# THE DYNAMIC OF SHIVA-SISYA (Patron Client) RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN HINDU'S PRACTICE IN DENPASAR CITY

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**Abstract** Modernization and globalization have spread the ideology of capitalism and materialistic rationalism throughout the world. It has created transformation not only in the socio-cultural and economic aspects, but also in religion practice. One of the Hindu's practice phenomenon that prevails nowadays in Denpasar is a certain dynastic lawsuit against shiva-sisya relationship (patron-client), which became a tradition in Hindu's practice in Bali.The purpose of this study is to understand and explain the background of the shifting in shiva-sisya (patron client) relationship and the implications of this shift within Hindu's practice or religiosity in Denpasar city. To answer the purpose of this study cultural studies approach was used with qualitative analysis. Techniques for collecting data were through in-depth interviews, observations and analysis of the related documents. This study used theories: Patron-Client by James Scott, Structuration by Giddens and Modernization/social change of Marx. Based on the analysis of the collected data, this study has found that the underlying shift in the relationship of shiva-sisya (patron-client) within Hindu's practice in Denpasar city was the appearance of the religious power decentralization, the strengthening of the market ideology within Hindu's practice and structured social relations. The implications of that shift, which happen to be the religion privacy and the emergence of Hindu's internal friction in religious practice in Denpasar city.

*Keywords: Shiva-sisya (patron-client) relationships, modernity, religious practice, market ideology.*

## I. INTRODUCTION

Modernization and globalization that spread the ideology of capitalism and materialistic rationalism throughout the world have given rise not only in the transformation of socio-cultural and economic aspects, but also in diversity. One Hindu religious phenomenon that prevails today in Denpasar is a certain dynastic lawsuit against Shiva-sisya relationship (patron-client), which has a tradition established in the diversity of Hindus in Bali.The shift and or changes in the deep-rooted pattern of patron-client relationships of Siwa-sisya, of course has the potential to bring competition and even conflict among interest groups. If the condition of this conflict appears widely, it certainly can cause disharmony to both inter-relationships between sulinggih and sisya, which undoubtedly can in turn disrupt the religiosity and religious practices of Hindus itself.

The claim against the hegemonic tradition of griya (padanda) in religious practices of Hindu in Bali did appear around the 1920s together with the

strengthening of soroh based Hindu religious movement in Bali (Agung, 1983; Triguna, 1997). Polemics about the status of the priesthood emerged as sulinggihs outside padandas (brahmanawangsa) less gain sympathy from traditional Hindu society, as sulinggih of Pasek clan, pande, and bhujangga wesnawa

Discourse manusapada and sarwa sadhaka that continue inflamed by these interest groups to gain authority and an equal status with pedanda finally began to get widespread response of Hindus in Bali, including in the city of Denpasar. Some sulinggihs of groups outside brahmanawangsa began to be accepted by society, because the sulinggihs are offering a new more egalitarian relationship in the context of religiosity, such as holding mass ceremonies at reasonable cost, simplification of offerings, and so forth

The shift or change in the pattern of siwa-sisya patron-client relationships which has become a tradition has certainly become an issue that is very interesting to study scientifically. In connection with the issue, the purpose of this research is to understand and explain the reasons underlying the shifting of

Shiva-sisya relationship (patron-client) and its implications in religiousity of Hindu people in Denpasar.

## II. RESEARCH METHOD

This study was designed in the form of qualitative research using cultural studies approach. The data were collected by observation, interview and document study. The data were then analyzed using three interconnected stages, namely data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions / verification (Milles and Harbermen, 1987: 364). Theoretical basis to analyze the research problem rests on the Patron-Client theory of James Scott, Anthony Giddens Structuration theory, and Modernization theory / social change from Marx.

## III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Religious Power Decentralisation

Religiousity of Hindu followers in Denpasar are generally based on the ideology of ritualism (karma kandha). This ideology is characterized by a more dominant aspect of ritual (acara) in the implementation of the teachings of Hinduism, compared to aspects of philosophy (tattwa) and ethical (susila). Phalgunadi (2010: 16) states that the doctrine of karma kandha is a teaching that is optimistic with the basic principles, that is, when the ritual performed by the correct rules, then the whole purpose of life will be achieved. Explanation of the Vedas, the Brahmins, and Uttara Mimamsa about ritualism asserted the ritual should be carried out with full confidence and sincerity to obtain the grace of God.

Phenomenologically, Hindus in Denpasar tended to perform religious rituals in accordance with the tradition without questioning the truth (Bhs. Bali: mula keto). It is characterized by a major emphasis on the procedure (upacara) and the means of offerings (upakara), rather than the meaning of the rituals. Instead Hindus often do not understand the meaning and significance of the ceremony that are implemented, including puja or mantra to deliver offerings. Therefore, the master of upacara has an important position and authority to deliver an offering of Hindus to be admitted by the gods.

Such a ritual pattern causes the leader of ceremony become dominant actors and the centralization of religious rituals in ceremonial leaders, both at the level ekajati (pamangku) and dwijati (sulinggih). It is legitimized in term of textuality that implementation of yadnya requires three main elements of the so-called Tri Manggalaning Yadnya, namely (1) sangYajamana or sangAdruwe Yadnya ('the owner or organizer of yadnya'), (2) sangSadhaka ('leader or pamuput of ceremony') and (3) Sang Tapini ('the makers of infrastructure of ceremonies or offerings').

Traditionally, griya generally inherited knowledge and skills needed for the implementation of the Hindu ritual in Bali, because the Hindu religious texts (lontar), especially regarding the procedure and the means of ceremonies are stored in griyas. Instead, the general public rarely have or read them, so that when people want to conduct any religious ceremony then automatically they have to ask for directions (nunasang) to griya. Thus, griya positioned itself as the only agency that has the power in the implementation of Hindu religious ceremonies. Here, the relationship between griya and the disciples have traditionally been institutionalized to become Shiva-sisya relationship (patron-client)

With the capacity of the agency that is owned, griya managed to affirm the religious ideology of ritualism that seemed naturalized in the social system through practical activity. This is in line with the opinion of Giddens (in Ritzer and Goodman, 2005: 508) that the activity is generated through social practices that repetitive in structure and created awareness. In and through the activity, the agents produce the conditions that would allow for these activities. In this case, griya as actors and agents actively create a variety of activities for self-expression and perpetuate religious power. It means that the position of griya as Shiva becomes a necessity when griya traditionally (hereditary) is able to maintain the capacity of the agency that is owned in religious rituals of Hindu (sisya).

But along with a more open access to religious education and Hindu religiousity then the shifts of relationship occur. The birth of formal Hindu educational institutions, such as Pendidikan Guru Agama Hindu (Hinduism Teacher Education), Akademi Pendidikan Guru Agama Hindu (Academy of Hinduism Teacher Education)), and Institut Hindu Dharma (Hindu Dharma Institute) Denpasar have opened the tap of religious knowledge to all Hindus (Sudharta & Surpha, 2006: 43). With the dissemination of Hinduism teachings, both formal and informal, the religious authority that had previously been griya domination began spreading to other institutions.

Hindu religious educational institution provides the

widest possible opportunity to study the substance of the Hindu religion formally, structurally, and democratically. As a result, the dominant institution no longer able to maintain homogeneity of the structure of knowledge and understanding, including the appreciation of religious teachings. The general pattern of science, which is based on rationalism and empiricism also leads to the emergence of resistance to traditional values that are contrary to the principles of rationality. Holy book-based Hindu Education fosters a tendency in Hindu followers to customize the religious behavior with patterns that are better suited to the scriptures, not only fixated on traditional religion

It asserts that the Hindu religious educational institutions have taken most of the roles of traditional religious institutions (griya) within the signification and dissemination of the teachings of Hinduism. Previously religious texts were only dominated by griya with ajawera discourse, the Hindu educational institutions have opened the texts and spread them to the Hindu followers. It is characterized by the emergence of 'new' Hinduism elites born from the womb of formal education. In fact, most of the elites fall within the formal institutional structure of Hindu religion, namely Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia.

Within this framework, modernity is understood by the functional-structuralism as a structural differentiation (Lash, 2004: 207) to get space to expand its influence in the religiousity of Hindu people in Denpasar. The central religious authority does not belong to griya anymore as affirmed by the traditional Hindu followers, but also actors and other religious institutions. With the growing differentiation of religious centers, then the Hindu followers have increasingly diverse religious reference to determine the choice in their religiousity.

The religious knowledge especially ritual was previously centered only on griya, but later the Hindus acquire knowledge from the outside griya, either through religious books, religious official institutions and religious elites. Moreover, many Hindus coming from non-brahmanawangsa also started to inaugurate themselves into sulinggih. Armed with the ability and authority, the sulinggihs are successful in establishing centers of new religious power and simultaneously deconstruct the religious authority that had previously only belonged to griya (brahmanawangsa).
Observing the above description, it is understood that one reason for the shift in the relationship of Shiva-

sisya (patron-client) within Hindu followers in Denpasar is the decentralization of religious authority. It is characterized by the emergence of new power knots, such as the Hindu religious educational institutions, formal institutions of Hindu religion, Hindu religious elites, and non-brahmanawangsa sulinggih. In fact, Hindu followers themselves have also such power because they can learn and interpret the faith by exploring the sources of religious knowledge that are increasingly open to the public sphere. These conditions can then weaken the traditional ties of Hindu followers (sisya) to griya (Shiva) because of their religious needs can be met by other religious institutions.

## The strengthening of market ideology

Decentralization of religious power is not separated from the more open access to religious knowledge and religiousity. This forms the typology of rational society which is in line with the constructs of modern culture that stands on principles of reason, subject, identity, ego, totality, the absolute ideas, linear progression, objectivity, autonomy, emancipation, and the binary opposition (Haryono, 2005: 35). According to Berger (1994: 24), modernity is defined as pluralization of values, norms, meanings and symbols that lead to the segmentation of culture and diversity of outlook on life. In the context of Hindu religiousity in Bali, the shift of social relationships occurs through three stages, namely (1) the entry of market into the farmer community, (2) the integration of markets, and (3) expansion of the market. The market emerged as a force in building everyday life by moving the boundaries of traditional ties and following the logic of the market (Abdullah, 2006; Kumbara, 2012). At the market society, various capitals are exchanged in an open system so that each individual has the freedom to make their choice. Including when the choices are shifting from traditional norms that have been prevailing in their religiousity.

One form of decentralization of power is the birth of the religious clergy or sulinggih of various clans (soroh) as centers of new religious power. Inherent to their position as sulinggih then they also have the capacity of agency to be empowered in the traditional religious communities, especially in the construction of ritualism ideology and renewal of religiousity as committed by a nonbrahmana dynasty, as follows.
Ida Pandita Dukuh Acarya Daksa domiciled in Griya

Padukuhan Samiaga, Banjar Semaga - Penatih can be used as an example where since the inaugurate to be a diksa in 2004, Ida Dukuh (nick name) not only carry out the functions of a clergy, but is also actively involved in community development Hindu followers through dharma discourse which is often aired by local and national television.

In addition, movements by sulinggih from pasek clan that voiced their struggle through the organization of Maha Gotra Pasek Sanak Sapta Rsi (MGPSSR) based in Jalan Cekomaria, Peguyangan, North Denpasar show an interesting fact. Soroh based organization seems to be very concerned with the implementation of various ceremonies which are thought to provide a solution to the problem of Hindu followers so far. Ranging from the provision crematorium "Santayana" which is open for all Hindu followers to the mass ceremony, like atma wedana (sanctification of atman / spirit) and mapandes (tooth filling ceremony), which are centered in the office of the secretariat. Whereas Balinese tradition inherited soroh systems generally have ritual provisions that can only be done in a soroh and can not be followed by other soroh. Nevertheless, Maha Gotra Pasek Sanak Sapta Rsi (MGPSSR) seeks to expand the culture by inviting the public to attend the mass ceremony held. To diseminate the group ideology and struggle, even this group does not hesitate to take modern ways to promote their activities, for example through TV broadcasts, local newspapers, billboards, website and internet.

These facts imply the strengthening of market ideology that sulinggih had constructed himself like a commodity. It is relevant to Marxist ideas about the commodification of culture as a social process that puts all cultural objects as a commodity, namely the existence of which has an exchange value and meaning that they are sold to the market. In the context of commodification, the value is a factor that exist together in the exchange relationship. Commodification comes from the desire of consumers, rather than on the concrete utility of a product. It is the Consumers who can determine the products to be consumed because of their ability to pay (Lash, 2004: 54-59).

In the sphere of production (supply), the value of a sulinggih for example is produced through the process of diksa or dwijati. According to the Hindu religious system in Bali, the process of diksa gives cultural legitimacy for people in their duties and functions to provide religious services, such as muput ('lead')

religious ceremonies. Meanwhile, to produce the use value then the sulinggihs make efforts to increase the self bargaining power. Furthermore, that is the value and usefulness exchanged in the market mechanism. In this case, Shiva no longer be interpreted in the context of patron-client as generic reality that is taken for granted, but differentially constructed through the ritual market as a space of the exchangeability of various capital. Through rational considerations – cheaper price of offerings and customer satisfaction - people can choose other clan sulinggih (soroh) who is in fact not Shiva of the people concerned.

**Social Relationship Structuration**

Social relations between the griya (Siwa) and Hindu followers (sisya) in traditional Balinese social system form patron-client bonds. One of the triggers of the emergence of patron-client ties can be considered from the view of Scott (1993: 7-8) that the patron-client relationship is an exchange relationship between two roles that can be expressed specifically as a instrumental bond of friendship That is to say, an individual with higher (patron) socio-economic status uses his influence and resources to provide protection and benefits for someone with a lower status (the client). Furthermore, Scott (1983: 3-6) states that this relationship occurred in some pre-capitalist farming communities that spawned "subsistence ethic", which is the bond of instrumental friendship for the exchange relationship.

In his capacity as a traditional Hindu religious power center in Bali, generally griya (Shiva) has the power to control the social relations with the people (sisya) especially in sosioreligius relation. This relationship is generally constructed by genealogical, historical, psychological, and religious-mystical bondings. In each of these relationships there are norms adhered together by every institution involved and naturalized into the system of patron-client. For example, sisya do not mind to help the various activities conducted in griya ceremony, also including taking the economical work as working the fields (nyakab) and reap the crop. On the sisya loyalty, generally the griya give the term "sisyadruwe" and received more attention than other sisyas. Conversely, griya also has an obligation to provide protection to the sisya religiously, such as religious rites (muput), even in other forms of protection, such as providing the raw materials to meet the needs of everyday life of sisya

Most of these relationships still exist and survive

until now, but with a different pattern of relations. One of the most felt effects of modernity in the changing of relationship patterns is the structuration of social relations. In this case, griya as the nucleus core structure determining the pattern of relations with sisya eventually shifted its position as parts (substructure) of the differential social structure. Therefore, griya does not fully have privileges in relation to sisya on different social relations.

The process of rationalization referred is that the relations traditionally built began to be developed into more functional relationships in different spheres of praxis life. As stated by Sutedja (interview July 28, 2016) in order to maintain good relations with sisya, then griya should be able to maintain decorum association with the principle of mutual respect. "We could not be respected by sisya, if we are not able to respect them", he said. Structuration of social relations based on rational reasons show the shift from traditional to modern values.

Basically, social relations can not be separated from the system of values prevailing in society. Therefore, the inclusion of modern values in a variety of social relations become an inevitable necessity. Modernization is a process of cultural differentiation and cultural autonomy, causing massive social change, and the pluralization of values, norms, meanings and symbols that lead to the segmentation of the culture and diversity of outlook on life (Habermas, 2004; Berger, 1994). Segmentation of culture and diversity of this view of life gave birth to the acceptance of diverse patterns of social relationships, including the relationship between Shiva and sisya. These conditions encourage griya to make structuration of social relations by adapting modern values. The emergence of new social classes based on proprietary economic capital has built a psychic structure that the social relations are also involved within the battle of economic capital in contestantive framework.

The emergence of new griya especially from the non-brahmanawangsa has the potential to build new relationships with people who originally became sisya of a griya. With these conditions, the position of griya as a traditional religious institution gets a new challenge of similar institutions in fostering relationship with sisya. Moreover, sisya now have more choices in determining religious services based on the principles of rationality and economics.

Structuration of social relations indicates sociocultural symptoms that social relations between Siwa and sisya no longer take place in one direction, but had differentiated into a variety of different structures. Griya and sisya as social actors are involved in various social structures that create different patterns of social relations. In this context, not only Hindu followers (sisya) who make the rationalization of measures in conjunction with griya (Shiva), but also the griya actively builds social relations within the scope of the wider social structure. This condition then leads to internal friction and even conflict between griya in fighting for sisya (capital) as clients in different time and space.

## IV. Conclusion

Based on the above discussion it can be concluded that the main factor underlying the shifting Shiva-sisya (patron-client) relationship within religiosity of Hindu followers in Denpasar, namely (a) the decentralization of religious authority which weakens the position of Shiva as the only center of religious power of Hindu followers , (b) the strengthening of market ideology as the existence of sulinggih has been constructed by the market mechanism as a commodity exchanged in the socio-religious aspects in which consumers have more power in choosing, and (c) the occurrence of structuration of social relations because the structural differentiation  build knots of new social relations more open and dynamic in the context of priesthood. The shift then leads to the privatization of religion, the emergence of internal frictions between Hindu followers and contestation between griyas to fight for various material resources, as a result of religious rituals market mechanisms that are increasingly competitive.

To prevent internal conflicts among Hindu followers it is advisable to Hindu religious institutions to provide a deeper understanding for Hindu followers associated with the position, authority, and priesthood function (sulinggih) so that the problem of priesthood would not cause frictions or internal conflicts among Hindu followers that may become counter productive. To the Hindu followers in Denpasar are suggested that understanding the religion not only in the aspect of textuality (philosophical-religious), but also in the aspect of contextuality (sosiohistorical) that have a thorough understanding and a solid review of aspects of Hindu religion that are indeed closely related to the local culture.

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