

# Inclusive Islamic Political Centripetalism in the Muslim Community in Bukit Village, Karangasem Bali

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**Abstract.** This research examines the centripetalism of Inclusive Islamic politics in Bukit Karangasem Village. This study uses the historical method through several steps, namely heuristics including oral history, observation, and literature, (2) criticism of sources (internal and external criticism), (3) interpretation, and (4) historiography. The results of this study indicate that inclusive Islamic political centripetalism are caused by two factors, namely external and internal. Internal factors relate to their existence as migrants who migrate to Karangasem for local political reasons. They are given living space by the Puri by occupying certain areas. This minority dimension causes them to immediately adapt culturally to local people who happen to have different religions. The goal is to create social empathy. Second, inclusive Islamic political centripetalism will not materialize without adequate interference from power. In this case, it is Puri Karangasem. The repressive characteristics of power encourage order so that centripetalization runs smoothly.

**Keywords:** Centripetal, Islam, Inclusive

## 1. Introduction

Migration carried out by Islamic communities in several areas on Bali island has different motivations. The Balinese Muslim community in Pegayaman were originally a group of soldiers brought by I Gusti Ngurah Panji Sakti from Blambangan, East Java. They were placed in the Pegatepan (Pegayaman) area. The channel of Islamization was carried out through marriages between Muslim soldiers who married local women. The Balinese Muslim Loloan community is the core force of the Jembrana Kingdom. They migrated from Makassar in the 17th century. They were an opposition group in the kingdom of Goa against the Bongaya Agreement. Next is the Muslim community of Kecicang Village, Karangasem. They are Lombok people brought by Puri Karangasem as royal soldiers [1].

Of all the phenomena of migration of Muslim communities to Bali, there is a similar pattern. First, the reason for migrating is due to political pressure in the area of origin. For example, because the kingdom of origin has been subject to foreign invasion, as happened to the Makassar Kingdom after the Bongaya Agreement in the XVII century. Those who disagree and oppose the implementation of the agreement decide to migrate to areas that allow them to live [2]

Second, those who migrate then ask for protection, or a kind of political asylum from local authorities. Permission was granted by the king only on one condition that their existence would be useful for the local political contest that was taking place. Accordingly, these migrants were given certain enclaves to live in. The condition is that they have to be matron-client to the kingdom. There were those who became royal soldiers, royal assistants, and of course there were also those who contributed their knowledge, techniques and war tactics so that the kingdom could win a battle [3].

Third, enclaves, or a kind of waqf land or grants for living space provided by the kingdom, must be interpreted politically and ideologically, because they have a tendency to conflict management. Therefore, the inhabitants of an enclave are homogeneous, that is, they are only inhabited by one type of community, namely the Muslim community.

Even if in the future assimilation appears as a result of ethnic and religious interaction, for example through marriage or amalgamation, it is this social portrait that this article will try to discuss. If the intermingling between ethnicities and religions in some general terminology is considered as a portrait of acculturation, this article views acculturation as a product of moral normativity. Assume that both parties have an interest in the realization of something. The end result is predictable, namely a harmonious, peaceful and prosperous life.

The real portrait of the phenomenon of the interaction of religion and ethnicity is more complex. Not only does it lead to utopian hopes such as living in harmony, fellowship and mutual cooperation, but also has the potential to create space for compromise and symbiosis [4]. In the context of the existence of the Muslim community in Bukit Karangasem Village, it is necessary to trace their origins first so that a diagnosis can be made of what compromises and symbiotic efforts they are making for survival in the region.

The concept of political centripetalism arises because of two factors, namely internal and external. Internal factors because the Muslim community is a minority. As a minority, they are controlled by the kingdom. They were brought in by the royal party from the Lombok area. They are the Sasak people who are subject to the political expansion of the Karangasem Kingdom into the Lombok area [5].

The second factor is external, that the accommodation of the Muslim community into the social structure of the local community has the potential to cause inequality. Therefore, it is necessary to have repressive characteristics of power to control society. In addition, conflict management is also carried out by establishing enclaves that have spatial and cultural boundaries. The role of this power is to regulate order in society. As a result, Muslim communities receive the same treatment as other communities. And on their side, it is necessary to carry out an effort called political centripetal. It means an effort to take a cultural approach from the minority Muslim community into the structure of the majority Balinese society. This process took a long time and was complicated so that perhaps it has changed religious views that previously seemed radical to be inclusive.

## **2. Method**

This study uses historical research methods assisted by two approaches, namely the anthropological approach which will help explain the cultural concepts of the object under study. Second, the sociological approach will help explain social structure phenomena within cultural and historical frames. Historical research methods on the other hand function to see changes and sustainability [6].

As for research using the historical method, there are several stages that must be carried out, namely: (1) heuristics is the stage for collecting sources that have been obtained, both written and unwritten sources. This study tries to reveal the background of tolerance and forms of tolerance in Bukit Village, (2) source criticism (verification) is a stage or activity of analyzing informant sources, and traces that have been obtained in the field. Source criticism consists of external criticism and internal criticism.

External criticism is an analysis of the sources that have been obtained and determines whether a source is genuine or not. Meanwhile, internal criticism is a determination of whether or not information in documents can be used as historical facts in uncovering the background of tolerance and forms of tolerance in Bukit Village. (3) Interpretation, through this process, of course, will filter data according to the research being studied and will obtain a series of historical facts, so that later it will produce a description of historical events that can be scientifically accounted for regarding background research and forms of tolerance for Nyama Bali. -Nyama Diving in Hill Village. (4) Historiography, is describing the results of research and conveying the results of imaginative reconstruction into a written work into a historical story. When writing historical events, an activity is needed to reconstruct these historical events, guided by writing (5W+1H).

## **3. Result**

### **3.1 The Definition of Centripetalism and the Islamic Politic**

The conceptual basis used in this article will focus on three basic concepts. First, centripetalism; is a concept accommodated from physics. Literally means the force whose direction goes to the center point of the circular path. Centripetal force is the force that pulls an object rotating about an axis a distance from the moving object. In other words, centripetal force is a force that causes centripetal acceleration to change the direction of the velocity of a moving object. The existence of centripetal force makes the ball pulled towards the center which makes it move in a circle. In other words, centripetal force causes apparent motion which causes a peripheral effort of a circular path to move towards the center [7].

In the context of this study, what is meant by the center is the Kingdom of Karangasem. The efforts to consolidate their power since the sixteenth century were followed by the expansion of power to the east of Bali, causing a surplus of power to stick to it. On the other hand, Muslim migrants from Lombok are the periphery. As the periphery, they need a surplus of power attached to the center to legitimize their social existence in the new environment.

Therefore, in the context of culture, they position themselves as "subjects", and the center as "gusti".

As a result, there is something that must be compromised when these Muslim migrants treat clients to rulers who are different in religion and ethnicity, namely religious values. As a result, religious radicalism that makes them socially distant from groups outside their religion, and on the other hand becomes a unity agenda, must temporarily be set aside, or experience social mimicry.

Second, Islamic politics. Etymologically, politics comes from the word polis (Greek), which means city-state. However, later it was developed and reduced to other words such as politics (citizen), politicos (citizenship or civic), and politice tehne (political skills), and politice epistem (political science). Meanwhile, according to [8] in his book says that politics are various kinds of activities in a political system (state) that involve the process of determining the goals of that system and carrying out those goals. (Meriam Budiardjo, 2001:8). So politics is a process in carrying out and in achieving the goals of politics itself.

Another view is from [9], who states that politics is the interaction between government and society, in the framework of the process of making and implementing binding decisions about the common good of people who live in a certain area. Meanwhile, according to Hasan Al Banna [10], politics is an attempt to think about internal issues (handling government issues, explaining their functions, detailing their obligations and rights, supervising those in power to then obey them if they do good and are criticized if they make mistakes), and external issues of the people/people ( maintain the independence and freedom of the nation, deliver to achieve goals that will place a position in the midst of other nations, and free from oppression and interference from other parties in their affairs) pay attention to it, and work for the good of all (benefit of the people)

Political Islam is a political activity of some Muslims who make Islam a reference for values and the basis of group solidarity. Supporters of this politics are not necessarily all Muslims, therefore those in the political category can be referred to as Political Islamic groups, also emphasizing religious symbolism in politics, such as using Islamic symbols, and Islamic terms in the basic rules of organization, outlines of struggle, and model political discourse. Structural Islam can be through Political Islam (political parties) or not through parties.

In other words, political Islam is something that must exist. However, it still has rules in its implementation, because Islamic politics always adheres to moral values and continues to prioritize the interests of the ummah rather than personal interests and power is only a tool used for the benefit of the ummah.

Third, inclusive, namely the spirit to understand diversity which is actualized by associative attitudes such as harmony, adaptability, tolerance. In the context of this article, an inclusive attitude becomes an indicator for extinguishing diametral conflicts that might be caused by differences in religion and ethnicity.

### 3.2 The Previous Works

Many works on inter-ethnic interaction in Bali have actually been carried out by scholars, both local, national and Indonesian who are interested in the theme of diversity about Bali. Even so, only a few dare to carry out academic self-criticism against this portrait of diversity. These scholars have more to do with the cultural dimension which has a normative nuance, rather than politics. This is very reasonable if later the writing was made by a scholar of education.

Several academic works on diversity in Bali, especially those that attempt to carry out an academic portrait of the dilemmatic relationship between Balinese and outside-Balinese migrants who are Muslim. For example, what was written by well-known Indonesianists such as Adrian Vickers, Henk Scholte Nordholt, Leo Howe, David Pringle and others.

Vickers, for example, describes this dilemmatic relationship in a short dictum in his article entitled "Bali a Paradise Created". Even though it includes a very bombastic title, almost 50 percent of the content in the article discusses the face of Bali after the massive wave of Islamization. Vicker describes the "cold" relationship between Balinese Hindus and Muslim migrants whose existence began in the feudalism era of Balinese kings after Majapahit. Vickers seems to see the face of Islam in Bali as a repetition of the fate of Majapahit in Java. In this context, it seems that Vicker agrees with Raffles, the author of *The History of Java* who visited Bali in 1814 when he became Governor General on Java Island replacing Jansen 1811.

Henk Scholte Nordholt in his dissertation entitled "The Spell of Power: The Political History of Bali 1650-1940" [11] analyzes political nuances in the kingdom of Mengwi Bali in the XVIII century. At that time, Mengwi, who should have been empowered after successfully conquering the Blambangan Kingdom, finally lost to the Badung Kingdom. On the other hand, Badung has a strategy to accommodate Muslim refugees from Makassar who are used to carrying out modern methods of warfare. The defeat of the war strategy caused Mengwi to be controlled by Badung.

Henk underlined the existence of Muslim refugees in his writings. According to Henk, the victory that has been achieved by Badung was resulted from the participation of the Muslim Makassar migrant migrants. Because of the existence of previous political contracts where if Badung won the war then the kingdom had to give a piece of land to the Muslim fugitives.

Furthermore, Henk stated that although until now the Muslim community in Badung remains subservient to the kingdom, it is more due to historical consensus, and not part of obedience and obedience to produce something called harmony and mutual cooperation.

The last two writers, namely Leo Howe, author of *The Changing World of Bali : Religion, Society and Tourism* (Howe, 2005) and Robert Pringle, author of *A Short History of Bali: Indonesia's Hindu Realm* [12] presented a future scheme of demographic changes in Balinese society caused not only by modernization of tourism, but also of migrant migration. According to Howe and Pringle, the existence of Muslim migrants in Bali since the era of feudalism has resulted in interactional tensions and will end with a shrinking Balinese population in the future.

### **3.3 The Position of Puri Karangasem**

The existence of the Islamic community in Karangasem is inseparable from the political dynamics that occurred in Bali, namely the expansion of the Karangasem Kingdom into the Lombok region. The process of Karangasem's conquest of Lombok since the fall of the Selaparang Kingdom in 1691 to 1740 [13]. After successfully conquering Lombok, I Gusti Anglurah Ketut Karangasem returned to Bali to report his victory in Lombok to I Gusti Anglurah Nengah Karangasem. Returning from Lombok to Bali, I Gusti Anglurah Ketut Karangasem brought with him something in the form of a Bende (small gong), a large pot, and lelang. These objects have been sacred and made into heirlooms at Bukit Temple. Apart from that, King I Gusti Anglurah Ketut Karangasem also brought Lombok people to the Karangasem area, which aims to maintain the security of the palace. They are the forerunners of the Islamic community in the Karangasem region.

In general, Islamic settlements in Karangasem occupy coastal, inland and hilly areas. The Islamic community in Karangasem is placed in a settlement adjacent to Hindus so that there are alternating residences between Hindus and Muslims in one place, and also their position is close to Puri Karangasem. This strategy certainly aims to unite the people of Karangasem and at the same time to secure the castle from ethnic sentiments and threats from other kings who wish to seize power. One of the Islamic communities located in hilly areas, namely Bukit Village, has 5 Islamic villages, namely: Bukit Tabuan, Kampung Anyar, Karang Sasak, Tibulaka Sasak, and Tiyangjanggrik. The people who live in Bukit Village are from the Lombok Sasak Ethnic who are "Watu Telu Islam". The placement of the Islamic community in Bukit Village is in accordance with their teachings and beliefs in the religion they adhere to, where hills or mountains are places that are considered sacred and highly purified. The placement is a form of respect for their beliefs.

The existence of an Islamic community in Bukit Village is inseparable from the relationship between *gusti* and *kawulo* (the bond of lordship), namely the relationship between the ruler and the community which consists of a group, clan, and *dadya*. The existence of an Islamic village in Karangasem Regency is a unit of Puri Karangasem, so there is no doubt about the loyalty of *kawulo* and *gusti*. This can be seen from Puri Karangasem giving a piece of plantation land and at the same time being used as a place to live for the Islamic community in Bukit Village and being assigned as a *Sapuh* and *ngayah* carrying Bende during *pujawali* at Pura Bukit, these objects are related to the Puri Karangasem incident.

### **3.4 The Symbols of Sentripetalism**

After successfully conquering Lombok, when he returned to Karangasem I Gusti Anglurah Ketut Karangasem brought with him an innate form of a Bende (small gong). The bende was formerly used as a war drum in the Selaparang Kingdom, the bende has been sacred at Bukit Temple. The close relationship between the *puri* and the Islamic community is reflected in Bukit Village, where the Islamic community is willing to carry out their obligations as a sweeper and father to carry Bende at the time of *Pujawali Ida Bhatara Alit Sakti*. The bende is also a symbol of power over the symbol of Lombok's conquest of Karangasem. Puri has a big role in the life of the Islamic community, especially in Bukit Village. The Islamic community

in Bukit Village is very religious, this can be seen when approaching or until the end of the piodalan at Bukit Temple, the Islamic community has divided their duties to carry out their duties as sweepers, some are in charge of sweeping and collecting trash left over from prayer facilities. Apart from that, at the peak of piodalan at Bukit Temple, the Islamic community also performs ngayah as bende bearers.

The availability of the Islamic community to carry out their obligations at Bukit Temple as the father of the Juru Sapuh and bearer of Bende is a duty from the puri for the Islamic community. The Islamic community in Bukit Village is very aware of and understands the historical background, so they never stop doing worship at Bukit Temple. So Bende is said to be full of meaning in the relationship between Bali-Lombok and Islam-Hindu as from submission to brotherhood (*Payamabrayaan*).

The Islamic community is given obligations to Pura Bukit as a caretaker and guardian, because this Bukit temple is a spiritual place for the kings of the Karangasem Kingdom, and is also empon (sungsung) directly by Puri Karangasem and thirteen (13) old villages that still have ties with the Kingdom of Karangasem. Bukit Temple was built since the 16th century, which aims to honor the ancestors of the Karangasem Kingdom. Bukit Temple is a family temple as a place to worship the ancestral spirits of the Karangasem Kingdom. The visualization of Bukit Temple as a temple carried by the Karangasem Kingdom can be seen in the following image:

The existence of the involvement of the Islamic community in Pura Bukit can be said to be a unifier of different religions, namely Hinduism and Islam. Pura Bukit is a container for the life of tolerance in the Bukit Village and implements it for the life of the people in the Bukit Village.

### **3.5 The Variation of Sentripetalism**

Bukit Village as a village that presents a duality of society, both Hindu and Muslim, has a track record of fostering inter-religious harmony wrapped up in a form of tolerance. The tolerance found in Bukit Village can be seen in several forms that are implemented as follows.

#### **a. Subak**

In Bukit Village there is Subak Abian Tri Loka Pala Seraya, this subak is unique, namely it is multi-religious. Within the subak organization there are two different religions namely Hinduism and Islam. Subak can be used as a forum for tolerance between the two religions. In this subak organization there is a process of tolerance in agricultural activities, especially in terms of management, land distribution, and irrigation of rice fields that are fair for both Hindu and Muslim communities.

Subak Abian Tri Loka Pala Seraya was established in January 1984 and inaugurated by the Regent of Karangasem on July 5, 1984. This subak consists of three (3) service hamlets namely: Banjar Dinas Batugunung, Banjar Dinas Kampung Anyar, and Banjar Dinas Jumenang. The purpose of establishing Subak Abian Tri Loka Pala Seraya is to build and increase the productivity of dry land agriculture.

There has been an attitude of tolerance in the management structure of Subak Abian Tri Loka Pala Seraya, where the election for management is carried out by deliberation, this of

course aims to obtain mutual agreement in the midst of differences of opinion. So that deliberations certainly will not harm one of the parties and avoid the existence of a conflict.

In addition, if it is associated with the ideology adopted by subak in Bali in general, namely Tri Hita Karana, tolerance also occurs in Subak Abian Tri Loka Pala Seraya, which consists of the element of pawongan (human relations with each other) when there is a ceremony at the Subak Temple, the community Islam participates in helping with the preparations before the ceremony takes place, even the Islamic community also provides ingredients for complementary offerings such as chicken, fruit, and so on. The existence of this makes them interact intensely in preparing for the ceremony at the Subak Temple. From the paleahan element (human relations with the natural surroundings), that is, people from both Hindu and Islamic religions jointly look after and care for the plants they plant.

Meanwhile, from the prahyangan element (human relationship with God) when there is a ceremony at the Subak Temple, the two elements of society come to the Subak Temple, the Hindu community performs prayers according to the provisions of Hinduism. Meanwhile, the Islamic community performs prayers according to their beliefs. The attitude of the two certainly reflects a life of tolerance, where people respect each other's beliefs and beliefs.

#### **b. Jaga Baya**

Bukit Village has a pacalang assigned to guard and secure the activities of traditional village residents in carrying out religious activities. Pacalang Jaga Baya was formed on April 26 2020, this pacalang is named Pacalang Jaga Baya which consists of the Jumenang Service Banjar, Kampung Anyar Service Banjar, and the Bukit Tabuan Service Banjar. Pacalang Jaga Baya involves people who have different beliefs, namely Hinduism and Islam, this is of course to establish inter-religious harmony so that they can live in tolerance and also respect one another. The purpose of establishing Pacalang Jaga Baya is for a synergy between the Hindu community and the Islamic community in maintaining harmony, comfort and security in the local environment.

On religious holidays both Hindu and Islamic, Pacalang Jaga Baya participates continuously in the event in terms of maintaining security and order during the ceremony. In its duties Pacalang Jaga Baya does not discriminate between religions, both from Hinduism and Islam when holding religious ceremonies such as Eid al-Fitr in Islam and Nyepi in Hinduism Pacalang Jaga Baya is also directly involved in these activities. The form of involvement of Pacalang Jaga Baya also often collaborates with local security forces, as shown in Figure 3 below.

Pacalang Jaga Baya can also foster a sense of tolerance, where among religious communities respect each other, this can be when there are major religious ceremonies both in Hinduism and Islam they work together to help each other in maintaining order during the ceremony.

#### **c. Magibung**

If based on the residential pattern of Muslim and Hindu communities in Bukit Village,



it will be clear how the activities of the two intersect in religious ceremonies. The Islamic community in Bukit Village has religious ceremonies such as weddings, funerals and other activities. In this religious activity, the borrowing of Balinese ethnic identity emerged, namely the use of the magibung tradition when there were ceremonies on the part of the Islamic community.

The magibung tradition is an embodiment of the concept of Tri Hita Karana (Parhyangan, Pawongan and Palemahan), the magibung tradition is an embodiment of (pawongan) where there is interaction between human beings in creating harmony and concord. The Hindu community carries out the magibung tradition when there are weddings, cremation, teeth cutting/mepandes, and other religious ceremonies. Just like religious ceremonies in Islam, such as wedding ceremonies or thanksgiving, they hold a magibung tradition and invite the Hindu community. The food dishes that will be carried out through magibung are prepared by each religious community. This of course aims to respect their beliefs and beliefs.

Magibung is a tradition of eating together in one container. With the magibung tradition, of course it can strengthen the sense of brotherhood and strengthen the sense of unity between the Hindu and Muslim communities in Bukit Village, borrowing Balinese identity from the Islamic community in Bukit Village resulting in a sense of kinship, which will implement the tolerance life of Nyama Bali-Nyama Selam in Hill Village.

#### d. **Ngejot**

Ngejot tradition is an activity of delivering food to relatives or neighbors who are in the surrounding environment. The food given can be in the form of rice and side dishes or snacks that have been used in religious ceremonies such as Galungan/Kuningan and Nyepi (Hindu) days while (Islamic) Eid al-Fitr. In the tradition of ngejot, it does not look at the size of what is given, but the meaning or symbol of ngejot is very large, namely it can grow and foster a sense of togetherness between relatives, between neighbors and between friends of different religions (Pageh et al, 2013: 75).

When there are religious events such as weddings, births, cremation, and so on. It appears when one of the residents, both Hindu and Muslim, has a job or certain events. By inviting other people, then giving or expressing gratitude by giving food (ngejot).

Thus a harmonious network has been formed between Hindu and Muslim communities in the implementation of religious ceremonies in Bukit Village. This custom did not materialize in a short time, but it can be said that it is a tradition of the two societies to perpetuate religious harmony regardless of sensitivity on the basis of ethnicity, religion, race, and between groups.

#### e. **Matetulung (*Nguopin*)**

Matetulung activity carried out by the Bukit Village community reflects an attitude of tolerance, where the Bukit Village community when carrying out matetulung activities does not look at religion or discriminates against one another, so that the matetulung attitude is well established among religious people in Bukit Village.

The people of Bukit Village carry out an attitude of mutual assistance (matetulung) based

on the principle of reciprocity, where if there are people who need assistance, they will also be reciprocated through assistance if needed. The atmosphere of *matetlung* in the Bukit Village community is helping each other in plantation activities and helping the surrounding community prepare for activities such as marriages, deaths, and thanksgiving events.

*Matetlung* activity occurs when both Hindu and Muslim communities have jobs, where these jobs require assistance. Efforts to help each other are divided into two types, namely by asking for help (*ngidih tulung*) and (*mesuaka*) not asking (Parimartha, et al, 2012: 78-79). When viewed in terms of the aspects of tolerance that have been mentioned above through *matetlung* (*nguopin*) most people provide voluntary assistance without asking for anything in return, because they feel they are brothers (*menyama*).

#### f. **Across Culture between Rebana with Gong Kebyar**

Religious harmony cannot be separated from the artistic aspect so that one cultural entity can synergize and collaborate with one another. Art that gives birth to nuances of tolerance between religious communities in Bukit Village can be seen from major events held in Hinduism and Islam, both in terms of religion and private events.

The mixing or crossing of tambourine art with gong kebyar is a tribute to the cultural diversity that exists in Bukit Village, in using musical instruments there is no term of renting or material rewards, because the important thing is to foster a sense of togetherness. The synergy and collaboration in this aspect of art is not only aimed at introducing art from each religious community, but also as a medium to bring communication closer between people in the social environment.

## **4. Conclusion**

Bukit Village is a village with a plural society, where the people of Bukit Village are multi-religious, namely Hinduism and Islam. The existence of a plural society makes Bukit Village unique, where Hindu and Muslim communities can live side by side in the midst of differences. The relationship between the Islamic community in Bukit Village has a close relationship with Puri Karangasem, the concept of *kawulo-gusti* shows the willingness of the Islamic community to perform *ngayah* at Bukit Temple as the *Sapuh* interpreter and carry the *Bende*. Assigned at Bukit Temple because this temple was *emponed* (*sungsung*) directly by Puri Karangasem. Bukit Temple is a place for a life of tolerance and implementation of the life of the people in Bukit Village. In social behavior, the Islamic community interacts intensely with the Hindu community in Bukit Village. This symbolic interaction is reflected in the forms of tolerance in Bukit Village, which can be seen from the *subak* organization, *Jaga Baya* (*pacalang*), *magibung*, *ngejot*, *matetlung* (*ngoupin*), artistic cross between tambourine and gong kebyar, and the use of language in plural life.

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