

## REPRODUCTION IDENTITY MECHANISM AT PASEK COMMUNITY IN MATARAM CITY, WEST NUSA TENGGARA

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### ABSTRACT

Reproduction identity at Pasek community in Mataram indicated by re-emphasizing symbolic power genealogical identity which had been built by their ancestor. Those phenomenon is patterned through personal genealogical identification, representation of ancestor's identity at Pasek clan in socio-religious space, identity articulation in priesthood symbol construction, and restructuring established cultural in Hindu religiosity practice. Socio-religious movement is actuated by Pasek community closely related with their struggle to achieve symbolic power in practicing Hindu religiosity.

*Keywords: identity reproduction, power, Pasek community, Mataram.*

### ABSTRAK

Reproduksi identitas komunitas Pasek di Mataram diindikasikan oleh penegasan kembali daya simbolik identitas genealogis yang dibangun leluhur mereka pada masa lalu. Fenomena tersebut terpola melalui identifikasi diri secara genealogis, representasi identitas leluhur klan Pasek dalam ruang sosioreligiusitas, artikulasi identitas dalam konstruksi simbol kependetaan, dan restrukturisasi kemapanan budaya dalam praktik beragama Hindu. Gerakan sosial-religius yang diaktualisasikan komunitas Pasek bertautan erat dengan perjuangannya meraih kekuasaan simbolik dalam praktik beragama Hindu.

*Kata Kunci: reproduksi identitas, kekuasaan, komunitas Pasek, Mataram.*

### INTRODUCTION

Identity in global era links with self representation in the middle of various life aspects. Identity according to Barker (2004:17) expressed through various form of representation used as a vehicle to recognize self and the others. Identity in Cultural Studies links with signification through taste, trust, attitude, and life style. Identity is not a constant entity, but as a self description filled emotionally. Based on that phenomenon, identity

and identification become an important matter to be studied in order to understand the existence of self identity both individually or collectively in social space. According to Tilaar's idea (2007:68-75) that in horizontal level, the construction of human identity is not separated from environment where they live. Vertical level of human identity constructed continuously and dynamically toward Benedict Anderson's terminology known as *imagined community*. Identity produced continuously,

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like Tilaar said, links tightly with primordial values that created a unity. Primordial emotion could be developing in group community that creates a unity in forms of ideal symbols.

Primordial emotion as a base in building unity within group identity is either becoming important part from cultural values and has a very strong dimension on giving influences into socio-religiosity practices. The emergence of primordial emotion links with means to representing identity on similar genealogical base. This phenomenon indicated by reproduction of ancestor's identity amongst *Pasek* community united in Mahagotra *Pasek Sanak Sapta Rsi* hereinafter referred to as MPSSR, especially ones concentrated in Mataram City, West Nusa Tenggara. Socio-religious movement actualized by carrying up the ancestor's identity gives a sentiment to religious practice among Hindus. This movement was legitimated through image projection in order to construct positive image which spread into public's memory space, mainly into Hindu's religious practice's space.

Identity reproduction appears at *Pasek* community in Mataram connected with mean to conduct a socio-religious practice restructuring in Hindu follower. This restructuring monolithically accumulated in initiating *pandita mpu* as priesthood symbol from *Pasek* clan. *Pasek* community based on that phenomenon intending to rearrange the priesthood symbol because Hindus in Lombok especially in Mataram, historically uses symbol of *ma«iwa-buddha* (using *pedanda «iwa* and *pedanda Buddha*) to lead religious rituals. This rearrangement used the symbol of *sarwa sadhaka* representing that priesthood symbol is not limited to certain *wangsa* (lineage). *Ma«iwa-buddha* concept was constructed in the historical time by giving privileges (special rights) to group of *brahmana wangsa* to be initiated as priest.

The emergence of critical consciousness in elite circle of *Pasek* community which actualized through critical behavior by doing rearrangement of some religious aspects assumed un-synergic with human civilization's development. Movement actualized by *Pasek* community using the

symbolic power attach to their ancestor's identity contemporarily. Symbolic power inherent at their ancestor identity reproduced together with image projection to gain public legitimating. According that phenomenon, this article is to reveal the mechanism of identity reproduction of *Pasek* community and that event closely related with building socio-religious movement in order to restructuring cultural established, particularly in Hindu religious practice. Socio-religious movement is actuated by *Pasek* community monolithically accumulated to the mean of restructuring symbol of priesthood in Hindus' religious practice in Mataram. The socio-religious movement have been actuated by *Pasek* community on the other hand, is refused by *status quo* group. This group want to make everlasting heritage cultural, particularly in Hindu religious practice.

## IDENTITY REPRODUCTION MECHANISM OF PASEK COMMUNITY

Identity reproduction of *Pasek* community united in MPSSR actualized in socio-religious movement connected with mean to re-emphasize their ancestor identity contemporarily. *Pasek* clan represents their noble identity built by their ancestor in the past, even individually or collectively. The identity reproduction mechanism patterned through personal identification genealogically and the re-emphasize of ancestor's identity contemporarily in socio-religious practice domain.

Identity reproduction of *Pasek* community began with personal identification genealogically. This movement is to confirm self identity in genealogic perspective as a *Pasek* clan. Empirically personal identification was done in several ways, rationally or metaphysically. The ways used are (1) tracing through *lelintihan* (ancestral lineage) based on *kawitan* (genea-logic source) of their homeland in Bali; (2) tracing the use of individual names in relatives environment; (3) tracing the family trees in *babad*; (4) *mapinton* (asking for metaphysical clues), and (5) conducting *ngengengan* or *mejinjin* (*niskala* clues trough mediation of a *dukun*). The first three ways tend



to express more rational aspect, while the last two are metaphysical.

Self identification which genealogically correspond with tracing *lelintihan* (lineage) based on *kawitan* (genealogical source) in their homeland Bali indicated by means to trace *dadia* (worship bound) groups of their predecessor who lived in Bali. According to I Gde Wanga, these *dadia* groups have strong correspondence with worship sites in form of *pura* or *kahyangan* (temple) which generally used to conduct activities in relatives environment within these *dadia*. Traditionally, *dadia* groups membership have a linked blood line. They are listed as a member of a *dadia* based on *purusa* line, that is, determining *dadia* groups patriarchally.

Expression was stated by above informan principally linked with tracing genealogical identity related with worship sites, especially *pura dadia* (*dadia* temple). *Dadia* groups amongst *Pasek* clan in Bali spread almost in every regencies. Worship sites in form of *pura* or *kahyangan* owned by *dadia* group within *Pasek* clan in Bali, some exist in location close to *pura padharman* (worship bound among the same clan) as it was revealed by Soebandi (2007:75) that in region of *pura padharman* of *Pasek* clan in Besakih. There are two *dadia*, in the south of the *pura* belong to *dadia* *Pasek* Tangkas and the other one in south east of the *pura* belong to *kahyangan Ratu Pasek* (abode *Pasek* ancestor). This *pura* as said by Netra (1994:88) supported by Hindus with the same blood line. This *pura* functioned as a place to worship *Ida Sang Hyang Widhi* (God) with all His manifestations including *dewa* and *pitara* (spirits purified through certain rituals).

According to I Gde Tingkat, some of *Pasek* clan in knowing ancestral identity trough tracing the using name as self identity. In this term, self identification genealogically by tracing the using of names as self identification within relatives for *Pasek* clan in Mataram was admitted as a way to put forward the rational aspect. Based on consideration that was stated by informan names given to someone has a strong correspondence with the application of *wangsa* system or identity

based on blood line. Observation of realizable in field showing Balinese ethnic, both living in Bali or in Lombok still has a tendency to give a name to their children according to *catur wangsa* system or four classifications based on blood line inherited from their ancestor. *Pasek* clan in *wangsa* system traditionally positioned in *jaba wangsa* (the lowest class), this make their front naming (differentiate with first naming) tend to use identification according to their birth number commonly used. First-born named with *I Gde*, *I Putu*, or *I Wayan*. Second-born used *I Made*, *I Kadek*, or *I Nengah*. *I Nyoman* or *I Komang* used for third born and *I Ketut* is for the fourth-born. Naming for fifth-born and after, started back the circle. Names after their birth number in Balinese, observed by Geertz (1992:158-160) as the most elementary label from the standard labels automatically given to the children, even for the children dead on his/her birth is named using his/her birth number according to first-born, second-born, third-born, and so on. This personal definition according to birth number, is a *plus 'a change* to the individual denominations.

*Pasek* community in Mataram, in the case of conducting personal identification genea-logically using naming in family scope, connected with identity use as descendent of Mpu Agni-Jaya or identity connected with *Pasek* identity after the front names mentioned above. Self identity tracing by the use of ancestor's name believed to be more accurate to know self identity genealogically. Identity produced in the past, particularly connected with *Pasek* rank as an implication of politic and power institution. From the nature of politics, identity as emphasized by Barker (2004:182) that the political basic nature of identity as a "product" and to the possibility for the identity to be varied, change, and fragmented could be articulated together in many ways. Synergized with Barker's concept, genealogic personal identification conducted by tracing the using of Mpu Agni Jaya and his descendants' names is not separated from political identity, especially as a tool to rebuild symbolic power inherent in genealogic identity.



Concerning personal genealogical identification in order to find out their ancestral identity according to I Gde Tingkat also by tracing family tree namely *babad*. Tracing the ancestor's identity by tracing family tree through *babad* is believed by *Pasek* community in Mataram as a perfect way. Based on that statement, narrating in *babad* has an important role to conduct personal identification genealogically. *Babad*, particularly *babad Pasek* that explicitly stated the family tree of the big family of *soroh* (clan) *Pasek* believed to be authentic source to trace their genealogic identity. At the same side of the *Pasek* clan assume that text narrated in *babad* as a history truthfully.

Genealogic self identification based on *babad* amongst *Pasek* clan link tightly with effort to actualize the content of *bisama* (spiritual message) from their ancestor. *Bisama* commanded that the descendants of *Pasek* clan conduct what had been written in *bisama* of Mpu Agni Jaya their ancestor, which told them to establish brotherhood among *Pasek* and to conduct the duty to worship ancestor. Identity tracing conducted by *Pasek* clan, especially those in Mataram by studying family tree in *babad* is not separated from tracing *lelintihan* vertically to *bhatara kawitan* (ancestor) of *Pasek* clan. This means commonly assisted by an expert in *babad*, whom in the past inspired a lot by Jro Mangku Gde Ketut Soebandi in Bali.

Touching about the existence of *babad*, Putra Agung (2006:30) put *babad* as a source of history besides the other traditional documents like *paswara*. Text written in *babad* like mentioned by Putra Agung reveal the family history and including power like one that revealed in *babad* of Karangasem Kingdom dynasty. In different dimension, stories in *babad*, like stated by Santosa (2007:257-258) described how ideology used as a tool to legitimate power. Those phenomenons, is especially used by king as a center of cosmic power, power center of the whole society, even the whole universe.

*Mepinton* according to I Gde Aryana, is a self identification amongst *Pasek* clan conducted by asking metaphysical clue from supernatural

power either from *Ida Sang Hyang Widhi* (God) or from *Ida Bhatara Kawitan* (ancestor). This metaphysical identification uses ritual as communication mediator between human and supernatural power. Some members of *Pasek* clan still believe that this is a good way to self identification as a determinant to know their ancestor's identity. *Mepinton* as a way to trace genealogic identity amongst *Pasek* in Mataram, is empirically done in *Pura Lempuyang Luhur*, in Bali. They use bamboo grown in *Pura*'s yard as a signifier of their ancestor's identity. Through a ritual, the stem of a bamboo then are cut. If water pours out from the stem, it is considered as a sign that they are the descendant of *Pasek* and otherwise.

Statement was expressed by above informan related within observation realizable in field shown that recently, *mepinton* is rarely done by *Pasek* clan in order to trace ancestral identity. It is caused by for two reasons. Firstly, bamboos are begin to be preserve so as a condition to conduct *mepinton* it cannot be easily found like in the past time. Secondly, *mepinton* as a way to conduct genealogic self identification cannot avoid the opportunity of subjectivity and accidentally. This opportunity is a negative sentiment from *mepinton* conducted by *Pasek* clan caused by the influence of mind set in the state of magic consciousness that assume that nature phenomenon perceived as religious experience.

Personal identification amongst *Pasek* clan conducted by *mepinton* according to above description more has subjective value. That is caused by belief system give colour to one's perception. That phenomenon in harmony with critical realism principle alike stated by Immanuel Kant (in Hick, 2002:28) that structure adhered in mind determines what we know. According to that principle, there's a chance of consciousness to emerge subjectively where mind active continuously in perception. Further, Hick argued that basic fact that mind determines rule and meaning on data received is true on all level of consciousness, physic, moral, aesthetic, and religiosity.



Personal identification in order to find out their ancestor's identity as stated by I Gde Tingkat at several *Pasek* clan in Mataram through *ngengengan* or *mejinjin* (*niskala* clues through medium of a *dukun/shaman*) conducted through mediation of *dukun*. Way of *ngengengan* or *mejinjin* is not very far different from *mepinton*. This way is similarly counting on communication between human and supernatural force, especially their ancestor. *Jro balian* has a role to mediate that communication. Ritual is an important facility to gain clue from supernatural force. Through a ritual, *dukun* facilitate people in communication process with their ancestor. They believe in words said by *dukun* in state of trance (possessed by supernatural force). Words are said by *balian* are believed as a clue given by supernatural force about their ancestor's identity.

It is a pity, along with development of the way of thinking, this method begin to be used very rarely to conduct genealogic self identification because in some aspect it is assumed to protrude subjective natures that has an opportunity to show up. At the same side, I Gde Aryana suggest that in order to find out personal genealogical identity through *ngengengan* should not be done because that technique showing subjective value. According to him, nowadays *niskala* clues through medium of a *dukun/shaman* can not pinpoint their ancestor's identity truthfully.

The emergence tendency to trace genealogic identity in Balinese ethnic on another dimension, shown by Suryawan (2005:48-49) as a symptom of genealogic romantization that is indicated by the emerge of efforts to trace back their ancestor in the past. Genealogic romantization related with the use of identity as an effective weapon, when Balinese are confused to respond the undergoing change. Change problem and Balinese culture according to Suryawan is nothing but identity. Everyone struggling with Balinese identity debate that shows no ending. Various socio-religious life problems like *varna*, *kasta*, *soroh*, even worship of ancestor and descendants adhered to identity.

The tracing back of ancestor's identity seen on different perspective by Wikarman (1998:105) as an inner attitude that is no longer admitted the existence of caste system. This reality based on the structuring of Balinese society into *wangsa* (lineage) system is not based on reality according to their ancestor's history. Implicitly, Wikarman narrated that the emergence of tendency in Hindu-Balinese ethnic to deprive from traditional system in form of *kasta* and to substitute it with more adaptive system relevant with human civilization's level. They want free their self from the barrier of *kasta* system which has grouped them into marginalized ones. On the other hand, related with socio-religious movement actualized by *Pasek* community in MPSSR, especially in Mataram began with identity tracing genealogically, analyzed with Pierre Bourdieu's (1990) Practice Theory, is a form of cultural capital's component. Genealogic origin becomes a cultural capital as an unseparated part of power restructuring in the past like explicitly written in *babad Pasek*.

Self identification in genealogic perspective is a momentum that started identity reproduction process in *Pasek* community, especially ones inhabited in Mataram. Origin similarities become seeds of reunification amongst Hindus based on primordial bond in form of *soroh* (clan). This phenomenon based on commandment of *bhisama* inherited by Mpu Witadharma (in Gautama, 2001) emphasized that among all *Pasek* clan to build relative relationship as far as "...*angangkén sanak maming ro...*" (relative relationship is until second generation). Reunification amongst *Pasek* implicates the socio-religious phenomenon which indicates means to rearrange recent social system in form of *sidhikara*. *Sidhikara* system is a heterogenic social bond from its membership composition, it is contain various *soroh*.

*Sidhikara* historically functioned especially on socio-religious domain like marriage and funeral. *Sidhikara* in socio-religious practice amongst Hindus in Lombok has a strong historic root. Suyadnya (2006:89) emphasized that *sidhikara* is a kinship pattern of Balinese society



inherited from their ancestor. *Sidhikara* kinship is not only bind by the existence of *purusa* relation (male lineage/patriarchal). In practice, in many cases someone doesn't know the origin of their *sidhikara* relation. Suddenly they are in *sembah* (praying to ancestor), *parid* (eating food after dedicating to ancestor), and *merojong* (carrying corpse) with another families regardless of their origin or *soroh*. Recently, this system created a social disability mainly in negative sentiment triggered when someone was driven out of their *sidhikara* which automatically nobody will carry their corpse when they are dead.

Reunification based on primordial bond of *soroh*, especially on *Pasek* community open an opportunity to create social system back-grounded by genealogic similarity. According to I Ketut Hendrardi, reunification *Pasek* clan seeds begins to grow indicated by forming of some *tempekan* (sub-group of MPSSR) like Big Family of *Pasek* clan namely *Pasek Gelgel*, *Bandu Santi*, *Prajahita*, *Sesana Puspa Dharma*, and other in order to make it easier to coordinate and move *Pasek* clan in socio-religious activities. *Pasek* clan, by endorsing *bhisama kawitan* (spiritual commandment of *Pasek* clan's ancestor) has began to build a social awareness that tend to unified their movement in a primordial bond in form of *soroh* as an alternative to substitute *sidhikara* system.

According informan's statement above, socio-religious system based on primordial bond in form of clan has power because it is based on emotional bond. Primordial bond spirited by *bhisama* create emotional binding because the emergence of blood sameness feeling. This phenomenon alike emphasized by Sastra (2008:2) that this bond of *soroh* has some very important things adhesive in that kinship relevant with *bhisama* or message given by each ancestor. This *bhisama* is a very important basic in building kinship so it always be bonded and unified. Thereafter, every clan will have a responsibility and duty to be obeyed for instance about *Pura Kawitan*, ancestor family tree, *sasana*, *bhisama*, and many other.

The forming of primordial bond based on genealogic similarity as a representation of ancestor's identity amongst *Pasek* clan, especially who live in Mataram other than growing consciousness in building social solidarity internally, this socio-religious movement monolithically accumulated in means to restructuring priesthood symbol. This phenomenon indicated by a movement to initiate *pandita mpu* as a priesthood symbol from *Pasek* clan. In history, priesthood symbol in Hindus in Mataram preserve two priesthood symbol, it is *pedanda «iwa* and *pedanda Buddha* both originated from *brahmana wangsa* class.

The socio-religious movement related to *pandita mpu* initiation indicates a struggle of power through their ancestor's identity representation contemporarily. As written in *Babad Pasek*, the ancestor of *Pasek* clan in the age of ancient Balinese Kingdom had an authority to be initiated as a religious leader. Based on *babad* manuscript, *Pasek* clan believe that their ancestor called *Ida Bhatara Kawitan* is a priesthood symbol in Hindu's religious practice in the glorious era of Ancient Balinese Kingdom. Philosophical foundation inspiring socio-religious movement amongst *Pasek* community related with the struggle to initiate priesthood symbol.

Socio-religious movement is actualized by *Pasek* community based on *babad Pasek* while endorsing *bhisama* (spiritual commandment) inherited by their ancestor as mentioned above, either in efforts to build internal solidarity or restructuring priesthood symbol indicate a resistance to establishment of religious practice by traditional groups which has a mean to establish *status quo*. *Pasek* community as a carrier of dynamic tries to restructure Hindu religious practice in order to make it in synergy with human civilization's development has a diametric different position with *status quo* group means to preserve Hindu religious practice as they inherit from their predecessor. Related with that phenomenon, *Pasek* community tries to build a positive image through image projection with various media in order to achieve public



legitimizing, especially Hindus in Mataram. In case of this event, *Pasek* community utilizing symbolic power of ancestral identity as vehicle restructuring religiousity symbols.

According above description *Pasek* clan discourse upgrading religiosity practice by representing symbolic power of their ancestor's identity. Concerning religiousity symbols are touched by wrestling identity, is not only at Balinese ethnical in Mataram, but also at Sasak ethnic in east Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. There are indicated by construction of Sasak identity. According to Kumbara (2001) construct the Sasak self identity and to maintain it, the Sasak elites have made use of wide rang of resources at their disposal including religious symbols, local customs and ethnicity. Building on that phenomenon construction of Sasak identity also involving religiousity symbols.

Priesthood symbol in Hindu religious practice mentioned with many terms according to place where that Hindu developed. Priest symbol in Hindu religious practice either in Bali or Lombok still shows some similarities, particularly descent of *brahmana wangsa* namely *pedanda siwa* and *pedanda buddha*. This phenomenon has a connection with similarity in historical factor that Hindus in Lombok originated from Bali. Priesthood symbol according to Waalace and Allison Wolf, Parsudi Suparlan, Geertz (in Triguna, 2000:35) is a constructive symbol that is symbols adhere to religious structure's core.

Related to this phenomenon, initiation of priesthood symbol has been being inherent to *brahmana wangsa* as an authority holder in symbolic power domain established historically since Hindu Balinese settled in Lombok. Along with this phenomenon, genealogic identity of *brahmana wangsa* inhered with privileges (special rights) to be initiated as *pedanda*, the symbol of priesthood either as *pedanda «iwa* or *pedanda buddha*. Priesthood symbol representation *ma«iwa buddha* amongst Hindus in Mataram originated from *brahmana wangsa* class that genealogically. According to Wiana (2002:12) *pedanda siwa* is descendant of Dang Hyang

Nirartha and *pedanda buddha* is descendant of Dang Hyang Astapaka.

Sosio-religious movement of *Pasek* community related with admission of equality of right and duty in accommodating development of human civilization's level written in the back ground of MPSSR establishment (Anonim, 2003:3) that development of science and technology achieved by human kind has taken their self into a life with various sophisticated facilities. This phenomenon motivated human to try to search and find wholeness of his self existence according to or based on the religions they believed in. Another dimension of believe system and Hindu's teaching have given strict and detail concepts or teachings, like *tat tvam asi* which underlines mind set and attitude pattern of human in positioning their self in front of another human.

The concept of *tat tvam asi* teaching refers to *Veda* like written in *Chandogya Upanisad* VI.2.1 inspired *Pasek* clan to see human in equal position. Equal position of human being used as a stepping stone by *Pasek* clan to conduct genealogic identity reproduction related with means to achieve power, especially in priesthood symbol. In modernity perspective this movement match the ideas of Suseno (1995:86-87) that religion will be the strongest defender, protector, and enforcer of human dignity against the time's threats that tend to sacrifice humanity for ideology or to function it to preserve system. Religious practice is hoped to be a strong motivator to endorse modern human values: democracy, human rights, social justice, international justice, self determination, and law independency and equality of man before the law, human autonomy to self management and so on.

Breakthrough in restructuring priesthood symbol being done by *Pasek* is an indicator of cultural practice instability. For Cultural Studies, this phenomenon is a deconstruction of culture establishment. Deconstruction according to Derrida (in Barker, 2004:20) focused on language and *immediation* deconstruction or identity between words and meanings. The conse-



quence of signifier to Derrida is that meanings never been established. Words contain many meanings, including echo or another meaning's trace from other words in different contexts.

Deconstruction of Hindu religious practice amongst Hindus in Mataram positioned in delayed aspect toward meanings produced by socio-religious reality established by *status quo* supporting group. This Distortive meaning delay is in the same time accompanied by *Pasek* community with efforts to produce meanings in socio-religious space. Meanings production through symbolic investment strategies legitimated by image building, that is to justified socio-religious movement actualized with references to Hindu religious scriptures to build public acknowledgement. Building on observing in field, image projection *Pasek* community through building a positive image is actuated by *penataran sarati banten* (rite element maker training), *penataran pemangku* (spiritualist Hindu training), *metatah massal* (ritual cutting a tooth collectively), initiating *pandita mpu*, and others part of upgrading Hindu religious practice actuated by *Pasek* community.

Mentioning about restructuring socio-religious practice, particularly in priesthood symbol according to I Gusti Lanang Media, initiation of *pandita mpu* as priest originated from *Pasek* clan applies gradation of spiritual maturity process. First, the candidate of priest has to conduct *pawintenan* (self purification) to become *pemangku* (Hindu spiritualist). Second, is to conduct *diksa bhawati* (first initiation). Third, is *dhiksa* to be initiated as *pandita mpu*. Buidling on this phenomenon, in order to initiate *pandita mpu* *Pasek* clan applying strategy symbolic capital investment. Gradation of spiritual maturity process through some level that is not done in priest initiation in the past time. This levels is to be realized with concept forwarded by Bourdieu (1977) as a part of constructing symbols of culture. Cultural practice is not just received and passed through but by process of selection, adaptation and restructuring.

Socio-religious movement actualized by *Pasek* community, mainly in efforts to reproduce

their ancestor's identity contemporarily which monolithically accumulated in means to restructuring priesthood symbol is a form of genealogic identity articulation. Refers to Laclau (in Barker, 2004:182) there is not any certain connection among various discursive concepts. The form of connection is temporarily, articulated, and bonded together by connotative and evocative bond built by power and tradition. Concept of articulation states that various aspects of social life like identity that is considered to be united and eternal can be considered as a unique temporary stability historically our revelation of meanings arbitrarily.

Identity articulation in *Pasek* community tries to build genealogic identity stability contextually by representing ancestor's identity contemporarily. Means to articulate genealogic identity by carrying symbolic power adhered to their ancestor's identity in the past like explicitly narrated by textual sources like *babad Pasek* and *bhisama* inherited from their ancestor in the past. Another source like *usana Bali* and *usana Jawa* are relevant sources in the means to build legitimacy toward socio-religious movement based on actualized genealogic identity.

On the other dimension, identity articulation built by *Pasek* community refers to Hall (in Barker, 2004:182) tries to create unification of two different elements on some certain conditions. In this context *Pasek* community means to built identity unification with all clans positioned to have an opportunity to be initiated as priesthood symbol depending on their *guna* (talent) and *karma* (works) they had. Identity unification that accommodates all genealogic identity named *sarwa sadhaka* concept (admitting priest from all clan) creates *mejajar singgih* concept (equal position) that is put all priest in equal position.

Initiation of *pandita mpu* as a priesthood symbol from *Pasek* clan indicates a movement to restructure priesthood symbol established since historical era. According Pedanda Gde Sebali Kenatan, priesthood symbol construction in historic line only two that is utilized in ritual cativities namely *pedanda siwa* and *pedanda buddha*. Existense of priesthood symbol, both



*pedanda siwa* or *pedanda buddha* related with power expansion of Karangasem Kingdom to Lombok. Based on above statement, informan implied construction of priesthood symbol exclusively was purposed to arrange ritual practice of Hindu Balinese ethnic in their new colony in Lombok. On the other dimension, initiation of *pandita mpu* as a priesthood symbol through reproduction of ancestor's identity of *Pasek* clan contemporarily by carrying up the commandment of *bhisama* indicates a movement to restructure priesthood symbol in Hindus religious practice established in historic time.

Priesthood symbol restructuring as actualized by *Pasek* community indicated by a breakthrough in gradual initiation of priesthood from *Pasek* clan in one dimension is a form of religious practice orthopraxis. This phenomenon indicated by meanings to make relevant religious practice with human civilization's level development. Religion orthopraxis, as Andang (1998:71) stated, is a mean to earthen religion to become an emancipative meanings, meanings that appreciate all forms of life with its complexities. Religion need to keep the ethos of transcendental mean searching of humankind but without leaving its praxis origin.

Socio-religious movement of *Pasek* community related with admission of right and duty equality in human civilization's development is written in its establishment back ground quoting Anonim (2000:3) that the development of science and technology achieved by humankind has brought their self to a life with various sophisticated facilities. This phenomenon motivated human to try to search and find wholeness of his self existence according to or based on the religions they believed in. Synergic with this phenomenon, in another dimension of believe system and Hindu's teaching have given strict and detail concepts or teachings, like *tat tvam asi* which underlines mind set and attitude pattern of human in positioning their self in front of another human.

## CONCLUSION

Identity reproduction in *Pasek* community united in MPSSR association of Hindus in Mataram strongly related with a struggle in representing their genealogic ancestor's identity contemporarily in the era of globalization. Identity owned by the ancestor of *Pasek* in the past with all their privileges (special rights) adhered to their identity is re-emphasized through socio-religious movement. Reproduction identity of *Pasek* community mechanism patterned through personal genealogical identification namely tracing the *lelintihan kawitan* in Bali, tracing the using of name as self identity, tracing family tree through *babad*, *mepinton*, and *ngengengan*.

After knowing personal genealogical identity *Pasek* community united MPSSR re-emphasize their ancestor's identity in socio-religious space through ancestor's identity representation of *Pasek* clan in socio-religious space, identity articulation in priesthood symbol construction, and restructuring priesthood symbol. Concerning about socio-religious movement, *Pasek* community intend upgrading quality of Hindu religious practice. *Babad* and *bisama* are utilized in the case of justifying their socio-religious movement. In order to legitimate their movement, that is to achieve public acknowledgement, enclosed with image projection in terming of building positive image related to socio-religious practice contrived and actualized. The socio-religious movement have been actuated by *Pasek* community accumulated in initiating *pandita mpu* as priesthood symbol from *Pasek* clan. After initiating *pandita mpu*, they restructured *masiwa-buddha* conception and on the other hand submitted *sarwa sadhaka* concept. That event never separated from the application of symbolic investment strategy as a part of image building. Investment strategy is as a symbolic power to achieved power in socio-religious domain.



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