

Catus Patha or Sadpatha ? : Dutch Colonial Hegemony in Ngudi Hyang Widhi in Post Colonial Bali

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Abstract. Catus Pata or Prapatan Agung in Balinese rituals means Sadpatha has a function as an astral area. During baliseering, the Dutch built a monument with bells pointing to the cardinal points. By following the paradigm of the Frankfurt and Bermingham schools, the research procedure uses socio-cultural research steps : data collection, verified, analyzed, and concluded from a cultural studies perspective. The analysis uses the concepts of genealogy of knowledge, domination, and hegemony. Capitalism is carried out by creating space, structure and culture. Bali remains a living museum, so that it is very attractive to be used as a smokeless industry which is very profitable for colonial and western capitalism. Postcolonial Baliseering has deep implications for the structure and culture of society, authorities and tourism actors who are lost in the material world in collaboration with global capitalism, and the continued strengthening of the commodification of Bali, even leading to desacralization and secularism in Bali.

Keywords: Sadpatha/Catuspatha Post-independence Colonial Hegemony in Bali

1. Introduction

The colonial footprints in Bali left behind a lot of cultural archeology which has ideological hegemonic meaning in Balinese society in the postcolonial era. Bell clocks as timepieces are an inseparable part of western culture, placed in the *astral* area in the Balinese religious system, but are still sexist in some *Sadpathas* in Bali [1]. The existence of bells in this astral area is very interesting to study critically, in order to understand the hidden meaning behind the clock bells in *Sadpatha*. Functionally, *Sadpatha* is a locus for carrying out various *kebalian* rituals because the concept of *tapak dara* (+) is in accordance with the name of the *Perapatan Agung*. The Great Concentration/ in the Great Concentration is the *Sadpatha* position because there is an up-down element as the position of the *astral* area. *Sadpatha* is a core location for cultural, customary and religious ceremonies and rites in Bali, which has not been studied much either functionally or critically.

The placement of the bells in *Sadpatha* during the Dutch colonial era in Bali is not just a coincidence, but it can be assumed that colonial ideology or interests were at play in the Baliseering discourse. The implication is to hegemonize society in structure and culture at large,

in the postcolonial era in Bali [2]. The hidden colonial ideological meaning behind the bells in *Sadpatha* in Bali is approached with structuration theory [3].

From the background above, the problem that is the focus of the study is: (1) why did the Dutch colonial government place a Bell Clock at *Sadpatha*? What is the *Baliseering* process in preparing Bali as a tourism industry? What are the traces and hidden meanings of the Bell Clock in *Sadpatha*? And how do the implications of colonial hegemony ring a bell in postcolonial *Sadpatha*? To study and analyze this problem

Research methods are used, with socio-cultural research procedures from a critical perspective and cultural studies. The critical perspective uses the Frankfurt school (Germany) with its cultural commodification, while cultural studies uses the Birmingham school (France) by looking at culture from a political perspective [4], [5]. In the postcolonial era, it has implications for the lives of the Balinese people at large [6]. Placement of Bells in the context of *Baliseering* at the beginning of the 20th century, by the Dutch Government as its agent. *Sadpatha* is related to the core structure of Balinese culture, so to understand its very functional meaning it is discussed using [3] structuration theory which looks at the relationship between time, agency and structure.

2. Method

This study uses qualitative research methods, with social science research procedures, namely: data collection is carried out by interviews, observation and literature study. The various data collected are verified, then analyzed and concluded in the form of narratives, tables, photos, and charts from a cultural studies perspective. Theoretically, to "uncover hidden meanings and ideologies, the concept of deconstruction is used [7], [8], or paradigm differences [9]. Also Foucault's concept of genealogy of knowledge [9], Gramsci's concept of hegemony [11], Edward Said's concept of orientalism, and Giddens [3], decolonizing methodology taken [12] theory is used eclectically according to the problem being studied to obtain qualitative truth.

3. Result and Discussion

3.1 The Bells at *Sadpatha* and the Colonial Religious Perspectives

The placement of the bell clock by the Dutch colonial government at *Perapatan Agung* was not without reason, or came from an empty space, but had a background dominant ideology and politics. The meaning of clock chimes in western culture compared to eastern culture is very different. In the western world, clock bells have the function of indicating the time and also reminding the time. Time is so important for the western world that in very short parts of the world you can see the sun. On the other hand, time runs continuously and follows the circulation of the planet Earth around the sun, there is no force that can stop the movement of the earth around the sun (solar system). In the western world, respect for time is related to seasonal changes which are very short every 4 months, so time is very important for the Bell Clock agency in *Sadpatha* Bali. Efficient use of time so that humans can create efficient and effective works. Represented by the expression "the time is money" as a human form of work and time, related to material things and money.

Meanwhile, the eastern world (including Bali) has a tropical climate, which means you can work all hours of the day and night, so the time (human time) for work is very loose (human work). As a result, the cultural structures of the West and East are very different, the West is time efficient at work. while the east is inefficient in utilizing time, prioritizing spiritual meaning, ignoring the time used, especially in carrying out rituals/ceremonies (*ngudi hyang widhi/monotheism*) in *Sadpatha*. Functionally, *Sadpatha* is a core area of transportation traffic which is the lifeblood of the economy, human work activity in earning money (moneytheism). So *Catuspatha* is a worldly view, while *Sadpatha* is noetic, because the path up and down is not visible to the naked eye, because it is noetic and a belief.

The struggle between the two core cultural structures in *Sadpatha* can be explained as follows. (1) *Sadpatha* is the location of the *astral* area of the Balinese religious system (*kebalian*), so the length of the procession at *Sadpatha* (*Perapatan Agung/Sekala*), is determined by the type of ritual/ceremony associated with *kebalian*. Is it cremation, *odalan*, returning sick people, ran soming people who fall on motorbikes, calling for lost children, and so on. So there is a ritual some take hours, some take a short time. There are 4 choices, namely morning, afternoon, evening, midnight. The meeting of "two times/the time" which is in conflict, whether it is morning or afternoon (Liminity Area). The ideal of time is the liminality of time, because time is life or death. Not to mention it is used to "*ngelmu*", namely to revive (give good luck) modern literature, which can become a magical human being. (2) The West views *catuspata* as *Sadpatha* /the great transportation facility which is the lifeblood of the economy. Whether or not transportation runs smoothly in *Perapatan Agung* influences income and expenditure in the economy. Time is money, the longer you stay in *Sadpatha* (stuck) the more detrimental it is to the efficiency and effectiveness of using time.

Sadpatha is the core of the cultural structure in Bali, its existence extends far beyond the arrival of the Dutch to Bali. Even long before *Hindus* (Rsi Markandeya) came to Bali. Thus it can be said that the Dutch have exercised hegemony over Balinese rituals, by placing the Bell Clock in *Sadpatha*, resulting in ideological degradation, from prioritizing the worship of God in *Sadpatha* (monotheism), changing to worshipping time as money (moneytheism), resulting in a change from monitheism. become moneytheism.

Like the placement of the Bell Clock in the *Sadpatha* of the Buleleng kingdom which was built during the colonial era, during the operationalization of the *Baliseering* policy in the early 20th century. *Baliseering* was initiated by [13] as *Baliseering*, then in some literature [14] called it *Baliseering*, while Anom Kumbara called it *Ajeg Bali* during the colonial era. The experts above both give the meaning of balinization as an effort to maintain Balinese culture to avoid the erosion of foreign culture which affects Bali with various strengthening strategies. Whereas the preservation of colonial Balinese culture was politically directed at maintaining power from radical ideological disturbances such as nationalism, communism, Islamism as a counter to Dutch colonial ideology [15], [16], [17].

Viewed from a political and economic perspective, by making Bali a "living museum", the influence of national awakening and resistance would not occur, it could even divide the main forces of Bali into supporters of the Dutch colonial government, by positioning the Brahmin group as the most important clan. On the other hand, by making Bali a "Living

Museum, it can easily be transformed into a "smokeless industry" that benefits Dutch (western) capitalism in Bali [18], [19]. Thus, it can be understood that the Dutch colonialists carried out a double-edged strategy, as if to help the diversity of Balinese culture, but in fact there was an economic and political ideological content behind it. In other words, the meaning of Balinese people is different from the ideology hidden behind colonial government policies [5], [1]. Balinese people interpret balinization as an action that greatly benefits the structure and culture of Balinese society [3], [21]. In fact, the colonial grand design behind Baliseering was hidden in the meaning of "making Bali an exotic tourist attraction for the benefit of western capitalists, as well as to suppress the national movement that was starting to grow in East Java at that time. Balinization or Baliseering was initiated by [13], as a school supervisor in Klungkung. The Balinization policy seems to be defending Bali, which is very contrary to the grand narrative that became colonial discourse [22]. Baliseering actually served to dampen the rise of nationalist ideology in Indonesia, which at that time was marked by the emergence of the Budi Utomo organization on 20 May 1908. Budi Utomo's ideas were a counter ideology to foster mass national awareness, because only through modern organizations could power be seized, which was very different from previously resistance was only regional in nature [23], [24]. Struggle is conditioned through education national by teaching nationality, independence, history which is Indonesia-centric. Budi Utomo's ideas were seen as very dangerous ideologically for the continuation of Dutch colonial power in Indonesia in general, especially in Bali [25], [26].

The rise of the new spirit of society to modernize was countered by the Dutch by strengthening Balinese traditionalism, namely by creating a Baliseering discourse, by deconstructing that modern education was contrary to Balinese culture, because it was capitalist and colonialist and therefore dangerous for the continuity of Hindu traditions and religion in Bali. That modern education develops more cognitively and less develops the morals and manners of Balinese people [27], [28], so Balinese culture needs to be protected with Baliseering strategies in various areas of life. Strengthening the colonial discourse was carried out by: (1) constructing a discourse that contrasted Java-Bali, minority-majority, Islam-Hinduism, constructed with historical facts, namely the destruction of the ancient Balinese kingdom (Beprior Kingdom) due to Gajah Mada's attack on Bali in 1343, resulting in threat of Islamization of Bali. Thus, the modernist educated elite group represented by Surya Kanta came under pressure from the colonial and triwangsa groups, so that this organization lost support. Surya Kanta's modern ideas became submerged [29]. (2) The policy of prohibiting Christianization, Islamization, modernization and the entry of radical ideologies into Bali [30]. This policy added to the confidence of the traditional elite that the Dutch colonial government truly intended to conserve Balinese culture. (3) The condition of society is in an ideological conflict with caste nuances between the educated elite and the traditional elite. The educated elite are easily buried under accusations that Surya Kanta's agents are spreading "red", communist, atheist ideology, which they make their common enemies in Bali. (4) The Dutch colonialists supported the upholding of the caste system in Bali by issuing regulations on *asu pundung* and *alangkahi karang ulu*, with heavy sanctions for violators, even though these regulations actually violated human rights, they were implemented for the sake of satisfy the *triwangsa* group which can be used as political capital in the Bali museum process.

3.2 Colonial Structuration Agents of the Baliseering Period in Bali

Anthony Giddens in his structuration theory explains that agent, structure, time and place have a very close position in understanding the culture of a region [3]. With the perspective of structuration theory, it can be understood that in the 1930s schools during the Baliseering era, teachers became agents in Bali in the traditionalization of Balinese society. The role of teachers educated based on western education is being replaced by traditional teachers who can only teach traditional Balinese knowledge. The traditional feudal structure of Balinese society was strengthened by changing the dynasty system to a caste system like in India by the Dutch, by placing the brahmin group at the top of the Piramida, replacing the king in the concept of the king's god cult, becoming the Brahmin God cult.

The Netherlands as an agency is at the top of the pyramid, above the traditional elite, especially the kings and brahmins. By creating this pragmatic societal structure, the Brahmin dynasty was at the top and copulated with the king. The Dutch changed the structure of society by positioning the Brahmin group at the top of the pyramid replacing the king, while through the king the government could implement various policies through hegemonic leadership in an indirect role. Baliseering and structure and culture were built by colonialism, then strengthened and ideologized through regulations, formal and non-formal education.

Education, both formal and non-formal, is an agent for strengthening Balinese Hindu customs, culture and religion as desired by the Dutch colonialists, in other words, borrowing from Bourdieu [31], schools are used as a locus of ideology for dominant groups in Baliseering, so the Baliseering School was built with the obligation to build a school that reflects the image of local culture in Bali. Modern educated teachers were replaced with traditional teachers. The school curriculum was completely overhauled, both in terms of instructional learning and nurturant effects (hidden curriculum), everything was reversed. Instructional systems in learning, such as: singing, school clothes, morning exercises (with Balinese dance *agem*), singing lessons (with *mekidung* and *mewirama*) are all used as strategies to traditionalize Balinese society through formal schools and through hegemonics such as *Sadpatha* in non-formal education by the government [13]. Non-formal education plays a very important role, as the Pita Maha Foundation is an important agent in the commodification of art in Bali. The government, in collaboration with the elite of the Ubud kingdom, created the Pita Maha Foundation (a non-formal educational institution) to educate traditional classical artists to produce works of art that could be commodified by tourists visiting Bali [32]. This is in line with Boudieu's idea, that the dominance of traditional elite habitus is created in the realm of education, to construct truth and is strengthened by providing regulations and legal sanctions, as a means to discipline society [33], so that Bali can remain a "living museum" that benefiting the tourism industry, capitalism, and Western colonialism. With the various schools of Pita Maha's upbringing, Balinese art has become modern. To expand marketing reach, cultural promotions are carried out by holding exhibitions outside Bali, while the proceeds from sales are earmarked for the Pitamaha Foundation. Dutch Colonial is also implementing a strategy to

finance potential art groups to accelerate the development of various art products that can be sold to visitors to Bali.

3.3 Colonial Hegemony in Sadpatha

Sadpatha as the Balinese astral area in ngudi hyang widhi, hyang is Atman which after being processed through *Ngaben* (*Ng+aba+in*), after atman deemed clean and purified from the pancamahabhuta elements, the status changed to Hyang. In Sadpatha, a hybrid is finally carried out with *Widhi/Vedha*, namely the Indian Gods, according to the *sungsungan* (*sekta*). Thus *Sadpatha* is the locus for *ngudi hyang widhi*, in Balinese religion. *Sadpatha* was so important after understanding various Balinese palm leaves, through the establishment of Gedong Kirtya, this understanding (cf. Foucault) was used to exert hegemony on Balinese rituals by building monuments containing Lomceng Clocks in the four cardinal directions. In fact, in the Balinese ritual, *Sadpatha* is an astral area and a locus for the implementation of various important rituals in Balinese culture, such as cremation rituals, *ngereh/kebatinan*, and Balinese medicine. So *Sadpatha* is an inseparable part of Hindu religious customs and culture in Bali. When you enter *Sadpatha* you will be reminded of the motto "the time is money", an adage in the form of a counter ideology and culture towards God's name in every thing. These two adegiums contain the meaning of capitalist materialist ideology, and the ideology of recognizing everything in the name of God, whose astral region is in *Sadpatha*. The battle between these two ideologies is shown in *Sadpatha*, so that with power relations there is a change in understanding "from monotheism to moneytheism" with the symbol of the Wall Clock as its representative (cf. Thompson, 2015). Because human cultural life is actually directed by ideology, the awareness to choose one of them and/or combine the two requires ideological and theoretical understanding and critical awareness of the postcolonial Indonesian nation [6], [12].

Sadpatha is functionally used as a ritual place related to *pecaruan*, *ngelabar*, *nedunan dewa*, *bhatara* and *ngelebar dewa*, *pitara ke Swarga Loka* ceremonies. It is also an obligatory place in "*Ngerehang Sastra*" in Balinese mysticism, including caring for Balinese sick people [32] With a wall clock that definitely sounds every hour, the situation is still and serene when the *nyuku Tunggal* ritual is disturbed, then the essence of the *kebalian* ritual fails. Thus, *Sadpatha* has a very central function for Hindus in Bali, especially in carrying out traditional and religious ceremonies in the implementation of the *Panca Yadnya* which require this great consecration.

Historically, this understanding can be understood to have occurred since the Megalithicum era, it is the core of Balinese ritual culture which, with the import of major religions to Bali, became customary in the imported religions of major religions, so *Sadpatha* is the core of the Austronesian Malay Religious System, which has at its core the worship of spirits, ancestors and relatives.

Lontar in Bali is a source of local ethnic knowledge, inherited through "*ngelmu*". *Ngelmu* is actually an appreciation of God called Hyang Widhi, who currently has four names according to his function in the life of the religious system in Bali. The religious system is interpreted differently from religion, religion is better understood in the Indian context with its source teachings in the *Panca Wedha* (Reg Wedha, Yayur Wedha, Sama Wedha, Atharwa Wedha and

Bhagawad Gita). On the other hand, the religious system is a belief system related to supernatural powers, ancestral spirits and the *catur kin* in Bali. The interaction of local beliefs with imported religions in a critical theory perspective often forms itself into a form of cultural mimicry and/or hybridization [6]. In the religious system, Hinduism in Bali is a hybrid religion. Regarding major religions as imported religions after in Indonesia their adherents became more fanatical than adherents in their areas of origin. The mention of imported religion borrows the term in and out of goods in the terminology of modernity, so it needs to be studied further – “could it be?” moneytheism” [24], in daily Balinese cultural practices in the Sadpatha area.

The hegemonic process means colonial ideology entering the structure and culture of Bali. Ideological Baliseering was carried out by entering the core area of Balinese culture, namely the religious system, especially in the preservation of reliefs at important temples in the *Puputan Jagaraga* war, which were prepared to become tourist attractions. Gedong Kirtya (lontar museum) was created as a locus for gaining Balinese ethnic knowledge, by understanding local knowledge of relief construction sacred buildings in Bali became functional to hide colonial interests [34].

3.4 Implications of Colonial Hegemony in Postcolonial Sadpatha

The most prominent implications of Baliseering in the era of globalization are the first emergence of ethnocentrism in *Pakraman Village* in the form of the *Ajeg Bali and Pacalang* programs. The response to *Bakso Haram*, the issue of terrorism in Bali, is that spatially there are many restrictions "scavengers are prohibited from entering". A portrait of primordial politics in the form of the Buleleng Gray Movement, namely the burning of government offices because of the emotions of the masses towards Sukarno's Megawati, who was perceived as having Buleleng blood. Colonization of education in the form of an education system, leads to liberalism, internationalism, and the marginalization of poor people in education, complementing the failure of national education in educating the nation's life [35]. The world of cultural tourism is transforming into cultural tourism [14]. There is commodification of art, then culture, customs, even religious culture in line with the rapid flow of technology, tourists, finance, mass media (telecommunications), the influence of glocal ideology, which leads to desacralization and commodification of land, traditions, customs, religion in Bali. This results in the rapid uprooting of the structure, culture and diversity of the Balinese people [36].

Postcolonial hegemony of colonial ideas still continues, in various areas of social life, with the main agents being traditional elite groups, customs and religious systems which have become a "hybrid religion" between Indian-influenced Hinduism and the Balinese religious system, in the form of *prahyangan* (sanggah and pura) in Bali [6]. Therefore, Balinese cannot differentiate between custom and religion, because it is like a coin with two different sides, but one [20], [21]. The colonial hegemony that exists in it has contributed to giving meaning, ideology, in it so that people participate in defending it voluntarily, even though it is full of deception and becomes the root of violence and discrimination [22] and injustice [37] with justice with the choice of hedonism.

4. Conclusion

Sadpatha's hegemony with Bells has a political and ideological background to change the ideology of the Balinese people, moving from monotheism to moneytheism, capitalism in the form of the tourism industry creates space, structure and culture in Bali so that Bali remains old-fashioned and traditional, becoming a "living museum", will be used as a tourist attraction exotic culture. Baliseering was also motivated by the political situation of the emergence of national consciousness. The educated elite struggled through modern organizations, formal and informal education, promoting Indonesian-centric history, self-reliance, and the idea of one homeland, one nation and one homeland (1928). The colonial government was afraid of losing its power in Bali, so it issued a Baliseering policy, and exercised hegemony in various areas of life, schools became Baliseering agents. The implications of colonial hegemony in sacred places and astral areas can be understood critically (Frankfurt school), the occurrence of hybridization and mimicry of Balinese culture with Hinduism, the commodification of culture in Bali with cultural tourism and has led to a tourism culture that is very consumerist and materialistic. , so that there is a change from monotheism to moneytheism and leads to the desacralization of Balinese culture, art, customs, religion and land, so that it can be said that the colonial hegemony of the cultural studies perspective (Bermingham) continues politically and ideologically in the postcolonial era.

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