

THE CONTROVERSY OVER SAMPRADAYA AND THE DYNAMICS OF HINDU INSTITUTION: CONTESTATION OF HINDU ELITES IN PALANGKA RAYA CITY

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ABSTRACT

This article is intended to analyze the controversy over *sampradaya* and the dynamics of Hindu institutions in general and 'The Indonesia Administrative Council of Hindu Dharma' *Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia (PHDI)* in particular in Palangka Raya City. The existence of *sampradaya*, as a transnational organization, has triggered an internal contestation among the Hindu elites. Being a qualitative study, this current study applies the approach of cultural studies, and emphasizes the different ways of interpreting one phenomenon. The data were obtained from the informants purposively chosen; therefore, they are categorized as the primary data source. The secondary data were obtained from the online and offline books available in the library, documents, articles and research results. The data were analyzed interactively in which Milles and Huberman were referred to. The data analysis includes the data reduction, the data presentation, the conclusion withdrawal or the data verification and interpretation. The results and discussion show that the controversy and contestation more dominantly result from the impact of globalization indicated by the dialectic process of affecting each other between the particularity referring to the symbols of the Bali Hindu identity, as one of the Hindu identities in Indonesia which is obliged to be maintained, and the universality, as the Hindu identity referring to the Indian culture, whose followers have spread all over the world.

Keywords: *sampradaya*, PHDI, elite, Bali Hindu

INTRODUCTION

According to Himansu Bhusan Sarkar, Hinduism in Indonesia has spread and developed through two phases. The first phase is indicated by the exodus of the Indian people to different regions of South East Asia, including Malaysia, Sumatera, Kalimantan (Borneo), Celebes (Sulawesi), Java and Bali. The second phase is indicated by the India's impact on Indonesia concentrated in Java and Bali; however, the India's impact on Indonesia is still maintained in Bali (Kumar, 2001).

In the modern era when the globalization impact increases, the spread and development of the Hindu religion can be clearly seen. Widya (2015) states that this indicates the third phase of the spread of Hindu religion by the Balinese people who have participated in the transmigration program and who are recruited as the members of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia and the members of the Police of the Republic of Indonesia, government civil servants and the employees of the big companies spreading in almost every part of the Indonesian archipelago. The Balinese people who live in Bali and outside Bali maintain their religion, that is, the Hindu religion, and the Balinese tradition. According to the Balinese people, the Hindu symbols do not only theologically refer to the Hindu religion but they also refer to their religion-based culture (Aziz, 2006). Therefore, the relationship between the Hindu religion and the Balinese culture are two phenomena in one reality (Geriya, 2009). The fast modernization and globalization have caused the Balinese people to undergo theological disorientation with various variables (Widnya, 2015:116). Such a disorientation is indicated by the appearance of the militant *sampradaya*¹ groups, which then affect the Bali Hindus and Java Hindus.

The *sampradaya* groups, as the transnational organizations, which have most dominantly developed in Indonesia are Hare Krishna (HK) and Sai Baba/Say Study Group (SSG). Since the reformation era, the domination of the two groups of *sampradaya* and their hegemony have caused them to collide with the Hindus who faithfully defend their ethnic identities in their religious practices, especially the Balinese ethnic group.

The vigorous proselytization of the Bali (Nusantara) Hindu followers carried out by the *sampradaya* group members and their different comments that the Bali Hindu practices are incorrect has caused them to collide (Budiasa, 2015; McDonald, 2017; Widana, 2021). This issue has led to the prolonged polemic and finally to the repeal of the protection of Hare Krishna.

Although the Central PHDI had repealed the protection of HK, many Balinese people did not feel satisfied. The reason was that the protection of the SSG group had not been repealed yet. The consequence was that it was demanded that the Central PHDI be purified. However, the elites² of the Central PHDI considered that the decision it issued

¹ *sampradaya* is a transnational doctrine of knowledge". It is a religious and spiritual sect which appears from the Hindu tradition and is socialized through the oral practice and *upanayana* (initiation). Widana, <https://www.balipost.com>. Epistemologically, the word 'sampradaya' is derived from the verb 'samprada', meaning 'giving, rewarding, submitting, bestowing; transmitting through tradition, and bequeathing. Putra, www.hindu-indonesia-com.

² The word 'elites' refer to a small group that has power or has influence over another and is assumed to be superior. The assumption is that there will always be a division between the ruling party and the controlled party and even the society or institution known as democratic. As having power, the elites contribute to the decisions issued. The sources of power they obtain may be in the forms of position, status of wealth, belief, religion, friendship, education and skill.

included the decision of repealing the protection of the SSG group. Such a request was not from the external party only but it was also from the internal party, causing the contestation among the elites of the Hindu organization in general and the elites of PHDI themselves in particular.

The contestation was getting more serious after the Communication Forum of PHDI from every part of Indonesia held *Mahasaba Luar Biasa (MLB)* (extraordinary meeting) electing a new board; Marsekal TNI (Purn) Ida Bagus Putu Dunia, Chief of the Staff of the Indonesian Air Force in the era of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, as the chairman, and Komang Priambada as the daily staff in charge. Then this version is better known as *PHDI MLB Pura Samuan Tiga*. The response of the Central PHDI to what had been done by the elites involved in the MLB was that the activities of the PHDI of the regions where those elites came from, one of which was the PHDI of Central Kalimantan Province, were frozen.

This article analyzes the contestation of the Hindu elites in Palangka Raya City as the response to the controversy over *sampradaya* and the dynamics of the Hindu institution, that is, the PHDI of Central Kalimantan Province after its activities were frozen. In the other dimension, the Hindu elites in Palangka Raya City are not homogenous; their ethnical backgrounds are different; some belong to the Balinese ethnical group, some belong to the Dayak ethnical group, and the others belong to the Javanese ethnical group. It is this that has sharpened the different views on *sampradaya* and the dynamics of PHDI leading to the contestation of the Hindu elites.

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METHOD

This current study applies the qualitative method focusing on the approach of cultural studies, and emphasizes the aspect of contestation needed to respond to an

Abercrombie, Hill and Turner 2010 page 178.

incident. The qualitative data obtained from the primary and secondary data sources are used. The primary data sources were directly obtained from the field and informants, and the secondary data sources were obtained from the books available in the library, the articles containing the online and offline results of research, sites or websites related to the topic of discussion. The informants were purposively selected based on the criteria already determined. The data were collected through observation, in-depth interview, and documentation. The key subject in the data collection was the researcher itself supported with an interview guide containing the basic questions which were then developed in the dialogues with the informants. The other supporting tools were a camera, hand phone, stationary or a notebook. The data were interactively analyzed, and the analysis included the data reduction, the data presentation, the conclusion withdrawal or verification or interpretation (Miles and Huberman, 1992).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Controversy over *Sampradaya* in Palangka Raya City

It is predicted that the *sampradaya* groups, especially the HK group, came to Palangka Raya City in 1995; however, when SSG came to Palangka Raya was not exactly known; it was predicted that it had come to Palangka Raya City before HK came. HK was firstly introduced by Darmayasa, a member of the Society of Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON). His first disciple was I Wayan Arnatha. The SSG or Sai Baba was firstly introduced by Tjok Rama, an official of the High Court of Central Kalimantan (*Kejaksaan Tinggi Kalimantan Tengah*). The HK disciples, who were elites, were sent to the ashram located in Bogor, as the center where the HK disciples are educated and disciplined³.

In the beginning the existence of the HK and SSG, the *sampradaya* groups, did not lead to any problem. However, the dynamics of the conflict between some of the Balinese people and their organizations and the two *sampradaya* groups also affected the situation in Central Kalimantan. The response of the Bali Hindu elites to the spread of proselytization⁴ and the initiation of the Bali Hindu through the social media, WhatsApp and Facebooks is as follows:

“...*menawi niki sekadi baptis ring Kristen nggih. mantap...yen sami semeton Bali*

³ The information was obtained from Oka Swastika, a Bali Hindu elite, who was interviewed on 6 May 2021.

⁴ Basically, proselytization is a specific term used by the Church, which is then defined as the attempt made by the evangelists to preach what is taught by Jesus to those who are not Christians. Now the term is used as the umbrella for embracing the attempts which are made to convert others to Christianity, Islam and the other religions. Among the existing religions in the world, those who most dominantly have the doctrine of proselytization are Samawi, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The proselytization applied by the rival religions frequently leads to conflicts. Kholish and Rohmah, 2019 page 55.

sekadi niki, telas dresta tetamian leluhur Baline. Merajan sepi, sewireh batara guru nyabrang rahina rauh saking dura negara (it is possibly similar to the baptism in Christianity, yeah, ...it's great ...if all the Balinese people are proselytized, then the Balinese tradition inherited by the ancestors will be extinct. Nobody will come to the family temple (*merajan*) as Lord Guru will get eliminated as a consequence of the existence of another (God) coming from another country⁵).

The spread of the activities performed by the HK group through the social media cannot be separated from the impact of globalization featured by Appadurai with the spread of *ethnoscape*, *financescape*, *mediascape*, and *ideoscape* (Barker, 2004: 121; Ritzer, 2008). The term *scape* shows that processes take place smoothly, irregularly, and changeably, leading to the growth of heterogeneity instead of homogeneity (Ritzer, 2008; Djaya, 2012:125). Two of the five *scapes*, that is, media and ideologies caused the Hindu elites to give different meanings; hence, the controversy over the existence of *sampradaya* in Palangka Raya City could not be avoided. The activities performed by the HK group was assessed to be so dominant by the Bali Hindu elites that the points of conflict, antagonism, and contradictions became diverse.

The conservative Bali Hindu elites in Palangka Raya City did their best to avoid the impact of the activities performed by the *sampradaya* by advocating the Hindu teaching based on the Bali Hindu *dresta*⁶. Although the problem was not as serious as that in Bali, basically, that was not a problem for the Bali Hindus in Palangka Raya, the only certain circles of society that frequently contrasted the *sampradaya* groups and the Balinese *dresta*. This reality constituted a dialectic process in which particularity and universality affected one another (Parekh, 2008:171).

The aspect of particularity has something to do with the specific culture that can be found in a particular local area, or this is also referred to as authenticity as what is referred to by the Bali Hindus, for example, the specific symbols referring to or representing the Bali ethnic culture. Universality is the collectively claimed value; it is universal in nature as what is understood by the *sampradaya* groups that the Hinduism they claim follows its original source in India.

This fact has also led to what is idiomatically referred to as the dilemma of *simalakama*. What is meant is that, on the one hand, the identity of Hindus cannot be

⁵ The information was obtained from Oka Swastika, a Bali Hindu elite, whom was interviewed on 6 May 2021.

⁶ The Balinese people's point of view-based tradition regulating manners, the relations of community members when they socialize within the scope of several areas with specific similarities.

separated from the search for the root of self-significance, group significance and cultural significance that are obliged to be maintained and conserved; on the other hand, the search for the root of self-significance, group significance and cultural significance that are obliged to be maintained and conserved is frequently faced with (*vis a vis*) the diversity of the Hindu society itself; it is this that has become the root of controversies and even conflicts. The wider impact of globalization indicated by the increased interactions, identity claims and frictions leading to the tensions and clashes among cultural identities is the second assumption (Huntington, ed. 2005:5-9; UNESCO, 2011:2).

The Bali Hindus whom were met state that the situation in Bali and that outside Bali should also be taken into consideration if the only goal was to support the spirit of the Bali Hindu *dresta* primordial. On the one hand, the majority of the Bali Hindus in Palangka Raya City are the second generation, or even the third generation who only know Hinduism with its different forms and variants, better known as plurality. On the other hand, the existence of *sampradaya* has never been a problem for the Kaharingan and Java Hindus. They are only familiar with the term 'Hinduism' which emphasizes pluralism.

The controversy will only lead to the separation of the Hindus. According to Suryanto, who is a Hindu elite and a follower of the HK group, the Java elites do not see and think about their specific identity as *sampradaya*; according to them, the identity of being Hindus and Javanese are important.⁷

The Bali Hindu elites are different from the Java Hindu ones in that the latter are more open to the membership of the *sampradaya* groups. Most of them adjust themselves when entertained by the Hindu families with the *sampradaya* background. The openness of the Java Hindu elites cannot be separated from their world view guided by the attempts that are made to create harmonization, and the philosophy of "Tantularism", which has become the *habitus*⁸ of the Java Hindu elites (Endraswara, 2014:2016).

Conceptually, there are many reasons that motivate one to join the *sampradaya* groups; first, as the supplement of balance. In Indonesia Hinduism is centered on three basic frameworks; they are *tattwa* (philosophy), *susila* (morality) and *upacara* (ritual), whose daily practices are dominantly influenced by rituals; therefore, the existence of the *sampradaya* groups which progressively refer to the idea of the universal religion adopted

⁷ The information was obtained from Handoko, Head of Java Hindu 'Paguyuban' in Palangka Raya City, whom were interviewed on 2 May 2021.

⁸ *habitus*, according to Bourdieu, refers to a system of disposition that is durable and lasts long and functions as the generative basis (Mahar, et., 2009:13). Therefore, as far as the Jackson's view is concerned (2009:139-140), *habitus* is understood as the machine of cultural action, which is developed to understand the cultural sources of the subjectivity of the social actors. It is the "mental or cognitive structures" when concerned with the social world. Therefore, *habitus* tends to function as the structuring structure, meaning that it becomes the principle used to create and regulate practices and ideas that "can be regulated" and "regular" without being faithful to the regulation itself (Riawanti, 2017:31).

from Weda is regarded as the supplement of balance and, at the same time, as strengthening and completing the Indonesia Hindu religious practices; second, the modernization of the ritual practices using great offerings (*banten*) before. However, the fact shows that the rituals using great offerings (*banten*) are getting stronger in the modern era, meaning that the Hindu religion changes from the royal religion into the mass religion that gives more specific space and time for the resistance against the great rituals to grow and develop. This condition has led to the appearance of the universal religious ideas adhered to by the *sampradaya* groups; third, the pluralism in Hinduism itself (Widnya, 2015:118-120).

In spite of the reason of pluralism in Hinduism, many followers of the *sampradaya* groups consider that the Bali Hindu tradition is not in accordance with what is taught in Weda. Even some of them ignore the ancestral worship. Essentially, it is this that those who faithfully carry out the Bali Hindu tradition regard as a problem. On the other hand, the appearance of the attitude of being tolerant towards the *sampradaya* groups in Palangka Raya City results from the attempt that is made to establish the basis of Hindus regardless of their ethnical backgrounds. In addition, most of them still actively go to the Temple to pray. However, the reality shows that the *sampradaya* group members frequently reduce such a situation resulting from the controversy among them. In addition, the stereotype of the Bali Hindu conservative elites who always narrate “if the *sampradaya* groups were allowed to develop, the traditions inherited by the Bali Hindus would gradually become lost, and possibly become extinct. As a result, such traditions can only be reminisced about through videos or *YouTobe* as the films of the Balinese people’s life in the era of 1920s⁹.

This view of the Bali Hindu elites shows their negative response to the *sampradaya* groups. The negative issue results from the different religious practices. The religious practices performed by the *sampradaya* groups are dominated by the rites of *agnihotra*¹⁰, *bhajan*¹¹ or *kirtanam* and the ones performed by the Bali Hindus are dominated by the rituals using offerings (*banten*). Apart from that, half of their theological understanding is different from that of the *sampradaya* groups. The response develops into the resistance against the *sampradaya* groups. The escalation of the resistance also takes place in the other parts of Indonesia with different forms, for example, terror, exclusion, and being not

⁹ The information was obtained from I Made Sadiana, Head of the PHDI Palangka Raya, whom was interviewed on 7 May 2021.

¹⁰ The holy sacrifice offered to Dewa Agni (Lord Fire).

¹¹ Worship of Istadewata by singing a spiritual song of the Indian version.

allowed to get along with the *sampradaya* groups.

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The Dynamics of the PHDI of Central Kalimantan Province

After the board of PHDI MLB Pura Samuan Tiga was formed, and the PHDI of Central Kalimantan Province was suspended as a consequence of the involvement of its head, Nyoman Suyadnya, in the MLB held at Samuan Tiga Temple, the debate between the provincial PHDI elites and the regency PHDI ones was getting heated. The accumulation of the debate could be observed from the WhatsApp group discussion held by the PHDI of Central Kalimantan Province on 8th October 2021, when Head of the PHDI East Waringin City (Kotim), Gede Sukadana, raised a question related to the suspension mentioned above. The answer given by Nyoman Sudiana was “do the activities in each region, do not get affected by the Suspended Central PHDI, thank you”. The response to this instruction given by Gede Sukadana was that “We’re prepared to do that; we’re always prepared to do everything voluntarily (*ngayah*)¹² for our people without any tendency.”

In the beginning, several PHDI elites in the regency level regarded that there was nothing wrong with the attitude of Head of the Provincial PHDI to support the MLB held at Pura Samuan Tiga.

However, in the discussion group held on 25 October 2021 through WhatsApp, Head of the Kotim PHDI criticized the result of the MLB held at Pura Samuan Tiga. He stated that it was too early for the PHDI established through MLB to hold *mahasabaha* (extraordinary meeting) which sparked the suspicion of the Hindu society. In addition, the

¹² Doing something for nothing by someone or a group of people.

legality of the MLB was still a question mark.

The internal debate among the elites of the PHDI of Central Kalimantan Province in the discussion group through WhatsApp showed the feeling of disappointment at the decision made by Nyoman Sudyana to support the MLB, causing the Hindu society to be socially sorted. Apart from that, the legality of the MLB held by the PHDI was still a question mark to the Hindu elites in the regency level. The other problem that was debated was that the suspension of the provincial PHDI causing the PHDI elites in the regency levels to be divided into two groups; they were the group supporting the PHDI established through the MLB, including the PHDI of Barito Utara Regency (Barut), the PHDI of Kota Waringin Barat (Kobar), the PHDI of Barito Timur (Bartim), the PHDI of Lamandau, the PHDI of Palangka Raya, and the PHDI of Murung Raya, and the group that did not support the PHDI established through the MLB, including the PHDI of Kapuas Regency, the PHDI of Pulang Pisau, the PHDI of Barito Selatan (Barsel), the PHDI of Katingan, the PHDI of Kotawaringin Timur (Kotim) and the PHDI of Sukamara. The polarization between the two groups was getting sharper when the Central PHDI held the *mahasaba* (extraordinary meeting) appointing Mayjen (Purn) Wisnu Bawa Tenaya (WBT) the chairman for the second time for the service period of 2021-2026.

The appointment of WBT the chairman for the second time and the fact that the PHDI of Central Kalimantan Province still strongly supported the PHDI established through the MLB held at Samuan Tiga Temple caused the elites of the PHDI in the regency level to be getting worried, as could be more clearly seen in the action done by Head of the PHDI of Kapuas Regency for which he sent a letter to WBT to propose for the formation of the committee of *Lokasabha Luar Biasa* (an extraordinary meeting at the local level) number 46.a/PHDI-KPS/XI/2021 dated 6th December 2021 informing that he supported the suspension of the PHDI of Central Kalimantan Province. The names proposed for the core committee of the *lokasaba* were I Wayan Suata as chairman, Gaya D. Laman as Vice chairman, I Wayan Suasta as secretary, Budi Purnomo as Vice Secretary, Wayan Pait as Treasurer, Oka Swastika as Steering Committee (SC), and Walter S. Penyang as Organizing Committee (OC).

Apart from the letter sent by Head of the PHDI of Kapuas Regency, a letter was also sent by *Paguyuban Masyarakat Bali (PMB)* headed by I Nyoman Kira Wirawan. Its secretary was Ida Bagus Mas Gunawan. The letter dated 22 November 2021 Number: 11/PMB-KALTENG/XI/2021 was sent to WBT, Head of the Central PHDI. The letter was written to support the suspension of the board of the PHDI of Central Kalimantan Province and the formation of the *lokasabha* committee. In addition, the letter was also written to

emphasize that the participation of Head of the PHDI of Central Kalimantan Province in the MLB held at Samuan Tiga Temple was not aspirated and proposed by the Hindu society in Central Kalimantan but it was only aspirated by the desire of a few elites wishing to take power by force.

As the response to the commotion and the debates among the Hindu elites in Palangka Raya City, attempts were continuously made to “reconcile” with the PHDI elites participating in the MLB held by the PHDI headed by WBT to support the appointment of WBT the legitimate chairman of the PHDI; however, the attempts which were made to reconcile failed. As a result, a letter dated 21st January 2022 number: 07/KEP/PH PHDI Pusat/2022 concerning the committee formed to hold the eighth *lokasabha* for the PHDI of Central Kalimantan Province from 5th to 6th February 2022 was issued. The issuance of the letter allowed the PHDI of Central Kalimantan Province to be changed based on the mechanism of the organizational regulation, and Head of the PHDI MLB who was opposed to the PHDI headed by WBT.

Nyoman Sudyana, who supported the PHDI MLB, also intended to hold a *lokasabha* before the one mentioned above. To this end, he issued a letter to invite the Hindu elites to participate in the *lokasabha* held from 28 to 30 January at Swiss Bell Hotel Danum. The number of the letter was 03/Pan-Lokasabha VIII/Kalteng/2022. This means that the *lokasabha* proposed by Nyoman Sudyana was held before the time when the one proposed by PHDI headed by WBT was held. However, the former was only attended by two delegates from the PHDI of Provincial/Regency Level; they were from Palangka Raya City and Bartim Regency. The delegates from Barito Utara, Kotawaringin Barat, Lamandau and Munung Raya, who stated that they would certainly come to be present at the *lokasabha* did not appear until the *lokasabha* was closed for different reasons, starting from being sick to being on the way.

The absence of the delegates from the regencies mentioned above caused Oka Swastika, a Bali Hindu elite, to be infuriated enough. The reason was that the four PHDIs had stated that they would be present at the *lokasabha*, indicated by the forms and pictures that had already been sent before it was held as planned. The absence of the PHDI elites from those regencies was regarded as being intentionally planned as can be seen in the comments given through WhatsApp by the PHDI of Central Kalimantan as follows:

“Let’s pray together that *Hyang Widhi* (the Almighty God) will cure the regency delegates who cannot be present at the *lokasabha* or their family members who are sick. *AUM Svaha*”. “It is hoped that, those who are said to have been on the

way to Palangka Raya since yesterday but have not arrived yet, are safe during the trip and can return to and know their respective houses. *AUM Svaha*".

"It is hoped that the elites of the PHDI in the regency level who have sent their impressive pictures and names will become photo models with impressive names without any hate speech as uploaded by Edi Mulyadi, a senior journalist".

It cannot be denied that Oka Swastika expressed his annoyance using the satire "it's hoped that you're safe and can know your respective homes". This satire can be differently interpreted; however, as far as the current context is concerned, the figurative expression "being safe" means not being lost or not being influenced by another group, especially by the group supporting the PHDI headed by WBT, and the figurative expression "returning to respective homes" means "returning to the self-identity and tradition by supporting the PHDI MLB held at Samuan Tiga Temple with the theme "purifying the PHDI from the influence of the foreign *sampradaya*". The other satire or figurative expression "impressive photos and names" which is addressed to the participants from the other regencies who cancelled their presence, is connected with the hate speech uttered by Edi Mulyadi, the suspected spreading the opinion that Kalimantan is an island where the evil spirits discard their children. That is assumed to be hoax or stupidity which is intended to spread discrimination and hatred. This refers to what is stated by Bourdieu, who states that the spoken or written language cannot be separated from the situation where it is used. Therefore, the above satires and even "sarcasm" used by the Hindu elites after the *lokasabha* mentioned above was held show the domination of someone with authority. He may be either a leader or an elder with different predicates or as part of the PHDI administrators who wants to perpetuate his domination (Mahar, 2009; Jackson, 2009; Fashri, 2014).

Although several elites of the PHDI in the regency level sent as the delegates of the *lokasabha* were not present, it successfully elected Walter S. Penyang as the organizing committee (OC) and I Made Sadyana as the secretary. Walter S. Penyang was a member of the *sabda walaka* of the Central PHDI headed by WBT. He was the organizing committee of the *lokasabha* held in Central Kalimantan based the decree issued by the PHDI headed by WBT. He was also an elite of the Golkar Party and the active Head of MB-AHK. I Made Sadyana was the active Head of the PHDI of Palangka Raya City. The election of Walter S. Penyang as the organizing committee led to another debate as, based on the statutes of PHDI, an elite of any political party may not be elected as one of its elites. In addition, he is also a member of the *sabha walaka* of the PHDI

headed by WBT, meaning that he did not fulfill the criteria of being elected as an elite based on the statutes either.

According to the elites supporting the PHDI MLB, Walter S. Penyang may also be recommended or elected as Head of PHDI through the *lokasabha* which would be held by the PHDI headed by WBT. This was the best alternative to avoid dualism that was feared to occur in the board of the PHDI of Central Kalimantan^{13 14}.

Based on the debates mentioned above, the internal contestation among the PHDI elites seemed to result from the attempt to dominate one another individually and collectively based on their positions and the symbolic capitals they had as the sentences uttered through WhatsApp. Even the socio-cultural capital was also needed in order to be the winner. Many people also assumed that the economic capital was also needed; however, this could not be proved yet. On the other hand, the reality showed that the efforts of consolidation made by the PHDI headed by WBT were frequently challenged by the two groups indicated by the fact that efforts are still made to maintain the conflict spreading the issue of *sampradaya* as the theme of news assumed to come from those supporting the PHDI headed by WBT. The news is spread through the WhatsApp group of what is locally referred to as *témpék* or *suka-duka*. The bad impact of this practice is that it can sharpen differences and stigmatization, and castrate the identity of others who are also the Bali Hindus. The human space that the Hindu concepts contain is getting reduced. The worse consequence is that the internal solidarity of the Bali Hindus becomes obstructed and this can also affect the Kaharingan Hindus or Java Hindus.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the study, the conclusions that can be withdrawn are as follows; the Bali Hindu elites regard the existence of the *sampradaya* groups as a threat, but the Java and Kaharingan Hindus do not. The globalization dimension indicated by the development of media and the spread of the *sampradaya* ideology, which is transnational in nature, has also been responsible for the different perceptions and has caused the differences to be getting sharper. As a consequence, the Bali Hindus feel that their local identity is getting marginalized. Therefore, they or the Nusantara Hindus show their “resistance” and refusal using specific narrations. On the other hand, several Hindu elites

¹³ The information was obtained from Ida Pedanda Putu Kiniten (IBP Adnyana), whom was interviewed via telephone on 2nd February 2022.

¹⁴ The information was obtained from I Made Sadiana, the secretary elected through the *lokasabha* held by the PHDI MLB of Central Kalimantan Province and Head of PHDI of Palangka Raya City, whom were interviewed via telephone on 4th February 2022.

can accept the *sampradaya* groups in Palangka Raya City as they still go to the Temple to pray; even several individuals and their family members still worship their ancestors. The dynamics of PHDI cannot be separated from the element of the purification movement of PHDI resulting from the impact of the *sampradaya* groups, especially SSG, which, although not legally or formally recognized (*de facto*), it is still protected by the Central PHDI, causing contestation even polarization to take place in the Hindu society in Palangka Raya City.

RECOMMENDATION

It is recommended that one component should not dominate and underestimate another to avoid opposite polarization. If, in fact, the structure cannot avoid one from dominating another, it is suggested then that superordination should not domain subordination. The conflict management model “safety -valve” can be applied to minimize the impact of polarization leading to this type of conflict (Triguna, 2011a:13). Coser (in Poloma, 1992: 108) defines it as the specific mechanism used to prevent groups from being involved in any social conflict. It leaves an outburst of hospitality channeled without destroying the whole structure, and it helps clean the messy group. The “safety valve” can be imaginatively applied by sharing power, unifying goals, and being willing to give in. In addition, it can also be applied through negotiation, compromise, reconciliation and “style of avoiding”. This can also be created if the dialogical culture is developed, meaning that all the social groups under the Hindu religion should specifically be prepared to hold dialogues to discuss about their cultures, traditions and knowledge, and the differences among them. Apart from that, the results of the dialogues should be put into practice as well.

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