

Catur Warna Ideology Struggle Between Brahmin Groups With The Blahbatuh Traditional Village In Gianyar-Bali

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Abstract : *Group of the Joy and Condolences of Banjar Kebon which consists of the brahmanawangsa group in the Blahbatuh Traditional Village is an interesting cultural phenomenon to be studied, especially in the socio-religious context of Balinese society. In general, traditional villages integrate all wangsa groups as manners in the socio-religious ties of kahyangan three. However, the brahmanawangsa group in Tempekan Suka Duka Banjar Kebon chose not to be integrated with the traditional village and formed an exclusive group in the Blahbatuh Traditional Village area. Based on this phenomenon, this study aims to examine the struggle of the color chess ideology between the brahmanawangsa group and the Blahbatuh Traditional Village in Gianyar-Bali. The focus of the study is to uncover the causes of the struggle for catur warna ideology and its implications. This study uses a culture studies approach with a theoretical basis for deconstruction, hypersemiotics, and social practice. This study found that the causes of the struggle for the ideology of chess of color between the brahmanawangsa group and the Blahbatuh Traditional Village include historical factors, maintaining the status quo, and differences in the meaning of the concept of catur warna. This ideological struggle led to the rejection of the brahmanawangsa group against the existence of the Puseh Temple in the Blahbatuh Traditional Village which was considered to be affiliated with the Karang Buncing clan. The implications of the struggle for color chess ideology include This ideological struggle led to the rejection of the brahmanawangsa group against the existence of the Puseh Temple in the Blahbatuh Traditional Village which was considered to be affiliated with the Karang Buncing clan. The implications of the struggle for color chess ideology include This ideological struggle led to the rejection of the brahmanawangsa group against the existence of the Puseh Temple in the Blahbatuh Traditional Village which was considered to be affiliated with the Karang Buncing clan. The implications of the struggle for catur warna ideology include social disintegration and reintegration through the formation of new consensus within the customary village structure.*

Keywords: *Struggle, Ideology, Catur warna, Brahmanawangsa, Traditional village.*

I. INTRODUCTION

The Balinese social system rests on four foundations, namely kinship ties, territory, agrarianism, and special interests. Kinship ties extend from nuclear families, extended families, to patrilineal clans. Regional ties create a traditional village system with a banjar subsystem. Agrarian ties gave birth to the subak system that accommodates agricultural activities. While special interest ties form groups based on common interests and certain professions called *sekaa* (Geriya, 2000). Socioculturally, these four ties intersect and overlap along with the heterogeneity of social roles played by society.

Kinship ties in Bali gave birth to the wangsa system (klen or soroh), namely social groups that refer to patrilineal lineages. The wangsa system is influenced by the Hindu chess conception of color, although in practice it is often transformed into a caste system. Balinese people usually distinguish triwangsa groups (brahmins, ksatriyas, wesiyas) with jabawangsa (sudras) which are often accompanied by differences in treatment, especially in socio-religious activities (Triguna, 1997). The positions of the triwangsa and jabawangsa which are constructed in a dominant-subordinate hierarchy encourage the birth of wangsa conflict in Bali. Studies conducted by Bagus (1975), Nordohlt (1986), Santeri (1989), Triguna (1990; 1997), Dwipayana (2001),

This wangsa-based conflict has occurred several times in the territory of traditional villages, such as the attack on 42 houses of the brahmanawangsa who wanted to secede from the Traditional Village of Tusan, Banjarangkan, Klungkung, in March 2007 (Bali Post, 21 and 22 March 2007). According to Dwikora (2007), such conflicts are a reincarnation of the latency of clan conflicts that have been hidden for years in Bali. The root of the problem remains the same that those who have been benefited by the provision of special rights and superior positions in society because of their aristocratic status want to continue to maintain the status quo. They do not want to open up and straighten their understanding of color which refers to skill (*guna*) and profession (*karma*), not heredity. As long as the root cause of this problem is not resolved, then such conflicts will continue to be repeated in Bali. On the other hand, the struggle of subordinate groups (*jabawangsa*) to mobilize social classes in public spaces continues to be fueled through symbolic reinterpretation and tradition renewal (Triguna, 1997).

The phenomenon of social disintegration with a wangsa dimension also occurred in the Blahbatuh Traditional Village, Gianyar-Bali, namely the unwillingness of the brahmanawangsa group to join traditional village institutions with equal rights and obligations. For almost 50 years, this group has built their own social integrity in the institution “*Tempekan Suka Duka Banjar Kebon*”. They also refused to carry out prayers in *kahyangan* three (*Puseh Temple, Desa, and Dalem*) Blahbatuh Traditional Village. In fact, *kahyangan Tiga* is the socio-religious binder of all Hindus who are residents (*krama*) of traditional villages. That is, the refusal confirms that the brahmanawangsa group in *Tempekan Suka Duka Banjar Kebon* considers themselves not part of the residents (*krama*) of the Blahbatuh Traditional Village. The reason for the refusal was because they believed that the heavenly temple of the three Blahbatuh Traditional Villages, especially *Puseh Temple* was an extension of the *Gaduh Temple* in which there was a *pangulu* ancestral statue. This statue is believed to be the embodiment of *Kebo Iwa* associated with the *Karang Buncing* clan. On the other hand, the manners of the Blahbatuh Traditional Village also maintain their belief that the *kahyangan Tiga* temple is a place of worship for all traditional villagers and is not affiliated with any particular clan.

The discourse developed by both parties shows the struggle of the chess color ideology, namely differences in perception and understanding of the concept of color in relation to wangsa. This is in line with the opinion of Barthes (2009) that discourse is a representation of the ideology of social classes in an effort to fight for various interests. Therefore, the struggle of the color chess ideology between the brahmanawangsa group and the Blahbatuh Traditional Village is interesting to study through a culture studies approach. This study focuses on two main problems, namely the causal factor the occurrence of the struggle for the color chess ideology and its implications in social, cultural, and religious life.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The cultural studies approach is a scientific strategy to dismantle the operation of power and ideology in various cultural practices (Barker, 2005). Ideology appears in the practice of discourse that represents the relation of power and knowledge in it (Foucault, in Kumbara, 2020). According to Althusser (1970), ideology is an individual's imaginary relationship with the real world. Ideology can have a material existence in the form of apparatus and practices that are believed and practiced by all members of the community and reproduced through political performance. Ideology lives in cultural practices carried out by small groups and represents itself in beliefs, tools used, and social organization. Ideology includes all assumptions, beliefs, and value systems that operate in a sociocultural context (Hatim and Munday, 2004). In practice, ideology is built to serve the interests of the ruling class so as to legitimize something that actually has no legitimacy in itself (Suseno, 1999). The struggle for *catur warna* ideology is the focus of this study, namely differences in the understanding and beliefs of community groups towards the conception of color chess in the socio-cultural practice of Balinese society.

In Hinduism, *catur* is a grouping of people according to use (quality) and karma (profession) which is divided into brahmanas (religious or spiritual experts), ksatriyas (warriors, bureaucrats, or community leaders), wesya (economic practitioners), and sudras (societies), servants of the other three colors) (Wiana and Santeri, 1993). But in social practice in Bali, this color concept gets a new interpretation as social stratification according to lineage which sociologically creates a hierarchical dichotomy between the triwangsa (brahmins, ksatriyas, wesya) and jabawangsa (sudras). The Brahmins are a triwangsa group that refers to the lineage of *Ida Danghyang Dwijendra* (Brahmin Shiva) and *Ida Danghyang Astapaka* (Brahmin Buddha). This group uses the identity markers of the first name “*Ida Bagus*”, “*Ida Ayu*”, or “*Ida*” (Triguna, 1990; 1997).

Ideology cannot be found through direct observation, but can be referred to behavior and discourse that takes place in a social context (Kaplan and Manners, 2002). Therefore, this study uses a qualitative method with data collection procedures through observation techniques, in-depth interviews, and literature studies. The locus of

the study was the brahmanawangsa group in Tempekan Suka Duka Banjar Kebon and the Blahbatuh Traditional Village located in the Blahbatuh Traditional Village, Gianyar-Bali. Data analysis was carried out through three stages, namely data reduction, data presentation, and verification (Milles and Huberman, 1992). Interpretation and understanding (*verstehen*) are important tools in this study to explore the meaning of the data collected. In-depth reading through 'thinking and reflecting' and 'thinking of thought' (Geertz, 1979).

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Factors Causing the Struggle of Color Chess Ideology

The cause of the struggle for the Caturwarna ideology between the Brahmanawangsa group and the Blahbatuh Traditional Village is not it?solely because of the reflection of emotional outbursts or material conditions, but rather a cultural dimension. Referring to the opinion of Geertz (1979:5), culture is a semiotic concept that describes a network of symbols in which society has a dependence based on the collective meaning of the symbol. Therefore, every actor's action is a symbolic reflection of the cultural values they have. Fisher, et.al (2001:9) also states that the ideological struggle in society does not only appear in actual behavior, but includes all symbolic meanings of cultural values that are practiced together. This reality transcends the material dimension so that it is much more difficult to observe, for example it appears in the feelings, attitudes, and values held by society.

This can be seen from the historical background that caused the struggle the color chess ideology between the brahmanawangsa group and the Blahbatuh Traditional Village related to the symbolic interpretation of the existence and status of the kahyangan three temple. The brahmanawangsa group perceives that temples kahyangan three in the Blahbatuh Traditional Village is a place of worship for the sudra group, as stated by Ida Bagus Putra Kekekan Kekekan, below.

“From the beginning we chose not to join the Blahbatuh Traditional Village because we could not pray at the kahyangan three temple. Apart from not having the most padmasana, it is also because Pura Puseh and Pura Gaduh were once one unit. At first there was only Pura Gaduh, then the area of Pura Gaduh was divided in part to establish Pura Puseh. That means, if we pray at Pura Puseh, it means praying at Pura Gaduh. Even though at Pura Gaduh there is an ancestral statue of a pangulu (head statue) which is the embodiment of the descendants of Kebo Iwa. Obviously this has something to do with the people of Karang Buncing.”

Based on the informant's expression, the category '*sudra*' which is conceptualized in the historical understanding of the group *brahmanawangsa* refers to clan Bounce Coral. This cannot be separated from the historical understanding that the Karang Buncing clan was part of the history of the ancient Balinese kingdom before the era of Majapahit rule in Bali. The power of Majapahit in Bali has brought significant changes in the socio-religious order. One of them is the position of the triwangsa and jabawangsa which are hierarchically constructed in the patron-client relationship (Kumbara, 2018). The triwangsa group that plays the role of patron gets special rights in the socio-religious order, including in the structure of the traditional village. This position continues to be maintained through the categorization of jabawangsa as clients so that in practice discourse is often identified with sudra. This ideology underlies the refusal of the brahmanawangsa in the Blahbatuh Traditional Village to be affiliated with kahyangan Tiga as the religious representation of the Blahbatuh Traditional Village. Considering that at Pura Puseh there is a pangulu statue which is believed to be the ancestral symbol of the Karang Buncing clan which is categorized as jabawangsa.

The decision of the brahmanawangsa group not to be affiliated with kahyangan three reflects a symbolic representation of their efforts to maintain the status quo. In this case, submission to the *bhisama* ('advice of the ancestors') so as not to worship the ancestors of other groups legitimizes the decision. This can also be seen from the integration requirements proposed by the Brahmanawangsa group to the Blahbatuh Traditional Village that they are willing and able to pray in heaven three, if in each temple a padmasana is built. This requirement contains an ideological discourse because padmasana is a Hindu religious symbol that is sociohistorically related to one of the concepts developed by Danghyang Dwijendra in Balinese religion. In Balinese Hindu religious understanding, Ida Danghyang Dwijendra is the ancestor of the Shiva brahmins in Bali (Ardana, 1992).

The Brahmanawangsa ideology received resistance from community members (*krama nonbrahmanawangsa*) through the Blahbatuh Traditional Village institution by carrying out the ideology of inter-wangsa equality. This is revealed from the statement of Pager – one of the traditional leaders in the Blahbatuh Traditional Village – in the following excerpt from the interview.

"I don't understand why the expression appears that heaven three is only for sudra people. Who do you mean by Sudra? Fortunately, there was no heated upheaval. They (the brahmanawangsa group) also demanded that every

temple be built the most padmasana. Why did the brahmanawangsa group behave like that? Whereas many brahmanawangsa families in other places, still carrying out their rights and obligations as indigenous villagers, have never caused problems. The brahmanawangsa group should be aware that this era has changed. It's no longer the time to look down on others. If they studied religion, they would have known that color is a profession, not because of heredity. This has to be straightened out.”

This expression emphasizes that the form of ideological resistance built by the Blahbatuh Traditional Village is to question the concept of 'sudra' which has been built and maintained in the understanding of the brahmanawangsa group. Considering that this understanding is seen as no longer in accordance with current conditions. The reinterpretation built that the concept of sudra or jabawangsa must be returned to the teachings of chess colors in Hinduism, namely the grouping of people based on profession (guna-karma), not based on descent. In the context of color chess, the status and position of individuals is determined by the personal qualities and professions of each so that the understanding of color as a clan (descendants) is seen as important to be straightened out. Chess of color is also seen as more in line with the principles of democracy and egalitarianism,

Historically, the conflict between the triwangsa and the jabawangsa involving the struggle for the chess color ideology is actually not a new thing in Bali. Referring to a study conducted by Triguna (1990; 1997), claims against the equality of status and position between the triwangsa and the jabawangsa in the socio-religious structure are almost always based on reinterpretation of the chess color discourse. Jabawangsa groups who are more progressive in fighting for inter-wangsa equality have consistently voiced resistance through purification of the understanding of chess colors as in Hindu sacred texts. On the other hand, the triwangsa group tends to defend itself with contextual interpretations, namely referring to the sociohistorical reality that their existence is indeed constructed through the social history of the Balinese people and they only carry on their ancestral heritage. That is, the struggle for the color chess ideology always involves reinterpretation of the text and the context of the aristocracy in which each dynastic group tries to maintain their respective understandings and beliefs.

The brahmanawangsa group who tried to maintain social dignity, privileges, and certain beliefs inherited from their ancestors also had to deal with the jabawangsa ideology in order to fight for class equality on the grounds of social integration. For this reason, the Blahbatuh Traditional Village as a traditional institution that accommodates all wangsas wants to change the view of the brahmanawangsa group who understands the wangsa in a hierarchical-feudalistic manner. By carrying out the ideology of 'returning to chess of color' based on egalitarian Hindu sacred texts, actually the Blahbatuh Traditional Village also wants to carry out a renewal movement. The ideological movement carried out by the Blahbatuh Traditional Village seems to have received support from the moderate-minded brahmanawangsa group. One of them came from Blahbatuh Traditional Village figure named Dr. Drs. Ida Bagus Made Mahardika, M. Hum., who stated as follows.

“In my opinion, the brahmanawangsa group cannot use their fanaticism in life in a traditional village. As residents who live in the Blahbatuh Traditional Village, it is fitting for them to participate in carrying out their obligations as community members. Returning to each individual, as long as there is still a desire to maintain privileges and social status in society, will obviously cause problems. Moreover, linking the status of Pura Puseh and Pura Gaduh with certain clans, then demanding that Padmasana be made in every three heavens. That means, the Brahmin wangsa group does not yet understand the function of a temple and there is a desire to mix personal or group interests with the surrounding community.”

The presence of this moderate group from the brahmanawangsa gives legitimacy to the struggle of the Blahbatuh Traditional Village to build egalitarian values in the structure of indigenous peoples. Moreover, this moderate group has social capital in the form of educational status, cultural capital in the form of brahmanawangsa status, and economic capital in the form of ownership of adequate material property. This accumulation of capital forms their agency capacity to carry out social transformation and reform in the Blahbatuh Traditional Village. The desired reform is the creation of social stability and integration based on equality between citizens. This is based on the awareness that to achieve common progress, changes in social systems and cultural systems are needed that are more affirmative to modernity. This is in accordance with Atmaja's opinion (2001:157) that in a cultural perspective, ideational reality is a guideline for citizens to act in social life. This idea implies that if Bali wants to progress, then reforms at the level of the value system must be carried out. Accordingly, Syani (1995) says that sooner or later, society must change and find a way out of its various difficulties by changing its values, norms, knowledge with new values that are more relevant for the benefit of the wider community.

That is, the desire of the village administrators (prajuru) and the residents of the Blahbatuh Traditional Village to change their perspective group *brahmanawangsa* based on the disruption of balance and social disintegration

in the village. Through the alignment of the chess color ideology, the people of the Blahbatuh Traditional Village hope that this kind of disturbance will not happen again in the future. They realized that in order to achieve the progress of society, cultural renewal is needed by presenting new values that are more in line with current conditions. With that in mind, Soekanto, et al (1983:74) also emphasized that for regularity in social life requires guidelines that provide a forum for differences in perspectives and beliefs of all members of society, namely values and social norms that are mutually agreed upon by all members of the community. Social processes in the form of cooperation, competition, conflict, and accommodation become the space for the formation of these social values and norms.

3.2 Implications of the Struggle of the *Catur Warna* Ideology in the Blahbatuh Traditional Village

The struggle of the chess color ideology between the brahmanawangsa and the Blahbatuh Traditional Village has implications for the disintegration of the group which creates social tension in the environment. This is indicated by the existence of Tempekan Suka Duka Banjar Kebon which is separated from larger traditional institutions, both the traditional banjar and the traditional village. This institution also represents a form of rejection of the Brahmanawangsa group against the existence of the Blahbatuh Traditional Village institution. In the Balinese traditional system, 'tempekan joy-duka', are not part of the traditional villages, but only a small group to accommodate the special interests of its members. Joyful activities describe the collective activities of the group in relation to religious ceremonies (yadnya) which include joyous (fun) activities, such as weddings and other manusa yadnya activities, or dukkha activities, especially death (pitra yadnya) (Gunadha, 2008). Therefore, Tempekan Suka Duka Banjar Kebon is more likely to be formed as a representation of the resistance of the Brahmanawangsa ideology against the Blahbatuh Traditional Village which accommodates the interests of the jabawangsa.

This separation can also be interpreted as an effort to maintain the status quo of the brahmanawangsa group, so that their interests are accommodated by traditional village institutions. Although in practice, this effort actually increases the intensity of social tensions in the Blahbatuh Traditional Village. Tensions existed not only between the brahmanawangsa group and the jabawangsa, but also with other brahmanawangsa who supported traditional village institutions. This means that there has been social segregation between the homogeneous Tempekan Suka Duka Brahmin group in Banjar Kebon and the multi-wangsa (heterogeneous) residents of the Blahbatuh Traditional Village. This social segregation increases the polarization of interests between the two parties so that social reintegration efforts are increasingly difficult to carry out.

Nevertheless, the Blahbatuh Traditional Village tends to prefer a moderate attitude by continuing to make various efforts so that wider social conflicts can be avoided, prevented, or minimized. They continue to take a cultural approach to the Tempekan Suka Duka Brahmin group in Banjar Kebon so that they want to return to being traditional village manners. In this case, the involvement of the agency of the brahmanawangsa supporting the traditional village as a mediator was carried out because it was culturally seen as having affiliation with the group. This is in line with the opinion of Pye (1958) that the role of agency in mediating social conflicts is mainly related to the function of unifying, disseminating ideas, and ideological propaganda. Efforts to straighten out the understanding of *catur warna* and wangsa continue to be carried out in a dialectical manner to build a more egalitarian understanding. With that in mind, Blau (1964) emphasized that dialectical dynamics and processes influence changes in the structure of society. In this context, the structural change desired by the residents of the Blahbatuh Traditional Village is the re-creation of stability and social integration in the principle of equality among citizens so that customary rights and obligations can be carried out by all residents regardless of their kinship status.

To re-integrate the Tempekan Suka Duka Banjar Kebon brahmanawangsa group into the Traditional Village are continuing through two mechanisms, namely the internal mechanism in the Blahbatuh Traditional Village and a joint mechanism involving the traditional village administrators (prajuru), government institutions, and Hindu-minded organizations. The internal mechanism is carried out by the prajuru in stages according to the institutional structure of the traditional village, namely from the level of the traditional banjar to the traditional village. This cultural approach is carried out by means of Tangkil (visiting the main character of the brahmanawangsa) asking them to be willing to join the village. However, the internal mechanism was deadlocked due to the determination and determination of the brahmanawangsa group who were not willing to become village manners. This is revealed from the following interview with I Wayan Pager.

“As the bendesa (customary head), at that time we tried to invite the brahmanawangsa group to join again with the Blahbatuh Traditional Village. Because it has been almost 50 years they have not become indigenous people. We approached the main character, namely Ida Pedanda Kekeran (read: Ida Pedanda Lingsir). However, the answer we received was not much different from the answer given earlier, that “Pedanda basically agrees

and respects the wishes of the brothers. If Pedanda himself would answer yes, but what about the answers of the other Pedanda brothers?" Pedande could not be sure.

The answer given by this brahmanawangsa group leader did not give any firmness or certainty as to whether he wanted to join again or not. Answers like that are always given by other figures from the brahmanawangsa group. This situation occurs because they are bound by an oath to always be together in the actions and decisions they take (interview with Ida Bagus Made Widana). However, the Blahbatuh Traditional Village did not give up, but continued to fight for the brahmanawangsa group to be willing to join. For Ir. I Wayan Pager as the village head felt compelled to solve this problem completely. The basic principle that is used as a guide is to maintain security stability in the customary village area. Therefore, the Blahbatuh Traditional Village also requested the help of a third party as a mediator, Gianyar Regency Traditional Village Council. This effort resulted in the emergence of a mutual agreement between the Blahbatuh Traditional Village and Tempekan Suka Duka Banjar Kebon that the brahmanawangsa group was willing to join as a traditional village krama.

This agreement shows the occurrence of social reintegration in the Blahbatuh Traditional Village after the previous social segregation. However, this social reintegration has a conflict latency that can arise at any time because the brahmanawangsa group still maintains its ideology as a condition of integration. The conditions referred to include, among others, (1) in all three heavens one must make padmasana; (2) the cost of restoration, temple repair, and piodalan (ritual) while not a member of the Blahbatuh Traditional Village should be waived or abolished; (3) the brahmanawangsa groups to be merged into one banjar, namely in Banjar Kebon; (4) the brahmanawangsa group is not forced to worship or pray in heaven three as long as there is no padmasana; and (5) not to be forced into death activities outside the brahmanawangsa family. Social reintegration occurs because the Blahbatuh Traditional Village accommodates these conditions. According to Imarah (2000), accommodation is one of the mechanisms of group integration by accommodating differences and pluralism within the framework of unity. This method is effective in neutralizing the polarization of social groups in order to create a harmonious and balanced community life.

IV. CONCLUSION

Based on the description above, it can be concluded as follows. First, the factors causing the struggle color chess ideology between groups *brahmanawangsa* with Blahbatuh Traditional Village is because of historical background factors, maintaining the status quo, and different interpretations of the concept of chess color. In this context, each group tries to defend the ideology it believes in through various discourse practices. This ideological struggle led to and entered the realm of heaven for the three Blahbatuh Traditional Villages which then gave rise to different interpretations in interpreting the symbolic representations in it. Second, implications of ideological struggle *color chess* between the brahmanawangsa group and the Blahbatuh Traditional Village includes social disintegration and reintegration. Social disintegration is marked by the separation of traditional institutions that accommodate socio-religious activities of both parties, namely the emergence of *tempekan Love and Grief Banjar Kebon* which accommodates the brahmanawangsa group. Meanwhile, social reintegration took place through accommodation of the interests of the brahmanawangsa group so that an agreement was built to join the Blahbatuh traditional village forum.

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