

FORM OF INTER-RELIGIOUS CONTESTS AT DALUNG PERMAI HOUSING

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Abstract

Urban areas such as Denpasar City and others have very complex dynamics. Migrants from various regions really color the life in this place. They certainly bring their own religion, culture, customs and habits. This of course raises a contest between them. For example, in the Dalung Permai housing complex, which is inhabited by migrants from various regions, so in the context of religion, it varies widely, some are Hindu, Muslim, Christian and Buddhist. The dynamics of life in this housing complex is very high. In general, life in this housing complex is very peaceful, but the contestation between them cannot be avoided as is the case in politics, economics, worship, and others. During the election, the flag here looks colorful. Likewise, during the election of environmental leaders, they certainly compete with each other. This work descriptively explains the contestation that exists among the colored population. This dynamic is interesting because, even though they are different from one another, they are able to establish harmony so that the existing contestation does not cause friction in terms of race and religion.

Keywords: contestation, religion, inter-community, Dalung Permai housing

I. Introduction

Badung Regency is one of the leading tourist destination districts in the Province of Bali. Various facilities were built and developed to support tourism activities. The number of entertainment centers, hotels, restaurants, shopping centers, to those engaged in the service sector have an impact on economic development. These facilities require a lot of manpower so that it attracts various groups of people to come to this area. Migrants and job seekers come from various regions in Indonesia and Bali and then settle in Badung Regency which is a factor causing very rapid population growth. This condition caused in the era of the 1990s the Badung Regency Government had built a new residential complex in the North Kuta District with the name Bumi Dalung Permai Housing. The development uses a fairly large area of rice fields, namely the fields of Subak Tegal Pesedahan Yeh Bolo. This residential complex is the first largest and widest in the Badung Regency area. The selection of the location for the Bumi Dalung Permai housing development cannot be separated from the Badung district government's plan to build a government center near the area.

Initially, the construction of this housing complex was specifically intended for employees of the Badung district government who do not yet own a house or who work in the Badung government from other districts which are quite far away. However, in

subsequent developments it is also opened to the general public. The opening of settlements for the general public has caused the development of the construction of surrounding houses to rapidly expand, thus making the area a new city on the outskirts of Denpasar City and close to the government center of Badung Regency.

Administratively, BumiDalungPermai Housing is part of the Dalung Village area which consists of seven official banjars and part of the Kerobokan Kaja Village area which consists of nine neighborhoods. The total population in 2016 was 10,513 people. The residents come from various races, ethnicities, and religions with traditional backgrounds and diverse cultures. It is recorded from the population of adherents of religions as follows: Hindus (6635 people), Muslims (2997 people), Christians (483 people), Catholics (332 people) and Buddhists (66 people), based on these data, Hindus are the majority citizens or those who are ethnically Balinese, while other religions, such as Islam, Catholicism, Christianity and Buddhism, are embraced by immigrants or those of non-Balinese ethnicity and are minorities.

BumiDalungPermai housing is a residential complex with heterogeneous and multicultural population patterns. Residents of BumiDalungPermai Housing come from various regions in Indonesia, including other areas in Bali. These various areas of origin make the residents of BumiDalungPermai Housing Complex with various racial, ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds. Each person and family brings the customs, beliefs, traditions and culture of their respective regions. All of them then meet and interact in one residential area so as to form a community group full of diversity and is called a multicultural society.

Talking about multiculturalism, of course, there are differences in both beliefs and cultures, giving birth to religious dynamics that are not easy to manage and sometimes lead to conflicts. Adaptation between one culture and another takes time and in the process there are often frictions that lead to conflict. These conflicts exist in the latent realm as well as in the manifest realm. Conflict is sometimes used as a tool to strengthen interests. Everyone who comes and settle in an area of course carry their respective missions. Efforts to achieve these missions sometimes overlap with the missions of other residents and there is friction or conflict. The process of obtaining equality is carried out by contesting religious life in the life of the DalungPermai community which is increasingly felt. Not only in the latent realm, but in the manifest realm, even on a small scale.

In general, a pluralistic society depicts a harmonious and peaceful religious life. However, if you look more specifically, there have been various frictions. Religious contestation emerged as a response to the religious fanaticism of each. Small conflicts between two people or groups of different religions with a background of problems that are not related to religion will lead to negative sentiments towards the religion they follow. Social jealousy in worship activities appears like ripples in people's lives. Efforts to penetrate the people of one religion to another in the form of providing materials for religious rituals are seen as an attempt to dominate the economy.

This socio-religious phenomenon has the opportunity to occur anywhere, especially in urban areas with a multicultural community background. Realizing this potential, it is proper that the phenomenon of religious contestation gets more attention to understand the causes, create solutions and prepare anticipatory steps. The contestation of religion

involves all levels of society so that its impacts cover various sectors and spheres of life. It is important to examine the form and causes of these phenomena in depth to clearly see the impact. Through these efforts, it is hoped that the community will be ready to develop positive impacts and anticipate negative impacts. All of this aims to build a peaceful and prosperous society and to grow in diversity.

Likewise with the island of Bali, the period of the first arrival of the Muslim community to the island almost coincided with the glory of the Hindu Kingdom. However, the genealogical history of the Muslim community is very difficult to establish its authenticity. This is because almost all Muslim immigrants have long been mixed and married with Balinese women who are Hindu or even animists who belong to the Bali Aga group (Diana, 2016: 58). Meanwhile, Protestant Christians first entered Bali in 1860 through missionaries Van Ect, De Vroom, and Van Der Jagt (Beyer, 2001:3).

In Bali, the meeting between Protestant Christianity and Hinduism which had developed earlier, religious transformation was accompanied by harassment. Ulrich Beyer (2001: 5-7) reveals how the missionary Tsang To Hang, a Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA) envoy who obtained permission to come to Bali, baptized eleven Balinese on November 11, 1931 while asking those who repented willing to burn divine statues and destroy the family temple, because it is considered a place of demons. As a result of this incident, the Balinese Hindu community was hurt and defended and resisted the currents of spirit that were destroying their sacred traditions.

Lately, religious conflicts in Indonesia have mostly involved two allied religious communities, namely Christianity and Islam, as has happened in Ambon, Poso, and Mataram. According to Zikmund (2010: 25), investigative data shows that these two religions have the same convergence, but are also prone to conflict because both are mission religions. In addition, the burden of past history in which these two religions were involved in a religious war caused deep wounds on both sides. Secretly, this grudge carried on even though it did not appear on the surface (Magnis-Suseno in Sumartana, et al., 2001: 68).

Various forms of religious contestation can be found in everyday life in the BumiDalungPermai housing community. This form of contestation is inseparable from the elements of SARA (ethnicity, religion, race, and intergroup), as is often the case in plural societies. SARA elements are always exhaled by irresponsible groups or parties. The form of religious contestation in social practice theory looks at how individuals relate to shape practice. According to Lubis (2015: 20), important concepts in Bourdieu's theory of practice are habitus, arena/ field, symbolic violence, capital, and strategy. Social reality as a dialectical relationship between individuals (agents, subjective structures) and the objective structure itself. Dialectical relations involve subjective elements such as individual mentality, individual experience structures, cognitive structures, resulting in "practice".

II. Discussion

The form of plural society in BumiDalungPermai Housing is characterized by the struggle for leadership/management of housing and issues of support in the general election contestation, control of social facilities, socio-religious conflicts (conflicts that

occur in the community both internally and externally), and domination in the field of economic resources/ entrepreneurship (there are parties who are trying to control the wheels of the local economy and business). Each community shows a form of religious contestation in society but at the same time also shows its dynamics in building a harmonious life among religious people.

2.1 The Struggle for Housing Leadership and the Issues of Support in the General Election

General election contestation is always filled with various practices and the process of seeking voter support in various ways is something that is common. If you look at the history of the general election, the support process between supporters of a candidate pair ended in a row, vandalism, insulting each other, that there is one family who does not greet each other because of different choices. Contest The support process is between groups when general elections occur, starting from the RT/RW, DPR/D, Mayor, Governor to the President level. With the strengthening and widening of new local strongmen, "strength" has emerged as a goal, not a tool. As a result, not a few non-formal figures have fallen into the puddle of misguided power (Cholik, 2008).

Local contestations do not only occur in the area of the island of Bali, but also in the BumiDalungPermai Housing Complex. There are several contestations in general election activities, especially in terms of support practices. Each group or actor seeks support from various groups or it can be said that the practice and process of supporting is based on the interests of the group. In seeking support the actors use charisma, social position or social class and a strong network with a base to win a large number of voter', the actors are directly involved in supporting actions. Although there are some actors who do not have sufficient competence and capital to engage in practical politics. Bourdieu (2011: 176) social space is the entire place or process of social interaction in which the space presents itself in the form of agents equipped with various different characteristics but are systematically related to one another. This definition implies that in social space there is certain system that makes an agent different from one another.

In BumiDalungPermai Housing, the contestation for mutual support is not very visible because the success teams from each candidate seek support from each other by getting closer to the leaders of religious groups secretly, the other people will indirectly never know what there is a promise made by the actors if they are elected. This covert or clandestine action is not only limited to the election of DPRD members but also to the level of the election of neighborhood heads. An act of contestation that cannot be avoided by successful teams of actors is to approach the community not from the lower classes, but by approaching religious and community leaders to help implement or convey the ideology of political actors. People who trust religious leaders based on their beliefs will choose these actors, as well as community leaders who can influence society with their ideology. Bourdieu (Karnanta, 2013: 5) state that basically the concept of an arena with the basic tone of "struggle" or competition for certain positions so that the social structure is something dynamic in which an agent can move from one position to another. This positional struggle in turn requires a series of actions or practices that are based on, and

influenced by, what the agent has including his or her life history, for which the agent devises certain strategies.

The smallest local political contestation is the environmental head election contestation. The election of the environmental head which is for the benefit of BumiDalungPermai Housing also takes mutual support. One group supports the other. The ongoing contests, although there are no acts of violence, but activities to seek mutual support and sympathy from residents are still ongoing. The act of supporting the contestation of the neighborhood head election here shows that full support will be obtained from the area of origin because the other main thing is being approached by the people of the same area of origin, especially fellow religious adherents, which will be stronger. To strengthen the results of the contestation, it is not uncommon for candidates to seek support for their approach to other religious leaders by giving something but not being seen, because the actors who do not work directly are part of a successful team. As in Bourdieu's opinion, to overcome the conflict, actors must use a rational way of thinking, that the objective structure and mutual influence are reciprocal (duality), the two do not deny each other but are intertwined in a practice (Bourdieu, 1990: 31).

2.2 Struggle for Social Facilities

The social facilities referred to in this study are none other than a place used by residents of BumiDalungPermai Housing communal for various interests or activities of the residents. Special social facilities, namely facilities that are used for the exclusive interests of certain groups of residents of BumiDalungPermai Housing, such as places of worship for Hindus, such as temples, Banjar, and Sanggah. For Muslims, there are mosques or prayer rooms and educational places that specifically study Islam for children, namely the Al Quran Education Park (TPA), while for Christians it is like a church, but the results of field investigations show that the development party did not build worship facilities for Muslims and Christian.

Social facilities of a general nature, namely a room that is used as an arena for various aspects of society in rotation or alternately, even together. General social facilities at BumiDalungPermai Housing Complex include traditional markets, sports fields, shops, and the official banjar hall. The social facility in BumiDalungPermai Housing that is often used for gathering is the banjar hall. In general, in Bali for residents to gather to do all activities of a general or social nature, it will be carried out at the banjar hall, either the official banjar or the customary banjar in the banjar/environmental area.

In BumiDalungPermai Housing, there are two number of banjar halls that can be used by residents to carry out various activities. The use of the banjar hall as a place of activity in BumiDalungPermai Housing is not limited to certain religions, all religions may use the banjar hall for social activities. However, because in general, the banjar hall is a place for social activities for Hindus in Bali, so you can see that the majority of Hindus often use the banjar hall. As stated by I GustiNgurahSudiastawan, the Secretary of Dulung Village on January 15, 2021, that:

"In the BumiDalungPermai housing area, the banjar hall is a social facility that can be used by all residents of housing without exception, whether it's social status or

religion. So there is no prohibition for certain people to be prohibited from using the Banjar or Multipurpose Hall belonging to the Banjar Bineka Nusa Kauh (owned by all people in the Banjar Bineka Nusa Kauh neighborhood).

The multipurpose hall belonging to the Banjar Bineka Nusa Kauh belongs to all people without exception in the neighborhood. This banjar hall is free to be used for social activities, not only social activities for Hindus, Muslims or Christians, all may use it.



Figure 6. 15

Multipurpose hall belonging to the Banjar Bineka Nusa Kauh
(owned by all people in the Banjar Bineka Nusa Kauh neighborhood)

Dock. Nerawati, 2021

There are only two social facilities for Muslims, such as mosques or prayer rooms at BumiDalungPermai Housing Estate, namely in Banjar DinasBhineka Nusa Kauh and LinggaBumi, because in general at BumiDalungPermai Housing there are only one official permit for places of worship for Muslims.



Figure 6. 16

Photo of BaitulIzzah Mosque in the BumiDalungPermai housing estate
received an official permit.

Dock. Nerawati, 2021

The BaitulIzzah Mosque is often used to perform congregational prayers by Muslims when it is time for prayer, while recitation activities or so on are more often carried out in Muslim homes in turn. Actually, the banjar hall is allowed to be used by all people as previously explained, including Muslims, but Muslims have never used the social facilitation of the BalaiBajar for their social activities. The relation between agency

vis a vis structure is dialectical. As part of the structure of society, it is impossible for agents to deny the conditions that exist in the objective structure which, for example, regulates the way of behaving, speaking, and seeing and understanding the world. At this stage the working principle is the internalization of externalities, namely the moment in which things that are external and objective are internalized through the arena to the agent. However, at the same time, the agent also has a subjective structure related to his habitus. This is in line with what was conveyed by I Gusti Ngurah Sudiastawan, the Village Secretary of Dulung Village on January 15, 2021, that:

“Since the banjar hall existed, social activities were only carried out by Hindus in the banjar hall. Non-Hindu people never carry out activities in the Balai Bajar. Non-Hindus do social activities in their houses of worship, just like Muslims do social activities in mosques.... Or in the homes of their fellow religions. Although it has been said that the banjar hall may be used for social activities.

Until now officially there is only one mosque building in Bumi Dalung Permai Housing, the construction of a new place of worship or mosque in Bali must meet the requirements in accordance with the provisions contained in the Joint Regulation of the Minister of Religion and the Minister of Home Affairs Number 9 and Number 8 of 2006 stated in article Separately, namely articles 13 to 20, in that article it is explained about the establishment of houses of worship, one of the conditions is that there must be evidence of users or congregations of at least 90 people, with the support of at least 60 local community leaders. In addition, the requirement for the establishment of a house of worship must have a written recommendation from the head of the district-city religious department office and from the district-city-level religious harmony forum (FKUB).

While the regulation of the Governor of Bali No. 10 of 2006 Procedures and Provisions for the Construction of Places of Worship for the Public in the Province of Bali. If these conditions have been met by the committee for the construction of a house of worship, then the local community may not object to the construction of the building. If it does not meet the requirements then a place of worship or a mosque cannot be built. Many requirements will be met to establish a place of worship as stated in the Joint Regulation of the Minister of Religion and the Minister of Home Affairs Number 9 and Number 8 of 2006. Some residents or Muslim groups create a foundation for the activities of the people with a building permit to build a useful building. This building is often used for congregational prayers and holding recitations. The multi-purpose building used for public activities is shown in Figure 6.17



Figure 6. 17
Muslim multipurpose building.
Dock. Nerawati, 2021

In the BumiDalungPermai Housing complex, officially, the Church's place of worship for Christians and Catholics is not the same as for Muslims, but outside the BumiDalungPermai Housing complex, it is near two large churches. The two churches are the Protestant church and the Catholic church.



Figure 6. 18 Protestant Church

Dock. Nerawati, 2021



Figure 6. 19

Most Holy Trinity Catholic Church

Doc. Nerawati, 2021

The two churches have different congregations with different functions. Even though there are no places of worship for the Church, Christians and Catholics still carry out social-religious activities, such as worship and prayer together. Christians and Catholics are very flexible in dealing with the limitations of their worship facilities. Their worship services are carried out from house to house alternately and regularly every week. When they have to go to church, they will go to a church that is outside their neighborhood, but is relatively close or affordable. Over time, groups of Christian social activities grew. These groups perform worship and religious activities in the Pastor's private home. More and more members of Christian groups are carrying out construction like Muslims, namely multi-purpose buildings. A durable, transposable disposition system, a structured which tends to function as a structuring structure, that is, as a principle that produces and regulates practice and representations that are objectively adapted to its outcomes without presupposing any conscious direction toward a goal or intentional mastery of rules, can collectively be harmonized without being the result of the act of setting a conductor” (Bourdieu 1992: 53).



Figure 6. 20

The multipurpose building for the Christian people

Doc. Nerawati, 2021

Now this multipurpose building is often used for Christian congregational activities, sometimes this multipurpose building is used for worship activities. From the results of the search for BumiDalungPermai Residents, who initially thought that the building was a church, it turned out that the building permit was a multi-purpose building, as conveyed by I Ketut Budi Adnyana that:

“The building used by Christians is not a place of worship permit but a multipurpose building permit. Actually, Christians can also use the banjar hall as a place for their social activities. But they prefer to use their own place or their own building”.

The interaction between residents of BumiDalungPermai Housing with the background of diversity/pluralism, especially different religions, generally runs smoothly or harmoniously. Conflicts that occur between them can be resolved so that social life in their environment is relatively normal.

2.3 Religious Social Conflict

The increasing need for housing has forced the government to build modern housing. Modern housing residents consist of adherents of different religions so that they are very vulnerable to conflict. Conflict can be triggered from trivial things. BumiDalungPermai housing is one of the housing classified as modern housing. In BumiDalungPermai Housing, inter-religious conflicts such as those that occurred in Ambon and Ketapang never occurred even though the community consisted of different religions, namely community groups who are Hindu as the majority religion, Islam and Christian communities, both Catholic and Protestant. BumiDalungPermai housing is classified as a pilot housing in Bali as housing that upholds tolerance among plural societies.

At BumiDalungPermai Housing, a pluralistic community can live together as one side by side with mutual tolerance. Inter-religious tolerance is very necessary in maintaining the harmony of social life consisting of different religious backgrounds. Religious tolerance that occurs between religious communities in BumiDalungPermai Housing is seen during major holidays. When there are Muslim residents celebrating *Eid al-Fitr* or *Eid al-Adha*, Hindus and Christians will wish you a happy holiday.

Likewise, when Hindus or Christians celebrate their holidays, people outside the religion when they meet will wish them a happy holiday. There is no feeling of difference even though the BumiDalungPermai Housing consists of different religious backgrounds, the community members feel as a unit of the BumiDalungPermai Housing so they try to maintain harmony by maintaining mutual tolerance among religious people. There are many interesting things at BumiDalungPermai Housing Center about the tolerance of the plural society. When Muslim residents hold a thanksgiving event, they will usually invite neighbors around the house regardless of the religious identity adopted by their neighbors. Vice versa if there are Hindus who hold a thanksgiving or religious ceremony, they will invite non-Hindu residents.

This participation can be in the form of donations of energy or material (food ingredients) although the amount is not much, but it is a form of harmony among religious

people in BumiDalungPermai Housing. In addition, when Muslim residents celebrate *Eid al-Adha*, the meat from the slaughter of sacrificial animals is not only distributed to residents who are Muslim but also to residents who are Christian. As for Hindus, it is not distributed, because according to Hindu religious teachings, it is not permissible to cut cows, if there is meat that is distributed to Hindus, it is goat meat. Each citizen is free to carry out religious activities, there is no feeling of disturbing each other if residents of other religions carry out religious activities even though these activities are held in the environment housing, because of the mutual understanding and tolerance between Muslims and Christians.

The harmonious interaction of religious people in BumiDalungPermai Housing is sometimes colored by various problems that give rise to tensions in social interaction between religious believers. The tension in the interaction between people occurs in the interaction between Hindus and Muslims, Hindus and Christians or Christians and Muslims. So it can be said that the interaction in social life between people in BumiDalungPermai Housing is not always harmonious but also experiences tension. In other words, the inter-religious interaction relationship in BumiDalungPermai Housing is dynamic. There are times when relations between people are harmonious, cooperate, and respect each other, but there are times when social interactions between religious people experience tensions triggered by the construction of burial places, construction of places of worship. The previous explanation explained that there were only two social facilities for Muslims, such as mosques or prayer rooms at BumiDalungPermai Housing Estate, namely the Banjar DinasBhineka Nusa Kauh and LinggaBumi. Banjar DinasBhineka Nusa Kauh and LinggaBumi are actually not included in the BumiDalungPermai Housing environment, these locations are different blocks or adjacent to the BumiDalungPermai Housing Estate. In BumiDalungPermai Housing, there are no burial houses and houses of worship for Muslims and Christians.

Community interaction at BumiDalungPermai Housing complex is inseparable from conflict, this conflict occurs because of a lack of communication between religious people and religious leaders. This lack of communication occurs between Muslim residents who want to build a burial place or grave in the BumiDalungPermai housing area. But in the end the construction of this tomb was not made or it was canceled. There are two obstacles faced by Muslim residents not to make a funeral at BumiDalungPermai Housing, firstly getting a negative response from the non-Muslim community of BumiDalungPermai Housing because there is no permit to build a grave because the land is not planning for cemeteries but land designated for residential houses; the second is not qualified to make a tomb or grave. Meanwhile in Indonesia, with reference to Government Regulation (PP) No. 9 of 1987 concerning Provision and Use of Land for the Purposes of Burial Places, the category of burial places is divided into three. First, the Public Cemetery (TPU) managed by the local or village government is provided for all residents regardless of their religion. Second, non-public cemeteries (TPBU) managed by social or religious bodies. Third, the Special Cemetery which refers to the graves that have historical and cultural values. Based on Article 4 of the PP above, for reasons of "order", TPU and TPBU need to be regulated based on each religion. Kartini (2011: 115) explained that the difficulty of obtaining land for burial of corpses was experienced by Muslims in Bali in general.

Conflicts between Muslims and non-Muslims in the BumiDalungPermai Housing Complex are not only a matter of planning for the procurement of a Muslim public cemetery, but also in the construction of places of worship. Muslim residents who wanted to build a prayer room for social activity facilities were rejected by residents who did not agree. The refusal was made because the residents did not agree with the existence of a prayer room. With the reports by residents who did not agree to build the prayer room, the village government clarified to the field to ensure the building permit for the prayer room. After being clarified by the *kelurahan*, the prayer room building did not meet the requirements, in the end the building did not become a buildingsocial facilities but are converted into or used for private recitation activities.



Figure 6.24

A prayer room which is used as a place for private recitation
in the form of a house building
Dock. Nerawati, 2021

The rejection of the establishment of houses of worship also occurred in BumiPermai Housing, DalungPermai Village, North Kuta, Badung Regency (Alifiati, 2014: 169-184). Hindus refused to give permission to build places of worship for Muslims, apart from refusing to establish a prayer room in the housing estate, Hindus also refused to organize non-formal religious learning processes in the housing. This last refusal was regretted by Muslims. For them the process of religious learning is an urgent need for them, especially to equip their children with religious knowledge, especially knowledge of reading the Koran and knowledge of ritual worship for their children. Although disappointed with the discontinuation of the non-formal religious learning process for their children in the complex. In the housing complex, Muslims continue to have social interactions with the Hindu community in the housing. Meanwhile, they can understand the prohibition against establishing places of worship because they can still perform their worship in other places outside the BumiPermai housing complex.

The contestation of inter-religious refusal conflicts does not only occur between Muslims and non-Muslims in the procurement of graves and places of worship, but also occurs between Christians and non-Christians. The conflict between Christians and non-Christians is not far from the problem of establishing places of worship. The increasing

number of people who adhere to Christianity has made Christian residents want to build their own church in the BumiDalungPermai Housing Area. But the intention to establish a church was rejected by non-Christians, in the end Christians only made a multipurpose building.

Previously, before the renovation of this building was carried out, it was a church with the name Nazareth Church. But after the renovation, now this building does not have a name in front of the building. This Christian multi-purpose building on every Sunday always carries out worship activities, with songs of praise, while certain days hold prayer activities. Although residents know about the activities in the multi-purpose building, there is no direct response from residents to the activities carried out, but indirectly there is a response from residents by questioning the activities carried out in the building. Indirect response non-Christian residents by tracing the building permit used.

The results of the residents' investigation to the authorities found that the building had a multi-purpose hall permit. When this research was conducted the researcher tried to trace the permit from the building to the authorities. The results of the researcher's search found that the building is a multipurpose building, until now there has been no official report from non-Christian residents of the disapproval of the building with activities in the multipurpose hall being used for places of worship and other activities.

The conflict of refusals in the BumiDalungPermai Housing Complex occurred not without reason, this was due to the lack of Muslim and Christian adherents in the BumiDalungPermai housing estate. Of the several conflicts that occurred around houses of worship, most of them were caused by the rejection of the majority of local religious adherents to the minority religious houses of worship that were built on the site. In addition to rejection, problems in houses of worship are usually caused by arguments regarding development plans that do not meet the requirements of the Ministerial Decree No. 9/8 of 2006 concerning Guidelines for the Implementation of Duties of Regional Heads/Deputy Regional Heads in Maintenance of Religious Harmony, Empowerment of Religious Harmony Forums, and Establishment of Houses of Worship in chapter IV concerning the establishment of places of worship are regulated in article 13 to 17. In article 13 paragraph 1 explains that) The establishment of houses of worship is based on real and genuine needs based on the composition of the population for the services of the religious community concerned in the kelurahan/village area.

2.4 Seizing Economic Resources/Entrepreneurship

Immigrants as tourists may benefit the Balinese people. On the other hand, migrants then settle in Bali to try their luck and seek *rizki*. This is a problem for the Balinese people, because almost all economic sectors, especially the informal sector, are controlled by migrants, starting from mobile rice sellers, rice stall managers, fried food sellers, mobile meatball sellers, *senggol* market managers, all are immigrants. In BumiDalungPermai Housing, economic activities are dominated by immigrants, especially immigrants from the island of Java.

With the ease of capital credit, finally there is competition for business land between immigrants and indigenous people. A large business can supply all the basic needs needed by residents around BumiDalungPermai Housing. In BumiDalungPermai Housing,

there is a shop owned by Muslims, this shop sells all basic daily needs, such as vegetables, sea fish, fruits, spices and other cooking needs. This shop can supply merchandise to other small stalls. The complete range of daily necessities sold in this shop attracts buyers, not only Muslims but non-Muslims are also interested in buying. This shop is not too fanatical about religious teachings, it is proven that they receive merchandise for the needs of Hindus such as saur beans, snacks for offerings and even pork crackers. This action is to develop the trading business and maintain the existence of the business.



Figure 6. 26

Warung Muslim sells daily necessities

Doc. Nerawati, 2021

The shop can replace the function of the nearest market around BumiDalungPermai Housing because the goods sold are as complete as in the market. Now as we know there are many types of loans. In the form of capital credit assistance, the number of stalls selling basic needs grew very much, both from immigrants and native Balinese. Even though many new stalls have been added here, it can be seen that customers are looking for the nearest community to buy basic necessities. Muslims only want to shop at Muslim traders, especially those who are fanatical about religious doctrines to keep food safe. Business competition makes people try in various ways to attract buyers, Muslims will stick to halal stickers.

Now halal stickers are not only used by Muslims in selling but non-Muslims also use them. Although it has an important role in practice, it does not automatically have significant power in an arena. Each arena has specific capital requirements that may differ from the needs of other arenas. The strength of a person's economic capital in the arena of power may be effective in enabling him to fight, but in the economic arena, where the stakes are on legitimacy, what is needed is more on cultural capital and symbolic capital. Bourdieu illustrates the significant differences in the types of capital and their effects as follows: there is a homologous crossover structure with the power arena structure in which, as we know, intellectuals, who are rich in cultural capital and (relatively) poor in economic capital, and industrial owners and businessmen, who are rich in economic capital but relatively poor in cultural capital, are in opposition to one another” (Bourdieu, 2010: 246).



Figure 6. 27

One of the hawker stalls that use halal stickers.

Dock. Nerawati, 2021

The picture above shows a contest in doing business, halal stickers are not only used by Muslims but non-Muslims also use halal stickers to hook buyers. In this way, buyers will be easily attracted, especially Muslims because of the halal sticker. Constipation in economics Cultural capital can bring recognition or legitimacy which is then recognized as symbolic capital, but it can also not at all. Because the struggle in an arena is not a struggle in a physical sense but in a symbolic sense. Bourdieu (2010: 152) mentions that the arena of cultural production can only be fully understood if we treat it as an arena of competition for the monopoly on the legitimate use of symbolic violence. In his theoretical form, Bourdieu often uses the terms symbolic power, symbolic violence, and symbolic relations interchangeably.

In BumiDalungPermai Housing, although there is a contestation in the economic field between Muslims and non-Muslims, this does not make it happengreat conflict between these groups. There are several Muslim stalls that accept deposits from non-Muslims for sale. The deposit was accepted and sold by Muslim traders. Although it cannot be denied that there is a system of fellow ethnic groups, fellow religious adherents, or neighbors used by buyers. The flourishing business of immigrants in BumiDalungPermai Housing is inseparable from the influence of tourism development. The immigrants initially intended to go on vacation and eventually settled in Bali, especially in the BumiDalungPermai Housing Estate because they saw promising business opportunities.

III. Conclusion

The forms of religious contestation cannot be separated from the struggle for leadership/management of housing and the issue of support in the general election contestation. When there is a general election, each success team believes in voters in various ways with their ideology so that voters are influenced, this is a mutual contestation to find the most votes by approaching various religions. In this case, the team's religion no

longer looks at religion, which is important to get the victory in the election. In the form of mastery of social facilities, in general, the control of social facilities does not stand out.

Social facilities in housing may be used by all people in housing, but most of a religious group prefers to use facilities owned by their own religion. Like the banjar hall which may be used by all religions and groups in housing, but it is not used by other religions or groups. So it seems that only Hinduism uses it, even though the banjar hall is actually a gathering place for Hindus in Bali. The form of socio-religious conflict, in this case the housing community can blend in with each other, because they realize that housing is a plural society. With the intermingling of society creates mutual tolerance.

This tolerance can be seen when there is a big holiday. When there are other religions that are celebrating, the people of other religions will wish a happy day. Sometimes they help each other in religious activities. There is no dominant form of domination in the field of economic resources/entrepreneurship, control of economic resources/entrepreneurship in the housing environment, because every religious group participates actively in the cycle of economic activity in housing. Although these economic activities are carried out by various religious groups, each religion still interacts with each other to meet their needs. They do not focus on one place only but based on where to provide.

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