

Multiculturalism: The Balinese case¹

By

I Wayan Ardika
ardka52@yahoo.co.id
Udayana University

Introduction

In general terms, within contemporary political philosophy, the concept of multiculturalism has been defined in two different ways. Sometimes the term 'multiculturalism' is used as a descriptive concept; other times it is defined as a kind of policy for responding to cultural diversity.

The term 'multiculturalism' is sometimes used to describe a condition of society; more precisely, it is used to describe a society where a variety of different cultures coexist. Many countries in the world are culturally diverse. Canada is just one of them, including a variety of cultures such as English Canadians, Quebecois, Native Americans, Amish, Hutterites and Chinese immigrants. China is another country that can also be considered culturally diverse. In contemporary China, there are 56 officially recognized ethnic groups, and 55 of these groups are ethnic minorities who make up approximately 8.41 percent of China's overall population. The other ethnic group is that of Han Chinese, which holds majority status (Han, 2013; He, 2006) (<file:///E:/Multiculturalism%20-%20Wikipedia.htm>, 23/5/2017).

The term 'multiculturalism' can also be used to refer to a kind of policy. This kind of policy has two main characteristics. First, it aims at addressing the different demands of cultural groups. That is a kind of policy that refers to the different normative challenges (ethnic conflict, internal illiberalism, federal autonomy, and so forth) that arise as a result of cultural diversity. For example, these are policies that aim at addressing the different normative challenges that arise from minority groups, like Quebecois, that wishes to have their own institutions in a different language from the rest of Canada. To contrast with redistributive policies, multicultural policies are not primarily about distributive justice; that

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gets what share of resources, although multicultural policies may refer to redistribution accidentally (Fraser, 2001). Multicultural policies aim at correcting the kind of disadvantages that some individuals are victims of, and that result from these individuals' cultural identity. For instance, these are policies that aim at correcting a disadvantage that may result from someone being a member of a certain religion. In the case of some Muslims, this can mean addressing the problem of Muslims living in a Christian country and demanding different public holidays than the majority to celebrate their own festivals such as *Eid-al-Fitr*.

Second, multicultural policies are policies that aim at providing groups the means by which individuals can pursue their cultural differences. Put differently, multicultural policies have as their objectives, the preservation, allowance or celebration of differences between different groups. Consequently, multicultural policies contrast with assimilation. That is, according to the assimilationist view, it is acceptable that people are different, but the final goal of policies should be to make the minority group become part of the majority group, that is, to be accepted by those in the majority group, and to somehow find a consensus position between different cultures. Contrastingly, multiculturalism acknowledges that people have different ways of life and in general terms, the state ought not to assimilate these groups but to give them the tools for pursuing their own ways of life or culture. That is, from a multiculturalist point of view, the final objective of policies is neither the standardization of cultural forms nor any form of uniformity or homogeneity; rather, its objective is to allow and give the means for groups to pursue their differences. Multiculturalism has been described as a "salad bowl" and "cultural mosaic"

Those who defend special rights for groups have suggested a variety of policies. In his book *The Multiculturalism of Fear*, Levy (2000: 125-160) systematically exposed the kinds of difference-sensitive policies that are usually discussed in the literature. According to him, difference-sensitive policies can be divided into eight categories: exemptions, assistance, symbolic claims, recognition/enforcement, special representation, self-government, external rules and internal rules (<file:///E:/CROSS%20CULTURAL%20DIFFERENCES%20AND%20THEIR%20IMPLICATIONS%20FOR.htm>, 27/5/2017).

Cultural Diversity and Multiculturalism in Indonesia

Pluralism, diversity and multiculturalism is a daily fact of life in Indonesia. Indonesia consists of 17.000 islands, there are over 300 ethnic groups in Indonesia-95% of those are of Native Indonesian ancestry. The Javanese are the largest ethnic group in Indonesia who make up nearly 42% of the total population. The Sundanese, Malay, and Madurese are the next

largest groups in the country. The population of Indonesia is about 250 millions people. There are also more than 700 living languages spoken in Indonesia. There are six religions have been determined by Indonesian government as national religions. Those include Islam, Protestant, Christianity, Hindu, Buddhism, and Kong Hu Cu. Although predominantly Muslim the country also has large Christian and Hindu populations. The Indonesian culture is diverse and pluralism (<file:///E:/Multiculturalism%20-%20Wikipedia.htm>, 23/5/2017).

There are a variety of ways whereby societies can be diversified, for example, culture can come in many forms (Gurr, 1993: 3). Perhaps the chief ways in which a country can be culturally diverse is by having different religious groups, different linguistic groups, groups that define themselves by their territorial identity and variant racial groups.

Religious diversity is a widespread phenomenon in many countries. India can be given as an example of a country which is religiously diverse, including citizens who are Sikhs, Hindus, Buddhists, among other religious groups. The US is also religiously diverse, including Mormons, Amish, Hutterites, Catholics, Jews and so forth. These groups differentiate from each other via a variety of factors. Some of these are the Gods worshiped, the public holidays, the religious festivals and the dress codes.

Indonesia can be categorized as a country religiously diverse. Up till now there are six religions have been determined by the Indonesian government include Islam, Christianity, Protestan, Hindu, Buddhism, and Kong Hu Cu. The first principle of Pancasila states that Indonesian believe in God. In this case, the existence of six religions is in accordance with first principle of Pancasila.

Linguistic diversity is also widespread. Indonesia has more than 500 local languages. Linguistic diversity in Indonesia might be the result of migration, contacts with other nations such as India, European (Dutch, Portuguese, England, and others) as well as local development.

A third kind of group diversity can results from distinct territory location. Indonesia consists of 17,000 islands. People who live in one island might have significantly different because of specific geographical area in which they are located.

The fourth kind of group diversity is race. Races are groups whose physical characteristics are imbued with social significance. In other words, race is a socially constructed concept in the sense that it is the result of individuals giving social significance to a set of characteristics they consider that stand out in a person's physical appearance, such as skin color, eye color, hair color, bone/jaw structure and so forth. In Indonesia there are several races such as Mongoloid, Papua, and others.

Two leading studies of cross-cultural management have been conducted by Geert Hofstede and Fons Trompenaars. Both approaches propose a set of cultural dimensions along which dominant value systems can be ordered. These value systems affect human thinking, feeling, and acting, and the behavior of organizations and institutions in predictable ways. Geert Hofstede has defined "culture" as "the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from others".

In relation to multiculturalism, Indonesia's national motto is *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* ("Unity in Diversity", "many, yet one"). Although Indonesian people live in thousand of islands with hundred of local languages, they have different believe systems, traditions or customs, but they are one namely Indonesian. Indonesia's national motto enshrined in Pancasila national ideology, articulates the diversity that shapes the country. Pancasila is the ways of life of Indonesian people and consists of five basic principles namely believe in God, humanities, nationality, democratic, and social justice. The government nurture and promote the diversity of Indonesian local culture and adopting a pluralist approach.

In addition, Indonesia also has national language namely Bahasa Indonesia. Bahasa Indonesia has been taught since elementary school up to high education system. The role of Bahasa Indonesia is quite significance as a media for communication among people who has different dialect or local languages and cultural background in Indonesia. National language is also functions as a tool for communication and understanding cultural differentiation among Indonesian people.

Bhineka Tunggal Ika, Pancasila, and Bahasa Indonesia have a significant roles and functions in shaping multiculturalism in Indonesia. Tolerance, respect and mutual understanding among ethnic groups in Indonesia is a very basic principle for multiculturalism in Indonesia.

Multiculturalism in Bali

There are several cultural norms and values in Bali that relevance to multiculturalism. These cultural norms and values include *Tat Twam Asi*, *Ahimsa Tri Hita Karana*, *Nyama braya*, *sagilik saguluk*, *paras paras sarpanaya*, *salunglung sabayantaka*.

Tat Twam Asi which means “he is you, I am you, we are all the same”. The idea is “that if you hurt another, you hurt your self” and therefore, that you love in order you to be loved (Sutjiati Beratha and Ardika, 2014: 270).

Ahimsā paramo dharmah non-violence is the supreme virtue. The non-violence which are abstinence from violence in mind, word, thought and eating, pointing out *inter alia*, that it has to be practised on all the four counts (Shastri, 2013: 33). *Ahimsā* or non-violence is very important aspect in multiculturalism.

Tri Hita Karana means three causes goodness. It is a Balinese philosophical principle that promotes an harmonious relationship between the individual realm of the spirit (*parhyangan*), to the human world (*pawongan*), and nature (*palemahan*)(Lansing and Watson, 2012: 11). Harmony and respect to God, other people, and the environment is very important for the Balinese to maintain multiculturalism.

Nyama braya is a Balinese cultural norm which means brother, relative, or family. This cultural norm indicates that other people is considered as your brother or relative or family. We are all the same as a members of a big family.

Another philosophy about life, known among the Hindu Balinese as *sagilik saguluk*, *paras paras sarpanaya*, *salunglung sabayantaka* which meaning whether in good or bad times/conditions they always keep togheter. This philosophical expression reflexs solidarity and tolerance, and is strongly in accordance with the doctrine of *Tat Twam Asi* (Sutjiati Beratha and Ardika, 2014: 270).

Tolerance, togetherness, equality, and respect each other are very much relate to the concept of multiculturalism. The ideology of multiculturalism have been practiced in every day life by of the Balinese and the Chinese communities in three vialleges in Bali namely Carangsari (Badung regency), Baturiti (Tabanan), and Padangbai (Karangasem). The Chinese at Carangsari and Padangbai become members of *desa pakraman* or customary

village. However, the Chinese at Baturiti is considered as “guest” or *warga tamu* or outsider in the customary village or *desa pakraman*.

The Chinese community at Carangsari a long-standing harmonious relationship with the palace or *puri* and other villagers. The Chinese community at Carangsari has existed for about 140 years. The first ancestors who moved to this village were closely related to the *puri* Mengwi dynasty and came for economic reasons. As Schulte Nordholt describes, Puri Carangsari (in cooperation with Puri Mayun/Mengwi) were very active in setting up an extensive coffee garden in 1860s (Sutjiati Beratha and Ardika, 2014: 262).

The Hindu Balinese call their Chinese counterparts *nyama toko*, “brother shop owner” alluding to their economic role and occupations and the fact, the that the Chinese are not primarily farmers like the Hindu Balinese. The Chinese at Carangsari are full members of the village customary of Carangsari and can be elected for offices of *desa pakraman*.

The existence of the Chinese community at Padangbai has been a long story. For decades the village has been the major port from which ferries to Lombok leave. Padangbai – formerly called Padang Cove- was the busiest harbour of the Kingdom of Karangasem at the beginning of 19th century.

Today the Chinese at Padangbai are living together in harmoniously with the Hindu Balinese and as members of *desa pakraman*. As such, people of Chinese descent can also be elected as a *banjar* leader (*klian banjar*). The Chinese community also contributed and sponsored the construction of pura Penataran at Padangbai which was initiated by the court of Karangasem (Sutjiati Beratha and Ardika, 2014: 265).

A Chinese community has been living in Baturiti for a long time. The Chinese community is living around the Baturiti market on land owned by the *desa pakraman*. They seem to have inhabited this location at least since the colonial times because they were engaged in trade and shop business (Ardika, 2011: 2-3). Apparently, the Chinese community never enjoyed a close relationship with royal court (*puri*), unlike the community in Carangsari and Padangbai, and therefore were not under special protection of a lord. In contrast to Carangsari and Padangbai, members of the Tionghoa community in Baturiti are excluded from becoming members of the *desa pakraman*. The Hindu Balinese call their Chinese community of Baturiti *krama tamu* or guest community-there by clarifying that they

are visitors rather than equal co-villagers. The Chinese, however, follow the *adat* of Baturiti. For example, when there is festival (*odalan*) at the village temple (*kahyangan tiga*), most of the Chinese originating from Baturiti return to the village and pray at those temples. In addition, they also donate money and materials for temple festival as well as for renovating old shrine or building new one at those temples.

The Chinese in Baturiti as well as in Carangsari and Padangbai worship their own ancestors in a Buddhist or Kong Hu Cu way and honour the Hindu Balinese *Ida Bhatara* or dified ancestors or dities. Family, especially those resulting from mixed marriages- and in Baturiti almost all Chinese families-build two type of shrines, namely *kongco* (sometimes written *kon-co*, the Chinese temple) and *sangah kamulan* (temple of origin of a Hindu Balinese family).

Both the Hindu and Chinese Balinese hold a similar philosophy about life, known among the Hindu and Chinese as *sagilik, saguluk, paras paros sarpanaya, salunglung sabayantaka*, meaning "whether in good or bad times/conditions they always keep together". This philosophical expression reflects solidarity and tolerance, and is strongly in accordance with Buddhist doctrine of *Tat Twam Asi* which means he is you, I am you, we are all the same, and *Ahimsa* which means non violence.

It should be noted that the Muslim and the Hindu Balinese people harmonious and tolerance during the temple festival at Pura Langgar in Bangli and Pura Merita in Karangasem. Both the Muslim and the Hindu Balinese take part and pray at the temple ceremony which represent multiculturalism.

The idea of tolerance and multiculturalism among different religions in Bali was implemented during the Suharto era. A cluster of houses of worship representing five of Indonesia's six officially recognised religions were built at Nusa Dua tourist resort which is known as Puja Mandala. Those shirines include from east to west a Hindu temple, a Protestant church, a Buddhist *vihara*, a Chatolic church, and an Islam mosque. Indonesia is a secular country but citizens are obligated to follow one of six religious identities: Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, Protestant, or Chatolic. In 2000 the state also acknowledged Kong Hu Cu (Confucianism) and Imlek holiday of which has been included in national public holidays, but there is no Kong Hu Cu temple in this domain of worship because the structure were built in 1994 (Putra, 2014: 330).

Conclusion

Multiculturalism is a concept of tolerance, harmony and respect among people which culturally diverse. Cultural diversity in Indonesia have been maintained to achieve the purpose multiculturalism in accordance with *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (diverse in unity), Pancasila (five ways of life), and Bahasa Indonesia as national language.

The Hindu Balinese cultural norms and values such as *Tat Twam Asi*, *Ahimsa*, *Tri Hita Karana*, and *nyama braya* have been utilised as a guidance for multiculturalism in every day life of the Balinese with the Chinese and Muslim.

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