

# DIASPORA OF BALINESE RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL TRADITION IN SOUTH LAMPUNG

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## **ABSTRACT**

The purpose of this study is to explore the various diaspora forms of the Balinese ethnic community's religious and cultural traditions, specifically in Tridharmayoga Village in South Lampung. The island of Bali is recognized for its unique Hindu religious traditions which mirror the indigenous culture. It is observed that when the Hindu Balinese community migrates to transmigration areas or other regions exterior to Bali, they persist in practicing these traditions as a component of their Hindu identity. The Tridharmayoga Village was founded on the principles of three diaspora religions: Hinduism, Islam and Catholicism. The village promotes interactions that place a high emphasis on unity, despite the changes in religious traditions and cultural practices that might diverge from the native homeland. However, these traditions remain prevalent in the diaspora region. Considering these factors, questions emerge regarding the Balinese diaspora's presence in this village and how the Balinese ethnic group's religious and cultural heritage traditions, inherited from their homeland, are expressed in this new environment. This research adopts an exploratory and qualitative descriptive-analytical approach, presenting data descriptively based on the empirical evidence collected from the field. Data were collected through observations, interviews, and document analysis from a variety of sources in the field. The findings of this study indicate that the village, which is rooted in unity, diversity, and multiculturalism, adjusts its religious traditions to align with the established culture. This adjustment, however, does not eradicate the fundamental traditions but modifies them to

suit the economic conditions of the host land, ensuring adherence to obligatory practices. This study offers insights into the value transformation within the religious traditions of the Balinese ethnic group, influenced by specific local conditions, particularly focusing on the Hindu Balinese community in Tridharmayoga Village.

**Keywords:** *Diaspora, Religious Culture, Balinese Hindu Ethnicity, Tridharmayoga Village, South Lampung.*

### **ABSTRAK**

*Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk mengidentifikasi dan menganalisis bentuk diaspora tradisi khazanah budaya keagamaan dari komunitas diaspora etnis Bali, khususnya di Desa Tridharmayoga Lampung Selatan. Sebagaimana diketahui bahwa di Bali tradisi keagamaan Hindu memiliki ciri khas tersendiri yang mencerminkan budaya lokal. Ketika masyarakat Hindu Bali pindah ke daerah transmigrasi atau wilayah lain di luar Bali, mereka akan tetap menjalankan tradisi tersebut sebagai Hindunya. Desa Tridharmayoga dibangun atas dasar tiga agama diaspora; yaitu Hindu, Islam dan Katolik. Interaksi yang dibangun di desa ini sangat menjunjung tinggi kebersamaan, meskipun ada pergeseran tata tradisi dan budaya keagamaan yang agak berbeda dengan tradisi daerah asal. Akan tetapi masih menjadi tradisi yang dominan daerah perantauan. Karenanya berdasarkan hal tersebut, maka muncul permasalahan tentang bagaimana keberadaan orang Bali di Desa ini, dan bagaimana tradisi Khazanah Budaya Keagamaan etnis Bali yang sudah mentradisi di negeri asal mereka?. Penelitian bersifat eksploratif, dan merupakan penelitian deskriptif analitis kualitatif, yakni menyajikan data secara deskriptif sesuai data dan fakta yang ditemukan di lapangan. Data dikumpulkan dari berbagai sumber di lapangan melalui observasi atau pengamatan, wawancara, dan studi dokumen. Temuan yang didapat adalah bahwa desa ini yang dibangun atas dasar kebersamaan dan keragaman serta multikultur, karenanya tradisi keberagaman yang dilaksanakan menyesuaikan dengan kultur yang telah dibangun, akan tetapi tidak menghilangkan tradisi yang semestinya dilakukan, hanya saja sehubungan dengan keberadaannya berada di tanah rantau, maka dalam pelaksanaannya disesuaikan dengan kondisi perekonomian yang ada tanpa menghilangkan kewajiban kewajiban yang harus dilakukan.. Penelitian ini diharapkan mendapatkan gambaran terjadinya transformasi nilai dalam tradisi keagamaan etnis Bali yang disebabkan dengan kondisi lokal tertentu, khususnya etnis Hindu Bali di Desa Tridharmayoga.*

**Kata Kunci:** *Diaspora, Budaya Keagamaan, Etnis Hindu Bali, Desa Tridharma Yoga, Lampung Selatan.*

## INTRODUCTION

Balinese people are well-regarded for their strong familial bonds and deep-rooted affection for their homeland—an affinity fostered by the potent influence of religion, customs,<sup>1</sup> and culture that are conspicuously embodied in Balinese lifestyle. However, migration incites an identity shift among Balinese people who leave their homeland, causing their Balinese ethnic identity to intersect with their adopted land. A common adage among Balinese people, "*lekad di Bali, pang mati masih di Bali*," or in other words, "born in Bali, died in Bali,"<sup>2</sup> suggests an implicit aspiration among Balinese migrants and diaspora that they may someday return to their homeland. This aspiration extends to the hope that upon their passing, their last rites would be performed according to Balinese traditions. This sentiment is also prevalent among the Balinese diaspora in Lampung, who adhere to the axiom "*Desa mawa kerta*," signifying adherence to the rules and norms of their new place of residence.<sup>3</sup>

People from Bali find it challenging to migrate, unlike the Minangkabau people from West Sumatra or the Bugis people from Sulawesi. In the Balinese migrant or transmigrant community in Indonesia, it is unprecedented for a Balinese family to inhabit an area devoid of Balinese residents. Departing from Bali often results in the loss of community membership status (*krama*) in the banjar community and Pakraman<sup>4</sup> Village, leading to a perceived loss of cultural identity. According to C. Geertz, there are seven cultural ties that bind the Balinese people, including attachment to worship at the temple (*dadya, Paibon, kahyangan tiga*), to the community, *subak*, the kinship system, the kinship system based on blood and marriage, a particular

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<sup>1</sup> Wayan Gede Suacana, "Budaya Demokrasi Dalam Kehidupan Masyarakat Desa Di Bali," *Jurnal Kajian Bali* 01(01), no. April (2011): 88–151.

<sup>2</sup> M.Par Dr. Putu Sucita Yanthy SS., *Prosiding Seminar Nasional dan Call For Paper 2017, Correspondencias & Análisis*, 2016.

<sup>3</sup> A.A. Bagus Wirawan, "Sejarah Sosial Migran-Transmigran Bali Di Sumbawa, 1952-1997," *Jantra* III, no. 6 (2008): 418.

<sup>4</sup> Wayan Gede Suacana, "Budaya Demokrasi Dalam Kehidupan Masyarakat Desa Di Bali."

association (*seka*), and a particular administrative unit (keperbelkalan).<sup>5</sup> However, Balinese people are more likely to migrate in groups if they experience political, social, religious, or economic pressures. This propensity is due to the strong social and cultural ties and high group discipline among Balinese people, making individual migration challenging but group migration more successful.<sup>6</sup>

Following the second eruption of Mount Agung in 1963, a group of Balinese people from the mountainous region of Nusa Penida migrated to Lampung. Despite initial challenges, the Bali Nusa transmigrant community successfully established Balinuraga Village after a long journey from Nusa Penida to Lampung.<sup>7</sup> Currently, Balinuraga Village is home to the majority of the Bali Nusa people from Soyor village, Tonglat village, Nusa Penida, and is recognized as a traditional Balinese village. Despite being located in a region where the majority are devout Muslims, Balinuraga Village has maintained its Balinese identity.

One concern is that Bali, a society with a strong Hindu identity, is distinct from the local communities around it, especially in Lampung, Semende, and Ogan. The local community's perception of the Balinese community still reflects their view of Balinese as being different from other communities. This difference is reflected in stereotypical assessments that Balinese people are considered to be idol worshipers and consume pork. These sentiments are not only felt by the Balinese diaspora but also by many migrant communities with different cultural backgrounds residing in Lampung. As a Balinese Hindu community, Balinuraga Village has seven banjars with traditional village apparatus and supporting socio-religious infrastructure even though the traditional villages in Balinuraga are incorporated into the

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<sup>5</sup> Wirawan, "Sejarah Sosial Migran-Transmigran Bali Di Sumbawa, 1952-1997."

<sup>6</sup> I Ketut Wiana, *Memahami Perbedaan Catur Warna, Kasta Dan Wangsa* (Surabaya: Paramita, 2006): 173-192

<sup>7</sup> Wahyu Setiawan, *Pasraman Sebagai Media Pembentuk Identitas Pasca Konflik (Studi Terhadap Internalisasi Tri Hita Karana Pada Masyarakat Balinuraga Lampung Selatan)*, *Jurnal Multikultural & Multireligius*, vol. 14, 2015.

administrative village structure. One of the main requirements for establishing a traditional village is the existence of the Puri Kahyangan Tiga. As a traditional village, Balinuraga Village strengthens its position as a satellite state of the Balinese Hindu community outside Bali, becoming an example of how to build a Balinese state outside its home island, with a strong foundation of Balinese identity.<sup>8</sup>

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Prior to the conflict in 2012, the relationship between Agom Village and Balinuraga Village was harmonious, with residents from both villages respecting and assisting each other. Many Balinuraga residents sought livelihood resources in neighboring Agom Village and transported sago stalks from Agom for use in their village. This action solidified the soil structure and facilitated the local community's access to the area. Furthermore,

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<sup>8</sup> I. Ketut Ardhana and Ni Wayan Radita Novi Puspitasari, "Adat Law, Ethics, and Human Rights in Modern Indonesia," *Religions* 14, no. 4 (2023): 1–10, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel14040443>.

<sup>9</sup> Khomsahrial Romli and Ayu Maulia, "Prasangka Sosial Dalam Komunikasi Antaretnis (Studi Antara Suku Bali Dengan Suku Lampung Di Kecamatan Sidomulyo Kabupaten Lampung Selatan Provinsi Lampung)," *Jurnal Kom & Realitas Sosial* 4, no. 2 (2014): 127–51.

<sup>10</sup> Wawancara bersama Made Nugraha, salah seorang mangku di Desa Sumur, Ketapang Lampung Selatan. Tanggal 2 Mai 2021

some Balinuraga residents processed the sago stems into their sago products, involving the use of the river flow in Agom Village and fostering interaction between the Balinuraga and Agom residents. This interaction led to closer relationships, including intermarriages between residents of Agom and Balinuraga Villages.<sup>11</sup>

The presence of Balinese people in the diaspora in South Lampung, specifically Tridharmayoga Village, stands in contrast to the neighboring Balinese village of Balinuraga, which has had conflicts with local residents. In Tridharmayoga Village, residents live in peace and harmony, maintaining their Balinese Hindu customs and traditions. Although there has been a shift in religious traditions and culture, these traditions still dominate the overseas areas. This leads to the research questions: How do Balinese people live in Tridharmayoga Village? and What are the Balinese ethnic religious cultural traditions in Tridharmayoga Village?

The objectives of this paper are to: (1) identify, categorize, and analyze forms of diaspora religious cultural treasures from Balinese ethnic diaspora communities, specifically in Tridharmayoga Village, (2) collect data and map the potential diaspora of Balinese religious cultural treasures in Tridharmayoga Village, and (3) identify the interaction between foreign (immigrant) and local culture and determine if there is a dominant culture.

Several studies on the Balinese diaspora in Lampung, with various perspectives. Firstly, Hardianti's (2016) "*Tragedi Salah Paham Antara Suku Lampung dengan Suku Bali di Lampung Selatan* (The Tragedy of Misunderstanding Between the Lampung Tribe and the Balinese Tribe in South Lampung" in *Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Sosial, Volume 2, Nomor 2, Desember 2016*" presents an analysis of the conflict between Balinese and local tribes with a unique approach. Inter-tribal conflict in the Lampung region is not a new phenomenon, it has occurred repeatedly and was generally triggered by trivial problems. A

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<sup>11</sup> Eva Achjani Zulfa, "Bali Nuraga-Lampung: Identity Conflict Behind the Policy," *Indonesian Journal of International Law* 11, no. 2 (2014), <https://doi.org/10.17304/ijil.vol11.2.279>.

previous example of a similar conflict occurred in the same location as the current conflict, namely in Sidorejo, Sidomulyo District, where tribal clashes occurred in January 2012 due to a dispute over parking space. Several other incidents of inter-tribal conflict in Lampung include the burning of the East Lampung Probolinggo market by the Balinese tribe on 29 December 2010, conflict between the Javanese/Balinese tribe and the Lampung tribe over chicken stealing in September 2011, the conflict between the Javanese and Lampung tribe in January 2012, as well as incidents another conflict in Sidomulyo, South Lampung, in October 2012.<sup>12</sup>

Secondly, Zainal Arifin (2020), in his article " *Kami Bali-Lampung: Politik Identitas Etnik Bali Migran dalam Masyarakat Multikultural Way Kanan, Lampung* (We are Bali-Lampung: The Politics of Ethnic Identity of Balinese Migrants in the Multicultural Society of Way Kanan, Lampung), in *Jurnal Pemikiran Sosiologi Volume 7 No. 1, Januari-Juli 2020*," describes the unique practice of ethnic identity politics among the Balinese migrant community in the multicultural region of Lampung. They migrated to Lampung through a transmigration process in 1963 after the eruption of Mount Agung. One of the Balinese migrant community settlements is located in Bali Sadhar village, Way Kanan Regency, Lampung Province. Even though the Balinese community is often involved in social conflicts with other ethnicities in their new settlements which are dominated by Balinese Hindu cultural identity sentiments, in Way Kanan Lampung, the Bali Sadhar community actually lives in harmony with the surrounding community.<sup>13</sup>

Thirdly, the article "*Transformasi Konflik Sosial Antara Etnis Bali dan Lampung Dalam Mewujudkan Perdamaian Di Balinuraga, Kecamatan Way Panji, Kabupaten Lampung Selatan*,

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<sup>12</sup> Hardianti, "Tragedi Salah Paham Antara Suku Lampung Dengan Suku Bali Di Lampung Selatan (Studi Kasus: Konflik Antar Suku)," *Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Sosial 2*, Nomor 2 (2016): 95–100.

<sup>13</sup> Zainal Arifin, "Kami Bali-Lampung: Politik Identitas Etnik Bali Migran Dalam Masyarakat Multikultural Way Kanan, Lampung," *Jurnal Pemikiran Sosiologi 7 No. 1, J, no. 1* (2020): 47–62, [https://doi.org/ https://doi.org/10.22146/jps.v7i1.57675](https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.22146/jps.v7i1.57675).

(Transformation of Social Conflict Between Balinese and Lampung Ethnicities in Realizing Peace in Balinuraga, Way Panji District, South Lampung Regency)" by Akbar Kurniadi, Tri Legionosuko, and Wibisono Poespithadi (2019) explores various causes of latent conflict in Balinuraga which developed into open conflict, as well as unique ways of transforming conflict to change a conflictual atmosphere into a harmonious one. This study also presents records from the Indonesian Survey Circle (LSI), Lampung, that Balinuraga conflict in 2012 was included in the five regions with the worst levels of discrimination after reform. Factors driving the Balinuraga conflict include disparities in resource access and control, discriminatory policies, and inherent economic disparities. Another factor is tribal identity which accelerates conflict and a series of previous disagreements which become a catalyst for increasing the intensity of conflict, coupled with juvenile delinquency as a trigger.<sup>14</sup>

Conflict transformation efforts are carried out through four main dimensions that are often influenced by conflict, namely personal transformation by encouraging awareness of self-improvement and eliminating stereotypes between groups, as well as spiritual strengthening; relational transformation is characterized by cooperation between the Balinese and Lampung tribes, *anjang sana*, and mechanisms for resolving internal conflicts; cultural transformation involves strengthening the culture of *rembug pekon* as a tool for conflict resolution, and cultural revitalization; as well as structural transformation through government support to institutionalize the culture of *rembug pekon*, strengthen traditional institutions and regional institutions, and empower the TNI/POLRI.

Fourthly, M. Ali Humaidi (2014), in his article "*Kegagalan Akulturasi Budaya dan Isu Agama dalam Konflik Lampung* (Failure of Cultural Acculturation and Religious Issues in the

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<sup>14</sup> Akbar Kurniadi, Tri Legionosuko, and Wibisono Poespithadi, "Transformasi Konflik Sosial Antara Etnis Bali Dan Lampung Dalam Mewujudkan Perdamaian Di Balinuraga, Kecamatan Way Panji, Kabupaten Lampung Selatan," *Jurnal Pertahanan & Bela Negara* 9, no. 1 (2019): 91, <https://doi.org/10.33172/jpbh.v9i1.501>.



Lampung Conflict)," in *Jurnal Analisa, Volume 21 Nomor 02* highlights how dangerous social conflicts, such as the one in Lampung, can be, which have the potential to cause losses not only materially and mentally but also threaten human and national dignity. This conflict arises from the consistency of various economic and political interests, along with cultural differences which are reflected in the mindset, outlook on life and cultural practices of ethnic groups in Lampung. The article tries to answer how the process of cultural acculturation between indigenous Lampung and Balinese tribes, which triggered a series of conflicts, could occur. The question is how the parties can create early warning to prevent social conflict in areas similar to Lampung.<sup>15</sup> The failure of cultural acculturation between the Balinuraga and Lampung tribes, which stems from the lack of shared social space, is considered to be the root of the conflict. Unfortunately, this problem is often ignored by stakeholders and humanitarian institutions in conflict resolution. Conflict management is limited to emergency response activities, such as providing food assistance, accommodation and security guarantees. After that, disaster handlers left the community without a follow-up program that could address the root causes of the conflict between Balinuraga and the Lampung tribe.<sup>16</sup>

In relation to these previous studies, the present research primarily serves an exploratory purpose, employing a descriptive analytical qualitative research approach to present data in a descriptive manner, based on the facts and data collected from the field. This descriptive method is utilized to offer a comprehensive portrayal of the data and facts on the diaspora of Hindu in South Lampung, while the analysis was conducted based on specific methods and theories. This includes organizing, categorizing, or classifying the data. The analysis also considers the relationship between the data and the previously described facts. In terms of data collection, this study focuses on qualitative data,

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<sup>15</sup> M Alie Humaedi, "Kegagalan Akulturasi Budaya dan Isu Agama Dalam Konflik Lampung," *Analisa* Volume 21 (2014): 149–62.

<sup>16</sup> Retnowati, "Agama, Konflik Dan Integrasi Sosial," *Konflik Dan Integrasi Sosial* 21, no. 01 (2014): 189–200.

which is gathered from various field sources through observations, interviews or questionnaires, and document studies. The data collected from the field is classified as primary data, while secondary data is used to supplement the primary information obtained from the field.

## **FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

The Balinese Village in South Lampung is situated along the eastern coastline of Sumatra, specifically within the South Lampung Regency, Lampung Province. This includes several areas in the Bakauheuni District such as Sumur Village, Yogaloka Village, Ruguk Village, and Tridharmayoga Village in Ketapang District. Observing this area, one can see several homes with distinctive features such as fences, gates, and family temples known as *Sanggah*, as well as village temples. During special celebrations, the area is adorned with pennants or 'penjor' made of decorated bamboo sticks, and streets are decorated with strings of yellow coconut leaves, contributing to an interesting visual spectacle.

Tridharmayoga, a village in the Ketapang sub-district, Bakauheni, South Lampung, forms part of the South Lampung Regency area. Ketapang District resulted from the expansion of the Penengahan District, as stipulated by Peraturan Daerah Kabupaten Lampung Selatan (the South Lampung Regency Regional Regulation) No. 42 on 12 December 2000 and was officially inaugurated on 22 February 2001 by Zulkifli Anwar, the Regent of South Lampung. Like other regions in Indonesia, Ketapang District features a tropical climate. It stretches from south to north, boasting a coastline of approximately 30 kilometers and a land area of 186.60 km<sup>2</sup> or 18,660 hectares. The average elevation of Ketapang District is 37.94 meters above sea level, with the lowest land at 3 meters and the highest at 200 meters above sea level, as measured from the village center using a Global Positioning System (GPS). The administrative center of Ketapang District is located in Bangunrejo Village, with the regional boundaries as follows: Sragi District to the north, Bakauheni District and the Sunda Strait to the south, Penengahan District to the west, and the Java Sea to the east.

Tridharmayoga Village is predominantly Hindu, with a distinct Balinese cultural influence visible in the architectural designs of homes and places of worship, such as the Santa Maria Catholic Church. This village is a testament to religious harmony and tolerance, with temple, church, and mosque buildings co-existing side by side, reflecting the diverse religious affiliations of its residents, including Islam, Catholicism, and Hinduism. This harmony has been maintained for decades.

The village's population of 1,284 residents includes 204 Muslims, 8 Christians, 12 Catholics, and 1,060 Hindus. Tridharmayoga Village has a rich history, dating back decades to the arrival of the Balinese people. The village was established in the 1970s based on three religions, under the guidance of Mangku Nengah Ganja (Hindu), Hadi Sumarto (Catholic), and Abdullah Bari (Islam). The village initially housed transmigrants from Java and Bali, with the majority engaged in farming and various other private occupations.<sup>17</sup>

The Balinese community first settled in Kalianda due to its proximity to Lampung's Bakaheuni Port and its geographical similarity to Bali. Kalianda, a sub-district in South Lampung Regency, Lampung, is situated at the foot of Mount Rajabasa and along Lampung Bay. It has similar topography to the Balinese origin land in Bali.

### **Kampung Bali (Balinese village) before the Conflict**

Prior to the conflict, the Balinese Village's historical records trace the arrival of Balinese people to Lampung back to 1963, although some argue that it began with the onset of the Transmigration program in 1952 in several regions of Indonesia, including Lampung. This migration was triggered by the powerful eruption of Mount Agung in Karangasem Regency in 1963. With a history of four eruptions — in 1808, 1821, 1843, and 1963 — the last of these eruptions ended the mountain's 120-year slumber, causing significant losses, including thousands of

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<sup>17</sup> Wawancara dengan Parisada Desa Tri Dharmayoga, Kecamatan Ketapang Lampung Selatan, 4 Mei 2021.

fatalities due to lava flows, landslides, and deadly gas clouds that lasted almost a year.<sup>18</sup>

Mount Agung Karangasem is a sacred place to Hindus, believed to be the dwelling place of the gods, specifically *Bathara Mahadewa* or *Hyang Tolangkir*. Visitors and climbers are expected to adhere to certain rules and prohibitions to prevent unfortunate incidents, such as not bringing beef, women who are menstruating are not allowed to climb, only collecting water with special prayers, and avoiding any disgraceful acts.<sup>19</sup> The figure below illustrates the eruption of Mount Agung.



Source: <https://www.balitoursclub.net/sejarah-letusan-gunung-agung/>

**Figure 1.**

### Eruption of Mt Agung

Balinese people are recognized for their expertise in agriculture, applying multiple farming techniques and precision in managing harvests. This proficiency has allowed the Balinese population in Lampung to flourish. Despite the challenging

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<sup>18</sup> Ni Wayan Ririn Putri Darmayanti and Luh Putu Kerti Pujani, “Pengaruh Erupsi Gunung Agung Terhadap Produksi Kerajinan Patung Di Desa Sebatu, Kecamatan Tegallalang, Kabupaten Gianyar,” *Jurnal Destinasi Pariwisata* 7, no. 1 (2019): 131, <https://doi.org/10.24843/jdepar.2019.v07.i01.p20>.

<sup>19</sup> I Gede Mudana, I Ketut Utama, and Cokorda Istri Sri Widhari, “Kepeloporan Kewirausahaan Memandu Pendakian Daya Tarik Wisata Gunung Agung, Karangasem, Bali,” *Jurnal Kajian Bali (Journal of Bali Studies)* 7, no. 2 (2017): 19, <https://doi.org/10.24843/jkb.2017.v07.i02.p02>.

journey due to economic difficulties, particularly the famine in the 1970s which prevented the full implementation of cultural practices such as the Ngaben tradition, the Balinese community has managed to transplant their culture from their original place to their new home in Lampung.

Stories recount that in 1963, five Balinese individuals sought refuge in the residence of Intan Mas Jahidin, then the head of Kalianda state. They were fleeing the catastrophic eruption of Mount Agung in Bali, which resulted in the loss of their homes and possessions. Following the philosophy of life in Lampung, which values coexistence and hospitality (*Nemui Nyimah*), they were welcomed and permitted to stay.<sup>20</sup> Over time, they divided themselves into several groups according to their origins in Bali, founding the villages of Balinuraga, Bali Agung, and Bali Napal.

The Balinese community in Lampung developed a unique term, "Kebalian," representing their identity. The Balinese identity is not rigid; it involves complex social attachments to their birth or ancestral land. This identity, which includes customs, religion, kinship, community, agriculture, and more, forms the basis of the concept of "Kebalian," symbolizing their identity in Balinuraga, a village formed by Balinese transmigrants in South Lampung Regency.<sup>21</sup> Despite initial difficulties, the Balinese community managed to improve their economic conditions and maintain communication with their hometown in Bali and other Balinese communities in Lampung. They also built infrastructure, such as buses, to facilitate transportation within the Lampung area and eventually to Bali. This effort effectively mitigated feelings of alienation and fostered their self-identity as Bali-Lampung.

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<sup>20</sup> Himyari Yusuf, "Nilai-Nilai Islam Dalam Falsafah Hidup Masyarakat Lampung," *Jurnal Studi Agama Dan Pemikiran Islam* 10, no. 1 (2016): 167–92, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.24042/klm.v10i1.340>.

<sup>21</sup> I Gusti Agung Paramita, Ida Bagus Gde Yudha Triguna, and I Wayan Budi Utama, "Identity Politics of Hindu Society in Bali," *International Journal of Social Sciences* 5, no. 4 (2022): 316–24, <https://doi.org/10.21744/ijss.v5n4.2037>.

The cultural and religious differences between the Balinese and the local communities could potentially cause conflict, but the awareness and support of all ethnic communities in maintaining a multicultural society prevented this. The Balinese community's ability to harmoniously present its identity alongside the local community was a significant contributing factor. Several factors triggered the migration of Balinese people out of Bali, including the eruption of the Indonesian national revolution, limited economic opportunities, natural disasters, homelessness, political conflict in 1965, and the launch of the transmigration program.<sup>22</sup> However, the main factor was natural disasters, particularly the eruption of Mount Agung in 1963, which devastated the economic life of most people in Bali. The areas most affected by the disaster were Karangasem and Buleleng.<sup>23</sup> Some of the victims were transmigrated to Lampung, Kalimantan, Jambi, Bengkulu, Bangka, and Sumbawa, either through the government's transmigration program or independently.<sup>24</sup>

### **Kampung Bali Post Conflict 2012**

The conflict that transpired in Balinuraga Village within the South Lampung Regency was not merely due to misunderstandings between the two involved parties, but also served as a repercussion of previous conflicts involving both ethnic groups. The cessation of this violent conflict on October 29, 2012, led to various parties acknowledging the significant changes that had subsequently occurred in individual and communal attitudes and behaviors of the conflicting parties.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Wirawan, "Sejarah Sosial Migran-Transmigran Bali Di Sumbawa, 1952-1997."

<sup>23</sup> Alan gibert dan Josef Gugler, "Urbanisasi dan Kemiskinan di negara Dunia Ketiga" Yogyakarta: PT. Tiara Wacana Yogya, 1996.: 65-66

<sup>24</sup> Lesmana S Muriel Charras, *Dari hutan angker hingga tumbuhan dewata transmigrasi diIndonesia orang Bali di Sulawesi*. Yogyakarta: Gajah Mada University Press, 1997.: 32

<sup>25</sup> Arya Bagaskara dkk, "Identitas Kebalian; Rekonstruksi Etnik Bali Dalam Mempertahankan Identitas Pasca Konflik," *Al-Adyan: Jurnal Studi Lintas Agama* 16, no. 1 (2021): 49-74, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.24042/ajsla.v16i1.9196>.

Lampung and Ulun Lampung maintain a philosophical perspective on life known as '*pi'il pesenggiri*', a character trait that remains unchanged amidst the erosion and currents of globalization. Similarly, the Balinese people uphold noble values inherent in the Hindu religion, encapsulated within the concept of *Tri Hata Kirana*. Despite their contrasting traditions, customs, culture, and religions, both the Balinese and Lampung ethnic groups adhere strongly to their own philosophy of life, which have similar values. In terms of customs and traditions, both communities have established mechanisms for achieving consensus or mutual agreement through discussions or so-called *rembug*.<sup>26</sup>

In Lampung tradition, deliberation and consensus are tangible representations and implementations of the *sakai sambayan* philosophy, promoting mutual cooperation. Meanwhile, within Balinese traditions and customs, deliberation and consensus symbolize *salulung sebayantaka* value that is perpetually employed as a means to achieve joint consensus based on principles of truth. Recognizing the similarity in traditions that prioritize the process of reaching agreements and problem-solving through deliberation, the regional government of Lampung Province institutionalized the *rembug pekon* tradition through the Perda Provinsi Lampung No.1/2016. The government also implemented several structural transformation measures, including the institutionalization of dialogue as a conflict resolution mechanism, strengthening the traditional institutions such as MPAL (Majelis Penyeimbang Adat Lampung), enhancement of TNI/POLRI institutions through Bhabinkamtibmas and Babinsa, and the strengthening of regional institutions like Kesbangpol, FKUB, FKDM, and FOKMAL.<sup>27</sup>

Indeed, conflicts within society invariably result in various changes and significant impacts. Despite the existence of

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<sup>26</sup> Zainal Arifin, "Piil Pesenggiri: Politik Identitas Komunitas Lampung," *Patanjala Jurnal Penelitian Sejarah Dan Budaya* 12, no. 1 (2020): 69, <https://doi.org/10.30959/patanjala.v12i1.591>.

<sup>27</sup> Risma Margaretha Sinaga, "Revitalisasi Tradisi : Strategi Mengubah Stigma," *Masyarakat Indonesia* Vol. 40 (1 (2014): 109–26, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.14203/jmi.v40i1.109>.

positive aspects in conflict dynamics, the impact manifests in post-conflict life, whether it involves restoring the pre-conflict order or introducing new elements to the existing structure. In the context of the Agom and Balinuraga conflict, the changes tend to revitalize relationships that existed pre-conflict. However, these transformations do not always align with expectations; certain aspects, such as the changes in religious activities in Balinuraga, have experienced a decline from their original state. Post the Balinuraga conflict, the networking between traditional leaders in strengthening the traditional structures of Lampung and Bali has seen an improvement, receiving full support from the regional government. The fortification of these traditional institutions serves as a conduit for the interests of their members.

### **Post-conflict Religious Activities**

In essence, the Hindu community in Lampung shares similarity with the Hindus in Bali to a great extent. However, the local Hindu community confronts issues related to the high costs of ceremonies. For instance, in the case of the Ngaben ceremony, individuals often find themselves having to sell their assets post-ceremony to recover the costs, in pursuit of the ideal ceremony, known as *Utamaning Utama*, which signifies prioritizing the primary and most crucial elements.

Consequently, due to economic constraints, local Hindus performed *Pasraman* for stakeholders, Serati, and customs. The presence of *Pasraman* led to the understanding of the nine levels of ceremony, enabling adaptation to the community's economic capacity. An instance of this adaptation is the mass cremation ceremony that was conducted at a cost of only 500 thousand rupiah per person, demonstrating that the focus was not solely on achieving the highest degree (*Utamaning Utama*).<sup>28</sup>

As for religious activities, an informant from Agom village reported that post the conflict in October 2012, the religious

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<sup>28</sup> Ni Wayan Seruni, "Persepsi Masyarakat Desa Restu Rahayu Kecamatan Raman Utara Kabupaten Lampung Timur Terhadap Ngaben Tanpa Petulangan," *Jurnal Pendidikan Agama* 8 Nomor 2, (2017): 24–30.



activities of the Balinuraga community, particularly the death ceremony (*Ngaben*), were disrupted. The residents of Balinuraga were not permitted to use the Agom village road for the death ceremony, forcing them to take a longer route. However, the situation has since returned to normal.<sup>29</sup>

Prior to the Nyepi ceremony, the people of Balinuraga often hold self-purification ceremonies at sea, a route that required passing through the Agom Village road. There have been changes in ceremonial customs; traditionally, the Balinese people from Balinuraga would carry the *ogoh-ogoh* with loudspeakers and musical instruments during the ceremony, a practice that ceased post-conflict. This change has become a point of contention post-conflict. Despite the hurdles, Balinuraga residents continue to perform these religious rituals appropriately in their village without the need to conduct these activities at sea as previously done.<sup>30</sup>

However, the changes post-conflict have not hindered the people of Balinuraga from seeking closeness with the Almighty. On the contrary, these changes have encouraged mutual respect and protection between the people of Agom and Balinuraga villages, and more broadly, the villages surrounding these two villages. This mutual understanding and respect have fostered better relationships and sustained the reestablished integration.<sup>31</sup>

### ***Balinese castes in Lampung***

Primarily residing on the island of Bali, the Balinese people use the Balinese language and follow Balinese customs and culture. Their origins can be traced back to three periods of migration: the first associated with prehistoric population disper-

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<sup>29</sup> Wawancara bersama Oké, penyuluh wanita Hindu di Kecamatan Ketapang Lampung Selatan, 3 Mei 2021.

<sup>30</sup> Setiawan, *Pasraman Sebagai Media Pembentuk Identitas Pasca Konflik (Studi Terhadap Internalisasi Tri Hita Karana Pada Masyarakat Balinuraga Lampung Selatan)*, 2015.

<sup>31</sup> Wahyu Setiawan, "Pasraman Sebagai Media Pembentuk Identitas Pasca Konflik (Studi Terhadap Internalisasi Tri Hita Karana Pada Masyarakat Balinuraga Lampung Selatan)," *HARMONI: Jurnal Multikultural & Multireligius* 14, no. 1 (2015): 67–79.

sion, the second with the expansion of Hinduism in the archipelago, and the third from the island of Java following the collapse of the Majapahit Kingdom in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>32</sup> Despite the majority of Balinese people residing outside Bali, such as in West Nusa Tenggara, Central Sulawesi, Lampung, and other transmigration areas, they have upheld their Balinese heritage and culture. They manage to amalgamate Balinese culture with the local culture in their new residences, leading to the emergence of unique, diasporic cultures that continue to evolve.<sup>33</sup>

The being Balinese, as the land of origin, is preserved in various aspects, even in overseas and transmigration areas. However, adjustments are made depending on the conditions of their current place of residence.<sup>34</sup> The understanding of caste among the emigrated Balinese people has evolved. While caste remains an aspect of a person's naming pattern with various rules and variations for each caste, its definition has become a matter of serious debate among various groups in Balinese society in Bali. The caste system, a social group consisting of *Brahmana*, *Ksatria*, *Waisya*, and *Sudra*, also known as *catur wangsa*, *catur warna*, or caste,<sup>35</sup> has been generally referred to as *catur warna*, *catur wangsa*, *catur jatma/janma*.<sup>36</sup>

The term "caste" is not found in the sacred Veda texts, but the term generally used is "Warna". In the Bhagavadgita, the recognized term is "Catur Warna", which refers to the division of society based on the Swadharma (profession) or area of work of

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<sup>32</sup> I. Wayan Mulyawan, I. Made Suta Paramarta, and I. Nyoman Suparwa, "Language Contestation at Batukau Temple, Bali (a Linguistic Landscape Study)," *Cogent Arts and Humanities* 9, no. 1 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2022.2090651>.

<sup>33</sup> Rini Fitria, "Komunikasi Multikultural Dalam Menjaga Kerukunan Antar Umat Beragama Di Kabupaten Bengkulu Tengah," *Manhaj: Jurnal Penelitian Dan Pengabdian Masyarakat* 3, no. 2 (2019): 1

<sup>34</sup> Yohanes Krismantyo Susanta, "Sentana Rajeg Dan Nilai Anak Laki-Laki Bagi Komunitas Bali Diaspora Di Kabupaten Konawe," *Harmoni* 18, no. 1 (2019): 504–18, <https://doi.org/10.32488/harmoni.v18i1.336>.

<sup>35</sup> I Ketut Wiana, *Memahami Perbedaan Catur Warna, Kasta Dan Wangsa*, Surabaya: Paramita, 2006.: 10

<sup>36</sup> Anak Agung Gde Putra Agung, *Perubahan sosial dan pertentangan kasta di Bali Utara* Bali: Yayasan Untuk Indonesia, 2001.: 40

each individual. In Balinese society, there is a Wangsa system which organizes family relationships based on lineage.<sup>37</sup> The use of the term "caste" to understand "Warna" in the context of Hindu society has led to conflicts among the Balinese people. The introduction of the concept of caste occurred during the colonial period by European nations. The names contained in "Catur Warna" (Brahmana, Ksatria, Waisya, and Sudra) were transferred into the caste structure, including the use of titles. These titles are passed down from generation to generation without considering whether the individual actually carries out the functions or teachings contained in the concept of "Catur Warna."<sup>38</sup>

The Balinese transmigrants realize that the application of the Hindu philosophy of balance will differ based on time and spatial conditions. The socio-cultural conditions of the surrounding community, as well as environmental, economic, and political conditions, greatly influence how the philosophical values in Hindu teachings will be applied. For instance, the social structure of the community, consisting primarily of the Sudra caste, makes it impractical to appoint a religious leader (from the Brahmana caste) as is done in Bali. However, the existence of religious leaders is important in the context of human relationship patterns with God. Therefore, with different structural conditions, the overseas Balinese people are making efforts to learn more deeply about Balineseness and to develop new definitions of lifestyles so that they can survive and be sustainable in the land of hope.<sup>39</sup>

The Balinese people of Lampung live side by side with multiple cultures. To maintain their survival, they strive to

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<sup>37</sup> I M Suweta, "Bahasa Bali Sebagai Sentral Kebudayaan Bali," *Maha Widya Bhuwana: Jurnal Pendidikan, Agama Dan Budaya* 2, no. 1 (2019): 7–16

<sup>38</sup> Jiwa Atmaja Made Kembar Kerepun, *Mengurai Benang Kusut Kasta Membedah Kiat Pengajegan Kasta Di Bali* (PT. Empat Warna Komunikasi : Denpasar., 2007): 12

<sup>39</sup> S Suhanah, "Kelompok Spiritual Sakkhi Dan Dampaknya Terhadap Kehidupan Keagamaan Di Indonesia (Studi Hindu Khrisna Di Asram Pahlada Bumi Manti Lampung)," *Harmoni* 15, no. 3 (2016): 117–30.

maintain kinship by learning and gathering together to discuss things that can maintain and even improve their standard of living regardless of the caste they come from.<sup>40</sup> The people of Bali in Lampung tend not to look at caste but use Wangsa, a system of classifying people based on their respective professions. Hence, a person from the Brahman dynasty may not necessarily hold the title of that dynasty without possessing the necessary religious knowledge. It is even possible for a descendant of the Sudra to obtain the title of the Brahman if they possess the appropriate scientific ability.<sup>41</sup>

As education advances and time progresses, the understanding of the caste system continues to evolve, and it has become somewhat of an antiquated artifact. Educated individuals who understand the principle of equality often regard the caste system as outdated, particularly in overseas and multicultural transmigration environments. Transmigrated Balinese people have distanced themselves from the caste system, realizing that Hindu religious teachings actually recognize 'Catur Warna'. Changing times have rendered the caste system irrelevant as its impact contradicts contemporary law.<sup>42</sup> One such impact is the differential treatment between high and low castes. To avoid such negative implications, society chooses to coexist without a hierarchy that determines a person's status.<sup>43</sup> When individuals have obligations, they fulfill them diligently and sincerely, creating a harmonious social life. Mutual respect and tolerance are key in

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<sup>40</sup> Wawancara dengan Ida Rsi Agung Manik Bang, pandite Desa Tri Dharma Yoga, Kecamatan Ketapang Lampung Selatan, 4 Mei 2021.

<sup>41</sup> Wawancara dengan Oké, penyuluh wanita Hindu di Kecamatan Ketapang Lampung Selatan, 3 Mei 2021.

<sup>42</sup> I Made Purana, "Study Of Critical Disadvantages System Catur Warna To Concept Catur Kasta In Civil Society Bali Hindu," *Kamaya: Jurnal Ilmu Agama* 5, no. 1 (2022): 20–27, <https://doi.org/10.37329/kamaya.v5i1.1524>.

<sup>43</sup> Hermi Yanzi I Made Darsana, Holilulloh, "The Public Perception of Balinese Against The Caste System in The Buyut Baru Village at 2015," *Jurnal Kultur Demokrasi* 3, no (2015).

avoiding other negative impacts and ensuring harmony in the lives of people in overseas lands.<sup>44</sup>

### ***Ngerit Ngaben Ceremony***

Religious ceremonies are rituals or celebrations used by all religions to draw closer to the Almighty. Each religion has distinctive and unique ceremonies. For Hindus in Indonesia, particularly in Bali, practicing religion involves a significant emphasis on religious ceremonies. This is because religious ceremonies provide religious activities that can reach all levels of people's abilities in understanding Hindu spiritual values. The Yadnya ceremony provides a gradual ascent for Hindus who carry out Yadnya.<sup>45</sup>

The Yadnya ceremony also provides guidance for every profession held by the people to be directed towards devotion to the sanctity of life and worship of God. Regarding understanding, Yadnya comes from the word "Yaj" which means victim, whereas "yajna (yadnya)" refers to something related to the victim. In this context, the sacrifice in question is a sacrifice based on devotion and love, as the implementation of the yadnya for Hindus serves as an example of the actions of Ida Sang Hyang Widhi/God who has created humans and nature with his yadnya.

Ngaben is one implementation of the PancaYadnya, namely Pitra Yadnya. Ngaben is the subject of discussion in this scientific work. The Ngaben ceremony is a form of Pitra Yadnya, namely an ancestral purification ceremony. The implementation of this ceremony is obligatory by Sentana, namely the children and descendants or relatives of the deceased as a form of respect for their parents.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Firda Aulia Izzati, "Pentingnya Sikap Toleransi Dan Empati Dalam Mewujudkan Warga Negara Yang Baik (Good Citizenship) Di Masa Pandemi," *Jurnal Kalacakra: Ilmu Sosial Dan Pendidikan* 2, no. 2 (2021): 85, <https://doi.org/10.31002/kalacakra.v2i2.4368>.

<sup>45</sup> Seruni, "Persepsi Masyarakat Desa Restu Rahayu Kecamatan Raman Utara Kabupaten Lampung Timur Terhadap Ngaben Tanpa Petulangan."

<sup>46</sup> Luh Putu Ginda Prabhawati, Anantawikrama Tungga Atmadja, and Nyoman Trisna Herawati, "Pengelolaan Keuangan Upacara Ngaben Dan

Pitra Yadnya is defined as a form of *yadnya* to an ancestor or someone from the time they die until they are considered to have a place in the divine realm, “Pitra” derived from the word “bitri” which means “Father/Ancestor”. This implementation of Yadnya has the aim of “*akrodhanah caucaparah, satatam brahmacariah, nyasata castra mahabhagah, pitarah purwadewatah*” meaning returning the Spirit of the Ancestors to its origin. In the Veda Smriti, it is stated that the Ancestral Spirits are God's creations who are equal to the Gods. This devotion is a manifestation of deep love that is realized in the form of the cremation ceremony, supported by sincerity. As an embodiment of love, they sacrificed everything from the most beautiful to the grandest.<sup>47</sup>

The discourse that develops in Balinese society, in general, is that Ngaben always has the connotation of religious ceremonies with very large costs, so without large costs available, people will not be able to carry out Ngaben ceremonies. What this means is that there is an incorrect opinion about cremation “*Ngabehin*” which means excessive. Without having excessive funds, people will not dare to perform cremation. In the end, many Hindus, especially Balinese, were unable to carry out the Ngaben ceremony because they had very limited or even less funds, so as a result their ancestors were buried for years, this is very contrary to the basic concept of the Ngaben ceremony itself.

To overcome this condition, the Balinese Hindu community in Lampung, especially in Tridharmayoga Village, as well as several neighboring villages apply Ngerit in the Ngaben ceremony, while still redefining the levels in religious ceremonies, namely *Utama ning Niste*, *Utama ning Madye*, and *Utama ning utama*. The traditional leaders, together with the Parisade, both the Village Parisade and the sub-district, initiated a local community gathering with an amount of 100 thousand rupiah,

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Nyekah Massal Gratis Berdasarkan Nilai Kearifan Lokal Pasidhikaran (Studi Kasus Pada LPD Desa Adat Kedonganan, Kecamatan Kuta, Kabupaten Badung, Bali),” *Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa Akuntansi* 9, no. 1 (2018): 99–110.

<sup>47</sup> I Gede Sugiarka, “Segehan Ongkara Di Pura Taman Gandamayu Dalam Upacara Bhuta Yadnya Di Desa Adat Jasri Kecamatan Karangasem Kabupaten Karangasem,” *Lampuhyang* 14, no. 2 (2023): 136–43, <https://doi.org/10.47730/jurnallampuhyang.v14i2.341>.

some villages even added basic food supplies.<sup>48</sup> In its implementation, it is assisted by Mangku or Pandita as an effort to carry out Ngaben immediately without any burial process first. And the results of the above collection will be helped to be managed for the Ngaben ceremony, for food and for the family, so that the family left behind is not left with misery. Ngerti ceremony is an attempt by Balinese Hindu priests in Lampung to maintain the continuity of overseas Hindu communities.<sup>49</sup>

For women in Ketapang sub-district, women's roles do not appear to be the same as women in Bali in general, who tend to be dominated by men's roles. As can be seen, there is a Pandito who is usually called Mpu Sidoluhur, namely a female Pandito who is a very respected female Sulinggih in Sidoluhur Village, Ketapang District. Apart from Mpu Sidoluhur, there is also a female instructor who is very active in providing teaching and learning to both Hindu students and other communities. So that the continuity of Hindu religious practices in Tridharmayoga and its surroundings can run simultaneously with the existing Mangku.

## CONCLUSION

The Balinese diaspora in Lampung, especially in Tridharmayoga Village, exhibits unique characteristics distinct from other Balinese communities, particularly those in South Bali and early Balinese settlers in Balinuraga, Bali Agung, and Bali Napal. These villages in South Lampung were among the first settlements of the Balinese people. The Balinese community in this village has managed to coexist harmoniously with other communities and ethnic groups, as this village was established based on the principles of three religions. They have successfully preserved and adapted their cultural and traditional practices to

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<sup>48</sup> Made Mulyadi and I Nyoman Rasmen Adi, "Partisipasi Dan Motivasi Masyarakat Dalam Pelaksanaan Upacara Ngaben Ngerit Serta Dampaknya Pada Kehidupan Masyarakat," *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Hasil Penelitian-Denpasar*, no. September 2016 (2016): 73–87, [http://eprints.polsri.ac.id/3564/3/BAB II.pdf](http://eprints.polsri.ac.id/3564/3/BAB%20II.pdf).

<sup>49</sup> Wawancara dengan Ida Rsi Agung Manik Bang, pandite Desa Tri Dharma Yoga, Kecamatan Ketapang Lampung Selatan, 5 Mei 2021.

fit the local environment and community. They continue to uphold and practice their religious traditions as if they were in their homeland, Bali. Interestingly, there are certain practices that cannot be carried out in Bali but are feasible outside Bali, specifically in Tridarmayoga vilage. This flexibility facilitates the preservation of cultural integrity and survival of the overseas Balinese community. These adaptations and adjustments reflect the resilience and adaptability of the Balinese people, underscoring the dynamism of cultural practices and traditions amid the challenges of diaspora life.

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### **Interviews:**

- Interview with Made Nugraha, a village figure in Desa Sumur, Ketapang subdistrict, South Lampung on May 2, 2021
- Interview with Ida Rsi Agung Manik Bang, pandite in Desa Tri Dharma Yoga, Ketapang subdistrict, South Lampung on May 4, 2021.
- Interview with Oké, female Hindu counselor in Ketapang subdistrict, Lampung South Lampung on May 3, 2021.
- Interview with Parisada Desa Tri Dharmayoga, Ketapang subdistrict, Lampung South Lampung on May 3, 2021.