

HARMONIZATION LIFE OF DIFFERENT RELIGION IN A TRADITIONAL VILLAGE IN BALI - INDONESIA

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Abstract: The research reveals the harmonization of discourse struggle in a traditional village in Bali; to be precise in the *Pakraman* (tradition) village of Pakuseba, Taro village District of Tegallalang Regency of Gianyar, Bali, Indonesia. It is considered to be unique because generally, *Pakraman* (tradition) village in Bali bound by a spiritual guidance, that is the Hindu spiritual guidance; whereas *Pakraman* Pakuseba has two spiritual guidance, so it tends to produce a discourse struggle. Studied through three critical theories (theory of hegemony, theory of discourse, and theory of deconstruction)

Keywords: *Pakraman* (tradition) village, discourse struggle, harmony.

1. INTRODUCTION

Preliminary:

The term tradition village that currently called *Pakraman* village are taken from Sanskrit language; from the word root *dic* meaning spiritual guidance; and *pakraman* of the word *grama* (Sanskrit), which means the hamlet; etymologically, *Pakraman* understood as a Hamlet that the society lives based on spiritual guidance, in this case is the Hindu religion. Limitation of *Pakraman* as community that based on spiritual guidance are applicable in almost all *Pakraman* villages in Bali. It means that certainly almost all *Pakraman* villages in Bali, make the teachings of Hinduism as the spiritual guidance of the community.

But it is not the case in *pakraman* (tradition) village of Pakuseba, Taro village District of Tegallalang Regency of Gianyar, Bali, Indonesia, as the location of this research. Society life the *Pakraman* is not solely based on the guidance of the teachings of Hinduism, but there is other spiritual guidance of Ephesians and Philippians that are the teachings of Christianity. Differences of philosophical orientation create differences in attitudes and outlook, also make a discourse struggles, but still in an atmosphere of harmony.

Three questions raised in this study are: 1) Why are there discourse struggle in *pakraman* village of Pakuseba? 2) How does the discourse struggle in *pakraman* village of Pakuseba? and 3) What are the implications of that discourse struggle for society of Pakuseba?

2. THEORETICAL REVIEW

A number of books that are considered relevant to this study are: (1) a book entitled, *Serat Salib dalam Lintas Bali, Menapak Jejak Pengalaman Keluarga Gereja Kristen Protestan Bali* (GKPB) (The Essence of Cross Across Bali, Retracing the Experience of Protestant Christian Church Family in Bali) (2003). This book gives an overview of religion conversion from Hindu to Christian. Information in this book is very relevant to society of *Pakraman* Pakuseba phenomenon, because most of the people who hold Christian ideology in Pakuseba is the result of conversion from Hindu to Christian. (2) a book entitled, *Membedah Kasus Konversi Agama di Bali* (Elaborating a Case of Religion Conversion in Bali), outlining case of conversion that occurred in the village of Dalung Badung using various approaches, such as the

approach of sociology, religious approach, the approach of humanism, with the conclusion that conversion can break Pakraman village. (3) A Thesis of Hindu University of Indonesia Denpasar, titled '*Motivasi Konversi Agama Pada Masyarakat Segi dan Muntigunung Karangasem: Studi Komparatif*' ('Motivation of Religion Conversion In the Society of Segi and Muntigunung Karangasem: A Comparative Study') (2004), written by I Ketut Seken which describes the phenomenon of conversion in the village of Segi and Muntigunung.

The three variables that need to be described in order to direct the focus of this study are: (1) Harmonisation, derived from the word harmony meaning conformity, harmonization defined as a process towards a conformity of two societies of different ideologies; in this case are the Hindu community and the Christian community in Pakuseba. (2) Discourse struggle, described as an opposition of discourse produced by two groups of society of different religions, (3) Discourse Study, described as a multi-perspective study to a discourse in order to find hidden intention in the discourse text.

Three critical theory researchers used are the theory of hegemony, discourse theory and the theory of deconstruction. Theory of hegemony used to expose the relationship between two groups of people of different religions in one pakraman village. Discourse theory used to reveal the discourse that emerged and developed in Pakraman Pakuseba, while theory of deconstruction is used to show the textual and contextual meaning implicit and explicit in every discourse.

3. RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Data from the first research questions found as follows, 1) the discourse of humanitarian aid, produced by the Christian community in Pakuseba, emerging dependence of a number of poor people in Pakuseba to humanitarian aid. 2) poor society in Pakuseba who expect humanitarian aid made a religion conversion of Hindu to Christian. 3) to anticipate further religion conversion, the Hindu community groups to produce counter-discourse. 4) Resistance of discourse between the two groups brings forth a discourse struggle.

Data through the second research questions produced as follows, 1) the Christian society group produce discourses such as; discourse of promise of heaven, discourse of the great assignment, discourse of the power of Jesus forgiving sins of the lost, discourse of distribution of basic food packages, discourse of free medication and discourse of free education. While discourses produced by Hindu society group are; discourse of *banjar solas*, discourse of Pakuseba indigenous cemetery, discourse of *karang desa*, and discourse of *ningetin duen desa*.

Besides the two groups of discourses above, it was found a hybrid discourse produced under the agreement of the two groups of the religious people called discourse of Pakuseba consultative council. This discourse was formed during the reign of I Wayan Dugdug, as the head of the hamlet of Pakuseba in the term of office 2004-2009. The aim of the establishment of this discourse is to accommodate the aspirations of the two communities, Hindu and Christian religious communities. But in reality, none of the residents of Christian group would be the member of this hybrid institution; yet on the other hand, the Christian community in Pakuseba has no rejection of the consensus reached by the institution. Struggle analysis of every discourse above can be described as follows.

1. Discourse of promise of heaven:

Discourse of promise of heaven proposed by the Christian community in the form of opinions, thoughts, or view that, whoever wants to follow the teachings of the Lord Jesus, then he will be ushered into heaven. Deconstructive readings of this promise of heaven discourse aimed to build public opinion, in order to be able to affect, that only Christianity that can take mankind to heaven. This belief was based solely on the logic that comes from the belief that Jesus is believed to be the son of God, he died and rose again to pick up those who believe (in Jesus Christ) to be ushered into heaven. Hindu community who do not have similar understanding does not believe in the promise of heaven. Hindu community of Pakuseba believes that, in order to achieve the heaven, Hindus should take several things, one of which is, to do purgation of mind, heart and action, (*tri kaya parisuddha*) then apply it in the practice of everyday life. Hidden intention of this discourse of promise of heaven is an invitation to Hindus in Pakuseba to join in Christianity, because Christianity can promise heaven.

Deconstruction, the elaboration of the meaning of the discourse of promise of paradise, found a lack of empirical evidence that supports the truth of the resurrection of Jesus discourse to pick people who believe to be ushered in heaven, and the lack of logical argument that can support the truth of discourse of promise of heaven. Promise of heaven is no more than a hope of going to heaven; that is to say, not a certainty, because it has not been found concrete evidence that can be seen with the eyes of human that Jesus ever pick people who believe, to be ushered in heaven.

2. Discourse of Power of Jesus Forgiving Sins of Lost People:

Discourse of power of Jesus forgiving the sins of the lost delivered specifically, by a missionary to Mangku Sampun in Pakuseba. The dialogue discussed the forgiveness of sins according to the Hindu tradition that, '*...not to stay up all night human sin can be erased; but by following the commands and avoid the prohibition of saints like Jesus Christ that sins of men can be erased...*' hidden purpose of the dialogue is a persuasion to leave the Hindu tradition to follow the teachings of Jesus, by reason to seek forgiveness.

Deconstruction of the trust who believed the power of Jesus can redeem the sins of the lost, applies only among those who believe in the power of the Lord Jesus. People who lack of confidence in the power of the Lord Jesus, do not trust the discourse of power of the Lord Jesus can forgive the sins of the lost. They tend to see it as believers opinion. The existence of some people who believe in the power of Jesus have made a number of Hindus turning religion into Christian. Therefore, discourse of power of Jesus can forgive the sins of the lost tends to mean a conversion strategy.

3. Discourse of the Great Assignment:

Discourse of the great assignment is understood as the direct mandate of Jesus to people who already baptized. The purpose to be achieved through the great assignment discourse is suggesting people who had taken the ritual of baptism, to perform the task of evangelism.

In fact, the discourse of the great assignment has raised spreader of Christianity (missionaries) to the rest of the world. Because, trust in the truth of the great assignment discourse evoke a sense of responsibility of baptized people to perform tasks of spreading Christianity throughout the world, including in Pakuseba.

4. Discourse of Humanitarian Aid:

There are three types of humanitarian aid conducted by the pastor of the church to the community Pakuseba, namely, basic food aid, in the form of distribution of basic food packages; medical assistance, such as free doctors visit; and educational assistance, in the form of tuition assistance through foster father, help of school supplies, even some form of shelter for children who dropped out of school at a social foundation of the gospel camp.

a. Discourse Basic Food Aid:

Discourse of basic food aid in the form of activity of distributing basic food packages to residents of Pakuseba who are less fortunate and willing to come to church gospel camp of Pakuseba. This Discourse was made on the importance of helping others, because the merits of helping people are on the same value or even more meaningful compared to the merit of worship.

In fact, the majority of Christian communities that are converted from Hindu in Pakuseba, has ability and occupation that are relatively the same as those who are Hindu in Pakuseba. These conditions indicate the existence of a specific motive behind the discourse of humanitarian aid which was developed by the church gospel camp in Pakuseba; at least, in the form of expectations or in the form of public sympathy for the existence of the church, not merely the sincerity for the benefit of humanity in Pakuseba.

The apprehension as the above are related to the statement Kaki Bebas, (former head of the hamlet of Pakuseba) who observed that, the implementation of humanitarian aid is often related to social conditions of Pakuseba society, meaning that when the atmosphere of social and political of Pakuseba heats up then, the church tends to conduct the distribution of humanitarian aid, in the form of free doctors visit, medical aid, also the distribution of basic food packages.

Deconstruction of the discourse of basic food aid implemented by the church gospel camp in Pakuseba meaning that humanitarian assistance, in addition of hoping for merit, also meant religion conversion from Hindu to Christian; and very likely to mean taming, or a decrease in the political fluctuation for the community

b. Discourse of Health Assistance:

Public health program developed by the church gospel camp in Pakuseba often carried out in various forms of program including; 1) the program self-defense training of martial arts for youth, 2) program in the form of doctors visits from the outside which is free, 3) light drug delivery for ill residents, and 4) the first aid program.

In general, almost all medical assistance that was developed by the church gospel camp Pakuseba can attract public sympathy. Mr. Mangku Sampun admit, '*...of 45 households of citizens Pakuseba at that time, the martial art group has 40 members...*' Seen from the ratio between the number of Pakuseba households and the number of martial art members recruited by the church, it indicates that the program is in great demand of Pakuseba society; in this context, health assistance attract public of Pakuseba sympathy, because through health assistance in Pakuseba Christian and Hindu relations improved.

Deconstruction of health discourse in silat martial art form that developed in Pakuseba found, in addition to health purpose, silat martial art discourse also has a meaning of symbolic violence, that is, by following the silat martial art training community can be healthy; in addition, by the existence of silat martial art group in church, people who has an intention of rejecting the presence of the church in Pakuseba could be reluctant or even afraid. At least they will hesitate seeing the presence of the church in the neighborhood of village *karang ayahan* (indigenous land) Pakuseba.

c. Discourse of Educational Assistance:

There are several forms of educational assistance developed by the church in Pakuseba, such as, educational assistance in the form of literacy, tuition assistance through sponsorship, school equipment aid (as a reward for attendance of singing practice every Sunday in church), and shelter for children who dropped out School in a social foundation of gospel camp in Klungkung regency.

Two of the four models of education aid, namely, tuition assistance through sponsorship and education assistance through the shelter of school dropouts in the foundation of gospel camp quite effectively to make religion conversion. While educational assistance in the form of literacy and school equipment aid does not end up with religion conversion.

An informant who was confirmed on educational assistance through social foundation of gospel camp said, '*...one of the conditions to be able to enjoy educational assistance in the social foundation of gospel camp Klungkung is to be able to stay at residence (the social foundation of gospel camp). The more time spent living in residence the higher the opportunity to be assisted by a foster father...*' So, staying at the residence, is one of the requirements to be able to enjoy education assistance of a foster father. Term of foster parent in this educational assistance is also known as education sponsor.

Research on discourse of educational assistance through the shelter for children dropped out of school in the social foundation of gospel camp Klungkung found that (1) in administration way, parents who want to entrust their children to receive educational assistance in the foundation, must sign a statement that their children will be educated by the tradition of the church; that is, any material provided by educators to students at the church already had permission from their parents; (2) to follow all the rules that have been established by the foundation; (3) follow the material that has been scheduled.

At the level of the text, the discourse of educational assistance through Pakuseba shelter for children dropped out of school in the social foundation of the gospel camp Klungkung has meaning of educational assistance; However, in the context of religion conversion, there were hidden intention of founder of the foundation to carry out conversions to children dropped out of school who want to stay in the church. The obligation to stay in the church in order to be able to find a foster father who could provide tuition are believed to have ulterior motive, namely, 'habituation of life following the tradition of the church'. It is nothing more than religion conversion strategy.

Ideological struggle in Pakuseba happened when a group of Hindu society in Pakuseba develop a similar discourse. A number of the discourses developed by a group of Hindu religious community in Pakuseba, can be judged as an answer to the growing discourse by groups of Christians. A number of the discourse developed by the Hindus in Pakuseba such as; discourse of *banjar solas*, discourse of *ngingetin duen desa*, discourse of Christian cemetery, and discourse of *karang desa*.

Discourse of *Banjar solas* understood as recognition policy by *prajuru* (head of the hamlet) Pakuseba Pakraman village, only to eleven households of Christian religion families in Pakuseba. Christian families who do not get the recognition by *prajuru*, classified into Christian families registered as resident Pakuseba banjar. Regarding citizenship administrative services, all heads of Christian families receive adequate services from *prajuru* of Pakuseba, the only thing is, political rights of Christians in Pakuseba are limited only to eleven members of the Christian community who can have Electrical

rights at Pakuseba. Deconstruction of the *banjar solas* policy is restriction of recognition of the number of Christians in Pakuseba showed that *banjar solas* discourse meaning the *prajuru* policy; whereas the restrictions on the recognition of the number of households of Christian in Pakuseba signifies the suppression of political rights in Pakuseba Christian community.

Discourse of *ngingetin duen desa* in the form of *patedunan karma desa* Pakuseba, with the purpose of cutting down the lychee tree that grows in the churchyard in the village *pekaranganayahan* (indigenous land) Pakuseba. As a result, the activity of the church in the village were moved from the village *pekaranganayahan* to the field owned by Mr. I Nyoman Jelih. In the context of the movement of the church activities, of building with cross symbol in the village of Pakuseba to one of the buildings in the field of citizens, meaning that can be derived, discourse of *ngingetin duen desa* were an expulsion of church from *pekaranganayahan* (indigenous land) Pakuseba.

Discourse of Christian cemetery raised by a group of Hindus in Pakuseba questioning the rights and authority of Pakuseba Christian community, on the Pakuseba indigenous cemetery. This question was inspired by the provision of one of the articles of *awig-awig adat desa Pakraman Pakuseba* (Pakraman Pakuseba indigenous law) which outlines that, Pakuseba customary cemetery are meant for people who support the activities of customs in Pakuseba. Referring to the provision of this article, Hindu society groups interpret that, Indigenous peoples who have already converted to Christianity does not have the right to the indigenous cemetery of Pakuseba. deconstruction of this discourse of Pakuseba indigenous cemetery by Hindu community groups in Pakuseba means, the prohibition of the right to bury for the Christian communities in Pakuseba indigenous cemetery.

Deconstruction of the discourse of Christian cemetery becomes a problem to the institution Gianyar regency, it yield on the results of mediation by the head of Tegallantang require Pakraman Pakuseba to provide cemetery land area to bury the Christian community who was born in Pakuseba. This also means 'the struggle for graveyard rights', as a victory on the part of Christian citizens.

Discourse of *Karang Desa*. Referring to the provision of *awig-awig adat desa Pakraman Pakuseba* (Pakraman Pakuseba indigenous law), Pakuseba citizens who converted from Hindu to Christian, are required to leave the village *pekaranganayahan* (indigenous land). Because they lost the right over the *karang* (land), They also leave the liability for each *sanggah* (holy place for worship). This provision made an impact of the migration of a number of converted people out of village *pekaranganayahan* to lodge (house building in the moor) in the respective fields that they rightfully heir. Deconstruction of the discourse of *karang desa* are the expulsion of non-Hindu residents off the *karang desa*. On the other hand, Christians that still occupied the village *karang ayahan* Pakuseba to date meaning the *prajuru* failure in maintaining the existence of *awig awig* Pakraman Pakuseba.

Discourse of Banjar consultative council, are the discourse of establishment of independent community social institution. The independence of Banjar consultative council Pakuseba expected to protect two groups of the different religious ideology. For the sake of independence, Banjar consultative council member required to be; (1) Pakuseba public figures, both Hindus and Christians; (2) citizens who are ready to assist *prajuru adat* and Pakuseba governmental services to handle various problems, including the problems that arise as a result of the events of religion conversion. Deconstruction of discourse of Banjar consultative council Pakuseba has two ambiguous meaning; on one hand it was a hegemony of the Hindu community on Christian community in Pakuseba, or may also mean independence.

4. CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

This study concluded that 1) there are discourse of humanitarian aid, 2) there are poor people that depend on humanitarian aid, 3) there are action of religion conversion, 4) and there are resistance to the conversion strategy carried out by the Hindu community in Pakuseba. The process of discourse struggle occurs through the discourse of promise of heaven, discourse of Jesus' power to forgive the sins of the lost, discourse of basic food aid, discourse of educational assistance, discourse of health assistance; discourse of the great assignment raised by Christian religious communities in Pakuseba. This is carried out by community groups for the purpose of hegemony and domination that lead to conversions. Anticipating the efforts of religion conversion, the Hindu community also produces counter-discourse in the form of; discourse of *banjar solas*, discourse of *ngingetin duen desa*, discourse of *karang desa*, discourse of the Christian cemetery. Resistance of Hindu community discourses against discourses produced by the converted community emerging discourse of together called discourse of Pakuseba Banjar consultative council.

Suggestions of this study (1) all the parties continue to develop an open outlook (*openness of mind*) and the desire to learn (*eagerness to learn*), in order to be able to avoid certain targets that are negative. (2) The Hindu and Christian communities in Pakuseba always be introspective, careful in addressing the discourse, incitement, and humanitarian assistance, both of which come from within or from outside, especially those of provocative nature. (3) The Government should continue to improve the seriousness and foresight of its apparatus in handling social problems of society that are particularly vulnerable.

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