiritual and religious affairs, this position in the structure of Balinese society is called Sulinggih, Pandita or clergy in modern terms; 2) Kshatriya, (Knights), as is generally known, the second caste is a group or group that devotes itself to the field of government, as kings, soldiers and servants of the state or kingdom. In addition to a high-class position, this group previously did not have personal assets, but had the authority to manage state assets, including inherent privileges in terms of services to positions and public services; 3) Waisya, (Vis), a group that personally and family have independence, both economically because they have personal assets and the freedom to invest and develop the empowerment of themselves and others. This group in terms of profession is often attached to traders, farmers and fishermen, as well as those who are not bound to full social submission; 4) Sudra, according to Indian Social System on Ram Ahuja's theory (Ahuja 2015), initially the Sudra caste did not exist until the position was given to the group of people who worked as servants in

the three Varna above. The Sudras are attached to the class who give allegiance and are given a proper life by the three varna classes, Brahmins, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas.

The polemics about the term of caste and varna often occur in Bali until now, not only a matter of perspective on social stratification but are used to identify between the original Balinese and the Balinese who came at a later time. Ida Pandita Mpu Acarya, believes that the caste system has existed since Majapahit time as there was practice of placing people in a high position, thus social class was formed (interview 23 December 2020). It also not only complicates the scope of feudalism and egalitarianism but also has an impact on social life to this day to explore cultural stability. In the Vedas (in this case the Bhagawad Gita) only the term color is known (interview with Hari Harsananda Interview, 22 December 2020) quoting, in Bagawad Gita XVIII.14 it is stated:

> *"O Arjuna, duties are divided according to the nature and disposition of birth as are Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras."*

Soroh or Big Clan in Bali

In Balinese society, apart from social class, which is understood in the caste system, it is also known as *soroh*. Balinese society groups based on male lineage called clans. These groupings are related to the ancestors who formed each group who had an important role in the history of the development of Balinese society in the past. Each soroh believes that he is descended from the same ancestor and has a temple called Pura Kawitan (Mahardika, Junitha, and Narayani 2013).

The terms *soroh*, *menak* (castle clan) and *jaba (outside clan castle)* have existed for a long time in Bali and have accepted as a permanent and inherited condition of life. The existence of s*oroh* itself is part of the dilemma in understanding the structure of Balinese society. According to Made Kembar Kerepun, unraveled the history of caste starting in 1343 between *menak* and *jaba* forging an unequal relationship. One party function as the holder of the life authority against the other party who is weakened. There are the following six provisions: 1) forbidden to imitate the King in various ways; 2) forbidden to study and imitate the Priest in the ritual processing and giving holy water (*tirta pangentas*) even though he is already a priest; 3) the Sudras must continue to remain under the Triwangsa in various aspects of life in society; 4) forbidden to study the teachings of religion with the threat of going crazy; 5) King is equated with *bhatara* who must obey all his wishes; 6) Fear of fabricating "God's orders". It is said by scholars that if God's commandments are violated it will result in a great disaster. Even though it was just a trick. The names of several gods are used to terrorize the minds of the people so that the people will always be afraid of disasters, epidemics, famine and others (Kerepun 2007: 1).

For example, Ida Pandita Mpu Acarya, is *a sulinggih* (noble person or who has been purified) with the background of *soroh* Pasek who is finally able to break through the barriers between castes/interwangsa. He is an ordinary person who married the daughter of the Puri family. It is known as *nyerod* marriage. Although initially faced with many obstacles, Ida Pandita later managed to normalize relations with his wife's family again. In fact, as Sulinggih, he was trusted to graduate, inaugurated his brother-in-law as king at Puri (interview, 23 December 2020).

Contemporary Culture

Bali is known to have a variety of tradition; its culture is very dense in social life which is inherent as part of its aesthetic and ethical identity. All matters in the social life of the Balinese people

have an ethical and aesthetic dimension. This cultural wealth arises because all matters in the social life of the Balinese people have an ethical and aesthetic dimension. Culture is actually not a static. It adapts to changes over the time due to the use of technology or the flow of values that involved negotiations. Balinese culture is faced with an increasing flow of commodification and investment. It seems that culture is being treated even though it is also used as tourism capital (interview with Hari Harsananda, 22 December 2020, and April 2021).

Culture and tradition in Hari's view, when compared to the dynamics closer to conservation, there is a care and maintenance effort. Balinese culture is in an era of commercialization where conservation must compromise with tourism which commodifies culture as a tool to attract as many tourists as possible. However, tourism is an exploitative and explorative investment. Tradition becomes an object for reformulation, polishing and resale, at first glance mutually beneficial until then the process encourages Balinese people to accept the flow of cultural tourism as an industry.

Modernization and globalization have become real for the Balinese people. The pressure of free markets mechanism through material flows has made Balinese more pragmatic in the shift in resource ownership. Modern society can be created as a result of science that continues to develop. Cosmopolitanism is created in such a way through various media, from television to social media, while the material flow is electronic goods and other industrial products. The material flow of market ideology is the producer-consumer element, as well as the law of supply and demand, present in its strongest form of industry and industrialization. Tourism and its industrial development are so fast and big that it enters Bali, massively shifting the agrarian society that gave birth to so many cultures and

traditions, into the structure and institutions of the Industrial community (interview with Alit, 22 November 2020). The process of transition and industrial establishment that negotiates with tradition creates many dilemmas that might create "victims" in the process. Several cases took place to young Balinese who were educated and had the opportunity to occupy strategic positions in companies, but they were eventually forced to return home becoming Bendesa to take care of the indigenous village (*desa adat*) (interview with Ida Pandita Mpu Acarya, 23 December 2020).

The achievements of community development, with the emergence of cases that are experienced by young Balinese, where those who are educated could succeed but are drawn back to the village, become a dilemma. pursue careers to the highest extent they can, but still have to deal with the obligation to care for traditional heritage. This condition makes it difficult for those who are passionate about making changes, how do we create reliable and modern humans, fulfill the needs as a society that competes with modernity, but also must heed the steady movement of tradition and custom. Where should the choice be placed or is there still a chance for the integration and adjustment process in the future. Ideally from both cultures, between the modern and the classic side by side, it shows the identity of the actual Balinese people.

Adat (Customs)

Balinese society has a customary structure which is known in various forms, institutionally and norms that are maintained until today. One of the customary structures institutionally known as *desa adat*, where the term *adat* attached to the word *desa* has changed several times. The discourse on the terms *adat* and krama also had debates among Balinese scholars, as it is known that the word *adat* was adopted from Arabic into Indonesian, Balinese has another word for

the term *adat* and similarities in understanding its meaning, namely *krama*, although there are also those who consider "krama" to have a deeper and more local meaning (interview with I Gusti Made Ngurah, 29 May 2021). Recently, the term *dresta* has become popular, its meaning is simply equated with tradition, but in the context of the feud with Hare Krishna, it is extended to the Balinese cultural and religious system.

Balinese customs were born from the life of an agrarian society which later matured by a belief system of *tattwa* (philosophy), *susila* (ethic), and *upacara* (ritual). The strengthening of *adat* is based on aspects of religious rituals that thicken into a community habit, organized by its members from the smallest individual structures, households, to the village level. The involvement of individuals in *adat* in modern times has become a hot topic and has caused many impacts to lose potential resources, because the rise of customary events and individual obligations have missed many opportunities for material progress. Strong traditional ties to community members are maintained as part of efforts to maintain the uniqueness of Bali. It is not easy to shift one's position from an agrarian culture to an industrial world, such social dilemmas are becoming more common in Bali. The process of transforming resources from agrarian to urban goes well. Education could turn a farmer's child into a reliable hotel manager or tourism service operator. But the reality that must be accepted also exist. If the community of origin asks the person to return to being active in traditional activities. *Adat* itself has two aspects, material and non-material, the wealth of which is important in the Balinese cultural order (Interview with I Wayan Westa, Balinese cultural expert, 29 April 2021). The non-material aspects of adat are norms attached to society, both structured into institutions and values that are used as guidelines for life. Material elements are what is currently managed by the head of indigenous village (Bendesa) as communal property, also called *wewidangan* (Balinese customs property), including temples, as well as other material objects in the form of places and tools that support customs (interview I Wayan Westa, 29 April 2021). All assets owned by adat are now increasingly structured institutionally, which are produced by the provincial government of Bali (governor) through a set of regulations on customary villages into the hierarchy of the Bendesa Agung, Bendesa Madya and Bendesa Alit.

Driving Force

The Ajeg Bali Movement and Its Impact on Strengthening Cultural Identity

The term *ajeg Bali* emerged after the Bali bombings on October 12th, 2002. The word refers to the word *ajeg* which means upright, fixed, regular and unchanging (Wijaya 2012). The Bali steady movement is intended as an effort to empower the Balinese people, in various aspects, culture, economy, politics, and others. The impact of the steady icon of Bali is the strengthening of identity, between Balinese (natives) and non-Balinese (Wijaya 2012). Another impact of the steady Balinese movement is that exclusivity and political tensions are slowly emerging in various themes, including religious and ethnic identity. The spread of the idea of *ajeg* Bali is transformed through various channels, especially on events broadcast on Bali TV, various events and speakers often appear bringing about various aspects of the Balinese entity. I Wayan Westa, considers that *ajeg* Bali does not have a solid concept as a way out to evoke Balinese culture in a comprehensive manner, just a media ripple, because it is also interspersed with television broadcasting interests that cannot be separated (interview with Wayan Westa, 29 April 2021).

Culture is a way of life that develops, is shared by a group of people, and is passed down from generation to generation. Culture is made up of many complex elements, including religious and political systems, customs, languages, tools, clothing, buildings, and works of art. The basic nature of culture is dynamically developing in accordance with the development of the system attached to the culture. However, the effort to make culture a complete identity (steady), is often understood as an act to establish culture into something static, permanent, solid, and permanent. Likewise with Balinese culture, according to Hari Harsananda (interview 28 April 2021), the cultural character tends to be conservative, in contrast to the interests of exploitative tourism. Balinese culture in front of the tourism system tends to be objectified by the interests of the spectacle and the elements that attract the arrival of foreign people. Thus, cultural conservatism, steady itself is nothing more than the maintenance of assets for tourism purposes. The tourism industry changes many things in Bali. In fact, everything about culture can be commodified in material values, the market for culture as a tourist attraction is common in every corner in Bali. Even the trend of agro-tourism combined with luxurious facilities is present on the outskirts of rural terraces and *subak* areas. The Balinese landscape in all sectors seems like a stage and object of visit, but that's how the industry works.

Religious Conservatism and Strengthening Indigenous Villages

I Gusti Made Ngurah is a deputy chairman of the MDA, that the indigenous village has been attached to the structure of Balinese society for thousands of years. Its institutions also survive in every political and government system. Traditional villages have existed since the time before Majapahit, lived together with the previous royal system, then replaced with the Balinese kingdom created by Majapahit, as well as being established in the Dutch colonial era, until today in the era of the Indonesian republic, traditional villages are timeless. In addition to strong social legitimacy, because customs support traditions and religion, they are also part of Balinese cultural identity. For this reason, the provincial government, which actually has a government structure to the level of an official village, then institutionalizes indigenous villages into the government structure through the Bali Provincial Regulation number 3 of 2001 concerning Indigenous Villages in Bali, its function is to build a coordination system between villages throughout Bali. Considering the issuance of the regional regulation on customary villages because each village has differences, it is necessary to create a mechanism (decision-making) (interview with Made Ngurah, 23 November 2020). Some of the changes to the rules started from the nomenclature of *desa adat* to *desa pakraman I* (Balinese indigenous villages), through the Bali Provincial Regulation Number 3 of 2013 concerning Pakraman Villages in Bali, then in 2017 also issued Regional Regulation Number 3 of 2017 concerning Village Credit Institutions. The change in terms from *adat* to *pakraman* is a reflection of the dynamics of the terminology to find something unique about Bali, authenticity is an important requirement for elevating culture. Adat and *pakraman* are considered to have similarities but the depth and breadth of their meanings are different.

Indigenous villages are actually independent, have no hierarchy above, the *bendesa* as the head of the indigenous village has full authority on matters relating to the implementation of traditional activities in his village (interview with Mahardika, 22 November

2020). Through institutionalization through a structured hierarchy of customary villages at the lowest leadership institution (*bendesa alit*) in the sub-district, middle-level leadership in the district, then the highest in the province, as the Supreme Indigenous Village Council, and the chairman as bendesa agung, indigenous villages are faced with new problems, namely whether its independence is still maintained in the future.

Hare Krishna in Bali

The Hare Krishna Sampradaya is also known as ISKCON (International Society for Krishna Consciousness), while in Indonesia it is also known as the Indonesian Krishna Awareness Sampradaya (SAKKHI) is a religious movement that arrived in Indonesia marked by the arrival of Srila Prabuphad to Jakarta in 1973. Even so, before the arrival of the founder of Hare Krishna (ISKCON) students have introduced a spiritualist movement centered on the divine consciousness of Sri Krishna, based on the confessions of early Hare Krishna followers (interview with Ketut Surandana, senior member of the ISKCON association, 2 May 2021). The existence of followers of Krsna consciousness, or the existence of Hare Krsna in Bali itself is an early follower in Indonesia. In other words, the period of Hare Krishna's existence in Bali is also the same as that of his appearance in Indonesia, a year before Srila Pabupad came to Jakarta.

In Indonesia, devotees of Krishna consciousness are concentrated in three organizations: the ISKCON Association, which claims to be the official international ISKCON network; ISKCON Indonesia Foundation, institutionally separated from ISKCON and centralized its own network in Indonesia; Gaudya Mata, is a place for followers of Hare Krishna, the number of followers is not as much as the two institutions and tends not to be highlighted on the public surface.

Trigger

According to Anak Agung Sudiana (Bendasa Madya Denpasar), the Majelis Desa Adat's point of view is that the behavior and teachings and symbols used by Hare Krishna are not in accordance with the Hindu religious tradition in Bali. Especially with activities centered in *banjars* and temples, the involvement of Hare Krishna adherents often cannot be integrated into the local cultural structure. Because of the contrast between the behavior of Hare Krishna adherents and traditional Hindu society, tensions arose, many people were provoked into anger, making rejection banners in several places close to the ashram, followed by demonstrations that occurred repeatedly, culminating in the issuance of a Joint Decree between Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia Bali with the Indigenous Village Council Bali. Based on the joint decision, the Hare Krishna Sampradaya is prohibited from holding activities outside the ashram, limited space for movement because all matters related to tradition-based religious affairs are regulated by the traditional village.

The momentum of Hare Krishna's rejection, which had also targeted other sampradayas, became a momentum to strengthen institutions with traditional nuances, or at least socio-cultural elements that had not been very lively so far could appear together with the polemic. Anak Agung Sudiana (interview, 24 December 2020) has a fairly flexible perspective on Balinese culture, according to him, Balinese culture itself was created through the influence of China, the Netherlands and Java, so it is impossible to unilaterally assume that it is stable and authentic. According to him, if the sampradaya was "not disturbing" (customs and traditions) it might be accepted, the teachings (ISCKON) should have been filtered first, adjusted, then processed again to become integrated into culture. But

in fact, they (followers of Hare Krishna) show themselves with different religious identities, their teachings are not conveyed through cultural movements. As a result, turmoil appeared in various places, especially in Klungkung, Karang Asem and Bangli, and other places also moved, all indigenous villages of Bali reacted (Interview with Anak Agung Sudiana, 24 December 2020).

Some elements that are considered to trigger the anger of Hindu Traditionalists in the traditional sphere against Hare Krishna are: 1) *mecaru*, is a tradition to seek *yadnya* (similar with sacrifice) to God, Hare Krishna in the ceremony does not want/against the use of animals, even ordered the symbolization of animals with pictures; 2) the enthusiasm of Hare Krishna adherents is reduced in their involvement in traditional ceremonies; 3) influence on young people who are determined to dismantle the *sanggah* (place of worship); 4) the teachings of Hare Krishna are suspected of starting to enter educational institutions, are considered to trigger confusion in the teaching of Hinduism. (Interview with Anak Agung Sudiana, 24 December 2020).

Bali is covered very thick with multi-layered social structures, renegotiation must be carried out on modernity to disguise the traces of feudalism, now in the era of republican government which opens access to all people, it should be egalitarian, in fact there must still be a compromise between *adat* and a democratic government system. The provincial government is not enough with a coordinating structure to the official village system, the circle of authority is expanded by embracing indigenous villages in a separate hierarchy. The real power in Balinese society is concentrated in the banjar and indigenous villages, Balinese krama are reflected in these two institutions, so that the long distance between government power and community sovereignty makes politicians nervous. Borrowing I Nyoman Wijaya's term about the work of ajeg Bali as an icon, it cannot be separated from the production of organic intellectual ideas (Gramsci's theory of hegemony) which support conservatism and affairs with power.

The relationship between indigenous villages and government in Bali is empowering, administratively aimed at creating a legal basis for the provision of government assistance to *banjars* and village activities. Some aspects that have a direct impact on government grant are the potential for the head of indigenous village (*bendesa*) and traditional leader to have problems with the law, the summons for inspection by the Bali Regional Police against the head of indigenous village is often seen (interview with Mahardika, 22 November 2020). Based on Mahardika's observations of meeting with several indigenous village heads (*bendesa*) and traditional leaders at the Bali Regional Police, the leaders oh villages admitted that they were asked for information regarding the use of traditional village assistance funds. The lack of management capacity for traditional village assistance funds is a problem in itself, because not all have financial administration and financial management capabilities sourced from the APBD/APBN (regional revenues and expenditures budget/ state budget). they can be criminally charged with misappropriation of customary village aid funds, allegations of budget misuse can be suspected, because the principles of meritocratic governance, accountability and transparency are not always in line with the customary governance system.

The relationship between *adat* and politics as well as bureaucracy will not just stop there. Large number the heads of indigenous villages occupying representative seats, as member in the municipal at regional (city and regency) creates its own political environment (Interview with Ida Pandita Mpu, 23 December 2020).

Although the Indigenous Village Council itself is hierarchical, in principle its implementation remains independent, not within the government structure, the *majelis desa adat* (indigenous villages council) financial system is also designed to be sourced from Corporates Social Responsibility funds, and even manages the Bali regional credit institution (*lembaga pengkreditan desa*). In the case of development affairs by the regional government, a chart for maintaining relations with the provincial government through Regional Government Organizations at the echelon II level is formed, thus the process of symbolic interaction through the institutional structure will continue.

The spirit of the establishment of the *adat* assembly itself, is the strengthening of customary institutions, and the aim is that the *Bendesa* as a whole has a large forum that is recognized by the government, practically supports the course of social life in Bali which is very thick with culture (interview with Gusti Made Ngurah, 24 November 2020). The local government of Bali provides one possibility to organize village indigenous life through the assembly, to help overcome problems that arise, although it also does not play a role in determining religious and religious policies (interview with I Gusti Made Ngurah, 24 November 2020).

Opportunity: Between Integration and Conflict Manifest

The process of moderating between religious problems and traditional issues, based on the results of discussions and interviews with most (traditional) Hindus, is difficult, uniquely, Hindus on the other hand tend to be very tolerant and can live together with adherents of other religions. Mutual acceptance, understanding and coexistence between Hindus and followers of Islam and other religions are known to be tolerant and can live together in harmony, but it is difficult to accept Hare Krishna, especially on the island of Bali. However, does the opportunity for reconciliation exist? Is there a possibility to transform the existing conflict, or tension towards a new agreement in Hindu religious life in Indonesia, or not? As already discussed, the root of the tension is claimed to be due to fundamental differences in the theological perspective, philosophically Hare Krishna adheres to *dvaita*, the duality between man and God, so that when *moksha* the *atman* (jiva/soul) is not united with Brahman (Krishna himself), while Hinduism Traditional Balinese are more likely to be *advaita* (monistic) (interview with Suwadana, 23 November 2020) (Mashad 2014). The differences between the two religious groups escalated from tension to resistance triggered by various socio-political and cultural factors, compromising the various factors that became barriers to communication, of course, it was quite difficult if only relying on conventional integration. Transforming religious emotions into a space for dialogue in the case of Hindu Bali with Hare Krishna is not an easy matter, as has been done by various parties from the Bali Province PHDI in several sessions, also carried out by the Regional Office of the Ministry of Religion on April 29, 2021, failed in bringing the two parties together.

Sampradaya integration needs to be considered as a solution, however the system of spiritual education is recognized as part of the learning tradition in Hinduism, it should be considered by opening a systematic and scientific dialogue. Hindus know the *aguron-guron* system, as well as sampradaya have the same spirit of enlightenment. The problem faced is that the *sampradaya* tradition with different *aguron-guron*, if the *sampradaya* performed by Hare Krishna refers to the Gaudiya Vaishnava

tradition, while the aguron-guron have merged with the cultural system of the Nusantara (Java and Bali).

The agreement that needs dialogue is the concept of coevolution (Menchik, 2017), with coevolution, two parties must be able to accept whatever the conditions are, allowing one another to grow and develop together, even without contact and cooperation. The coevolutive condition was agreed as a way out of the impossibility of integration, if the unification process was not successful, Jeremy Menchik (2017: 47) termed growing together separately, or coevolution. Gus Dur (Abdurahman Wahid, president of Indonesia 1998-2000) has a term, agree to disagree, even though all the conditions that are intended can be achieved depending on the ability of the mediator.

The mediation carried out until the end of 2020 did not find a common ground, because the MDA did not open the way for dialogue, "if Hare Krishna wants to be reintegrated into Hinduism, the condition is that everything has to change to what it used to be" (interview with I Gusti Ngurah, 23 November 2020, and interview 29 May 2021) what it means as usual is that Hare Krishna adherents must return to the Balinese tradition. The mediation carried out by the Ministry of Religion of the Province of Bali on April 29, 2021, also failed to reach an agreement, however, the dialogue process must continue.

Hinduism in Indonesia needs to consider a new paradigm in terms of dealing with internal differences, currently the recognition bias of Hinduism at the beginning of the Indonesian republic is still happening. The end of the story of the feud between the two Hinduism entities in Bali is expected to be reconciliation, such as the spirit of Hinduism itself which is in harmony with nature, friendly to humans and emphasizes the

height of spirituality. With the events that have happened in the last few years, a new perspective on religious life should be created, a dialogue process, the establishment of intense cultural communication, internal dynamics if managed can increase public knowledge, then find common ground on a new collective consciousness.

CONCLUSION

This research on the tension between the Hare Krishna sampradaya and traditional Hinduism in Bali found out that open refusal still occurs. The tension started only in the form of satire on social media, then moved up to hate speech, and later it continued with an invitation to reject, even an invitation to be expelled. Although the last one did not come into reality.

The hottest point was in Klungkung Regency, especially the traditionalist Hindu community in Nusa Penida. The trigger was the spread of Arya Weda Karna's video about worship and sanctification of deceased figures (*batara*). The peak was at the end of November 2020 when large demonstrations took place in Klungkung and Denpasar City. At that time there was a beating against a Balinese figure who exalted Krishna, Arya Weda Karna, because of his comments and activities that were considered to be insulting to Balinese Hindu *dresta* (Bali religious tradition).

The background of everything that occurred to the two groups was closely related to the socio-cultural structure Balinese people who are used to living with social layers. Reinforced by the social situation, where the mentality as the majority is shaped by numbers and groups of problems, traditionalist groups are also formed in such a way, so that what Bali means are those who are full of various cultural trinkets and tend to refuse if other people in Hinduism display the characteristics different. The tension between

the Hare Krishna *sampradaya* was triggered by the contrasting identity of its adherents with the traditionalist Balinese Hindu group. The appearance of Hare Krishna adherents has a distinctive way of dressing, especially those who are still at the *brahmacari* level. They also mark their faces following the Vaishnava way, and tie their hair differently from Balinese Hinduism. At first glance, followers of Hare Krishna whose consciousness is like that of the Indians, this has also sparked gossip among the indigenous people and the majority of traditionalist Hindus in Bali. Hare Krishna followers are aware of this rumor, according to them the way of dress according to Hare Krishna followers is a hallmark of Vaishnavas, not just Indian tradition, nor is it a promotion of Indian culture. Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia Bali has conducted several mediations which ended with the issuance of a decree with the Indigenous Village Council to stop the activities of Hare Krishna followers outside the ashrams. The Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Province of Bali also received unsatisfactory results for the mediation efforts carried out, so that it has not found a precise effort to resolve the refusal problem.

Opportunities for integration are difficult. The mentality of the majority gives acceptance difficulties. It is difficult to place Hare Krishna in an equal position. The condition to be readmitted in society must be "leaving" the belief that is considered "different". The conditions are quite severe, but the problem remains that the opportunity to have dialogue is almost unavailable. Such complicated conditions will continue to occur, if mediation is not carried out, but the format of the dialogue and who can initiate it has yet to be seen. Except that the government as a representative of the state uses various powers to hold dialogues in various forms.

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