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# Establishing Social Reharmonization between the Balinese Hindu Diaspora and Sasak Moslem in Post-Conflict in Mataram

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## Abstract

This research aims to study the revitalization of *quodidian* ties as a medium of establishing social reharmonization between the Balinese Hindu diaspora and Sasak Moslem in Mataram city. This revitalization was carried out post-conflict between the two ethnic groups in a number of areas. This phenomenon is related to the representation of local wisdom as possessing noble values instilled by the ancestors of the two ethnic groups toward realizing mutualistic communication and interaction. This study was designed using an interpretative-descriptive approach in order to conduct an in-depth analysis of the research focus. This study found innovations relating to the implementation of *quodidian* ties, specifically through the revitalization of individual and collective consciousness based on *quodidian* ties, the strengthening of multicultural ties between the two ethnic communities, the valorization of local wisdom involving the participation of different ethnic groups, and the contestation of cultural capital in the implementation of *adat* and religious practices. Recommendations of this study are to build cultural awareness through attitudes that mutually recognize and accept differences.

**Keywords:** revitalization, *quodidian* ties, Balinese Hindu, Sasak Moslem, social reharmonization

## Abstrak

### Membangun Reharmoni Sosial antara Diaspora Bali-Hindu dan Sasak-Muslim Pasca-Konflik di Mataram

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk melakukan kajian revitalisasi ikatan kuosidian sebagai medium membangun reharmoni sosial antara komunitas diaspora Bali-Hindu dan Sasak-Muslim di Kota Mataram. Revitalisasi ini dilakukan pasca-konflik antar kedua komunitas etnis pada beberapa lokasi. Fenomena tersebut berkaitan dengan representasi nilai-nilai luhur kearifan

lokal yang dibangun oleh para leluhur kedua kelompok etnis tersebut dalam rangka mewujudkan komunikasi dan interaksi yang mutualistik. Penelitian ini dirancang dalam jenis deskriptif interpretatif dalam rangka untuk melakukan analisis yang mendalam terhadap fokus penelitian. Penelitian ini menghasilkan inovasi yang berkaitan dengan implementasi ikatan *kuosidian*, khususnya melalui revitalisasi ikatan *kuosidian* berbasis kesadaran individu dan kolektif, penguatan ikatan multikultural antarkedua komunitas etnis, pemberdayaan nilai-nilai kearifan lokal yang melibatkan peran serta kelompok etnis yang berbeda, dan kontestasi modal kultural dalam pelaksanaan adat dan praktik beragama. Rekomendasi hasil penelitian ini adalah membangun kesadaran kultural melalui sikap-sikap yang saling mengakui dan menerima perbedaan.

**Kata kunci:** revitalisasi, ikatan *kuosidian*, Bali-Hindu, Sasak-Muslim, reharmonisasi sosial

## 1. Introduction

Diaspora between the Balinese-Hindu community in Mataram, Lombok during the historical period of contact with the Sasak-Moslem community. The contact between the two ethnic groups experiences dynamics, that is colored by conflict and integration. The conflict was indicated by the war when the Karangasem-Bali Kingdom conquered several kingdoms in Lombok. Refer to the Tim Penyusun Monografi Daerah Nusa Tenggara Barat (1977: 17-18) Karangasem Kingdom in controlling Lombok started from controlling Ampenan, Pejarakan, and Jereneng. Next pounding Kuripan and finally pounded Pejanggik until it fell. Karangasem gradually subdued the whole of Lombok in 1692 together with Banjar Getas.

Since 1692, areas in Lombok, except those authorized to Arya Banjar Getas in the East, practically became the vassals of the Karangasem Kingdom in Bali. In Lombok at that time a certain government had not yet been set up, but everything had followed manners and orders from Karangasem Kingdom, Bali. I Gusti Anglurah Ktut Karangasem who succeeded in conquering the Sasak kingdoms then placed their descendants, both their sons and grandchildren, such as in Pagesangan, Kediri, Pagutan, and

Sengkongo (Agung, 1992: 92). Karangasem Kingdom in managing people's lives so that the Balinese can coexist with the Sasak people. This condition is indicated by attitudes that recognize and accept the differences that exist between them. A number of differences that are owned precisely as adding to the vibrant beauty of their daily lives. Departing from this phenomenon, they built living systems that could encapsulate differences in the form of local wisdom. Local wisdom refers to Suja (2010: 1) not only implies that the wisdom grows from solving local problems whose validity is also used in the environment where he grows and develops.

Local wisdom that is built into the media to build social ties, both among those who are in one ethnic group or outside ethnic groups. The local wisdom uses the media of cultural traditions as a vehicle to build togetherness. Balinese ethnic groups have a system of Balinese cultural traditions inherited by their ancestors which are used as a vehicle to overcome life's problems and at the same time are full of noble values in realizing a quality life. The presence of Balinese in Lombok in the historical period according to Budharta (1990: 37) was realized to assume great responsibility for maintaining Hindu culture in his homeland. This condition is related to the existence of Balinese as a group of people who are in a minority position.

Synergizing with the phenomenon above, the Sasak ethnic group also has a system of cultural traditions of ancestral heritage that are applied in everyday life to realize the improvement of their quality of life. The tradition system is still carried out in the life of the Sasak community at certain events. The application of the cultural tradition system is the cultural identity of the Sasak ethnic community. The Sasak cultural system is also expected to always strive in achieving progress even more so in the future there will be complexities of life that occur in Lombok society (Lukman, 2005:142-143). Cultural aspects in the past were often ignored. The culture development should follow the times.

Both systems of cultural traditions are used as a vehicle to realize togetherness with the adaptation process. The adaptation process is carried out on a number of cultural elements so as to

build an alignment that can be used well in order to realize the closeness between the two ethnic communities. There are a number of elements of Balinese culture and Sasak culture that experience acculturation. With regard to cultural acculturation it is necessary to pay attention to the views of Bakker (1994:121) that in the process of acculturation there are parties that respect each other, achieve mutual understanding, even cooperation in limited interests, but closed to other parties. They dialogue, do not experience displacement in the cultural structure faced.

The arrival of foreign cultural influence is very strong influence in realizing changes in a number of aspects of traditional culture that have been applied by the people of Bali-Hindu and Sasak-Moslem. In this regard, informal ties that have experienced fading as a result of the influx of outside influences, especially modernization, have had consequences for social relations between Balinese-Hindu and Sasak-Moslem ethnic communities. This phenomenon is indicated by the emergence of social tensions that led to conflict and communal violence between the two ethnic groups. Communal conflict and violence that occurred between the two ethnic groups has alienated the pattern of kinship that has been established since the historical period. The fading of informal ties practices is relatively potential to trigger conflicts and communal violence in the city of Mataram because social relations have experienced a rift. The informal ties are associated with the idea of Varshney (2002: 50-51) referred to as quotidian ties or daily ties. This informal unofficial ties are very strong in maintaining social harmony in the countryside.

A number of the noble traditions of the past as a form of the quotidian ties are no longer intensively applied, such as the tradition of *jge*, the tradition of inviting each other, the tradition of advancing. Although there are still those who apply it the quantity is limited and is no longer carried out as was done in the past. Suprpto (2013:103) is still effective in maintaining the quosidian citizenship to maintain social cohesiveness between groups, but its existence is lacking in development. Daily informal ties are more effective in safeguarding than formal and organized citizenship ties.

Starting from these conditions presumably informal social ties that have been proven to build communication and interaction be-

tween the two ethnic communities can be contextually revitalized. Revitalization of the values of social solidity is largely determined by the awareness of each party to understand the implicit meaning behind the noble tradition so that it can be reapplied in order to realize social harmony. Disbursement of social relations after the occurrence of communal conflicts and violence involving the Balinese-Hindu and Sasak-Moslem communities is relatively effective by rebuilding the noble traditions of the past contextually. In this regard it is necessary to find a strategy that can revitalize past traditions that contain *quotidian* bonds. This study aims to study the revitalization of *quotidian* bonds in building harmony among Balinese-Hindu and Sasak-Moslem in Mataram, West Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia.

## 2. Research Method

Research related to the representation of *quotidian* bonds between the Bali-Hindu community and Sasak-Moslem in Mataram City is designed in a qualitative interpretive type. In this regard, the data needed in this study are in the form of words, sentences, expressions, images, and the like from data sources which are then analyzed by descriptive methods. The scope of this research study uses case study techniques. The main reason for using case studies refers to Yin (2004: 4) that case studies provide opportunities for researchers to maintain holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events.

This study uses two types of data sources, namely primary and secondary. Primary data is obtained directly in the field, especially based on the results of observations and the results of interviews with a number of informants. The technique of determining informants in this study was purposive. The selection of purposive techniques is based on the objectives expected in this study. Meanwhile, secondary data sources are obtained indirectly from the main data sources, but through document sources, such as archives, statistical reporting data, monographs, and others. The use of secondary data sources is very important to obtain data that is missed by observers and a number of informants.

This study uses three data collection techniques, namely observation, interviews and document study. Observations made by researchers by observing the object under study and recording. Interviews were conducted using non-structured interview techniques in accordance with those recommended by Fontana and Frey (2009: 507) that non-structured interviews provide more space than other types of interviews.

The informant determination technique used as a source of data in this study uses purposive techniques, which is associated with the objectives set in the study. This technique is done by first determining the informant will be used as a data source by fulfilling a number of requirements. *First*, prospective informants are residents living in the area of Mataram city. *Second*, have extensive knowledge of traditional cultural practices, implementation of local traditions, and insights on social, cultural, and religious activities in the city of Mataram. *Third*, prospective informants play an active role in various activities related to traditional cultural practices, the continuation of local traditions, and the implementation of *adat* (heritage traditions of the past that have been traditionally institutionalized) in the area of Mataram city. *Fourth*, being open to convey knowledge, especially related to the focus of this research. Data were analyzed by data analysis techniques, namely descriptive interpretative.

### 3. Results and Discussion

The arrival of Balinese Hindu in Lombok in the historical period seems to have occurred at the time of the Gelgel Kingdom because its territory covered Blambangan, Sumbawa and Lombok (Berg in Wahyuni, et al., 1996: 93). The population of Lombok is mixed with people who come from outside the island, mainly dealing with Balinese people at least since the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Parimartha, 2002: 37). The Balinese migration to Lombok in an effort to break the people's resistance against the Karangasem Kingdom in Lombok. Hundreds of families came from Karangasem-Bali to Lombok for months. The leader of the migration wave was mostly king of Karangasem's family, along with their relatives, and friends (Agung, 1992: 93). According to data in 1895, the population of Bali on Lombok only

amounts to eight percent of the Sasak population. However, the king's ability to organize the government well enough to be able to maintain power in Lombok for quite a long time, which is one and a half centuries (Rama, 1989: 16).

The contact between the Balinese Hindu and Sasak Moslem communities was initially through war as briefly narrated above, but can subsequently realize mutual life. This condition according to I Wayan Karsa (an informant), was due to the king's ability to organize the life of the royal community, so that mutualistic social relations between the two ethnic communities gradually occurred. The process of communication and interaction between the two ethnic groups uses cultural medium. A number of cultural elements of the Sasak ethnic community have similarities with cultural elements applied by the ethnic Balinese Hindu community. The cultural system adopted by the Balinese ethnic community has a very close relationship with the Hindu religious practices. In connection with that, between the implementation of Hinduism with Balinese cultural practices as if united and difficult to separate. Balinese culture in Lombok is associated with Abdullah's idea (2006: 45) as a cultural reproduction, a process of cultural affirmation which in this case confirms the existence of the original culture.

In connection with cultural adaptation, between elements of the Sasak culture with a number of elements of Balinese culture produce traditions that are adjusted to build togetherness. Cultural adaptation combines cultural elements from each ethnic group. The traditions that are built can produce mutualistic relationships between the two ethnic groups that can dilute the barriers between the two ethnic groups. This condition realizes the awareness of mutual recognition and accepting a number of differences which in its accumulation produce social harmony. In this regard, the representation of *quotidian* ties is summarized in building social harmony between the Balinese-Hindu and Sasak-Moslem communities.

### **3.1 Revitalization of the *Quotidian* Cultural Ties**

The *quotidian* ties that have been awakened between the Bali-Hindu and Sasak-Moslem in Mataram since the historical period



are cultural capital that can be converted into social capital. Capital conceptualized by Pierre Bourdieu can be mutually converted, as emphasized by Fashri (2007:98-99) that there are four classes of capital, namely economic capital, social capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital. The four capital can be converted to each other. One of the cultural capital is related to the ownership of high value culture. Social capital according to Haryatmoko (2003:12) is manifested in relations and networks of relationships which are useful resources in determining and reproducing social positions.

The conversion of cultural capital to social capital is a process that can be carried out through self-competencies possessed by each ethnic group, both individually and in groups in certain fields concerning cultural development. Self competence as social energy in strengthening interethnic relations. This phenomenon can be actualized in activities related to celebration or activities related to the implementation of religious practices, culture and customs of each ethnic group. These activities are a medium of communication and interaction between the two ethnic communities since the time of history.

In order to rebuild *quotidian* ties based on individual consciousness and collective consciousness as a form of conversion of cultural capital into social capital, according to I Komang Budi Arsana (the informant) is related to the revitalization of traditions that have been implemented since the past. This is in anticipation of a breakdown in the application of these traditions so it needs to be revived. Familiarity between Balinese-Hindu and Sasak-Moslem can be started from involvement in a celebration. This involvement was one of them during visits to the ceremonial activities of the deceased. To start these activities can begin with ourselves. It also embodies the impression of our high social sense. Likewise in the *sunatan* ceremony (rituals given to children in the Sasak ethnic) as well as those who invite. Often the *sunatan* ceremony was enlivened by dances. One of the dances performed is traditional *joged* dance. Many people come to watch the traditional *joged* performances.

The revitalization process can use cultural practices, the implementation of *adat*, or the implementation of religion as a medium to actualize it. These activities can be carried out with the

awareness of each individual. A number of activities that can be used as a medium of realization, such as one of them visiting at the ceremony of the dead, namely *majenukan*. This phenomenon as actualization builds a mental impression that basically shows a relatively high social sense. Synergizing with that in the tradition of circumcision ceremony conducted by the Sasak-Moslem community can also be used as a medium to revitalize the tradition of *saling undang*. Awareness to invite each other in activities that have cultural nuances, customary practices, or the implementation of religion become a binding emotion of togetherness.

Revitalization of the implementation of traditions that can build *quotidian* bonds needs to be broken down in the atmosphere of independence. With regard to efforts to realize the atmosphere of fanfare that can establish emotional ties between the two ethnic groups can be performed dances, as stated above. One form of dance performances that is likely to invite the presence of a relatively large number of spectators is by performing *joged* performances. *Joged* dance performances in the Lombok region are very popular with the audience, both among Balinese-Hindu and Sasak-Moslem. The attraction in the *joged* performance is when the audience is involved in *ngibing* (dance accompanist), which is accompanying the *joged* dance. The performance opened opportunities for the creation of a sense of excitement and excitement so that those involved in the performance awakened the emotions of joy. The momentum can be empowered as a medium to realize disbursement of differences owned by each ethnic group in order to realize a harmonious life. This is in line with the findings of Varshney (2002: 51) who found that associational bonds in urban areas are more effective in realizing social ties between citizens. This associational association is in the form of an organization that represents the participation of many people.

Staging cultural arts creativity as a means of rebuilding *quotidian* cultural ties implies that the mood of excitement has a relatively effective social energy to bring interpersonal emotions closer. Those who display creativity and those who watch the artwork displayed by the artists build emotional ties in the arena of the staging. The artists who displayed their expertise in beating

traditional instruments and dancers collaborated to present their artwork in front of an audience. On the other hand, on the part of the artists and parties the audience also establishes an emotional connection so that interaction and communication occur. The interaction and communication that occurs between the two parties has the opportunity to merge the barriers of difference that limit them and realize a common sense. Even though among them have a number of differences, the differences become melted by the mood of joy. Social energy built through an atmosphere of excitement is relatively effective in diluting the boundaries of differences that exist in the arena of cultural arts performances. This phenomenon is associated with Suamba (2012: 20) the *rasa* of being the highest joy produced in the mind of the arts connoisseur of an artwork whose content is an emotion (*bhāva*).

**Figure 1. Model Revitalization of the Inter-Community Quotidian Ties of Bali-Hindu and Sasak-Moslem**

Representation Inside Ethnic Communities Revitalizing Ancestral Heritage Traditions	Representation in the Balinese-Hindu Community	Representation in the Sasak-Moslem Community
Traditions of <i>Pesilak / Saling Undang</i>	Implementation in the <i>Manusa Yajña</i> Ritual in a Balinese-Hindu Family	Performed in Family Celebrations in the Implementation of <i>Adat</i> at Sasak-Moslem
<i>Ngejot</i> Tradition	Actualized in the Implementation of Hindu Rituals	Actualized in the Implementation of <i>Adat</i> Rituals and the Holy Day of Islamic Religion
Tradition of <i>Belangar / Majenukan</i>	Performed in a Ceremony of <i>Pitra Yajña</i> (Death Ceremony) at the Balinese-Hindu Community	Actualized in the Death Ceremony in the Sasak-Moslem Family

Based on Figure 1, the revitalization of the *quotidian* ties between the Balinese-Hindu and Sasak-Moslem communities is represented in traditional and religious activities in accordance with the belief

system adopted by each ethnic community. *First*, the revitalization of the *quotidian* ties in the Sasak-Moslem community in the tradition of the *pesilak* was carried out related to family rite celebrations. Staggering traditions are carried out in the implementation of *adat* rituals and holy days, such as *Idul Fitri*, *Idul Adha*, and other holy days. The tradition of *belangar* is carried out at the ceremony of the death ceremony. *Second*, revitalization of the *quotidian* ties in the Balinese-Hindu community is also related to the implementation of religion. *Saling undang* traditions are actualized in the implementation of Hindu rituals, generally during the *manusa yajña* (ritual for humans). They invite relatives to carry out ceremonies related to rituals, such as marriage ceremonies, *metatah* (tooth-cutting ceremonies), and others. The tradition has been revitalized in carrying out religious holy days, such as *galungan*, *kuningan*, and other ceremonies. The *mejenukan* tradition is carried out related to the implementation of the *pitra yajña* (ceremony for people to die), which is related to the death ceremony. Each ethnic community tries to revitalize the noble traditions inherited from the past that have a positive value for improving the quality of social relations.

### 3.2 Strengthening the Multicultural Citizenship Ties

The fading of the traditions of the Balinese-Hindu and Sasak-Moslem community that has taken place lately may be gradually rebuilt through the awareness of each ethnic group. This awareness mainly concerns emotions to re-establish the social bonds that have been actualized before. This phenomenon is in line with the expression of I Ketut Lestra (the informant), which in essence suggests that the traditions of the past that want to be returned again are now rather difficult. This can be done for example by inviting each other when there is a celebration with office friends, school friends, and others. This method is certainly from close friends building emotional bonds. By inviting them in a celebration it is possible to rebuild relationships as they did in the past, even though they cannot fully restore them. The most important thing to do is start to invite when there are activities carried out by a family or a community group.

Based on the narration as told by the informant above, with

regard to efforts to restore the implementation of past traditions by the Balinese-Hindu and Sasak-Moslem communities, it is relatively difficult to do despite efforts to restore the implementation of past traditions, such as the tradition of *saling undang* can be done by inviting when there is a celebration held by one of the ethnic groups. These activities can be started by inviting friends in the office where their work, or school alumni friends. This method can certainly build emotional ties through close friends or friends who are around the neighborhood. Starting such activities can be used to build social relationships which in their accumulation have the opportunity to create interethnic social cohesiveness. The above informant also realizes that to fully carry out the implementation of the traditions of the past it is very difficult to do, even though at least there are ways taken to build social solidity between two different ethnic communities.



Photo 1. Implementation of *Adat* (Custom) Involvement of Sasak-Moslem and Balinese-Hindu Communities (Photo Wirawan)

Photo 1 shows the presence of togetherness in the implementation of *adat* (custom) which involves the active role of the Sasak-Moslem and Balinese-Hindu communities. The togetherness provides an opportunity to rebuild multicultural citizenship ties among Balinese people with the Sasak people through the implementation of *adat* (customs), culture, or religious practices. In

synergy with that, I Komang Budi Arsana (an informant) basically said that to rebuild social relations between Balinese-Hindu and Sasak-Moslem can be reached by visiting each other during the ceremonies carried out by each ethnic group. Ceremony of the death is one vehicle for knitting social relations. Although each has a different tradition, such as traditional clothing when attending a ceremony, it can be adjusted to create togetherness. If the Balinese are accustomed to wearing *lancingan* (traditional Balinese cloth), but if they realize the ceremony of the death of the Sasak people, then the Balinese people are wearing sarong, like the Sasak people's clothing tradition. Likewise, the color of clothes to adjust the most important is the presence as a sign of grieving.

It was revealed that customary, cultural, and religious activities involving the participation of many people could be used as a medium to rebuild social ties, especially among the Balinese-Hindu and Sasak-Moslem ethnic groups. The ceremony of the deceased person as one of the media that can be used to realize these social relations as long as there is an intention to attend the event, the presence of them in the activities or ceremonies of the deceased as a sign that means a feeling of mutual condolence so that there is a feeling of mental same when the activity is carried out. These conditions will further build an atmosphere of renewal if those present adjust the clothes worn. Adjustment and this is a form of cultural adaptation that can build opportunities to realize multicultural citizenship ties. Emotional bonds that are built through the awareness of each ethnic group as an indicator of understanding and acceptance of the differences that exist in order to realize social cohesiveness.

The above phenomenon related to multiculturalism that has a synergy, especially those that come into contact with the awareness of understanding and at the same time accepting the differences between them. Customary and cultural activities in this context become a medium for building social cohesiveness between different communities, living in the same social space. There is a tendency to adopt cultural adaptation as an implementation of awareness to accept differences in the framework of togetherness. In this regard, the plurality of spaces of social life is not an obstacle

in realizing a harmonious social life, but rather as a medium for building harmony in the framework of togetherness. The diversity that exists in one social space adds to the beauty of togetherness.

### 3.3 Reactivation of Cultural Art Creativity Based on Oral Traditions

The Balinese-Hindu and Sasak-Moslem communities in Lombok has a variety of oral traditions that have grown and maintained since the past and are used in order to build public awareness through presentation, both in the informal environment in the family and in the form of public performances. The oral tradition still has its own appeal as a traditional entertainment media. These oral traditions are relatively many in number, such as fairy tales before, traditional theater arts, folklore, and others. This oral tradition as a local wisdom of the people of Lombok has an important meaning linked to the application of noble values from one generation to the next. Even though oral traditions have decreased, in some places, especially in rural areas, they can still be found (Wirawan dan Suastika 2016:259).

With regard to efforts to rebuild social ties, especially between the Balinese-Hindu and Sasak-Moslem oral traditions may still be empowered. This phenomenon is based on the reason that there are a number of performing arts in the performance that are very popular with Bali-Hindu and Sasak-Moslem. These opportunities are very open to be done because through the performance they can be presented together. Likewise, an informant Jro Mangku Made Kastawa revealed that the performance tradition has been very famous and staged to several places. Such performances as *drama gongs* and *drama suling* performed by Balinese and Sasak people can attract a relatively large audience. Performing arts performances often adjust language, because to be understood by each ethnic group the language used is Indonesian. Adjustment of the use of language as a form of cultural adaptation in order to provide understanding to each ethnic group to the storyline in the performance of the cultural arts.

Building togetherness with the reactivation of creativity in arts and culture as one of the oral traditions that was once a favorite of Balinese and Sasak people. Traditional arts and culture as part of

oral traditions favored by the people of Lombok in the past, would still be effectively used to bring the two ethnic groups closer. Based on observations, the performance of traditional arts and culture at certain times can bring a relatively large number of viewers. In connection with that, the traditional performing arts that are staged at a certain activity are still the main attraction for Balinese and Sasak people. The performance of the performing arts can bring the audience together from various elements. Those who come to watch the performance of traditional art can interact with one another. In connection with that there is a bond that is formed through the attraction of performing arts. The oral traditions that are packaged in traditional performing arts in this context can be used as a bridge to bring social relations closer to those involved in the performance. Traditional cultural arts performances involving the togetherness of the Balinese-Hindu and Sasak-Moslem communities, as presented in Photo 2. The performance of traditional arts and culture, although nuanced Balinese dance, but also involves a blend of Balinese and Lombok clothing. The performance of Balinese arts and culture also uses the theme of Lombok's local wisdom so that it is favored by a number of Sasak people. This was indicated by a number of Sasak people who came to watch, and some even played traditional Balinese instruments. Referring to Wirawan (2018: 97) the Balinese and Sasak people display the creativity of art and culture as a vehicle for realizing social harmony. Sumada (2017:103) also stated that the cultural system parts stamped by the Hindu community of Bali in Lombok has similarities with the culture system implemented by the Sasak Moslem.

Synergizing with the above phenomenon, the oral tradition that is staged in the form of traditional theater, one of which takes the "Cupak-Gerantang" play has its own charm among the audience. Yusuf (an informant) expresses that "Cupak Gerantang" performance has been very popular with the people of Lombok. This art group is accustomed to being invited to various places in Lombok including to Central Lombok whose territory is very far inland. The community is very fond of the show. In fact, among the audience there were people who had watched this show many times. But they still want to watch again when the show is staged



elsewhere.



Photo 2. Traditional Balinese art and culture performance involves a combination of Sasak cultural identity (Photo Wirawan)

The appeal of the above performing arts is also strengthened by the expression I Gede Tapak (an informant) who revealed the traditional theater performance “Cupak Grantang” has its own place among the audience. The expression of the informant was indicated by a fondness for the schedule of the staging activities that were staged by the informants above by a fanatical audience which was a strong form of their love for the “Cupak Grantang” performance. This phenomenon also implies that the play “Cupak Gerantang” which is packaged in traditional performing theater art becomes a communication medium in providing life guidance in addition to providing entertainment to the community. Correspondingly, traditional theater by taking the title “Cupak Gerantang” is a very effective medium for communicating positive values to the community that is packaged in the form of entertainment. The social dimension is communication and interaction that can bring those who are fond of oral traditions in the form of traditional art performances.

Statements by the informants indicate there is a link between the performance of traditional theater art and the effort to realize togetherness. The performance of traditional cultural arts with the

play “Cupak Gerantang” does have its own attraction among fans of the performing arts. The enthusiasm of the people in watching the performance art opens opportunities for efforts to realize social closeness. The opportunity is also based on the fact that the performance of traditional performing arts is “Cupak-Gerantang” in activities related to the implementation of traditional and cultural activities, such as weddings, pay and other things. This phenomenon implies that oral tradition in the form of traditional performing arts as a medium to realize social relations through the implementation of customs and community culture in Mataram.

### **3.4 Contestation of Cultural Capital in the Implementation of Customs and Religious Practices**

Contestation of cultural capital and social capital in the implementation of *adat* as one of the strategies that can be applied in order to reconstruct *quotidian* cultural bonds implemented through informal traditions is actualized through the conversion of cultural capital to social capital. Referring to Pierre Bourdieu (in Fashri, 2007:98-99) there are four capitals in the classification, namely economic capital, cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital. Economic capital includes reproductive, material, and money tools that can be used to achieve certain goals and can be inherited.

Cultural capital involves the ability to present themselves in public, knowledge and expertise gained through education, as well as ownership of high-value cultural objects. Social capital refers to social networks that are owned by individuals and groups in relation to other parties who have power. Symbolic capital is linked to a form of prestige, status, authority and legitimacy. The four types of capital can be mutually converted.

With regard to the above phenomenon, in the tradition built in the ethnic Balinese-Hindu and Sasak-Moslem communities the cultural capital is related to self-competence, both individually and collectively in the field of cultural arts. Self competence in the field of cultural arts in relation to the establishment of social cohesiveness is in the realm of musical arts and performing arts. The involvement of the two ethnic communities in the musical arts

program is indicated by the presence of togetherness in beating Balinese *gambelan* (traditional instrument). Many Sasak people enjoy learning and participating in percussion art performances, as expressed by Ida Wayan Asta (an informant) that many Sasak people are happy to join in beating Balinese *gambelan*. Sasak people here, like in *Nyangget* (one of the Sasak settlements), are happy to join in beating *gambelan*. The informant invited many of them to go out of the region to perform. There are many who like to beat *gambelan*, if collected one *barungan* (a group of traditional music artists) can be formed to beat *gambelan*.

Based on the description above, the involvement of Balinese-Hindu and Sasak-Moslem in forming a group of Balinese real art. One interesting thing in accordance with the statement of the informant above is the involvement of two different ethnic groups who jointly beat the Balinese *gambelan* instrument, in the post-conflict region. This phenomenon implies that cultural art creativity as a cultural capital among Balinese and Sasak people can be converted into social capital. In this regard, those who have competence in the field of arts and culture can at the same time establish social relations among the traditional instrument player, both in the learning process and in the performance.

The cultural arts creativity of the Sasak people in beating Balinese *gambelan* empowered through activities related to the implementation of Hinduism was also appreciated by Lulu Anggawa (the informant), one of the Sasak cultural figures, who in essence revealed that in Lombok there were Balinese with Sasak people joining in art groups. Even in a religious ceremony conducted by one group of Balinese people asking for help from artists from Sasak people to beat Balinese *gambelan*. This is not wrong as long as it does not interfere with other activities, especially those related to religious activities of Sasak people. In the teachings of Islam in Lombok, there is the term *gong tanpa mentul sarwiya panji sirah* which means that before the prayer time do world activities and include doing worldly pleasures.

The creativity of cultural arts practiced by the artists above can summarize Balinese and Sasak people in beating Bali traditional music. The ability of the Sasak people to beat Balinese *gambelan* can

be empowered in the implementation of religious activities carried out by Balinese people. Beating Bali traditional music activities, as stated above, do not violate the religious teachings adopted by Sasak people as long as they do not interfere with the prayers. The activity is also a form of closer relations between Balinese-Hindu and Sasak-Moslem through the performance of Balinese art of *gambelan*.

The competence in the field of cultural arts, especially those in touch with musical arts in order to build togetherness between the Balinese-Hindu and Sasak-Moslem ethnic communities, was also expressed by informant, namely I Komang Budi Arsana (an informant) who essentially said that many Sasak people like to beat Balinese traditional *gambelan*. They learned a lot for *metabuh* (playing traditional Balinese music) which was taught by Balinese experts in *megambel* (beating Bali traditional music). They usually learn until they can be *metabuh* and can later be staged at cultural performances. There are times when those who join the *metabuh* are the *penyakap* (Balinese land workers). In the *metabuh* there is a togetherness between Balinese and Sasak people. Here shows harmony.

The above narrative basically reveals the inter-party togetherness of the Balinese-Hindu and Sasak-Moslem communities through the arts and culture media, especially in the art of beating Balinese *gambelan*. The togetherness was accompanied by an atmosphere of excitement because those who were directly involved in beating *gambelan* expressed tones based on *dung ding* (the traditional Balinese song tone) that was full of aesthetic values. The atmosphere of excitement summed up the emotions of the musicians who hit *gambelan*. These conditions reflect the atmosphere of happiness that is in togetherness. The boundaries of the differences between the drummers in this condition seem to melt towards the establishment of social cohesiveness. The momentum can be used as a medium to bring back two ethnic communities that have experienced disharmony, especially in post-conflict areas.

Synergizing from the above phenomenon, activities that require staging arts among the Balinese-Hindu community are relatively large. A very important moment related to this activity is the tradition of *saling undang* to allies (groups or art groups) in the implementation of religious activities carried out by Balinese

people involving Sasak artists in beating *gambelan*, as expressed by Jro Mangku Made Kastawa (the informant) that when there are Balinese people who have traditional ceremonial activities, such as marriages, those who beat *gambelan* are Sasak people. The traditional instrument used is also the traditional instrument of the Sasak people. This happened in Bangsal region, Sekarbela subdistrict. This happened because of the scarcity of the Balinese traditional instrument who had the activity of inviting Sasak people to beat. Apart from that, finding Balinese (artists) groups is very difficult indeed.

Based on the narrative above, it was revealed that expertise in beating traditional Balinese instruments among Sasak people provided significant benefits, especially in the implementation of Hindu religious practices. An interesting phenomenon of the above events is the togetherness built between the Balinese-Hindu community and Sasak-Moslem through the medium of traditional musical arts. This togetherness functionally has implications for the Balinese-Hindu community who conduct religious ceremonies amid the scarcity of people who are willing to beat the *gambelan* (traditional instruments) of Balinese. These implications can positively realize the awareness of mutual relationship among them, despite having a number of differences. This phenomenon synergizes with the expression of Donder (2005: 147-148) that the effects of *gambelan* sound in Hinduism have to do with social awareness, social care, and social unity. Those who are in one group of arts of *gambelan* will feel the same feeling if one of the members gets into trouble.

Togetherness in cultural arts creativity, especially in Sasak people in displaying Balinese traditional music art as a form of cultural contact that took place between Balinese and Sasak people. This cultural contact has a positive dimension in order to realize social cohesiveness among different ethnic groups. Social cohesiveness that can be actualized by two different ethnic groups by using traditional music vehicles into one event in order to foster awareness to acknowledge existing differences and at the same time play an active role in helping meet the needs of other ethnic groups in order to succeed activities related to cultural practices

and the implementation of religion involving musical arts. The social ties built through the cultural arts festival imply the emotion of excitement that builds awareness to realize togetherness.

#### 4. Conclusion

This article discusses the relationship between the Balinese Hindu diaspora and the Sasak Moslem communities in Mataram, Lombok. Their contact has occurred since ancient times and continues to the present. The long interaction is reinforced by the foundation of local wisdom values in the form of *quotidian* ties which can always be used for reharmonization in the event of a conflict. Therefore, this article suggests the importance of revitalizing the *quotidian* relationship to maintain harmony in a sustainable manner.

Revitalization of the *quotidian* ties involves at least four aspects that can be used to carry out the social harmony post-conflict between the two ethnic groups of different religions. *First*, revitalization of *quotidian* cultural ties based on individual awareness and collective awareness. This strategy can be pursued by building awareness to reproduce the *quotidian* cultural ties that their ancestors have built since the time of history. *Second*, strengthening multicultural citizenship ties among the Balinese-Hindu community with Sasak-Moslem. This strategy can be done by building an attitude of openness to recognize existing differences and at the same time accept as part of social plurality in the framework of togetherness. *Third*, togetherness in cultural arts creativity based on oral tradition. This strategy can be pursued by building a cultural festival that becomes a space for cultural arts creativity from a number of elements of ethnic groups. *Fourth*, the contestation of cultural capital in the implementation of customs and religion. This strategy can be pursued through the empowerment of cultural capital owned by each ethnic group in the implementation of the Sasak-Moslem ethnic community custom and religious practice in the ethnic Balinese-Hindu community.

Awareness of the importance of the values implied in the *quotidian* cultural bond that can be used as a medium for social reharmonization between the Sasak-Moslem community and the Balinese-Hindu diaspora communities needs to be preserved in a

number of ways. *First*, social reharmony that can be done through reproduction of inter-ethnic and interreligious *quotidian* cultural ties needs to use the media culture festival as an intermediary. *Second*, it is necessary to revitalize the noble traditions of the past in a contemporary manner. *Third*, those who have authority in community development need to carry out sustainable development more intensively in order to create awareness of the values of local wisdom. *Fourth*, it is necessary to increase multicultural awareness through traditional activities that can build different interethnic social relations.

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### **The informants:**

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