Universitas Warmadewa

Editorial Office: Department of Government | Faculty of Social and Political Sciences | Universitas Warmadewa

Jl. Terompong No.24, Sumerta Kelod, Kec. Denpasar Timur, Kota Denpasar, Bali 80239

Politicos: Jurnal Politik Dan Pemerintahan

Volume 6, Number 2, 2026

ISSN: 2776-8031 (Print) | 2776-8023 (Electronic)

Publication details, Including author guidelines

Visit URL: https://www.ejournal.warmadewa.ac.id/index.php/politicos/onlinesubmissionandauthorguideline



The Balinese Hindu Resistance to the Hare Krishna Movement: A Case Study of Nativistic Responses to Transnational Religious Movements

I Made Anom Wiranata*, Kadek Dwita Apriani, Putu Ratih Kumala Dewi,

Universitas Udayana, Badung, Indonesia.

Article History

Received : March 28, 2026

Revised : July 6, 2026

Accepted : July 23, 2026

Published : September 30, 2026

How to cite this article (APA)

Wiranata, I. M. A., Apriani, K. D., & Dewi, P. R. K. (2026). The Balinese Hindu Resistance to the Hare Krishna Movement: A Case Study of Nativistic Responses to Transnational Religious Movements. *Politicos: Jurnal Politik Dan Pemerintahan*, 6(2), 104-119. https://doi.org/10.22225/politicos.6.2.2026.104-119

Universitas Warmadewa (as publisher) makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in the publications. However, we make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness, or suitability for any purpose of the Content. Any opinions and views expressed in this publication are the opinions and views of the authors and are not the views of or endorsed by Universitas Warmadewa. The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. Universitas Warmadewa shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to, or arising out of the use of the content.

Politicos: Jurnal Politik Dan Pemerintahan is published by Universitas Warmadewa comply with the Principles of Transparency and Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing at all stages of the publication process. Politicos: Jurnal Politik Dan Pemerintahan also may contain links to web sites operated by other parties. These links are provided purely for educational purpose.

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

ISSN 2776-8031 (Print)
ISSN 2776-8023 (Electronic)

POLITICOS

Original Article

Volume 6 Number 2 (2026)
https://doi.org/10.22225/politicos.6.2.2026.104-119

The Balinese Hindu Resistance to the Hare Krishna Movement: A Case Study of Nativistic to Transnational Religious Movements

I Made Anom Wiranata*, Kadek Dwita Apriani, Putu Ratih Kumala Dewi
Universitas Udayana, Badung, Indonesia.

Abstract

Even though Hare Krishna (HK) has received recognition and protection from the Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia for nearly two decades since it arrived in Indonesia in the 1960s, the presence of HK has faced opposition from traditional Balinese Hindus. This study aims to understand the causes of the anti-HK movement in Bali. It employs a qualitative methodology, specifically a case study approach. Data was collected through in-depth interviews with five key movement figures, observation, social media, and online newspapers. The study reveals that the anti-Hare Krishna (HK) movement is a pronounced nativistic response from Balinese Hindus, who perceive the HK movement as a threat to their cultural identity. Due to significant theological and scriptural disparities, the movement's proponents argue that HK does not align with Indonesian Hinduism but rather seeks to supplant Balinese Hindu teachings. The anti-HK movement gained traction as its leaders successfully channeled widespread dissatisfaction with HK into collective action, mobilizing substantial resources. This mobilization, in turn, facilitated the creation of a favorable political opportunity. The Joint Decree (SKB) issued by the Parisadha Hindu Dharma Indonesia of Bali Province and the Majelis Desa Adat of Bali Province represents a political opportunity structure for the movement. The SKB which was a direct result of pressure from the movement, further incentivized the involvement of traditional villages in the movement's activities. This research offers valuable insights into the emergence of nativistic movements as a defense mechanism against New Religious Movements.

Keywords: Anti-Hare Krishna movement; Balinese Hindu; Nativistic Movement; New Religious Movement.

Introduction

The Hare Krishna Movement (HK), also known as the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON), is a transnational religious organization founded in New York, USA, by Srila Prabhupada in 1966. Its teachings are based on the religious tradition known as Gaudiya Vaishnavism in India. At present, HK possesses 500 prominent centers, temples, and rural communities, close to 100 associated vegetarian dining establishments, numerous namahattas or local assembly groups, a diverse array of community initiatives, and millions of congregational adherents globally (ISKCON, n.d.).

The HK Movement is a form of New Religious Movement (NRM) which means a group that challenges generally accepted religious beliefs and practices (Melton in Saliba, 2003). NRM becomes transnational when it operates across national borders. For Melton, NRM is not simply a new branch of an older religion, but rather a distinct expression that significantly alters traditional beliefs and practices in ways many find unacceptable (Saliba, 2003). Rhodes argues that NRMs are religious groups that deviate from the doctrinal beliefs of their respective traditional religious backgrounds (Rhodes, 2001). By following the thinking of Melton and Rhodes, HK thus has teach-

*Corresponding author: I Made Anom Wiranata, Universitas Udayana, Badung, Indonesia.
Jl. Raya Kampus Unud, Jimbaran, Kec. Kuta Sel., Kabupaten Badung, Bali, 80361
Email: anom_wiranata@unud.ac.id

ings that contradict the doctrinal beliefs of Hinduism, which in the context of Indonesia is Indonesian Hinduism.

In Indonesia, HK began to develop in the 1970s and experienced a period of ups and downs. In 1984, the Attorney General's Office banned printed materials containing HK teachings. However, during the period of political reform in Indonesia in 1998, HK gained the opportunity to spread its teachings again. In the 8th Mahasabha (general meeting) of Parisadha Hindu Dharma Indonesia (PHDI) in 2001, *sampradaya* in general was recognized as part of Hinduism in Indonesia. HK is one form of *sampradaya*, a religious education system that worships a particular deity as their God (Klostermaier, 2011). Lanus (2021) states that *sampradaya* membership is not based on birth, as with ethnic groups, but through spiritual initiation in each *sampradaya*.

After almost 20 years of receiving recognition and protection from the PHDI, the existence of HK in Bali has faced opposition from groups calling themselves Balinese Hindu or Balinese Tradition Hindu. At the Bajra Sandi Monument in Renon, Denpasar, on August 3, 2020, hundreds of Balinese Hindus under the coordination of the Taksu Bali Dwipa organization held a demonstration to reject HK. The demonstration was presented as a cultural arts performance.

Figure 1: A demonstration in the form of a cultural attraction to reject HK



Source: (medcom.id, 2020)

The group of protesters consisted of various community organizations and art studios under the Bali Taksu Communication Forum (Dae, 2020). They demanded that the PHDI revoke its protection of Hare Krishna and called on the PHDI to advocate for the enforcement of the Indonesian Attorney General's Decree No. Kep.107/JA/5/1984, which bans the circulation of printed materials containing Hare Krishna teachings in Indonesia.

Following the action on August 3, 2020, the opposition to HK continued with various forms of action. According to the participant Bhaktas, the phase of opposition against Hare Krishna reached a decisive turning point when traditional villages joined the movement through two forms of collective action: the closure of HK ashrams and joint declarations or statements of stance. Reports from the mass media indicate that four HK Ashrams in Bali were shut down by local traditional villages within their respective areas. The Kesiman Traditional Village in Denpasar, took coercive action to close the HK ashram within its territory on April 18, 2021 (diksimerdeka.com, 2021a). Similarly, the Alas Angker Traditional Village in Buleleng Regency closed the ashram in its area on April 28, 2021 (nusabali.com, 2021a). Further closures of HK ashrams were carried out by the Banyuning Traditional Village (Buleleng Regency) on May 10, 2021 (Nayaka, 2021) and the Pelapuan Traditional Village (Buleleng Regency) on May 11, 2021 (Balinetizen.com, 2021).

Figure 2: Banners at the demonstration site opposing the HK



Source: (fajarbadung.com, 2020)

Collective action by Balinese traditional villages to reject HK has also been expressed through official statements of stance. From May 4, 2021, until June 1, 2021, there are 210 traditional villages in Bali that have declared their rejection of non-traditional Balinese sampradaya, including HK. On May 4, 2021, 64 Bendesa Adat (traditional village chiefs) across Jembrana Regency declared their rejection of non-traditional Balinese sampradaya (diksimerdeka.com, 2021b). Similar actions were also taken by other traditional villages, namely: 55 traditional villages across three subdistricts (Dawan, Banjarangkan, and Klungkung) in Klungkung Regency on May 2021 (diksimerdeka.com, 2021c); 48 traditional villages in Nusa Penida Subdistrict of Klungkung Regency on May 9, 2021 (baliexpress.jawapos.com, 2021); 16 traditional villages in Buleleng Regency, on May 19, 2021; and 190 traditional villages in Karangasem Regency on June 1, 2021 (balifactualnews.com, 2021).

Figure 3: Traditional villages in Karangasem Regency rejecting rejected non-traditional Balinese *sampradaya*



Source: (Parananda, 2021)

Regarding the controversy surrounding Hare Krishna (HK), the management of the ISKCON association stated that HK followers in Bali basically continue to adhere to Balinese customs and traditions. They clarified that if there are certain HK members who discredit Balinese culture and traditions, such instances are casuistic entirely personal decisions rather than organizational policy (Kanal Bali 2020). A similar sentiment was expressed by Amir Agastya （Advisor to the ISKCON Association) in a 2022 podcast. He stated that the polemics involving HK were triggered by the "over-enthusiastic" attitude of certain members (Metrobali Podcast 2022). Furthermore, he asserted that HK is one of the recognized parampara (lineages) within

https://doi.org/10.22225/.politicos.6.1.2026.104-119

Vedic teachings. He does not reject Balinese cultural and traditional practices but rather views HK as a form of spiritual deepening (Metrobali Podcast 2022).

Several studies have been conducted on the reasons behind the rejection of the Hare Krishna (HK) movement in Bali in 2020-2021. Gayatri (2021) described the opposition of the Balinese Hindu community to HK, which led to a joint decision by the PHDI Bali and the Majelis Desa Adat (MDA) or Council of Traditional Villages of Bali Province to ban HK activities in public spaces, including temples in Bali. In addition, the teachings of HK are considered not in accordance with the norms of Hinduism in Bali. This article does not explore the experiences of movement activists that led them to devote resources to getting involved in the arena of the movement. This article also does not discuss the contestation of meaning about "what is classified as Hindu and what is not Hindu?" Widiana's (2022) writing identifies the causes of the movement to reject *sampradaya* in Bali, including HK. He mentions that the rejection movement occurred because of the anxiety of Hindus in Bali who are not ready to accept the social changes brought about by *sampradaya*. The author obtained research data from informants insteaf of data from movement participants, hence the reasons for the movement actors to be involved in the movement against HK are not presented representatively. Kuckreja (2022) writes about the interaction between Balinese Hinduism, Universal Hinduism, and HK as a multinational New Religious Movement (NRM). Kuckreja positions Balinese Hinduism and HK as denominations of Hinduism. The author does not explore the perspective of Balinese Hindu movement activists who can accept the variation of Hindu traditions in various regions in the Nusantara, but refuse to recognize HK as part of Indonesian Hinduism.

Unlike previous studies, this research examines the causes of people who are directly involved and play a significant role in the anti-HK movement using social movement theories. The social context of the movement actors will be given important attention because the reasons for opposition from each subject will vary according to the social background and personal experience of the actor concerned. Previous studies have not analyzed the relationship between the anti-HK movement and the history of Hindu naming in India, the development of Vedic literature in India and Bali, the naming of Indonesian Hinduism, and the views of Balinese Hindu movement actors regarding this history.

This research analyzes the causes of the emergence of anti-HK movements in Bali. I argue that the emergence of anti-HK movements from traditional Balinese Hindu groups is due to HK missionary activities that threaten the collective identity of Balinese Hindus. Polleta and Jasper (2001) define collective identity as an individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution. There is a sense of 'we-ness' that distinguishes them from the outside group ('they-ness')." Movement activists create a demarcation by not recognizing HK as part of Indonesian Hinduism. This sense of threat turned into a movement with the organization of movement actors who took advantage of the momentum of resistance.

Method

The case of this study is the movement of traditional Balinese Hindu groups opposing the HK movement in Bali between 2020 and 2023. The method of this research uses a qualitative approach with a case study design which refers to Creswell (2007). It applies a number of procedures in conducting a qualitative case study research. First, the researcher identifies the case, namely the anti-HK movement, by identifying key actors and relevant events that led to the case. Among the key actors in the anti-HK movement, informants were selected purposively based on two criteria: individuals involved in the construction of knowledge and those involved in mobilizing the masses for collective action. Bhaktas is an individual who intensively and declaratively states that HK has corrupted the meaning of the Bhagavad Gita. Their opinions were then used as a basis for the movement's actors to undertake collective action. Surya Anom and Yudiawan are intellectual figures who use Balinese religious knowledge as a basis for opposing HK. Ketut Dharma (a pseudonym) is a former HK follower who intensively criticizes HK teachings,

which he claims deviate from the Vedas. The fifth informant is Cok Brasika, a village head (bendesa) who is active in mobilizing the masses to oppose HK and other *sampradayas*.

Second, various data sources are used, including in-depth interviews, newspapers, social media posts, documents, artifacts, and direct observation. Third, the data is grouped in two ways. Data on events are chronologically ordered. Data on the experiences and meanings of the movement's subjects are grouped based on the subject's or informant's identity. Fourth, the analysis is conducted interpretively to understand the reasons for the rejection of HK from each informant and also to understand the events that are the context and background of the anti-HK movement in Bali.

This research uses primary data collection in the form of in-depth interviews with five subjects who actively participated in the anti-HK movement. These subjects include actors who provided theological support and organizers of collective action in the field. Data was also collected from the social media accounts of movement actors who were actively involved in the opposition to HK and who actively wrote down event records and arguments in the movement against HK, such as the accounts of Komang Priambada and Jero Bauddha Susena. The observed social media accounts also include the social media accounts of the interviewed subjects and social media groups that contain debates between Balinese Hindu supporters and HK supporters. The interviews were transcribed verbatim. These transcripts, along with data from social media posts, were reduced using coding techniques and then thematically analyzed.

Results

Objection to Recognizing HK as Part of Indonesian Hinduism

Activists opposing HK in Bali hold the common belief that they do not acknowledge HK as a part of Indonesian Hinduism. For them, Hinduism in Indonesia is not the same as Hinduism that grows di India. HK is considered to have revived sectarianism in Bali, which makes people feel that their Ishtadewata (preferred deity) is higher than other *Ishtadewatas*. In the demonstration on August 3, 2020, I observed the speeches that were delivered, which generally stated that HK is a movement that systematically erodes and destroys Balinese traditions and culture based on Balinese Hinduism. One demonstration orator mentioned that this sectarian view had been resolved by a large meeting held by Mpu Kuturan in 1001 at Samuan Tiga Temple. The agreement stopped sectarian views at that time and then gave birth to the Tri Murti concept which is practiced by Balinese Hindus to this day.

Some informants, such as Surya Anom and Yudiawan, do not view the Samuan Tiga Agreement as a pact between sects, as they believe that Hindu sects have never existed in Bali. According to Surya Anom, the word "*phaksa*" found in the Samuan Tiga inscription cannot be equated with a sect but instead refers to a specific religious expertise. For example, if someone is called "*Siwa Phaksa*," it means that the individual is a practitioner of the abilities of Siwa. Besides that, there is no evidence to support the idea that Bali has a history of sectarian-based religious life. The temples in Bali are not dedicated to the worship of a specific *Ishtadewata*.

Some informants even refused to refer HK as part of Hinduism because HK is considered to deviate from the Vedic Sruti scriptures. Yudiawan showed that the positioning of Krishna as God, as done by the followers of HK, is a deviation from the Vedas. In Hindu theology, God does not have the characteristics of a human body. Furthermore, HK even positions Krishna as *Parambrahman*, which they interpret as the highest *Brahman* (God). This interpretation suggests a hierarchy within *Brahman* itself. Bhaktas emphasized that this view is contrary to the Bhagavad Gita itself. Both the Bhagavad Gita and the main Upanishads mention *Brahman* as the highest that includes and encompasses everything. The word "*Parambrahman*" actually means "*Brahman*, the highest or the highest is *Brahman*".

Balinese Hindu movement activists see that HK followers have a condescending view of Balinese Hindu theology and practice. The views of HK followers are represented in the publicati-

https://doi.org/10.22225/.politicos.6.1.2026.104-119

on of a book entitled "Merekonstruksi Hindu: Merangkai Kembali Filsafat Weda yang Terdistorsi". The book was written by Ngurah Heka Wikana, an HK follower with a foreword by Wayan Pageh Yasa, who is also an HK follower. One of the bases used in the book is the Padma Purana, which the author refers to as the Vedic scriptures. Because the puranas are included in the systematics of the India-based Vedas, HK followers claim that their teachings are based on Vedic literature (Metrobali Podcast, 2022).

Based on the Padma Purana, the author (Wikana) mentions that Hinduism in Indonesia, especially in Bali, is heavily influenced by the teachings of Shiva and Sakta, which he refers to as followers of the *tamasik* (slow and lazy) teachings because they use *yadnya* (sacred sacrifice) ceremonies involving animals. The author states that Hinduism in Indonesia, including Balinese Hinduism, is a practice of religion based on *tamasik* scriptures, which he calls a distortion of the teachings of the Vedas (Wikana, 2011). The message in the book is echoed by HK missionaries active on social media in voicing the discourse of "back to the Vedas", which means that the practice of Hinduism in Bali is considered not in accordance with the Vedas. Informants from Hindu Bali activist movements refer to them as "missionaries" because their actions to describe Balinese Hinduism are part of an effort to offer their teachings, which are promoted as teachings with simple rituals.

Resisting Intrusion and Conversion

Yudiawan said that the Hindu discourse and Indian-based Veda systematics that have been taught in Hindu religious education in Indonesia for decades have become an entry point and protection for sectarian *sampradayas* such as HK. Knowledge about the Veda systematics (India) that is not accompanied by rules of interpretation and historical context presents the view that the books in the Indian-based Veda systematics, practices, and religious interpretations of Hinduism in India are the authentic version of Hinduism.

In the Hindu religious education system in Indonesia, *mantras* from Balinese Hinduism are placed in the Indian-based Veda systematics, as *nibandha* which means a collection of Vedic literature taken from various sources. In the systematics of the Indian Vedas, the *nibandha* has a relatively lower position compared to other Vedic scriptures. According to Yudiawan, the Vedas of Balinese Hinduism are actually the Sruti Veda or revelation of God, which should occupy the highest position among Vedic literature. The *sulinggih* (priest) in Bali, when leading religious ceremonies, chant the mantras of the Balinese Hindu Vedas, not the Indian-based Vedas. It is proof that the mantras in the Veda Bali posses the highest position in the Veda library in Bali.

HK entered the Indonesian Hindu community using the discourse of the hegemony of the Indian Veda systematics. They introduce their teachings as Vedic literature or in accordance with it. This can be seen from the statements made during the Metrobali podcast with Amir Agastya (Advisor to the ISCKON Association) and Wayan Sudiara (Chairman of the ISCKON Association) (Metrobali Podcast, 2022). Likewise, in the debate between HK and Balinese Hindu supporters on Facebook, HK supporters use Vedic literature as justification for their teachings. The use of the hegemony of the term Veda is also evident in the placement of a sign that reads "Place to Learn the Vedas" at the Padang Galak intersection, Kesiman, Denpasar. Before it was removed in December 2020, the sign pointed to the Krishna Balaram Ashram, which is the ashram of the HK followers. The sign was deliberately intended to mean that the HK teachings are the teachings of the Vedas.

To introduce or spread their teachings about Krishna consciousness, followers of HK use references from a number of books, including the Bhagavad Gita published by ISKCON (Bhagavad Gita as it is), Kalisantarana Upanisad, Srimad Bhagavantam (Bhagavata Purana), Padma Purana, and Chaitanya-charitamrita. HK displays or uses several books that provide justification that Krishna is God. All of the books used are Smriti Vedas, which are ranked below the Sruti Vedas. The Sruti Vedas are derived from the revelation of God received by the sages. *Sruti* literally means "that which is heard." Unlike the Sruti Vedas, the Smriti Vedas are based on memory. The

the Smriti Vedas were written by sages or intellectuals. The supremacy of the Smriti Vedas is below that of the Sruti Vedas. Followers of HK do not use the Sruti Vedas (Catur Veda) as justification for their teachings because there are no texts in the Sruti Vedas that justify Krishna as God.

When the movement's actors learned that HK's teachings were not in line with Balinese Hindu teachings, they realized that HK's ashrams spread to remote villages in Bali were a form of camouflage for "learning the Vedas." According to the informant Cok Brasika, the HK ashram is proof of infiltration into the Balinese Hindu communities. The ashram not only serves as a place for them to carry out their activities but also to invite Balinese Hindus to accept HK's teachings or become HK members. Cok Brasika said that the establishment of HK ashrams spread throughout Bali was certainly with the knowledge and recommendation of PHDI. He said, "The local government will not give permission if there is no recommendation from PHDI". Cok Brasika suspected that HK people had entered the PHDI body, which then made PHDI accept the existence of the HK ashrams.

Mobilizing Collective Action

The HK Movement has long been criticized by a number of Balinese Hindu figures. However, collective resistance to the movement only began to emerge in 2020, triggered by specific events. The first was a statement by Arya Weda Karna, a member of the Regional Representative Council, at an HK community event. In his speech, he mentioned his devotion to Sri Krishna and expressed his hope that the HK movement could influence young Balinese people. He referred to non-vegetarian Balinese as people who are not yet conscious. The video of his speech had already circulated among Balinese Hindu movement activists before the demonstration on August 3, 2020.

The second event was the spread of a video on social media about the Gita Marathon activity centered in Bali. The activity took place from October 13 to December 8, 2019, and the video circulated in July 2020 among HK opponents. The Gita Marathon is an activity to distribute the HK version of the Bhagavad Gita. In the activity, an HK figure referred to the HK followers who promote HK teachings and convert Balinese Hindus to join this group as "warriors." The HK figure at the Gita Marathon event also conveyed a plan to spread HK teachings systematically through family networks, friendships, school students, students, and traditional village leaders so that more people would be exposed (Parisada Hindu Dharma, 2020).

The opposition to HK was carried out mostly through organizations existing before the movement began such as Swastika Bali, Sandhi Murti, Cakrawayu, and Puskor Hindunesia. Their opposition was manifested by meeting with the PHDI Bali on July 22, 2020 and urging the institution to revoke the patronage of PHDI that had been given to HK (Nusabali.com, 2020). There are also organizations that were deliberately formed as movement organizations to oppose HK, such as Taksu Bali Dwipa which was formed in early 2020. Taksu Bali Dwipa, together with other community organizations, then joined the Taksu Bali Forum which then held a demonstration against HK on August 3, 2020.

Public actions carried out by the Balinese Hindu movement put pressure on the PHDI Bali to meet the movement's demands to revoke PHDI's protection of HK. Before December 16, 2020, the PHDI of Bali Province evaded taking responsibility for revoking PHDI's protection of HK on the grounds that it was the domain of the Central PHDI. However, continuous pressure from the Balinese Hindu movement actors forced the Bali PHDI to be accommodating to the demands of the movement by issuing a Joint Decree (SKB) with the MDA on December 16, 2020, number 106/ PHDI-Bali/XII/2020 and number 07/SK/MDA-Prov Bali/XII/2020, which prohibited the use of public spaces and temples as places of worship for non-traditional Balinese *sampradaya* groups, including HK. The SKB stated that non-*dresta* (non-traditional) Balinese *sampradaya* are organizations whose teachings and rituals are not in accordance with Balinese tradition and culture (baliilu.com, 2020).

https://doi.org/10.22225/.politicos.6.1.2026.104-119

The SKB became the basis of legitimacy for traditional villages to act and enter the arena of the movement against HK with two forms of collective action i.e. closing the HK ashram and declaring or making a joint statement of position. This does not mean that the SKB automatically created a reaction from the leaders of traditional villages. Before the SKB was issued, the leaders of the traditional villages had already been informed and had a shared awareness that HK was a threat to Balinese customs and culture.

The SKB provided political momentum for the expression of rejection of HK by traditional villages in Bali. The Kesiman Traditional Village was the first traditional village to take coercive action to close the Hare Kresna Ashram in their traditional village area on April 18, 2021 (diksimerdeka.com, 2021a). The actions of the Kesiman Traditional Village were followed by other traditional villages in almost all regencies and city in Bali. The collective action from traditional villages in opposing HK, coincided with the emergence of a narrative from a man named Bhaktas who created a strategy for the Balinese Hindu movement to apply counter-hegemony against the HK version of the Bhagavad Gita which has been used as the main holy book by HK followers.

At the national level, the organization of the movement to reject HK was carried out by an organization called the Gerakan Kearifan Hindu Nusantara (GKHN), which was formed in 2020 after the demonstration on August 3, 2020. GKHN assessed that the Central PHDI had been infiltrated by HK and non-tradition *sampradaya* from the archipelago, so that PHDI was considered not to have the firmness to expel non-tradition *sampradaya* from the PHDI body. The decision of the Central PHDI to revoke patronage for HK on July 30, 2021, did not make GKHN believe that the PHDI led by Wisnu Bawa Tenaya really expelled Hare Kresna from PHDI (nusabali.com, 2021). GKHN then rallied support from PHDI administrators at the provincial and district/city levels to hold an *Musyawarah Luar Biasa* (MLB) or Extraordinary Meeting at Samuan Tiga Temple on September 18-19, 2021 (bali.jpnn.com, 2021).

Figure 4: The closure of the HK Ashram by the Kesiman Traditional Village



Source: (radarbali.jawapos.com, 2021)

At the national level, the organization of the movement to reject HK was carried out by an organization called the Gerakan Kearifan Hindu Nusantara (GKHN), which was formed in 2020 after the demonstration on August 3, 2020. GKHN assessed that the Central PHDI had been infiltrated by HK and non-tradition *sampradaya* from the archipelago, so that PHDI was considered not to have the firmness to expel non-tradition *sampradaya* from the PHDI body. The decision of the Central PHDI to revoke patronage for HK on July 30, 2021, did not make GKHN believe that the PHDI led by Wisnu Bawa Tenaya really expelled Hare Kresna from PHDI (nusabali.com, 2021). GKHN then rallied support from PHDI administrators at the provincial and district/city levels to hold an *Musyawarah Luar Biasa* (MLB) or Extraordinary Meeting at Samuan Tiga Temple on September 18-19, 2021 (bali.jpnn.com, 2021).

In October 2021, PHDI MLB filed a lawsuit against the PHDI formed in Mahasabha XII led by Wisnu Bawa Tenaya, which recognized *sampradaya* as part of Indonesian Hinduism. Although PHDI MLB has not yet received legal validity from the court decision, PHDI MLB can continue its solidarity movement by providing updates at each trial. In terms of litigation, PHDI MLB achieved a significant gain with the Supreme Court's decision on October 10, 2023, which annulled the General Legal Administration (AHU) of the 12th PHDI Mahasabha. Without AHU, the PHDI hasil 12th Mahasabha will administratively not have legal validity as a legal entity. Without this validity, PHDI from 12th Mahasabha will have difficulty obtaining funding from the government.

At the grassroots level, movement actors are trying to reorganize themselves after seeing that a number of field movement leaders have other focuses as election contestants. On September 9, 2023, the movement actors who previously carried out movements in various organizational forums, then established the Anti-*Sampradaya* Movement Forum (FORGAS) organization, which was declared at Kentel Gumi Temple, Gianyar. This organization is preparing itself to become a movement organization for the long term because it realizes that it has a strong opponent.

Discussion

The naming of Hinduism in Indonesia has a different political and historical context compared to India. The name "Hinduism" in India was formulated by the British Colonial Administration to classify all native South Asian traditions that did not fall under the category of Islam as a singular religious entity (Ranganathan, 2022). Therefore, the naming of Hinduism in India includes a wide variety of Indian sectarian religious beliefs that have emerged since the 5th century (Wangu, 2009).

The naming of Hinduism in Indonesia does not have a sectarian context like in India. In the early days of Indonesian independence, there was a strong push for the Balinese to name their religion. The Ministry of Religion issued Ministerial Regulation No. 9 of 1952, which set out a number of requirements for the recognition of an official religion: it must be monotheistic; have a codified legal system for its followers; have a sacred book and a prophet; be recognized internationally; and, furthermore, its congregation must not be limited to one ethnic group only (Ramstedt, 2004; Picard, 2011).

Forced by circumstances and determined to have their religious tradition recognized as a religion, the leaders of Balinese religious organizations agreed to refer to India for a general redefinition of their religious teachings and practices along the lines of criteria put forward by the Indonesian Ministry of Religion (Ramstedt, 2004). The use of the name 'Agama Hindu' (Hindu Religion) became a point of contention between the HK and the Balinese Hindu movement. HK positions itself as a branch (sampradaya) under the umbrella of Hinduism, thereby claiming the right to conduct activities to spread its teachings. Conversely, for the Balinese Hindu activists, the use of the word 'Hindu' Indonesia is to name the religion that has already existed and developed di Indonesia, not to accomodate the sampradayas in India. Yudiawan, Surya Anom, and Ketut Dharma (pseudonym) criticized the texts referred to by HK as being based on purana scriptures that have been modified for sectarian interests, thus contradicting Balinese Hinduism which glorifies all Ishtadewatas.

Valpey (2023) notes that, in order to gain acceptance within the Hindu community, HK has incorporated elements of traditional Hindu practices while simultaneously introducing its own interpretations, particularly in rituals and community engagement. In Indonesia, to gain acceptance within the Hindu community, HK presents itself as a universal Hinduism which refers to the diversity of practices and religious expressions under the umbrella of Hinduism. The findings of this study differ from those of Kuckreja's study (2022), which positions Indian Hinduism as universal Hinduism while Balinese Hinduism is considered local. It is precisely this distinction that Balinese Hindu activists oppose. According to the informant, Surya Anom, the discourse on Universal Hinduism put forward by HK was intentionally aimed at showing that the HK sampradaya, which has followers worldwide, is positioned as the universal form of Hinduism. Indirectly, this dis-

https://doi.org/10.22225/.politicos.6.1.2026.104-119

which has followers worldwide, is positioned as the universal form of Hinduism. Indirectly, this discourse on Universal Hinduism positions Balinese traditional Hindu as an ethnic religion that ranks below universal Hinduism.

References to Indian Hinduism, as part of an effort to gain state recognition as an official religion, have consequences for the hegemonic influence of India-based Hindu knowledge systems. The concept of hegemony is based on Gramsci's analysis of the mechanisms of social power in influencing others, namely through coercion and consent. Coercion is the power of the state to use the threat of force against those who do not obey domination. Hegemony works differently from coercion. Hegemony makes people willingly follow oppressive social norms, without them realizing it (Gramsci, 1971). The concept of hegemony continues to develop and does not limit its analysis to inter-class relations. As stated by Laclau and Mouffe, hegemony is a political relationship that is not deterministic to a particular topography of the social world (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001). Melucci makes a similar point, focusing not on the operation of hegemony in class relations as Gramsci did, but on social and cultural domination. Hegemony means dependence on a system based on dominant social relations. This domination is manifested in normative decisions through political power that represents the interests of the dominant group (Melucci, 1996).

The informant Yudiawan mentioned thata the reference to Indian-based Vedas has resulted in the education and literature of Hindu religious education in Indonesia using the Indian-based Veda systematics. When the Indian-based Veda knowledge system became the material in Hindu religious education in Indonesia, over time this knowledge system became a hegemony that produced the view that the holy books of Hinduism in Indonesia are the books that refer to the Veda systematics created by Indologists. The informants observed that HK followers use their group's reference books to systematically belittle Balinese Hinduism in order to gain followers. They criticize Balinese offerings as wasteful. They then promote chanting Hare Krishna as a necessary act in the Kali Yuga. The informants believe that this narrative, which introduces an easy and simple way of practicing Hinduism, is one of the factors that makes it easy for them to infiltrate the Hindu community in Indonesia.

The Balinese Hindu movement against HK applies a counter-hegemony strategy. Counter-hegemony is a term coined by Gramsci to define the way people develop ideas and discourse to counter hegemonic assumptions, beliefs, discourses, and behaviors (Gramsci, 1995). The counter-hegemony strategy by the Balinese Hindu Movement is aimed at showing that the translation and explanation book of the Bhagavad Gita written by the founder of ISKCON, Srila Prabhupada, has deviated from the meaning of the Bhagavad Gita as written by the original author, namely Resi Wyasa.

Through an article in Media Hindu magazine, Bhaktas criticized the book Bhagavad Gita compiled by Prabhupada, the founder of the HK movement. He intensively spread the contents of the article in a Facebook group followed by supporters of the HK movement and Balinese Hindus movement. Bhaktas repeatedly stated that HK's teachings are not based on the Bhagavad Gita. HK's teachings piggyback on the verses of the Bhagavad Gita in the form of Prabhupada's explanation of the verses of the Bhagavad Gita. Bhaktas even said that Prabhupada had committed "vandalism" against the Bhagavad Gita. Because the content of Prabhupada's explanation in his book damages the meaning of the Bhagavad Gita, whose original author is Resi Wyasa, then according to Bhaktas, the claim that HK followers are a line of lineage from Resi Wyasa is a lie. The lie was deliberately made to deceive that it seemed as if the HK followers' understanding of the Bhagavad Gita was perpendicular to the lineage of Resi Wyasa. For the activists of the Balinese Hindu movement, the challenge of Bhaktas which was not responded to by the HK followers made them even more convinced that Prabhupada had indeed damaged the meaning of the Bhagavad Gita.

For Balinese Hindu activists, the findings from this interview are consistent with previous literature indicating that that the verses in the *puranas* reached their final form in the 5th century BC. The *purana* then underwent editing until the end of the 12th century. During the period from

500 BC to 400 AD, the editing of the *puranas* were inspired by the traditions of each Hindu group/ sect in India. In each of these traditions, individuals worship one name of God as a personal God and believed to be the highest God (Wangu, 2009). Although some parts of the *purana* scriptures are quite ancient, the texts clearly show traces of substantial change. The main cause is the influence applied to the scriptures of modern sects (Rocher, 1986). Indian classical literary scholar Rapson states that the text in the *puranas* "have been distorted by generations of editors and copyists" (Rocher, 1986). In other words, HK bases itself on *puranas* that have already undergone changes from the originals.

The "classical" upanishads were compiled from around 900 to 300 BC, and depart from the perspective of sacred sacrificial ritual in the Vedas and combine a way of life of renunciation of worldliness (Patton, 2004). Minor upanishads are a group of Hindu texts that were composed around the 1500s. They are characterized by their sectarian nature, meaning that they are associated with specific religious movements or sects. One of the most well-known minor upanishads is the Kali Santarana Upanishad, which is the primary scripture of the HK movement. The Kali Santarana Upanishad was written sometime before 1500 (Beck, 2004). It contains a 16-word mantra that is central to the HK movement: "Hare Rama, Hare Rama, Rama Rama, Hare Hare, Hare Krishna, Hare Krishna, Krishna Krishna, Hare Hare" (Burt, 2023). Chaitanya Mahaprabhu, the founder of the Bhakti Movement and the pioneer of the HK movement in 16th century India, began chanting this 16-word mantra around 1503 (Rosen, 2004). The 16 syllables from the Kali Santarana Upanishad are considered a sacred mantra by HK followers. Surya Anom, a Bali Hindu activist, has argued that the HK movement uses scriptures composed by its own group to justify its teachings.

The movement by the Balinese Hindu group to oppose HK is a manifestation of the nativistic movement, namely "an organized and conscious effort by members of society to revive or perpetuate certain selected aspects of their culture." Such efforts can only emerge if a society becomes aware that the existence of its culture is threatened by the existence of other cultures (Linton, 1943). In nativistic movements, cultures that are considered foreign are considered inferior to indigenous cultures (Huber, 2010). All informants stated that HK poses a threat to traditional Balinese Hinduism. As noted by informants Yudiawan, Ngurah Anom, and Cok Brasika, it is a transnational organization that aims to spread its teachings and conduct a conversion movement by discrediting Balinese Hinduism. The informants believe that the beliefs of Balinese Hinduism, which have been practiced for thousands of years, must be preserved and defended because they have brought prosperity and harmony.

The Hindu Bali movement's activists use the analogy that Indonesian Hindus are the homeowners of Indonesian Hinduism, and HK has been given temporary lodging. Gradually, the tenant then makes a move to take control of the house. The illustration of the tenant who wants to take control of the house management comes from informants who are worried about the HK sampradaya which uses the name of Indonesian Hinduism to find followers by converting mainly among Hindus in the archipelago. At the same time, they are maneuvering to control PHDI in order to gain legitimacy for HK within Indonesian Hinduism.

The series of events and discourses criticizing Balinese Hinduism were seen as an attack that triggered dissatisfaction and anger among Balinese Hindus. They concluded that the HK was not a form of expression of Hinduism but a movement to replace the order of Balinese Hinduism. These findings are also similar to Gayatri's research (2021), but this study provides more detail on the process of how disappointment turns into collective action. Dissatisfaction itself cannot explain the emergence of the anti-HK movement. In social movement literature, resource mobilization theory argues that dissatisfaction among many people does not necessarily lead to social movements. For dissatisfied or angry people, collective action is only one of many possible courses of action (Jenkins & Perrow, 1977; Tilly, 1978; Perrow, 1979). Social movement resources include all things that are useful to the movement and can be conditioned by movement activists (Opp, 2009). Movement resources consist of material and non-material resources. Material resources include funds, organizational facilities, people, means of communication, and so on. Non-material resources include leadership and skills in communicating and attracting mass legitimacy, loyalty,

authority, moral commitment, and moral solidarity (Jenkins, 1981). The transformation of dissatisfaction into a social movement is made possible by the availability of resources and the emergence of political opportunities structures. Political opportunities structures are conditions that cause movement mobilization (Tilly, 1978).

The resources of the Balinese Hindu movement opposing HK are a combination of various elements. First is what Jasper (2018) refers to as emotion in the form of affective commitment, which provides the foundation for collective identity and the purpose of action. Affective commitment is a relatively long-term affective bond, such as feelings of love, respect, trust, admiration, or their opposites. All informants indicated a sense of resentment (in the sense of affective commitment) toward the HK movement, which was perceived as committing an intrusion into Balinese Hinduism. This emotion has driven the movement's actors to commit their time and financial resources independently to engage in the movement rejecting HK.

Second, the mobilization of the movement occurred through the communication networks of pre-existing organizations (Melucci, 1996; McAdam, 1999; Tilly & Tarrow, 2015). The demonstration opposing HK on August 3, 2020, in Denpasar, was carried out by the Forum Taksu Bali, which is a coalition of various organizations and associations operating in the fields of culture and traditional Balinese Hinduism that existed before the movement began. Similarly, the movement rejecting HK across various regencies in Bali between April and June 2021 involved the active roles of traditional villages (desa adat) and community organizations.

Third, the traditional Balinese Hindu movement in opposing HK was able to occur due to the presence of leadership across various sectors. This movement does not have a single leader or a strict hierarchy; however, a number of figures played key roles in the opposition movement against HK. Among them are Komang Priambada, who organized information and networks at the national level; the Bhaktas, who published studies on the HK version of the Bhagavad Gita, which was deemed to actually distort its true meaning; Putu Yudiawan and Cok Brasika, who organized mass support; and the Chairman of the MDA (Traditional Village Council), Ida Penglingsir Agung Putra Sukahet, who frequently appeared in public to emphasize that HK is distinct from Indonesian Hinduism.

The movement of Balinese Hindu groups in opposing HK was also strengthened by the presence of a political opportunity structure. A political opportunity structure refers to changes in the political environment that provide incentives for people to undertake social movements due to the expectation of success in achieving the movement's goals (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015). This movement gained a political opportunity structure through the issuance of a Joint Decree between the Bali Provincial PHDI (Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia) and the Bali Provincial MDA on December 16, 2020. The decree banned HK and non-traditional Balinese Hindu sampradayas from using public spaces and temples in Bali for activities that do not align with Balinese Hindu tradition (baliliu, 2020). For the activists of the Balinese Hindu movement, this served as validation from the Bali Provincial PHDI and MDA that HK is a group incompatible with Balinese Hinduism. This Joint Decree became a political opportunity that paved the way for traditional villages (desa adat) to enter the arena of the anti-HK movement with a narrative centered on defending traditional Balinese Hinduism.

Conclusion

The collective action in opposing HK gave rise to a search for knowledge among movement actors about the history of the use of the name Hindu in Indonesia. They found that the name Hindu in Indonesia was used to name the religion of the Balinese people and the religion of the people in the archipelago that is similar to the religion of the Balinese people. Based on the history of this naming, the Bali Hindus movement actors have a sense of ownership as "native or indigenous" of Indonesian Hinduism. This sense of ownership of Indonesian Hinduism was disturbed when the Balinese Hindu movement actors felt that the HK people in Indonesia had used the name Hindu as a strategy to convert Balinese Hindus so that they could become members of HK by belittling the beliefs of Balinese Hinduism and exalting the teachings of HK.

This action made the Balinese Hindu movement actors reject the discourse from HK that HK is one of the expressions under the large umbrella of Hinduism but as a sectarian religious movement that threatens Balinese Hinduism. Reclaiming history has become an effort in constructing a demarcation of collective identity between Balinese Hindus and the *sampradayas.*

The sense of ownership of Indonesian Hinduism is the foundation of the nativistic movement of Balinese Hinduism in opposing HK. Based on this sense of ownership, they build identity demarcation by calling HK a foreign *sampradaya* that damages Balinese culture and Hinduism. The strength of the collective identity as Balinese Hindu is built on the pride of the holistic and non-sectarian teachings of Balinese Hinduism, which has been practiced for thousands of years in Bali and is believed to have provided harmony for the Balinese people. HK is considered a disruption to the harmony in Balinese culture because it brings sectarian teachings that consider its *Isthadewata* as the highest and demeans other *Isthadewatas*.

The push to reject HK has become stronger with the emergence of narratives and analyses that delegitimize the teachings of the *sampradaya*. Narratives and analyses from movement actors show the public that HK teachings are not based on the Bhagavad Gita but on the teachings of Prabhupada that infiltrate the explanation section of the Bhagavad Gita. Prabhupada is said to have vandalized the meaning of the Bhagavad Gita. This narrative is a form of counter-hegemony from Balinese Hindu movement actors because HK has long been known as a religious group that uses the Bhagavad Gita as its main scripture. Another delegitimization of HK teachings is the analysis of movement actors that HK is not based on the Sruti Veda but on the *purana* which has been edited based on sectarian interests.

The research contributes to a deeper understanding of the causes that motivate Balinese Hindu activists to engage in collective action resisting HK. Seen more broadly, opposition to NRM has activated the emergence of nativistic movements. Such nativistic movements can occur under conditions of a strong collective identity and the presence of movement leaders capable of mobilizing movement resources into collective action. Further research needs to be conducted to delve deeper into the forms of affiliation and collective identity of ethnically-based Hindu people in Indonesia when the transnational influences of various India-based Hindu religions influence them.

This research contributes to the growing urgency of religious moderation both at the policy level and the community level. At the policy level, decision-makers can engage with transnational religious organizations to adhere to norms and ethics in living harmoniously in Indonesia. At the community level, there needs to be an increase in religious awareness to respect the religions and beliefs of others. Religious activities that are initially intended to change the beliefs of a community by belittling that community will result in resistance and conflict.

Future research can delve deeper into the appropriateness of a nation's attitudes and policies in addressing both latent and manifest conflicts involving NRM. The NRM phenomenon is present in all major religions. Two characteristics of NRM that can trigger conflicts are: first, their differences from the mainstream understanding of the religion they are affiliated with; and second, a systematic movement agenda to gain followers and secure their loyalty. The practices of NRM members who deride and belittle other religions and beliefs will provoke resistance In democratic countries, handling conflicts stemming from NRM is complex. On one hand, the state guarantees freedom of religion, and on the other, it is also obligated to maintain social harmony and order.

References

baliexpress.jawapos.com. (2021, May 11). Giliran 48 Desa Adat di Nusa Penida Tolak Sampradaya. *Baliexpress.Jawapos.Com*. https://baliexpress.jawapos.com/balinese/11/05/2021/giliran-48-desa-adat-di-nusa-penida-tolak-sampradaya/

balifactualnews.com. (2021, June 1). Melalui "Piagam Silayuki", Desa Adat se Karangasem Tolak Sampradaya Non Dresta Bali. *Balifactualnews.Com*. https://balifactualnews.com/melalui-piagam-silayukti-desa-adat-se-karangasem-tolak-sampradaya-non-dresta-bali/

#google_vignette
bali.jpnn.com. (2021, September 22). IB Putu Dunia Sebut PHDI Hasil MLB Pura Samuan Tiga Hadir untuk Hilangkan Sampradaya Asing. *Bali.Jpnn.Com*. https://bali.jpnn.com/bali-mula/6181/ib-putu-dunia-sebut-phdi-hasil-mlb-pura-samuan-tiga-hadir-untuk-hilangkan-sampradaya-asing

Balinetizen.com. (2021, May 20). *Desa Adat Pelapuan Tutup Pasraman Hare Krisna*. https://www.balinetizen.com/2021/05/20/desa-adat-pelapuan-tutup-pasraman-hare-krisna/

Beck, G. L. (2004). Hare Krishna Mahamantra: Gaudiya Vaishnava Practice and the Hindu Tradition of Sacred Sound. In E. R. Bryant & M. L. Ekstrand (Eds.), *The hare krishna movement*（pp. 35–44). New York: Columbia University Press.

Burt, A. R. (2023). Hare Krishna in the Twenty-First Century. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Creswell, J. W. (2007). Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Dae, A. (2020, August 3). Ribuan Umat Hindu Demo Tolak Ajaran Hare Krisna Hadir di Bali. The East Indonesia. https://theeast.co.id/2020/08/03/ribuan-umat-hindu-demo-tolak-ajaran-hare-krisna-hadir-di-bali/

diksimerdeka.com. (2021a, April 19). Desa Adat Kesiman Tutup Ashram Krishna Balaram. Diksimerdeka.Com. https://diksimerdeka.com/2021/04/19/desa-adat-kesiman-tutup-ashram-krishna-balaram/

diksimerdeka.com. (2021b, May 4). Bendesa Adat se-Kabupaten Jembrana Deklarasi Tolak Sampradaya di Wilayahnya. Diksimerdeka.Com. https://diksimerdeka.com/2021/05/04/bendesa-adat-se-jembrana-deklarasi-tolak-sampradaya-non-dresta-bali/#:~:text=DIKSIMERDEKA.COM%2C%20DENPASAR%2C%20BALI%20%E2%80%93%20Sebanyak%2064%20Bendesa%20Desa,Bali%29%20di%20wewidengan%20%28wilayah%29%20Desa%20Adat%20se-Kabupaten%20Jembrana.

diksimerdeka.com. (2021c, May 7). Penolakan Meluas, Desa Adat Tiga Kecamatan di Klungkung Deklarasi Tolak Sampradaya Non Dresta. Diksimerdeka.Com. https://diksimerdeka.com/2021/05/07/penolakan-meluas-desa-adat-tiga-kecamatan-di-klungkung-deklarasi-tolak-sampradaya-non-dresta/

fajarbadung.com. (2020, August 3). Ribuan Umat Hindu Demo Tolak Ajaran Hare Krisna Hadir di Bali. Fajarbadung.com. https://fajarbadung.com/ribuan-umat-hindu-demo-tolak-ajaran-hare-krisna-hadir-di-bali/9237/2020/#google_vignette

Gayatri, I. A. M. (2021). Gerakan Masyarakat Hindu Menolak Pengayoman Ideologi Dan Organisasi Transnasional Sampradaya di Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia (PHDI). Dharmasmrti, 21, 105–122. https://doi.org/DOI:%2520https://doi.org/10.32795/ds.v21i1.1670

Gramsci, A. (1971). Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci. New York: International Publishers.

Gramsci, A. (1995). Further Selections from the Prison Notebooks (D. Boothman, Trans.). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Huber, L. P. (2010). Using Latino/a Critical race theory (LatCrit) and racist nativism to explore intersectionality in the educational experience of undocumented Chicana college students. Educational Foundations, 24, 77–96. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ885982.pdf

Jasper, J. M. (2018). The emotions of protest. Chicago: University of Chicago press.

ISKCON. (n.d.). What is ISKCON? *ISKCON*. https://www.iskcon.org/about-us/what-is-iskcon.php

Jenkins, C. J., & Perrow, C. (1977). Insurgency of the Powerless: Farm Worker Movements. *American Sociological Review*, *42*(2), 249–268. https://Doi.Org/10.2307/2094604

Kanal Bali. 2020. "Ditolak Keberadaannya Di Bali, Ini Klarifikasi Pengikut Hare Khrisna." Kanal Bali, April 9. https://kumparan.com/kanalbali/ditolak-keberadaannya-di-bali-ini-klarifikasi-pengikut-hare-khrisna-1tw00vr3gMH/4.

Klostermaier, K. K. (2011). *Hinduism: A beginner's guide*. Oneworld.

Kuckreja, R. (2022). The Hare Khrisnas in Bali: Localized Religions and New Religious Movement. *Religio: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama*, *12*(1), 1–22. https://doi.org/DOI:%2520https://doi.org/10.15642/religio.v12i1.1857

Laclau, E., & Mouffe, C. (2001). Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics (2nd ed.). London: Verso Books.

Lanus, S. (2021, May 4). Saṃpradāya Kuno Sampaikah ke Nusantara?*. https://tatkala.co/2021/03/04/sa%e1%b9%83pradaya-kuno-sampaikah-ke-nusantara/

Linton, R. (1943). Nativistic Movement. American Anthropologist, XLV, 230–240.

McAdam, D. (1999). Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970 (2nd ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

medcom.id. (2020, August 3). Ratusan Warga Bali Gelar Aksi Tolak Aliran Hare Krishna. Medcom.Id. https://www.medcom.id/foto/news/4bamQrBb-ratusan-warga-bali-gelar-aksi-tolak-aliran-hare-krishna#google_vignette

Melucci, A. (1996). Challenging Code. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Metrobali Podcast. (2022). Sampradaya Dihujat Dan Dibuly !!, Apa Salahnya Iskcon, Hk?? https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g6aEgU6hJvI&t=83s

Nayaka. (2021, May 10). Ashram di Banyuning Resmi ditutup. Penjuru.Id.

Nusabali.com. (2020, July 23). PHDI Bali dan Ormas Hindu Sikapi Polemik Hare Krishna di Media Sosial. Nusabali.Com. https://www.nusabali.com/berita/77917/phdi-bali-dan-ormas-hindu-sikapi-polemik-hare-krishna-di-media-sosial

nusabali.com. (2021a, April 9). Ashram Hare Krishna di Desa Alasangker-Buleleng Ditutup. https://www.nusabali.com/berita/94122/ashram-hare-krishna-di-desa-alasangker-buleleng-ditutup

nusabali.com. (2021b, August 1). Pengayoman Hare Krisna Dicabut PHDI Bali Siap Kawal Keputusan PHDI Pusat. Nsuabali.Com. https://www.nusabali.com/berita/99837/pengayoman-hare-krisna-dicabut

Opp, K. D. (2009). Theories of Political Protest and Social Movement. New York: Routhledge.

Parisada Hindu Dharma. (2020). BALI JENGAH! [Facebook]. https://www.facebook.com/kpriambada2/posts/2739796132786885?ref=embed_post

Patton, L. (2004). Veda and Upaniṣad. In S. Mittal & G. R. Thursby (Eds.), The Hindu World (pp. 37–51). London and New York: Routledge.

Parananda, E. (2021, June 2). Desa Adat di Karangasem Tolak Sampradaya Non-Dresta Bali. Balipost.Com. https://www.balipost.com/news/2021/06/02/195302/Desa-Adat-di-Karangasem-Tolak...html

Perrow, C. (1979). The Sixties Observed. In M. M. Zald & D. McCarthy (Eds.), Dynamics of Social Movements (pp. 192–211). Cambridge: Winthrop.

Picard, M. (2011). Balinese religion in search of recognition from Agama Hindu Bali to Agama Hindu (1945-1965). Balinese Religion in Search of Recognition from Agama Hindu Bali to Agama Hindu (1945-1965), 167(4), 482–510.

Polletta, F., & Jasper, J. M. (2001). Collective Identity and Social Movements. Annual Review of Sociology, 27(1), 283–305. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.27.1.283

radarbali.jawapos.com. (2021, April 18). Langgar Dresta Adat, Desa Adat Kesiman Tutup Ashram Krishna Balaram. Radarbali.Jawapos.Com.

Ramstedt, M. (2004). Introduction: Negotiating identities – Indonesian 'Hindus' between local, national, and global interests. In Hinduism in Modern Indonesia.

Ranganathan, S. (2022). Hinduism, Belief and the Colonial Invention of Religion: A before and after Comparison. Religions, 13(10), 891. https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13100891

Rhodes, R. (2001). The Challenge of the Cults and New Religions: The Essential Guide to Their History, Their Doctrine, and Our Response. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.

Rocher, L. (1986). The Puranas. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag.

Rosen, S. J. (2004). Who Is Shri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu? In E. R. Bryant & M. L. Ekstrand (Eds.), The Hare Krishna Movement (pp. 63–72). New York: Columbia University Press.

Saliba, J. A. (2003). Understanding new religious movements (2nd ed). AltaMira Press.

Tilly, C. (1978). From Mobilization to Revolution. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
Tilly, C., & Tarrow, S. (2015). Contentious Politics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Valpey, K. (2023). ISKCON and Diaspora Hindus in a Shared Cultural Atmosphere. In K. A. Jacobsen (Ed.), Hindu Diasporas (1st ed., pp. 396–414). Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198867692.003.0018
Wangu, M. B. (2009). *Hinduism*. New York: Chelsea House.
Widiana, I. (2022). *Dinamika Sampradaya di Bali*. *Sphatika*. *13*(1), 50–68.
Wikana, N. H. (2011). *Merekonstruksi Hindu: Merangkai Kembali Filsafat Veda yang Terdistorsi* (2nd ed.). Yogyakarta: Narayana Smerti Press.