



Local Genius in the Rural Area of Bali: from ‘*Menyama-Braya*’ to Multiculturalism



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Abstract

The multicultural life in the rural area of Bali has been the local genius which has become into existence from century to century. There are a cultural exchange and absorption in various activities of life involving heterogeneous societies. The collaborative and associative relations have involved different ethnic groups. This present study is intended to reveal why such good collaborative and associative relations have taken place among different ethnic groups. This present study was conducted using the descriptive qualitative method. The data were taken through an in-depth interview. The information which needed to be further explored was obtained using the interpretative approach. The result of the study shows that everything was good with the multicultural life. The new arrivals adapted themselves to the traditional or local value (local genius); they developed brotherhood and its derived values such as ‘*ngejot*’ (giving one another the foods particularly prepared for their respective feast days), ‘*medelokan*’ (visiting one another when someone is deceased or perform a religious ritual), and so forth. The result of the study also shows that the multicultural life which was shown through the traditional channels (local genius) had taken place since a long time ago. The new arrivals adapted and adjusted themselves to the local tradition such as brotherhood ‘*menyama braya*’ and its derived values.

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1. Introduction

Many things can be learned from the rural area of Bali. If further observed, many great values, which are frequently referred to as the local genius, have come into existence in the form of traditions since hundreds of years ago. It is necessary to know that a tradition is a habit which is actually dynamic and always develops, following the era development. It does not refer to something which is static or fossilized ‘*membatu*’

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(Sudjatmoko, 1984: 47). According to Matullada, a tradition refers to a good habit with great values. If it is not good, it will be impossible for it to become into existence from century to century. As an illustration, the Bugis ethnic people have been able to synergize their tradition and religion, as a two-sided coin which complements each other (Mattulada, 1975: 58). According to the Minang ethnic people, tradition and religion are a two-sided unity which is always used as guidance to their societal life, as reflected by the expression “*adat bersendi syarak*”. In the Balinese culture, it is almost impossible to differentiate tradition from religion and culture; they all assimilate to one another. The Balinese local cultural values can interact with other cultural values. It is this which contributes to the multiculturalism discussed in the present study.

As already known, the population of Bali is made up of different ethnic groups. Historically, their ethical migration has been a long process involving various social, economic, political and cultural activities. Psychologically, such a historical belief does not make people proud, but it has also been an attempt made to develop the multicultural society honestly and democratically. Based on what was described above, it can be stated that Bali with its strong culture and heritage of various cultural values plays an important role in the development of the multicultural national culture. Therefore, foreign cultures should be selected, innovative concepts and creativities are needed. In addition, cultural values as an identity should be maintained.

2. Research Method

This present study is conducted using the descriptive qualitative method. The method applied a paraphrase in the sentence descriptively. The data are taken through an in-depth interview. The technique of collecting the data that used in this article is an observation and note-taking. The information which is needed to be further explored was obtained using the interpretative approach.

3. Results and Analysis

3.1 The roots of ‘Pancasila’ (the five principles) and unity and diversity ‘*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*’

We are lucky that we have ‘Pancasila’ (the Five Principles) as the state foundation and the people’s way of life. Its position is an intact configuration as the philosophical foundation of the state. In addition, it functions as the world’s view or ‘*weltan sehaung*’. It may be adopted by a German sociologist named Karl Mannheim and a German philosopher named Karl Jaspers. However, such a concept is not only speculative but also effective, meaning that it may lead to an expectation, belief, and commitment. Unlike Karl Mannheim, Sukarno did not talk about the world’s view from a certain period of time; he talked about it from a place named Indonesia. As opposed to Karl Jaspers, Sukarno did not talk about the philosophy of the world; he talked about the collective life in a state on a more practical level.

Implicitly and explicitly, the *Pancasila* is derived from the expression *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity) or the motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Abdulrahman Wahid, Kompas 20 June 2007), meaning that unity and diversity are the characteristics of the Indonesian society. According to Denys Lombard (Lombard I, 1996), Indonesia has been constructed from the geology of cultural layers. Therefore, the plural and cultural society could not be avoided from becoming into existence; however, it potentially contains conflicts and an ideology is needed to avoid such possible conflicts.

According to Hasim Muzadi (Kompas, 2 June 2007), the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and the Five Principles have been a final and collective decision; therefore, it is not necessary to debate about it and the access to such a debate has been locked. Furthermore, Said Agil Sirad stated in the Madinah Charter, which contains 47 articles, that the establishment of the Islamic State is not included. The Madiah Charter is the embryo of the Islamic civilization. The population of Madiah, as a multicultural society, is made up of Muslims, migrants, native people, Jewish, and Christians which are bound to an agreement which might lead to a collective life such as Indonesia. The ideology used as the multicultural umbrella in Indonesia is finished; unlike the current political situation in the Middle East.

As stated above that Sukarno was a political activist; he gave emphasis on the democratic and political aspects use as media for unifying Indonesia. However, implicitly, it can be understood that *Pancasila* is not a personality which has already been created but it is something which is fought for. What is meant by the word *sila* is *principle*; however, it is not identical with the *foundation* of a building. The reason is that if *Pancasila* were identical with the foundation of a building, then it would mean a reality. Actually, it is not a reality; instead, it reflects the building which is used as guidance and which determines the object of our state. From the cultural context, it is identical with being multicultural.

Why ethical and religious conflicts have relatively never occurred in Bali? It is possibly an important and interesting question to observe. In fact, since the New Order religious and ethical conflicts have systematically occurred in Indonesia. In addition, migrants have come to Bali since a long time ago, meaning that mobility has occurred geographically (horizontally) and economically (vertically). They have brought what they have to contribute to plurality. According to Abdullah (1997: 65), both geographical and economic mobility and the other things which contribute to mobility may lead to conflicts. The answer to that question is that, religiously, multicultural life in general, and harmonious relationship among members of different religions in Bali, in particular, has been a reality and has been implemented in daily life.

Actually, the epistemology of the foundation of how differences are managed is not only multiculturalism but also Unity in Diversity “*Bhineka Tunggal Ika*”. It is true that, from the perspective of postmodernism, there has been a motivation to understand multiculturalism which is regarded as “being excellently” able to cope with violence related to primordial differences. However, the fact shows that violence has occurred in Indonesia, although Indonesia has already owned a philosophical background which can be used to manage such differences, that is, Unity in Diversity ‘*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*’. In this case, Indonesia is a unique country. Unlike Germany, England, and France which are unified by their respectively languages, and Japan, China and Korea which are unified by ethnicity, and Israel and Pakistan, which are unified by the religions they adhere to, Indonesia is also made to be unified by the unity in diversity (Jiwa Atmadja, 2011: 17).

Indonesia is a State; it is a nation which can unify differences although it has many languages, ethnic groups, races, and religions. Indonesia is made up of thousands of islands; the majority followers of one religion are on one island, the majority followers of another religion are on another island and so forth. Such a condition of unity and diversity should be internally created. In addition, “flexibility” is needed to encounter such changes. Actually, the Unity in Diversity “*Bhineka Tunggal Ika*” has been able to unify Indonesia since a long time ago. The historical facts show that it (the unity in diversity) has undergone the phases of social integration. It has been the multicultural peak. According to the writer, the multicultural peak refers to a socially-integrated *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* society, such as Canada which is different from Indonesia. Although Canada is a nation which implements the democratic and multicultural principle, movements have never come to an end (Soejo, 1983). France is still spoken in Quebec Province. In Indonesia, which is a *Bhineka Tunggal Ika*-based and socially integrated nation, disintegration will almost never take place, except *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* is not used as the ideology any longer. Then the meaning of *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* was transformed from what was intended by Sutasoma into what is referred to as the State *sesanti* proposed by Mohamad Yamin in 1945 when the State foundation was decided. Thus, Bali was once used as the *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* –based national aspiratory format (Jiwa Atmadja, 2011: 17-18).

The *Bhineka Tunggal Ika*, the multiculturalism which is specific to Indonesia, is actually an ideal or an ideology which should be continuously fought for. In Bali, it is an accepted fact, although multiculturalism is a western (foreign) concept. It is a multicultural concept which is formulated in a different cultural condition in Indonesia (Bali). The *Bhineka Tunggal Ika*, the unity in diversity, is highly meaningful from the perspective of social integration. The social integration-oriented epistemological foundation of the multiethnic management in Bali is the *Bhineka Tunggal Ika*.

The Indonesian traditional characteristic of a plurality (Furnival, 1948) may result in the conflicts involving different religious followers and different ethnic groups. Therefore, mutual understanding and integration among the ethnic groups and races in Indonesia are needed (Koentjaraningrat, 1969: 113; 1984: 345-346).

3.2 Migration and Historical Factors

The historical factors in Bali may contribute to a better multicultural society. So far Bali, apart from Central Java, Jakarta, and Yogyakarta has consistently maintained communication and tolerance among different ethnic groups and religious followers and has been able to manage multiculturalism (Kompas, 5 August 2013). It seems that Bali, as a relatively small island, has been an open island. According to the Chinese stories, Bali has been popular and has been visited by foreign traders since the earlier centuries (ENI, 1926). The current Balinese people are the product of a long migrating process and a good trading network in Bali, meaning that Bali has been known by those frequently referred to as *wong Nusantara*, or *wong Nusantara* coming from outside Bali such as the Bugis people, Chinese people, and Arabic people (Utrecht, 1962).

The first groups of the Bugis people, Chinese people, and Arabic people came to Bali between the 17th century and 19th century to trade. This is supported by the trading institutions, one of which was Matoa (Head of the Trading Community of the Bugis people – Wajo). The institution of harbormasters, which was found at

several harbors in Bali was identical with the institution of Chinese people. Between the 18th century and 19th century many Arabic people were also found in Bali (Martin Slaman, 2009).

Another form of migration was a combination of the political and economic motives which motivated the Bugis people to come to Bali both individually and collectively. As an illustration, many came to Bali to avoid problems in South Sulawesi such as the matters pertaining to what is referred to as *sirri*. Political and security motives also caused them to come to Bali. They, for example, did not want to get involved in political movements. This was found by the study conducted at South Tanjung Bena. In the beginning, the Bugis people came to sell turtles and worked as the fishermen who moved from one island to another island. Then they changed their profession and were involved in the economic sector of tourism such as what they did at Kuta, Tuban, and Serangan.

The other ethnic groups such as the Javanese, Madurese and Sasakness people came to Bali for the economic motive only. This took place in the 19th century when the Javanese people and Madurese worked as laborers at the plantations situated in West Bali. In the 20th century, there was an increase in regard to the number of migrants who came to Bali. This was found by the study conducted by Suwitha et al (2009) at Tanjung Bena Subdistrict (Badung), Ekasari Subdistrict (Jembrana), South Semarapura sub-district (Klungkung), and Subagan Subdistrict (Karangasem).

Most Sasakness people who were found living at Subagan Sub district came to Bali in the 18th century. They were brought from Lombok by the King of Karangasem. They were frequently referred to as “*panjak tadtadan*” (the nonnative royal servants). The Christians who were found at Tuka Village (Badung) and Ekasari Village (Jembrana) have different characteristics; they belong to Balinese ethnic group who came from Kapal and the surrounding villages (Badung). They established a residence at Tuka as it was not occupied by anybody at that time. Then the Catholics coming from Tuka spread to Ekasari Village and Palasari Village where they have their residences until now.

The local migrants coming from Karangasem and Nusa Penida were brought by the colonial government to Jembrana where they were employed at the plantations which belonged to the Dutch government such as at Candi Kusuma Village. After 1963 when Mount Agung erupted, more and more people from Karangasem and Nusa Penida were coming to Jembrana. Then they established several villages, one of which is named Nusasari (Suwitha, 2008). It is such historical factors which have contributed to the multicultural life in the rural areas of Bali.

3.3 Multiculturalism in the Praxis of Life

According to Alois A Nugroho (2003) in H.A.R. Tilaar, multiculturalism has many aspects. One of the interesting aspects of multiculturalism is, for example, the philosophy of postmodernism, which gives priority to the “local system” and disagrees with the universal truth. In this case, there is a fact that every culture appreciates *the right of cultural diversity*. In postmodernism, there is no cultural clash; there is only space for tolerance which requires that cultures should coexist and that everybody should live in the thinking discourse with local rationality referred to as tradition.

Local rationality is a new paradigm in the human life. Therefore, the concepts of ethnocentrism are excluded in the discourse of multiculturalism, meaning that multiculturalism is the recognition of the right for the local cultures to exist. Multiculturalism is not a view which does not welcome other cultures; however, it requires the dialogue between one culture and another, meaning that one culture is equal to another culture. Dialogue and tolerance are the essential views of multiculturalism (Tilaar, 2004: 176).

The multiculturalism in Indonesia is different from the multiculturalism in the other countries; it has a specific history. Before the state was established, in Indonesia there were several ethnic groups. Such a multiethnic society was unified and a state was established by the governmental system which was formed later. The cultural diversity of Indonesia established a state which was based on the principles of unity and unification. A number of ethnic groups combined and stated that they would establish a new state. The background is that they were acknowledged to have the same ideals, the same historical background, and cultural similarity. In this case, each group was not familiar with both the majority and minority (Manneka Budiman, 1999: 3).

Based on the new approach, there are no striking and exclusive ethnical boundaries among the ethnic groups. However, there are interactions among them; they do not only represent their ethnical identities exclusively; instead, they present their individual identities with a cultural plurality. In Bali, as a small island in Indonesia, there are no problems as far as the relationship among the ethnic groups is concerned. The ethnical identity, which can be easily provoked, may lead to a misunderstanding. However, the cultural diversity which is

presented is more individualistic in nature. The conflicts and violence which had taken place in Indonesia such as in Ambon, Sampit, and Sambas were triggered by personal problems which were made to be connected with ethnicity and religion (Bambang W. Soeharto, 2013). In the praxis of ethical life in Bali, such a situation had almost never taken place. The personal misunderstanding was frequently related to the ethical identity (Widja, without year: 4—5).

The multicultural patterns in Bali were formed by the social traditional organizations across ethnic and religious groups. This had become into existence since the eras of traditional kingdoms. Now such social organizations have rapidly developed into the public spaces where different ethnic and religious groups communicate with one another. The examples of such social traditional organizations are traditional villages, *subak* (irrigation organization), derived organizations, markets and the like. It is such traditional organizations which have unified the Balinese society.

The derived traditional organizations have created great values such as brotherhood ‘*menyamabraya*’ (*nyame* = relative; and *braya* = friend); *ngejot* (giving food to one another), *medelokan* or *majenukan* (visiting one another), *saling seluk* (marriage-based kinship), *pada gelahang* (belonging to both parties) and so forth which cannot be separated from *gotong-royong* (mutual cooperation).

The organizational pattern of the *seka* (traditional group) and traditional village contributes to the collective structure of the Balinese community as stated by Clifford Geertz (Geertz, 1977: 89). Actually, this has caused the Balinese people to be aware that they should work together and help one another. The mutual cooperation conducted by the Balinese people in the rural areas can also be seen from what is done by the Muslims, Christians, and Chinese (Konghucu) (Suwitha, 2013).

The historical data show that the Balinese kings protected those who were not Hindus. The construction of mosques and *keleteng* was also helped by the kings (Suwitha, 2009). In relation to this, an English academician who visited Bali at the end of the 19th century, as quoted by V.E. Korn, reported that the Muslims felt that they were protected by the king. Furthermore, the king obliged the Muslims to perform their religious activities (Korn, 1932: 63). Then they also took part in establishing the ‘*seka*’ organization and traditional village. In addition, they and the Hindus worked together to lead such organizations. They worked together as long as what they did not touch their religious faith. If the ‘*subak*’ temple was renovated, they also gave contribution although they were Muslims; however, they did not take part in the activities done at the temple.

The good relationship between the two different religious groups can also be seen from what is referred to as the system of *nandu*. Several Balinese people asked those who were not Hindus to cultivate their land with a requirement that what they yielded was divided into two; one went to the owner and the other went those who cultivated the land (Grader, 1960: 287). In general, the new arrivals did not have any land of their own.

Dialogues and communication could not be ignored. Sometimes fractions could not be avoided; however, if there were dialogues and communication, they could be minimized, although this did not sound new. What is interesting is that in Bali the communication and dialogue forum was established on 30th April 1975 and in Jakarta it was established on 30th June 1980.

In the globalization era, the Balinese people were able to ignore the ethical, cultural, traditional, and religious boundaries. The philosophy of diversity (pluralism) enabled them to live a harmonious life. The concept of pluralism has been used as the philosophy of the matters pertaining to form of the government by the Balinese people until now. Several countries such as Canada and Australia have different political terms for this, that is, Culture Pluralism; however, ‘*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*’ (Unity in Diversity) means the recognition for unity in diversity.

It is not enough for any religion to talk about rites and life in hell. The dialogue among religions has been an absolute thing since a long time ago. The reason is that the objective of every religion is to make its followers prosperous not only in the future but now as an alliance of human beings.

It is true that on one hand, a religion is a social reality; on the other hand, it is the realization of one’s experiences in what one believes in. The followers of different religions are required to have dialogues. In addition, religions can also criticize themselves and strengthen their respective identity. It is possible that dialogues show how devout a religious person is. Actually, one’s religion can make one aware of one’s self, instead of another.

There are several types of dialogues, which many people have conducted; however, no full attention has been paid to them. The one which has been frequently held in the rural areas is the *dialogue of life*. The people who belong to different religions live harmoniously in their daily lives. They enrich their respective faith. There are

also the dialogues of working together in social activities which are inspired by religions. As an illustration, when constructing a holy place, for example, they work and help one another.

People tend to form a culture or custom and tradition or follow the local culture and custom and tradition, depending on their environment. This will cause diversity in custom, tradition, and culture, depending on the local tradition. For example, as stated by H.S.H. Adnan, Islam only brings 'Syariah' which is suggested to be honestly implemented. Therefore, Islam is rich, the local culture is what is taken into account, and Islam does not refuse the local culture, custom, and tradition (Koran Tokoh No. 2/1998).

The system of values and the Balinese people's traditional ways of thinking such as '*menyama braya*', '*ngejot*' and so forth are the local wisdom which can absorb and process the elements of other cultures; they are adapted to what the era requires. Such values reflect that the Balinese people are tolerant of other (foreign) cultures. They acknowledge that those who come to them are relatives (*nyama*). This is the essence of the philosophy of *menyamabraya*; as a result, there are several terms such as 'nyame selam' (the relatives who are Muslims), 'nyama Kristen' (Christian relatives), 'nyame Bugis' (Bugis relatives) or 'nyame Cina' (Chinese relatives). The Chinese relatives 'nyame Cina' are frequently called 'nyame kelihan' (older relatives).

'Menyama braya' (brotherhood) is part of the tradition of the mutual cooperation. It is the soul of the Balinese culture which should be developed and strengthened to make the multiculturalism stronger. It is highly important to develop and conserve the local culture. When talking about cultures, the government only orients toward products (materials). In a culture, the matters pertaining to ideas, ethics, values and morality which are developing in the society are important rather than products or materials. Products are the outcomes of the ideas in the past. Now we almost never produce any bright cultures, as the current way of thinking is pragmatic in nature. The appreciation of the local values should be a part of our cultural strategy in the future in order to produce a democratic and objective multicultural society.

As stated by Joko Widodo, when he was one of the candidates of Indonesia's president in 2014, that mental revolution refers to the establishment of values, which change the economy and growth-oriented Indonesian society (Kompas, 10 May 2014). There are several paradoxical things in the Indonesian community, one of which is the fact that the high economic growth is not followed by the decrease in the number of poor people; meaning that there has been a high economic growth but there have also been a high number of poor people. In addition, Indonesia also has a sophisticated system; however, the democratic values are getting further from the substance. We have been able to make militarism less popular but more and more violence has been taking place. Furthermore, KPK has been getting braver to fight against corruption but more and more people have been involved in corruption. One aspect of the mental revolution does not have anything to do with mental sickness; it has something to do with the cultural development which can improve the quality of civilization such as the value of living harmoniously, the value of mutual cooperation, and the value of being aware of others. In addition, it also has something to do with cultural activities and making opportunities available for people to participate. The values of 'Pancasila' (the five principles) and "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika" (Unity in Diversity) should be implemented in society. The mental revolution also has something to do with how people should help one another in agriculture, economy, politics, religion, and ethnical interrelationship.

The dialogues of life have been held since a long time ago at the Bugis villages in South Bali. The Bugis people also worked as the captains of the canoes used to carry the passengers to Sakenan Temple when the festival was performed for it before the bridge connecting the mainland and Serangan Island was constructed. The Bugis people who live at Serangan have also participated in the festival performed at Serangan as the Security. Similarly, at Tanjung Bena the Bugis people become the members of the 'Banjar Bhinneka Tuggal Ika' whose members are also the Balinese people and non-Balinese people. In this case, there are always dialogues among them, although many work as fishermen and many others work as hotel employees. This is an example of how dialogues can ignore cultural boundaries.

In this relation, the dialogues between the Bugis people who are Muslims and Balinese people are interesting. The Balinese people say that the Muslims' God is deaf, so they need to be called out using the loudspeaker to pray. The Bugis people find it easy to answer that as their God is loudly called out he will come to bring much money and good fortune. The meaning of such a dialogue is that they mock and make fun of one another in a friendly manner in a family atmosphere, and none is getting offended.

Menyama-braya (brotherhood) is derived from the word *nyama*, meaning blood relation-based or marriage-based relatives. The word *braya* refers to the community where the Balinese people live. In this case, the lowest level is referred to as *banjar*. Therefore, the expression *menyama-braya* means considering others or other groups parts of the community. In *manyama-braya* there are two types of relations; they are vertical and horizontal

relations. The vertical relation means the biological relation. The horizontal relation refers to the sociological connotation (Widastra, 2008: 1). In the beginning, the expression *nyama-braya* was a cultural Balinese term; however, it has been expanded to refer to the social relationship between the Balinese people and non-Balinese people. The concept *menyama-braya* has also been used by the non-Hindu (non-Balinese) people, meaning that the meaning has been expanded. This reflects the social intercourse and social integration which have been taking place for a long time. It is difficult to measure how deep the quality of the social intercourse and how deep the history reflected in the concept *menyama braya* are as, actually, it contains a kinship relation.

When “foreigners” entered Bali in the seventh century, the Balinese people accepted them sincerely. In the beginning, they were referred to as *sunantara*, *jaba kuta* or *dura desa*, and were made up of the Bugis people, the Chinese people, and the Arabic people. Therefore, they used to be called *nyame selam* and *nyame Cina*. At that time they were regarded as close relatives (*nyame*), something which is extraordinary. They were then given land where they could construct their residences, cemeteries, mosques, and *kelenteng*. The king even helped the construction of the mosque and *kelenteng* (Suwitha, 1981). The king also guaranteed the residences of the non-Balinese people, whom Korn referred to as *Bali Islam* (Korn, 1932). Then at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century the Javanese people, the Madurese people and those who were Christians came to Bali, and they were categorized as *nyame* (relatives).

Then when the Balinese people were aware of ethnicity and the discourse *Ajeg Bali* was introduced, the non-Balinese people were criticized. As a result, those who are not Balinese people are referred to as *tamiu* (guests). In addition, they are stated not to be eligible for the land in which they may construct their cemeteries, and for other traditions. However, the term *guest* means that they are still respected.

The nontraditional Balinese people already have cemeteries, mosques, and land for their residences; therefore, there has been no problem as they are regarded as the native Balinese people. The historical factor and the fact that they still develop the local values such as *menyama braya* and its variants have contributed to this. *Nyame* means a very close relation due to kinship (marriages). This has taken place at Serangan, Tuban, Tanjung Benua, Suwung, and Angantiga. *Braya* means a close relation due to the neighborhood and the same community members. The *menyama braya* life has taken place for hundreds of years, and it keeps developing. Almost all Muslims, Christians, and Chinese have the Balinese people as their relatives; therefore, when the Bali bomb blasted, the non-Balinese people were not disturbed. By maintaining the concept *menyama braya*, they have made contacts with one another without any religious, cultural and ethnical partitions. The Balinese people call the Bugis people *semeton Bugis*, and those who are Christians *nyama Kristen*. As a consequence, there have been public spaces for life such as markets, schools, *subaks*, *banjars*, or traditional villages.

The non Hindus with their different cultures live in an environment where one ethnic group live, meaning that it is possible that one ethnic group will use the cultural symbol used by another ethnic group. Therefore, it is not wrong if we see that the Bugis people use the cultural symbol which has been used by another ethnic group which has been living there for years, as the Bugis people have been completely isolated. They have been living among the Hindus for years.

If traced further, the concept *menyama braya* turns out to have a long history. From the context of the Unitary State, such a concept is the one which had been greatly dreamed of by the Balinese people’s ancestors; they regarded the other ethnic groups as their relatives. However, it should be more concretely implemented when, for example, there are religious conflicts such as the construction of holy places, the migration of people, the spread of religions, the marriages involving different religions, and the celebration of religious feast days. As far as the life of the non Hindu ethnic groups is concerned, the relation between them and the Balinese ethnic people needs to be developed. Such a fact requires a better understanding of *menyama braya*.

The Muslims, Christians, and Chinese give priority to *nyama braya* (relatives and friends) over their respective religion. As an illustration, the Christians living at Tuka (Badung) used to be Hindus. Tuka was a new residence where in 1937 a church was constructed. However, although they are Christians, they have given priority to *nyama braya* over their religion. At the ritual which is performed to commemorate a life cycle, the invited guests are their own relatives although they do not belong to the same religion.

4. Conclusion

The multicultural ideology has been the praxis of rural life in Bali for years. Multiculturalism can develop in a society with strong democratic principles. In this case, democracy is not at the micro level but it should also be implemented in the real life. In the real life, democracy shows itself as equality; in addition, it also shows that

authority should be in the mutual competitive and balanced relation. The Balinese philosophy recognizes what is referred to as *Desa*, *Kala*, and *Patra*; they recognize that time and situation cause them to be different.

The tolerance which was found in the areas where the present study was conducted shows that the different ethnic groups ignore their primordial attributes when they share things together. Every problem can be settled through communication without bringing their respective cultural symbols. Multiculturalism is the appreciation of diversity and “Sang liyan” (the other). The theological assessment of the other religion, culture, and ethnic group should be reasonably positioned in the area of public order. The dialogue of life is not unusual in the Balinese community. The dialogue is not simply a conversation but an event in which two thoughts and minds meet each other to talk about problems with a commitment that they will learn to change and develop from each other. Learning to change, in this case, means that they should be able to have the dialogue openly, honestly and sympathetically; in addition, they should also be able to understand one another. In this way, prejudice, stereotype, and insult can be reduced and eliminated. Developing, in this case, means that a dialogue may lead to the information on and clarification of a source and discuss it openly and sincerely. A dialogue is the starting point of the enlightenment of the mind; it is also the starting point of maturation which may lead to the way of appreciating the religion of the “others”.

Actually, both the Islamic community and Christian community in Bali are plural and multicultural communities internally and externally. Concerning their families and kinships, they are getting plural and multicultural. Plurality takes place in the *Banjar* (the unit of a neighborhood under a traditional village) and in the village where they live. Most Muslims and Christians are born from mixed marriages between the native people and the new arrivals that have been part of the neighborhood where they have stayed for a long time. At Tanjung Benoa they live together with the other non Balinese ethnic groups at a *Banjar* named *Banjar Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. At Loloan and Ekasari they have established social associations of which the members belong different ethnic groups who live in one village. There has been no manifest conflict so far.

The matters pertaining to multiculturalism in Bali have been discussed every day. This fact is a process which leads to “Bali” and “Indonesia”, as stated by Ben Anderson. Such a process will be getting better if tourism already becomes the “soul” of the Balinese community. Livelihood will function as means of multiculturalism. In the past, they belonged to the ‘*subak*’ organization (the irrigation organization in Bali) but now they are in the same world, that is, the world of tourism. At Tanjung Benoa, the Muslims, Christians, and Chinese are employed in tourism. Tourism in Bali has not been a prohibited sector to the Muslims any longer (Adnan, 2002). In their occupations, they get together and they perform cultural practices in the dialogue of life.

The multicultural process was only temporarily disturbed by the A.M. Saifuddin’s statement and the Bali bomb blast in 2002 and 2005. It was only disturbed for a short period. The situation was getting normal again as the roots of multiculturalism had been implanted since a long time before. The Balinese community as the “*main stream*” did not want to get involved in an open conflict, although they were repeatedly pressured by the outsiders (Yudis, 2006; Nordholt, 2009).

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