LOCAL POLITICS ARISTOCRACY OF BALI IN THE POST-REFORM ERA

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ABSTRACT. Puri (Balinese palace) is one of the cultural symbols of the Balinese people. The power system that once placed puri as a central actor became a political tradition that led to the local politics aristocracy model which still adopted the values of feudalism, including in the political life of government. This study itself aims to analyze the political culture that shapes the pattern of local politics aristocracy of Bali in the post-reform era. The theories used to analyze the problem are elite theory and patron-client theory using the point of view of political sociology. The research method is qualitative research in the form of literature studies derived from books, journals, and descriptive analysis related to the research topic. The findings in this study are that the survival of puri in Bali is caused by an elitist political culture that is influenced by the caste system, and the position of the puri which places itself as a patron (ruler) to clients (community) related to religion, economy, and politics.

Keywords: Aristocracy; Puri; Local Politics

ABSTRAK. Puri merupakan salah satu simbol budaya masyarakat Bali. Sistem kekuasaan yang pernah menempatkan puri sebagai aktor sentral menjadi tradisi politik yang mengarah pada model aristokrasi politik lokal yang mana masih mengadopsi nilai feodalisme termasuk dalam kehidupan politik pemerintahan. Penelitian ini sendiri bertujuan untuk menganalisis budaya politik yang membentuk pola aristokrasi politik lokal Bali pada era pasca reformasi. Teori yang digunakan untuk menganalisis masalah adalah teori elit dan teori patron-klien dengan menggunakan sudut pandang sosiologi politik. Metode penelitian merupakan penelitian kualitatif berupa studi literatur yang berasal dari buku, jurnal dan analisis deskriptif yang berkaitan dengan topik penelitian. Temuan dalam kajian ini bahwa kebertahanan eksistensi puri-puri di Bali disebabkan oleh budaya politik elitisme yang dipengaruhi oleh sistem kasta, dan posisi puri yang menempatkan diri sebagai *patron* (penguasa) terhadap *klien* (masyarakat) terkait agama, ekonomi dan politik.

Kata kunci: Aristokrasi; Puri; Politik Lokal

INTRODUCTION

Bali is a unique island. One of its uniqueness is that the local leadership pattern in Bali is still dominated by the elite of the *puri*/palace in the succession of regional head leadership. The political culture that is formed tends to lead to a system of feudalism, where the aristocratic status of the puri's elites has its own magnetic power for the community. Puri as a cultural symbol is the root of religious traditions, customs inherited from previous ancestors. The puri as a symbol of traditional power and strength is a manifestation of the king in controlling and running the wheels of government. The puri is even referred to as the place where the values of power operate (Wisnumurti, 2012, p. 204). The role played by the puri is not only in the realm of religion, culture, and politics but also in the economic life of the community such as the role of the puri as an agent of change that introduces a culture-based (spiritual) tourism economy (Subudi, Made; Armamu, 2012, p. 194).

In ancient Bali before Dutch colonialism, the role of the puri was known to be prominent in the local political scene. The expansion of the Majapahit Kingdom in 1343 was marked by the application of a strict caste system (Alit, 2019, p. 7). Even as the Gelgel Kingdom disintegrated in the 18th century, the power of the puri began to spread to the regions. Several new 'independent' kingdoms emerged which were previously colonies of the Gelgel Kingdom, totaling eight, where the number is the same as the regencies in Bali today. In the 19th century, there were rivalries and wars between kingdoms (I. Suwitha, 2015, p. 109). During this period, four major kingdoms emerged in Bali, namely the Badung Kingdom, Buleleng Kingdom, Mengwi Kingdom, and the Karangasem Kingdom.

The Badung Kingdom once controlled the Jembrana Kingdom and the Mengwi Kingdom and was a rich kingdom because it controlled trade in Kuta. The Mengwi Kingdom also briefly controlled the Blambangan Kingdom (Banyuwangi), the Buleleng Kingdom also briefly controlled Blambangan-Banyuwangi, and the Karangasem Kingdom fled to Buleleng and Lombok (Ayatrohaedi, 1999, p. 293). In the 19th century, new kingdoms began to emerge, where there were ten major kingdoms, each of which was independent and sovereign. And since the second half of the 19th century, only eight major kingdoms exist until today. The eight kingdoms had made an agreement not to fight each other because of

the influence of the Klungkung Kingdom which was considered the oldest royal symbol.

In the pre-independence and post-independence era of Indonesia, the puri's elites have emerged in the national political constellation because of the results of western education long before independence. Prior to independence, several political figures from the Puri had emerged, such as Tjokorda Raka Sukawati who was an intellectual from Puri Ubud (I. Suwitha, 2015, p. 111), Mr. Ida Anak Agung Gde Agung, and Mr. I Gusti Ketut Puja who received the title of a national hero for playing an active role in the BPUPKI (the Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Indonesian Independence) and PPKI (the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence) sessions as well as in preparing the 1945 Constitution and the independence of Indonesia (I. Suwitha, 2015, p. 111). In addition, AA Panji Tisna who is the son of the King of Buleleng is a political figure and always pro-active in fighting for independence, Mr. Ida Anak Agung Gde Agung who has contributed to diplomacy and foreign relations, and I Gusti Ngurah Rai from Puri Carangsari who is known as a militant warrior (I. Suwitha, 2015, p. 112).

During the old order era, the existence of the puri's elites in strong politics was seen with the emergence of the Indonesian Nationalist Party (PNI) which had the largest base in Bali with the figure of Puri Satria Tjokorda Ngurah Agung as the founding pioneer of the party. In addition, the name Anak Agung Bagus Sutedja, who became the first Governor of Bali after leaving the small Sundanese, further reflected that the puri figures brought their own magnetic power to the Soekarno government. During the New Order era, the political system is run using a command system which means a one-way communication from superior (commander) to subordinates (Nugrahanto & Adyawardhina, 2018, p. 78).

The puri figures became instruments/tools for the defense of Suharto's power together with the Golkar Party and ABRI or the Indonesian Armed Forces (I. Suwitha, 2015, p. 113). Several puri figures became Golkar elites and served as regional heads, such as Tjokorda Budi Suryawan from Puri Ubud was elected as regent of Gianyar for two terms, Tjokorda Pemecutan and I Gusti Ngurah Alit Yuda from Puri Carangsari (I. P. G. Suwitha, 2014). In general, in Bali, political affiliation tends to follow traditional allegiances, so that until now the resilience of traditional forms is still strong enough to force the national political process to follow the real Bali situation (Pramana, 2015, p. 64).

The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) also has representatives of puri figures as the basis for their leadership in Bali. For example,

AA Oka Ratmadi from Puri Satria is a Puri figure who pioneered the birth of the PNI and the Bali PDI-P figure, he has served as chairman of the Bali Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) for the 2009-2014 period, Badung Regent, and member of the Bali Regional Representative Council (DPD) 2014-2019 (Anonim, 2018). In addition, the Puri Satria figure who also exists in politics is AA Ngurah Puspayoga who is also a figure in the Bali PDI-P, he has served as Mayor of Denpasar, Deputy Governor of Bali, and Minister of Cooperatives and SMEs for the 2014-2019 period. Puri Satria is well known as the center of the PNI and has become an icon of the PDI-P in Bali, even during the reformation era, the puri was a reflection of the identity of a particular party (Ayu, Mahadewi, Erawan, & Noak, 2017, p. 3).

Puri figures are elite, where the Elite Theory refers to a group of people in society and those who occupy high positions (Wintrop, 1992, p. 463). In particular, the elite is meant as a group of prominent people in certain fields, and especially the minority groups who hold power (Wintrop, 1992, p. 470). Elite is a minority of individuals who are appointed to serve a collectivity in a way of social value (Keller, 1995). According to Mosca and Michels, elites must be cohesive because they are a small minority who have a common interest in protecting power-related privileges with their influence and power positions (Best et al., 2017, p. 12).

From political sociology perspective, the elite is the ruling class, a group that holds power both formally and informally in social class. In its position, community development can be influenced in the context of reciprocal relationships (Becker, 2014, p. 132). It can be said that the existence of the elite is a product of its society (Mosca, 1939, p. 521). The puri's elite belongs to the local political elite. A local political elite is someone who occupies political positions (power) in the executive and legislature who are elected through general elections and elected in a democratic political process at the local level, or can be those who occupy political positions in the local sphere (Haryanto, 2009, p. 139).

These elites occupy positions at the local level that make and implement political policies. The political elites are the Governor, the Regent, the Mayor, the Chair of the DPRD, and the leaders of political parties. Local elites are alliances of people who are considered smart and have influence in society, for example, community leaders, religious leaders, and people who have relatively high financial capabilities compared to the general public (Bierstedt, 2015, p. 607).

Keller states that elite refers to a personal minority who are appointed to serve a collectivity in a way that is socially valuable, and elite as a minority

that is highly effective and responsible with others, to which the elite group responds (Hill, 2010). While Mosca stated that the elite occurs when the ruling elite is considered to have lost its ability and people outside the class show better abilities, then there is a possibility that the ruling class will be overthrown and replaced by a new ruling class (Meisel, 2015).

Puri's existence in politics is inseparable from the history of government in Bali led by kings or nobility. In the colonial era, puri was considered a ruler who had a magnetic power to control society by the Dutch colonialists, even puri was a partner for the Dutch colonialists to subdue the obedience of the people, in the new order era puri was a symbol of traditional power which became the instrument of the Suharto government to rule for almost 32 years. Puri was an extension of Suharto's arm, to promote the government's development program at that time.

Even in the reform era, which entered the democratic political system, the power of the puri in Bali was still very strong, especially the power that stems from the socio-religious values adopted by the Balinese people. Through cultural ideology and religious ceremonies, puri places his political position as a ruler whose job is to regulate and control people's lives, whether political, economic, social and cultural. The persistence of the influence of puri is also due to the symbolic capital factor in the form of prestige that has been existed for a long time, the honor of being a certain character and having great charisma has existed for a long time and can influence other people (Wance & Djae, 2019, p. 257).

The socio-religious and cultural values adopted by the Balinese people tend to create a feudal political system. The obedience of the Balinese people cannot be separated from the religious and cultural values that have been adhered to for a long time and will continue to be passed on to the next generation. Political culture such as the caste system, *ngayah*, *nangkil* to puri become a culture that is inherent in the life of the Balinese people.

The cultural strength of the puri tends to lead to the mastery of the inner elements of society towards the services that have been given by puri. The topic of puri and politics is a reflection that traditional forces are still able to survive and even reign in the midst of a wave of modernization that is full of competition. The traditional power that comes from the elite (puri) is a form of mutualism symbiotic relationship, namely a mutually beneficial relationship between the community and the puri family. In this case, it can be seen how religion plays a central role in Balinese life, and even religion is the main source of strength that supports the survival of the puri's power in Bali.

The uniqueness of this research lies on the status of puri as Bali's elite power center in the post-reform era. Political dynamics in Bali are still colored by competition for support from the nobility (puri) to maintain their existence in the community. The influence that puri has is a historical cultural construction that has long been embraced and adopted in Balinese life, one of which is the caste system that places puri as nobles who must be respected and even have the authority to control the government. This research is interesting to study to see how socio-religious resources owned by the traditional elite (puri) are able to become instruments/tools to maintain political power.

Several previous studies have discussed the involvement of the puri in politics, such as the research of Ida Ayu Mas Mahadewi, Ketut Putra Erawan, and Andreas Noak entitled "Dominasi Peran Puri dalam Kontestasi Politik di Bali (Studi Kasus: Puri Agung Denpasar" explains the strategy adopted by Puri Agung Denpasar to be able to exist through strengthening the network between Puri and the community (Ayu et al., 2017). Research from I Putu Gede Suwitha "Elite Puri dalam Lanskap Politik Kontemporer di Bali" describes the dynamics of the leadership of the Puri in Bali (I. Suwitha, 2015), research from I Wayan Suartawan, Redi Panuju "Strategi Komunikasi Politik Tokoh Puri Ubud dalam Mempertahankan Eksistensi dan Tradisi Bali" discusses political communication strategies that The Puri Ubud family carried out in order to survive in the community (Panuju, 2019), research from Calvin and Wawan Ichwannuddin entitled "Dinamika Peran Puri Bali dalam Politik Lokal pada Masa Pasca-Orde Baru: Studi Kasus Kabupaten Klungkung dan Kabupaten Gianyar" discusses the political dynamics of Puri Klungkung and several Puri in Gianyar. where the existence of the Puri in Klungkung began to fade while the Puri in Gianyar strengthened (Ichwannuddin, 2013), research from I Gusti Ngurah Guna Wintara, Muhammad Ali Azhar, AA Sagung Mirah Mahaswari Jayanthi Mertha entitled "Network Elite Puri Agung Ubud dalam Aspek Religius, Ekonomi. Dan Politik" discusses networks that are owned by Puri Ubud both religious, economic, political networks in order to maintain power (I Gusti Ngurah Guna Wintara, Muhammad Ali Azhar, 2008), research by I Putu Gede Suwitha "Wacana Kerajaan Majapahit: Dinamika Puri dalam Pusaran Politik Identitas Kontemporer" discusses the symbolism of the Puri as an instrument of identity politics in gaining political support (I. P. G. Suwitha, 2019).

However, no study of the causes of power and dominance of the puri figures has ever been specifically discussed. This study will discuss several key factors that make the the elite of the puri still has a central role and is even able to become an influential

political actor in Balinese society. This study itself aims to analyze the political culture that shapes the pattern of local politics aristocracy of Bali in the post-reform era. The formulation of the problem in this study is how the political culture that shapes the pattern of local politics aristocracy of Bali in the post-reform era, and the purpose of this study is to gain knowledge about the political culture that shapes the pattern of local politics aristocracy of Bali in the post-reform era.

METHOD

The research method used in this study is a qualitative analysis approach with a qualitative research method. Qualitative analysis is used to get an in-depth and in-depth picture of the things being studied. This research uses references from books, journals, and descriptive analysis of the factors behind the survival of the puri's elite power in Balinese society.

Several journals and books used in this study such as 'The ruling class' by Howard Becker, 'The power elite' by Robert Bierstedt, 'American sosiological association' by Michael R Hill, 'The Myth of the Ruling Class: Gaetano Mosca and the "Elite" by James H Meisel, 'The Ruling Class: Elementi di Scienza Politica' by Gaetano Mosca, 'Patrons, Clients, and Empire: The Subordination of Indigenous Hierarchies in Asia and Africa' by Colin Newburry, 'Elite democracy, development and people power: Contending ideologies and changing practices in Philippine politics' by Michael Pinches, 'Patron-Client Politics and Political Change in Southeast Asia' by James C Scott, 'Thai Regional Elites and the Reforms' by Michael Vickery, 'Network Analysis: Some Basic Principles' and 'Social Network Analysis of Historical Communities' by Barry Wellman, 'Elite Theory and Neo-Elite Theory Understandings of Democracy: An Analysis and Criticism' by Norman Wintrop, 'Kelas Kasta dan Pergulatan Kelas Menengah di Bali' and 'Bangsawan dan Kuasa: Kembalinya Para Ningrat di Dua Kota' by AAGN Ari Dwipayana.

The data analysis technique used with the study of literature is to collect, analyze, and present data to provide an overview of the political culture that shapes the pattern of local politics aristocracy of Bali in the post-reform era.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

(1) Elitist Political Culture

Political reforms after the end of the New Order government brought political changes in Indonesia, especially with the implementation of a decentralization policy that gave regions the right to regulate their territory. Decentralization is used by most of the local political elites to build political, economic and political organizations, thus giving rise to people in power at the local level (Suaib & Zuada, 2015, p. 52). Not infrequently these policies opened up opportunities for old local elites such as former officials, tribal leaders, and even regional aristocrats to reappear in regional politics (Haryanto, 2016, p. 118).

Factors that influence the survival of the puri's elite in Bali include the political culture adopted by the Balinese people. Elitism refers to the belief that there is a group of individuals who have intrinsic qualities, high intelligence, wealth, special skills, and experience of gaining greater authority than others. A culture of elitism tends to lead to a concentration of power in the hands of a few (Pinches, 1997, p. 115). Elitism is closely related to social class or what is known as social stratification. The culture of elitism forms a feudal political system, where this system gives great power to the nobility (Vickery, 1970, p. 878). In Balinese cultural tradition, the nobles are known as *ksatria* or knights. At the time of the kingdom, the knight class had the authority to run the wheels of government and regulate people's lives. Political culture that glorifies the king as the leader of the state cannot simply be separated from the cultural traditions and beliefs of the Balinese people (Raditya, 2017).

In addition, Balinese people still apply the caste system, which places the knight class as a high caste group, and must be respected (Ariefana, 2021). The caste system used by Balinese people is based on the hereditary basis of *Catur Wangsa* teachings, which is different from *Catur Warna*, which functionally divides a person's role in society based on function. *Catur Warna* functionally divides one's role in society into four functions, but is changed by the ruling class into class divisions known as *Wangsa*. Balinese people during the royal period developed a culture of ruling class hegemony. It was created with the aim of legitimizing their dominant position with special rules that do not provide the ability to move vertically (Dwipayana, 2001).

This caste system has a significant influence, especially with regard to the identity of the noble group (puri) to maintain its existence (Suyoga, 2019). The caste system in Bali is a legacy of Dutch colonialism which has political goals to gain and maintain power (Anonim, 2010). The stratification of the Hindu community in Bali, which tends to be discriminatory, occurred during the kingdom era placing the position and status of society in the upper and lower classes, which is still applied by Balinese people to this day (Wisuda, Sudarma, Subrata, & Sarma, 2021, p. 29).

Several large puri in Bali such as Puri Ubud, Puri Satria are still highly respected and even people always come (*tangkil*) to the puri to ask for consideration and instructions related to religious matters and customs (Tejawati, 2017). It is not uncommon for these puri to be approached by certain political parties to gain support and to pave the way for party cadres to get closer to their constituents. Party cadres often hold political safaris (*simakrama*) to the puri as an effort to convince voters that the puri has given full trust and support to these cadres to advance on the political stage (Suryawan, 2021).

(2) The Patron-Client Power System

The leadership aristocracy in the local political tradition in Bali began to rise again after the New Order era, in which the nobility (nobles) created a strategy that was able to restore their political power through cultural, political and economic channels (Dwipayana, 2004). Puri apart from being the cultural center of Balinese people evolved into a center of power capable of subjugating the community so that their behavior is in accordance with the wishes/ authority of the puri.

The dominance of puri figures in the political arena can also be understood in James Scott's Patron-Client Theory. This theory explains the reciprocal relationship between two people (who have different socio-economic statuses) that are specifically woven or on the basis of mutual benefit, as well as mutual give and take, where a higher social status (patron) with owned resources provides protection and benefits. to people of lower status (clients) (Scott, 1972, p. 92). Scott explained that the patron-client relationship has three characteristics, namely, *First,* there is an imbalance in the exchange between the patron and his client. Patrons who have wealth, and higher social status than clients(Scott, 1972, p. 93).

The persistence of the puri's power is also due to the historical relationship of the puri with the community as a cultural heritage which can be described as a reciprocal relationship between the patron and his client. The relationship experienced a shift from what was once an instrumental friendship to a professional technical relationship (Ayu et al., 2017, p. 4). Puri's relationship with the community (*panjak*) in a political context is the puri's pragmatic ways of perpetuating power. The relationship between puri and *panjak* is mutually beneficial (symbiotic mutualism) and this kinship is properly maintained by the puri so that its existence and political influence can be accommodated. The client's position is that of an individual who enters into an unequal exchange relationship in which he or she cannot fully reciprocate materially (Newbury, 2000, p. 227).

The client has an obligation to repay the patron's services, namely by providing energy and dedication. *Second*, the face-to-face nature of the patron-client relationship (Scott, 1972, p. 94). Patrons are not arbitrary in choosing people to be employed as partners or clients (Prasetijo, 2008). Patron chooses a known partner to work with. Easing the work of close relationships is the way used by patrons (Ulfa, 2021). Services provided reciprocally between patrons and clients can be used for various purposes and social security so as to provide comfort and a sense of peace for the parties involved in it. *Third*, the flexible nature reflects the affection that underlies a relationship between patron and client, such as friendship and kinship (Scott, 1972, p. 95).

For example, Puri Satria played an active role in practical politics from the New Order era to the Reformation era. Several members of the puri, such as AA Oka Ratmadi and AA Ngurah Puspayoga, were leaders of the PNI and PDI-P in Bali. Even Puri Satria is a representative of the PDI-P in Bali (I. Suwitha, 2015, p. 114). Several important positions have been held by the two puri figures, such as the Mayor of Denpasar, the Deputy Governor of Bali, the Regent of Badung, the Chairman of the DPRD, a member of the DPD RI to the Minister of Cooperatives and SMEs. Puri Satria is a symbol of traditional Balinese culture and power which is still highly respected by the community.

Puri Satria's contribution to the community leads to religious and cultural activities, and this becomes political capital for Puri Satria's figures when they advance in regional politics. Activities facilitated by Puri Satria such as the *Nyekah Massal* Ceremony, *Kinembulan* Ceremony (Mass Tooth Filling) were attended by the people of the city of Denpasar, which reflected the duty of a king in helping the community's needs in terms of religion (Gunawan, 2013).

Similar to Ubud Palace, the puri located in the Gianyar area which has a strong traditional and cultural character to this day still maintains the traditions of their ancestors in carrying out social life. Gianyar society still maintains the caste system and considers that the puri is a cultural symbol and moral guardian of society in the midst of the swift currents of globalization (Kertih & Susila, 2014).

The culture of feudalism is very strong in this area, not infrequently some of the regional heads/ regents come from Ubud palace figures such as Cokorda Budi Suryawan and Cokorda Arta Ardhana Sukawati. In addition, there is the name of Cokorda Raka Kertiyasa who once served as chairman of the Gianyar DPRD and is known as a Gianyar Golkar figure. Patron-client relationships are also fostered by the Puri Ubud family with the community through

ceremonial rituals from Ngaben Massal (Mass Cremation) to the role of Puri Ubud in providing material assistance to the success of a religious ceremony (Anonim, 2014).

The patron-client system is consistently maintained by the elite of Puri Ubud with the community. As a way to maintain their power, the elite of the puri functioned as a religious elite, an economic elite, and a political elite. Religious elites are those who have succeeded in becoming leaders based on old customs, inheritance, or culture. The religious elite has always been the main figure in every religious ceremony. These elites also have more spiritual abilities than other people. Elites have power in religious, artistic and cultural activities such as temple construction, making masks, and sacred dances, as well as becoming *Pengrajeg Karya Agung* (Chairman of Grand Ceremonies) in certain temples (I Gusti Ngurah Guna Wintara, Muhammad Ali Azhar, 2008, p. 114).

The economic elite is run by Puri Ubud by developing the tourism sector from the community under its auspices. The elite is tasked with protecting the interests of the village and customs, village development and the welfare of the community. Not infrequently the elite of the puri has businesses that provide jobs for the people (I Gusti Ngurah Guna Wintara, Muhammad Ali Azhar, 2008). The economic role taken by the puri causes people to still respect the puri family and consider the puri a symbol of culture and prosperity.

Meanwhile, being a political elite is the ability of Puri Ubud to become a political and non-political elite. For example Cok Ace, apart from serving as regent of Gianyar, he is also the chairman of PHRI (Indonesian Hotel and Restaurant Association) Bali (I Gusti Ngurah Guna Wintara, Muhammad Ali Azhar, 2008). From the determining elite to the ruling elite (*The Ruling Class*) aims to maintain its status, especially power as a traditional ruler (king). The functions carried out by the puri figures as political and non-political elites lead to the survival of power and the strengthening of network expansion in the political context.

The puri still exists and is even able to become a ruler in the area due to the puri's ability to build social networks. Sociologically, the formation of networks through the community is considered capable of creating productive social relationships (Wellman & Wetherell, 1996, p. 103). The formation and expansion of this social network work as a strategy to build relationships with formal and informal institutions (Wellman, 2016). The establishment of the network aims to strengthen the position of the puri so that it can cooperate with various institutions to achieve common goals.

The expansion of the network carried out by the puri does not only revolve around the realm of religion and culture but is increasingly expanding to include the social and political spheres. Puri Satria was able to come to power because of his ability to build a network with the PDI-P political party. The role of political parties in the puri shows a patron-client system, where puri figures and party members have different positions, but in politics, the patron-client relationship between political parties and the puri both provide mutual benefits (Ayu et al., 2017, p. 7) The purpose of the formation and expansion of this network was not to gain political support (Ayu et al., 2017, p. 7).

In the case of Puri Ubud, the ability to build networks by strengthening the basis of relations with the community. The network formed by Puri Ubud enters the realm of customs, culture and economy. The social network is described as a relationship that seems to be a path or channel that connects between individuals through which something can be channeled in the form of goods, services and information. A social network is a special type of network in which the ties that are connected from one point to another are social relationships. The network of cooperation between two people raises the expectation of each party to provide mutual benefits to each other. Social networks are considered important because they influence the relationships between interacting actors. The wider the network, the greater the opportunity to realize interests.

The elite of Puri Ubud has the ability to develop the widest possible network to achieve goals, especially in the religious, economic and political sectors. This relationship will continue to be maintained by the puri family in order to maintain its power. The formation of religious networks in addition to religious interests, was also used as a certain political force when the Puri Ubud figures advanced in the post-conflict local election. Puri figures will maintain their identity as important figures in ceremonies at the temple. The network built through religious ceremonies aims to gain support and victory in the moments of the post-conflict local election. The elite of the puri has a duty to maintain power as a cultural heritage from previous ancestors.

The puri as a symbol of power tries to maintain its existence in the midst of modern times through the religious realm, which has an impact on the more stable and glorious power of the puri itself. The formation of the network carried out by these puri is also based on the same blood/breed ties. The function of forming this network used to be in the realm of religion and culture, but gradually its function has changed where the cooperation is based on the rationality of various ideas and goals. Each puri has

its own community (*panjak*), if the elite of the ruling puri is able to establish kinship, synergize with other puri, it will automatically provide greater benefits and opportunities for the elite of the ruling puri to gain public support.

CONCLUSION

Decentralization policies further strengthen the position of the puri as a central actor in politics, by maintaining the cultural values held by the Balinese people. The persistence of the power of the puri in Bali is caused by the existence of a culture of elitism that is still embraced by the community. Not infrequently political culture is related to the *caste* system that places the knights (nobles) as a group of leaders who must be respected.

The patron-client relationship that is maintained becomes a system that binds the puri to the community. *Patron-client* is a symbiotic mutualism, where the elite of the puri can position themselves as religious elite, economic elite and political elite. In addition, the persistence of the puri's power is due to the ability of the puri to build a network (*network society*) with formal and informal institutions such as political parties and social institutions. The expansion of the network formed by the puri has a significant impact on the existence, role, and power of the puri over its people.

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