Not a Multicultural Society: 
The Powerful Discipline of Practicing towards Hindus and Muslims in Bali

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1. Introduction
Multiculturalism is a global phenomenon in the 20th century, the acceleration result of the motion of people and cultures which are both coexist peacefully. This concept first appeared in the United States mid-

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19th century, post-war slaves. Evolving through three phases, namely the struggle for equality of the different races, the rejection of racism movement in upholding human rights, and the recognition towards cultural pluralism. The multiculturalism in the United States remains a socio-cultural movement of civil society, whereas in UK, Canada, and Australia became a shape of political statement.

Multiculturalism is applied by countries that do not put the public policy on the basis of individual units, unlike France, it tries recognises the rights of its citizens in the collective status as ethnic groups, thus the origin of cultural societies are not overlooked. This policy commonly was taken by countries facing problems between indigenous populations and founder population with immigrants, unlike seen in Canada and Australia.

One model that is often mentioned in the policy of multiculturalism is melting pot and the mosaic. This model assumes the occurrence of cultural amalgamation (merger) proceed naturally. That is, the cultures that exist in a society experiencing mixing or melting first, then going disintegration fragmentation, then undergo reintegration (reuniting) together into a large container that holds them. Clearly, everyone must release characteristics of their cultural to become a new culture. Therefore, nobody can maintain their cultural existence due to they have to live in a mix cultures. In a country that adheres to this model, the national culture instead from preexisting culture-generated, however, a product of the melting process and remoulding.

In the beginning of 2000s, the concept of multiculturalism was endemic in Indonesia. The phenomena amid appears, a number of scientists from various fields of science Balinese claim are a multicultural society. One of the parameters they use is the recent phenomenon that demonstrates the tolerance practice of migrants to natives and acculturation to the local culture, and vice versa. If the history linearly runs, that recent means a continuation of the past, therefore, the practice of multicultural society it will certainly be found in the past. However, the flow of poststructuralism history shows the way history was not linear due to it is full of discontinuity, rupture, contingency and chance.

Based on the description above there is an important issue to be studied, how Balinese people understand wherein the multicultural society conception and its relevance to the history in Indonesia? Is it true that since ancient period even in prehistoric times the Balinese have been formed into a multicultural society unlike claimed by a number of scientists from various disciplines from Bali? Unlike a society that inherits the history of ethnic integration and identity that was along, whether Balinese itself can already be declared a multicultural society?

Literature Review

I Ketut Ardhana, et al. (2011) mentioned the multicultural society in Bali was already in the course of its history since the residents had any contact with foreigners. However, the most dominant shape it was Javanese and Bugis. It was not only ethnic, multicultural society in Bali but also shaped by religion. The persuasive attitudes between Balinese ethnic that were Hindu, with other ethnic groups, especially Javanese and Bugis Muslim was one indicator of the Multicultural realisation the society in Bali. Additionally, it as well seen on fellow Balinese to other religions, however, it can live in peace, e.g. Hindu and Catholic were other indicators.

The next literature that needs to be analysed with the Balinese society claims as a multicultural society was stated an article that was written by I Gde Pitana (2004). Pitana stated in his article that Balinese Culture that was inspired by Hinduism was a melting pot that was shaped by the megalithic culture, animistic, dynamist, totemism, Chinese culture, Java, and West. The next article was written by I Nyoman Sujana Naya (2004), that stated Balinese society grows increasingly diverse and multicultural, both internally and

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4 Ibid.
externally. However, it was not elaborated whether the requirements that must exist in a multicultural society were met in Bali.8

Furthermore, I Wayan Ardika (2004), stated that Multiculturalism has been present in the archipelago since 2500 years ago or 496 BC when the West nations were in looking for spices to the east. That opinion was strengthened by showing a discovery proof of the number of rice, ceramics, metal tools, and beads of glass or cemented production of foreign nations.9 There were as well as the article that was written by I Wayan Gede Suacana that stated Balinese society was a multicultural society, however, has a low resistance towards integration, prone to conflict, and it tends to be differentiated, therefore, the proven strategies were needed in its arranging.10

The most scientists from Bali above believes that multiculturalism is a concept of cultural variety. There is only one scientist from Bali, i.e. I Gusti Ngurah Bagus11 dissent, that multiculturalism is not merely a cultural variety, but also, a new culture that does not merely recognize the race diversity, culture, and language, however, the one to each other harmoniously.

**Hypotesis**

The claims that mention a multicultural society has been shaped in Bali since many centuries ago is a fact of history that is not neutral, which is more referred to the present interests, in order to justify the general opinion that states Balinese are the most society that tolerant in Indonesia. The historical evidence and practice of social life show the Balinese is not a multicultural society.

**Research question**

In order to the hypothesis can be fixed conclusion, it will be proof by showing the power of discipline practice or power relations that hidden in the religious practices to Balinese of Hindu and Muslim in the past and the present. There is a causal correlation between religious practices of Balinese of Hindu and Muslim with the efforts undertaken by the self-disciplinary to the people that were given or obtained authorization in speaking on behalf of Bali. Those issues will be formulated into three research questions, namely:

[a] Why do people who have the power in speaking on behalf of Bali need to conduct self-disciplinary towards the Hindus and Muslims?

[b] How to practice the self-discipline of Hindus and Muslims are implemented or conducted?

[c] What are the implications of the self-discipline practices for Balinese of Hindu and Muslims?

**Aims**

[a] Finding out the factors that lead to people who have the power in speaking on behalf of Bali feels the need to do self-disciplinary towards Balinese of Hindu and Muslim.

[b] Knowing the process the Balinese self-disciplinary practices Hindu and Muslim are implemented or conducted.

[c] Knowing the consequences that occur in the self-disciplinary practices for Balinese of Hindu and Muslim.

**Scope to be achieved**

In order to range the results of this study as a parameter to determine the harmony and disharmony phenomenon between Hindus and Muslims in Bali in the last decade. Those phenomena are: firstly, The Day of Silent was in March 2015, a number of Muslims and some of them have been selected by local residents and indigenous leaders to help pecalang (Balinese security) in keeping the environment.12 Secondly, in December 2015 the rejection occurred to Hindu Balinese to mention a potential discourse as a Syariah tourist tourism want to destroy the environment when the West nations in Bali correlated.

Hindus and Muslims are the most vital and potential discourse as a Syariah tourist destination, therefore, it is important to keep the environment in Bali. Thirdly, that tourists that use to reject is the discourse of Syariah travel is tourism development in Bali rated could be a potential conflict due to it would disrupt the good relations between Hindus and Muslims in Bali. Fourthly, in 2014 there were as well as cases of banning

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the use of the veil in some schools and workplaces in Bali including a Hypermart.\textsuperscript{14} Fifthly, the prohibition of using the veil began there was a BUMN demand for employees to wear Muslim clothing during Ramadan 2014. The Hindu Center of Indonesia, that was led by Arya Wedakarna requested that the letter does not apply in Bali.\textsuperscript{15}

2. Research Method

Understanding the Balinese scientists history above needs to be criticised due to being mentioned in the genealogy method Michel Foucault,\textsuperscript{16} a historical fact is never neutral. They were related to the hidden values that provide a particular benefit for the speakers. Therefore, Foucault stated that the history should be suspected due to it is full of things “misleading,” due to the history is a social construction that involves political violence, greed for power, and the collaboration between the powers to knowledge. The history was controlled by the exploratory forces and exploitative. That is why history should be exhumed, reconstruction, and discovered the falsehoods. Foucault stated that history should be written in the present perspective taking of the present interest. In order to achieve that aims, he offers a model of historical thinking, not a linear history that stated conventional history linear.\textsuperscript{17}

Based on the genealogy method above, therefore, it can be stated that the process of spreading Saiva Siddhanta in Bali, it was not only through a Hegemony practical unlike Gramsci as stated by I Wayan Redig,\textsuperscript{18} but also more than that is loaded to self-disciplinary practice and Foucault stated the disciplinary power. The basic purpose of disciplinary power is to produce human or individual that may be treated as a body abiding and productive. The discipline technology improves and become perfect in the workplace, army barracks, prisons, and hospitals.\textsuperscript{19} In the case of Bali, the disciplines technology among other seen in the dissemination Saiva Siddhanta doctrines. Foucault stated in each space are the same general aims i.e. parallel developments in usability and compliance to individuals and communities.\textsuperscript{20}

Thus, in order to adhere the doctrines of Saiva Siddhanta means to be obedient and useful to Maha Saiva as the God of everything that is being in the world. It should be obeyed by Sadha Saiva as the God of looking after. As well to Parama Saiva as the Gods of buster. That means through the doctrines of Saiva Siddhanta, Balinese society under the regime shaped to Majapahit obedient and useful to the Gods. Therefore, they need a discourse to strengthen the Tri Murti doctrine position, thus, was science created that was in the XI century, there was Mpu Kuturan (which some archaeologists doubt about its existence as a historical figure) succeed to unify peacefully an eleven sect became Tri Murti in Bali.\textsuperscript{21}

That science is then used as the power by Saiva Siddhanta followers to self-discipline in Balinese people. In term of that, it was done by placing the gods in the temple environment in all regions of the kingdom, which is consists of temple royal level, village level, and Banjar level. The temple on kingdom levels is to be a place for praying by all people. In the Mengwi Kingdom, for instance, there are Prasada in Desa Kapal (village namely) and Prasada in Desa Serangan.\textsuperscript{22} The temple on the kingdom level oversees the village level. It is revered by the society in one village; under the temple towards village level is Banjar level that is praised by society in one Banjar. If it is being done a ceremony in kingdom level, all pratiina, sacred things at village level temple should be included in the ceremony. Therefore, all the society have to participate in it.

3. Result and Analysis

3.1 Saiva Siddhanta

In the beginning, at the middle, VIII centuries appears Saiva religion then came to Buddhism. The religion both are different then unifying into Saiva-Buddha religion. After enduring several long finally,
return to the Saiva religion. Saiva religion transformed again into Vishnu religion, then shifting again to the Buddha religion with Tantrayana doctrine. Once it backs become Saiva-Buddha religion. The last King of Bali that has Saiva-Buddha was Sri Asta Sura Ratna Bumi Banten. The King was surrender to the Majapahit Kingdom in the middle of XIV centuries, adhered a shift of Saiva-Buddha religion into Saiva Siddhanta doctrines. 23

Saiva Siddhanta was the philosophy of Saiva religion that puts Shiva as the highest Gods. 24 Dewa Saiva is stated Maheswara that revered as all resources. This doctrine referred to pedanda Saiva as master of ceremonies and upakara, which also must position itself as teacher and sample in understanding and implementing Saiva Siddhanta doctrines. This doctrine was distributed by Danghyang Nirartha in Bali. His responsibilities in maintaining the doctrine continuously, Saiva Siddhanta elaborated included did a holy travelling around Bali, built padmasana that was known as a place of bhatara saivaraditya (chromosphere) and places of praying and coastal societies as a follower Saiva Siddhanta doctrine. 25 In its efforts to disseminate the Saiva Siddhanta doctrine, the priest of Ggel Danghyang Nirartha Kingdom not only direct dialogue with the people but also deepening the material through literary works. The goal is to ensure that Saiva Siddhanta adherents have strong faith in facing the Islamization process throughout the Kingdom of Majapahit former territory. As well as, for the sake of religiosity fine Balinese against the Saiva Siddhanta doctrines, he as well as increased the economic power of Balinese through Pura Melanting. 26

The above description shows that the dissemination Saiva Siddhanta doctrine was being peaceful. At first glance, those activities merely were seen as a respect actualization, devotion to the Gods. However, If it is examined using Michel Foucault's way of thinking, it will be seen clearly that the activity is one mechanism for controlling the king against villages within its territory. Those who do not perform worship to the three gods in a ceremony at the temple, it can be stated has happened defiance against the God of Saiva and representatives in the world. 27

Thus, in order to remember its role as a Saiva Siddhanta disseminator, it can be said Danghyang Nirartha was a figure who play a role in creating a symbolic process wherein filled with mystical symbols, within the aim of creating compliance. 28 Therefore, there is no pangemong (stakeholders) of Pura Desa (village temple) not present in that activity, due to it means to do insubordination. For instead, the King would be delighted if all the societies can adhere the event due to it shows the strength of the empire army. In peaceful periods their presence was expected to enliven a ritual activity, however, when the war situation, they reason, as well as war will appear to the battlefield. At least, they will be categorised as endehan troops if that happens was border a war that took place on a large scale. 29

If it were already implementing the Saiva Siddhanta doctrine, then the adherents should obey and be useful to pedanda Saiva (pedandar=priest) descended Nirartha. The controller of this doctrine was deliberately chosen pedanda Saiva as master of ceremonies and upakara (tools for offering), which also must consider itself as a role model and sample in understanding and Saiva Siddhanta doctrine application. In order to be able to maintain the doctrine existence, then created a discourse through a number of literary works. In the works, it was hidden a science that was collaborated with the power to shape the tubuh-tubuh (attitude/discipline) were obedient and useful to the Saiva Siddhanta doctrine. 30

The powerful discipline of practicing was common in Bali, all the king wants their people loyalty towards the Gods of Hindu assured. The King of Badung, for example, set up mostly for religious ceremonies in accordance with the calendar. In it included the determination of the days and date of the ceremony as well as

27 Lihat lebih jauh Nyoman Wijaya, et al., p.79.
28 It was improved by Kuntowiyo thinking, Budaya dan Masyarakat Edisi Paripurna (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana Yogyo, 2006).p.6.
30 See more I Nyoman Wijaya (2012), et al., loc. cit
the sacrifices that should be prepared. By what the Gods name must be mentioned when praying, wherein the Gods are, and what is gained if we obedient to implement God regulation.\textsuperscript{31}

In the Dutch colonial time, the powerful discipline of practicing can still be found in the colonial era in Karangasem. The organization in this area named Paruman Satia Agama Tirta-Saiva Buddha Bali Hindu issued awig-awig (Balinese society regulation), the customary regulation that was aimed at the society who were not faithful to His religion will be presumed to be dead.\textsuperscript{32} As the final result of the powerful discipline of practicing, then was unlike reported by R. Friederich, in 1847 the Buddha in Bali is a minority. They were live in Karangasem, Buddha Keling village and Batuan Gianyar. However, their beliefs have been changed.\textsuperscript{33} Furthermore, even including the minority groups, in 1881 as reported by Julius Jacobs, poems Buddhists and priests greatly appreciated by the Saiva worshippers.\textsuperscript{34} The result was not only directly at repressive measures the like, but also there were intentions to protect the environment. This was done by introducing the concept of Tri Murti into the universe. Brahma is positioned as the God of fire, whereas Vishnu as the God of water, and Iswara as the God of air. All three stay on the mountain due to the mountain has elements of fire, water, and air. The three among were worship at the mountain, due to the mountain should be preserved it. If the mountain was damaged by the human, then all living things beneath it will be destroyed by them. Through its science, that occurred the concept of boma, which is located in the temple doorway. Thus, the Tri Murti discourse has spawned the science that the mountain should be preserved its existence. Therefore, For Saiva Siddhanta doctrine adherents of creating many symbols that aim to preserve the mountain.\textsuperscript{35}

The end result of the practice of the teachings of Saiva Siddhanta in fact not only directed at repressive measures like that, but there are also intentions to protect the environment. This was done by introducing the concept of Tri Murti into the universe. Brahma is positioned as the god of fire, while Vishnu as the god of water, and Iswara as the god of the air. All three stay on the mountain, due to the mountain has elements of fire, water, and air. All three are the source of life because the mountain should be preserved in a way making it as a stay the gods and ancestral spirits. If the damage to brave the mountain, then all living things beneath it will be destroyed. Through that knowledge came the concept boma, which is placed in the doorway of the temple. Thus, the discourse of Tri Murti has spawned the knowledge that the mountain should be preserved its existence. For the followers of the teachings of Saiva Siddhanta create a lot of symbols that aim to preserve the mountain.\textsuperscript{36} Thus, Foucault was true that the power has been constructive.\textsuperscript{37}

Thus, since the Kingdom Gelgel period and further have found the powerful discipline of practicing on Saiva Siddhanta adherents doctrines, therefore, it's hard to say, at that time multicultural society has been shaped. The implications of the powerful discipline of practicing it are still passed on to the present as seen in a number of cases kasepekang (the exclusion of a person or group that is from their village environment).

In 2008, the customary case of Kasepekang occurred in Bali. At that time, Made Rangga family sanctioned kasepekang in Banjar Pakudui, Desa Pakudui, Tegalalang, Gianyar. Therefore, when his father cremation held, he was liable to pay penanjung batu IDR 3,200,000. The similar cases had as well as appeared in other places in Bali. In term of this, it occurred in supporting and not supporting by society. Anyone who wants to abolish it due to it is considered inhumane and prohibit the human rights (HAM). However, there is somebody as well as considered to be maintained as an effort to maintain the strength of customary regulation Bali.\textsuperscript{38}

Kasepekang case often continues with customary conflict. However, it finally has begun to be a way out after it emerged a new tradition; pengabenan (cremation ceremony) uses crematorium spearheaded by Anak Agung Made Djilantik from Puri Agung Karangasem. In Negara (Jembrana), in 2014 in order to anticipate the customary conflicts that often arise when pengabenan, then 13 Desa Adat (customary villages) in Mendoyo district, initiated the construction of corpse crematorium, under Hindu Dharmic Wickasana Foundation. This is particularly intended crematorium for Hindus living overseas, who are usually not included as customary people, therefore, that usually occurs in pengabenan event. Due to this crematorium, the events of customary society rejection towards Hindus as it could be eliminated. Jembrana crematorium complements the three

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\item \textsuperscript{31} V.E. Korn, op. cit., p. 63.
\item \textsuperscript{32} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 66.
\item \textsuperscript{33} Adrian Vickers, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 330.
\item \textsuperscript{34} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 87.
\item \textsuperscript{35} It was improved by Aji Nugroho Tomo research, “Kala Makara Candi Pringapus di Desa Pringapus Kabupaten Temangung.” The paper on Archeology Concentration of Faculty of Letter, University of Udayana, 2011, p. 63.
\item \textsuperscript{36} It was improved by Aji Nugroho Tomo research, “Kala Makara Candi Pringapus di Desa Pringapus Kabupaten Temangung.” The paper on Archeology Concentration of Faculty of Letter, University of Udayana, 2011, p. 63.
\item \textsuperscript{37} Nyoman Wijaya, et al., \textit{op. cit.}, p. 80.
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other that had been there before i.e. in Denpasar, Singaraja, and Gianyar. We will add one more in Jembrana.  

3.2 Muslim as a Comparison

The powerful discipline of practicing was in the empire as well as seen in the Islamic society in Karangasem. The expansion of Muslim impact in Karangasem, in the first place through the trade sector. Its peak after defeating the King of Peanggik in Central Lombok in 1692. The King of Karangasem deliberately carries out Sasak Muslim people to Bali for political interest. They are adherents of Muslim Wetu Telu which is a synthesis between Javanese traditions and Islamic in Lombok. Their existence is not a bad history, however, rather guided of Balinese entrepreneurs from (Karangasem) in Lombok.

The King of Karangasem usually prioritizes Muslim Sasak society in the border region with other kingdoms. In the southern part e.g. including are Kampung Ujung, Pesisi, Ujung Sumbawa, Ujung Desa, Segara Katon, Dangin Seman. Tihing Jangkrik, Kampung Anyar, Karang Sasak, Tulubala Sasak, Bukit Tabuan. Particularly, in the west, there are Kampung Bangras, Karang Langko, Karang Tohpati, Kampung Ampel, Gerembeng, Jeruk Manis, and Gelumpung Suci etc. At the north, there are Kampung Karang Tebu, Penahan, Glungsang, Jerukmanis, and Kampung Gerembeng. At the west, Karangasem included Kampung Nyuling, Karang Cermin, Tiying Jangkrik, Tulubala, Karang Sasak, Kampung Anyar, dan Bukit Tabuan. There is not merely in the border area, the King of Karangasem also positioning Muslim Sasak society in the villages near the kingdom capital. Those villages included Karang Tohpati, Karang Langko, Bangras, Dangin Seme, dan Ampel.

The decision to recognize the Muslim society around the Karangasem Kingdom were hated by Balinese society on that area. However, the King of Karangasem ignore it, due to he is practicing a strategy to save his kingdom from the enemy attack. Thus, the presence of Muslim in Karangasem was not because the king diversity, however, the behind power relations. With reference to the Rex opinion, then it is a very difficult to say multicultural society has been shaped in Karangasem on that period. Looked at ways of separating the living king of the Muslims of the local residential areas, then we can say that formed only a plural society. In a plural society, groups of other society categories were incorporated in different ways. They have different degrees of political power. Then there were referred to a multicultural society if all individual were equally incorporated. They have the same degree of its regulation. That is, in a multicultural society individuals and groups have the same right to practice political power through voting or other means. Moreover, the king of Karangasem aims to put the Muslims in the territory and not as an honour, however, is practicing the knowledge-power relations. In other words, in Karangasem has lasted practice the power of discipline. Practices that can be done with relative ease, because the Muslims were separated from the local population so that the king be free to regulate, control or correct any activity their bodies. Therefore, they become people who are obedient and useful in performing its function as a bastion of royal life. In regarding the function it has also created a mechanism of movement, behaviour, physical shape and speed, strength gentle, carefully over the body actively running tasks handle by their kingdom. They grow up to be people who are disciplined in maintaining the King interest. The war among the King that often occurs after the fall of the Gelgel Kingdom mid 17th century, finally tested at the same time correcting the skill, dexterity, and their readiness to defend the interests of the king to guard the border region.

Thus, the King of Karangasem purposes, as well as, the other kings in Bali to put Muslims in the kingdom and facilities inherent in it, is not a tolerance shape, however, rather a strategy or tactics to their self-discipline become obedient and useful for the kingdom. This means on that within the tolerance concept of empire is no power-knowledge that aims to produce self-disciplines.

41 Adrian Vickers, 2009, op. cit., p. 47.
45 John Rex, “Konsep Sebuah Masyarakat Multikultural,” translator was Sandra Kartika, in Danusiri, Aryo and Wasmi Alhaziri (ed.), Pendidikan Memang Multikultural (Jakarta: Yayasan Sains Estetika dan Teknologi, 2002), pp. 85-86.
That means unlike described by Richard Rorty, tolerance only, a society can not be categorized as a multicultural society, due to tolerance can still be trapped in the ego-centrism, which tolerates forsaking to themselves. That is any difference recognize other differences forsaking of strengthening and preserving the difference itself. Living together in diversity requires solidarity. The solidarity is the readiness to move on and join the fight for recognition of other than their self. The solidarity demands to forget efforts to strengthen identity, however, did struggle for others.  

Similarly, the motivation Muslim society is willing to inhabit the border areas it is not caused they are driven by the principles taught in religious tolerance, however, a compromise with discourses developed by King of Karangasem, i.e. obedient to authority and discipline. The obedience and discipline to the king, it is a very necessary because they on that way can keep their property. There are too many Muslims in Bali, which eventually grew into a property businessman. Their substance needs to be maintained in a manner showing an obedient and self-disciplined to the king. In Jembrana itself, Raden Sastrawijaya was to see in 1871, there were many Muslims in Loloan, Jembrana including the reached place. With its property, they were able to build a large mosque and a magnificent walled bricks and roof tiles. The similar thing happened in the village of Toyapakeh, Nusa Penida, Klungkung.

In the end, all of Bali kingdom surrender to the Dutch colonial government early twentieth century, resulted the king has no longer the authority to control the regulations, political, and demographic. The society and cultural movement became more rapid. The Balinese people end up not only coexist with cultural and historical experience of the previous period but also the more diverse and complex. Since, Bali island entered the actual acculturation stage and tolerance, which is no longer covered by an image of royal power. The fragility of acculturation foundation and tolerance were seen clearly so that all the symbols accompanying collapse.

In the case of Kingdom of Badung, even before the conquest occurred, Muslims Bugis previously were very obedient and productive against the king, had surrendered to the Dutch. Having no longer under the political culture control and the kings, the Muslims became more freely express ideas and its Islamic identity. Quite a lot the new mosques built in that period. There were many returning cultural symbols process. Moreover, at the independence time, the mosques that were once very acculturative, looking more modern, an ancient pulpit set aside, at least replaced with new ones. It seems that only the ancient tombs were left relatively intact. However, it was not as a tribute to an acculturation, however, rather on maintaining the sanctity or its sanctity.

Even though, the time has passed and is now entering the second decade of XXI century, however, the discipline power was the heritage of Muslims, within the certain limits recently felt, performed by individuals with political interest. The one interesting case was the powerful discipline of practicing conducted by Arya Wedakarna. He is the son of a PNI politician from Bali in 1960s, I Made Wedastera Suyasa, which was before in 1954 Indonesia joined to Pemuda Sosialis Indonesia (Pesindo). Wedakarta election as Regional Representatives Council (DPD) Period 2014-2019 of Bali Province, with the most votes about 178.934, defeating an incumbent candidate, I Wayan Sudirta that has been selected as two periods.

Wedakarna was succeeded to reach that position can not be separated from its ability to competence any knowledge in the Bali bombings phenomena. The science was used as the power to growth himself and gain public sympathy, which then give personal political gain. He was known as the man who dared to defend Bali in various situations and conditions. The position was achieved by converting economic capital into political capital in a way to publish news about the activities advertorial in Bali bombing. At the same time, he also converts symbolic capital gained from his father, a former Chairman of PNI Bali, therefore, its popularity is increasing in society. The goal is the relative novice voters had not noticed the political history of Bali and have a militant attitude to ajeg (existing culture and customary) in Bali, Bali sustain the onslaught of social and economic migrants from Java.

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48 It was improved by Michel Foucault thinking that stated a problem can be analyzed not by understanding that human beings are driven by their values, but only compromise the discourses given to those who have power. See, C. Behan McCullagh, The Logic of History (London, Routledge, 2004), p. 95.
50 Ibid., p.13.
51 I Nyoman Wijaya (2012), op. cit., p. 228.
52 Max Lane, “Wedastera Suyasa in Balinese Politics, 1962-72: From Charismatic Politics to Socio Educational Activities, Indonesia and Malayan Studies IV, University of Sydney, p. 45.

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Many issues arrest towards political interest one of them was Economic Community of Syariah (MES).\textsuperscript{54} Through, the Alliance of Indonesian Young Hindu and Marhaen Youth Movement (GPM), he led a demonstration in front of the Office of Bank Indonesia Denpasar to permit Islamic Bank moratorium in Bali island. “the young Hindu speak.” Defend Pancasila economy! Next !!!, Wedakarna said. Besides rejecting Islamic banks, he as well as accused the Muslims as commercial sex workers (CSWs) in Bali and through them HIV / AIDS was spread to destroy the young generation Hindu Bali.\textsuperscript{55}

The political targets unlike are merely throwing political issue and getting the benefits from it. The harder reaction given by the target object, the greater political benefits are achieved. The most of the political tactics unlike this is for reaching the target as seen the reaction of the target object. In term of that, It was revealed from their comments included the Chairman of Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) in Bogor city of religious harmony Ustaz Iyus Khaerunnas. He lashed Arya Wedakarna statement who reject Syariah economy and a moratorium on Islamic banks in Bali. The statement was considered a provocation and the religious harmony unwell.\textsuperscript{56}

On August 17, 2014, Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) Habib Rizieq Shihab condemned Arya Wedakarna action. He appealed to the Bali Governor, Bali police chief, and apparatus that controlled the Bali region for immediate concrete actions, in order to there was not tyrannized Muslims in Bali. “Kami ingatkan umat Hindu di Indonesia, selama ini kami umat Islam tidak pernah mengganggu kalian, kami tidak pernah usil kepada kalian. Kalian bertransmigrasi ke Kalimantan, ke Sumatera, ke Sulawesi, kemana-mana ke perkampungan muslim, tidak ada umat Islam yang mengganggu kalian. Bahkan petani-petani Hindu yang ada di Mesuji ketika diziromi oleh para pengusaha, FPI yang membantu susah payah sampai mereka mendapatkan tanahnya kembali.”\textsuperscript{57} Means: “We remind Hindus in Indonesia, during this time we are Muslims do not ever bother you, we never nosy to you. You were to transmigrate to Borneo, Sumatra, Sulawesi, anywhere to Muslim villages, no Muslims who bother you. Even, the Hindu farmers were in Mesuji when wronged by employers, FPI helps painstakingly until they get their land back.”

Habib Rizieq further said that Muslims respect differences of opinion and religion, never disturb any religious society, as long as they do not disturb to Muslims. “However, be careful, if the Hindus in Bali brazen attempt towards Muslims, do not blame Muslims if later retaliation.” He as well as warned that Hindus can appreciate the differences among religious. “Do not be arrogant, do not you pretentious rooster, bravado. If you disturb the Muslims, do not blame if tomorrow Muslims crowd in striving to defend Muslims in Bali.”\textsuperscript{58}

3.3 Under the National context

In respecting, many disciplines authorized of practicing that lie in the past and recently, it can be said claims scientists from Bali, which states have since prehistoric times Balinese society is a multicultural society, is not proven true. The mistake occurred because there is ambiguity or confusion about multiculturalism concept. Whereas, national scientists claims much dubious which is mention Indonesia as a multicultural society, so that the multicultural society should be promptly formed. Parsudi Suparlan says e.g. the main reference for the realization of Indonesian society is multiculturalism, an ideology that recognizes and magnify the differences in equality both individually and culturally. In this model, the society is seen to have a generally accepted culture and patterned like a mosaic. In the mosaic covered all the cultures of the smaller societies, and form larger societies.\textsuperscript{59}

Meanwhile, Azyumardi Azra said multicultural society shaping in Indonesia can emulate Singapore government. The religious adherents in the country are required to perform an adjustments variety e.g. the prayer sounds is no longer emitted out of the mosque. All ritual shapes may not cause certain disorders in the public domain. The multicultural life does require gradually starting-tolerance without reducing the religion sense and a particular traditions society in order to create harmony and peace. The government must be able

\textsuperscript{54} Ahmad Baraus/Indah Wulandari, “Bali Ingin Garap Wisata Desa Syariah”, http://republika.co.id/ cited on December 1, 2015, 02.47 pm.
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid.
to stop the actions of certain groups who harass society or other faiths. Singapore government does in applying the Internal Security Act (ISA), which could be used to detain anyone deemed caused a stir.60

Next to Daniel Sparringa stated that multicultural society in Indonesia should be reformed rather than merely presenting a colourful identity, but also to build awareness and the ability to interact in shared spaces. A more systematic effort is needed to include political and economic structural approach in the promoting multiculturalism process. That is, besides the cultural approach, multiculturalism in Indonesia requires integrating other approaches to enable the relevant themes around justice and equality can be a contributing factor to strengthening it.61

In addition, the three leading intellectuals, there is still a number other intellectuals who expressed the need to build a multicultural society in Indonesia. One of them is Saeful Rahmat. He stated that the multicultural society creation in Indonesia can be done through multicultural education. Generically, multicultural education is meant to create equal educational opportunities for all students in different races, ethnicities, social classes and cultural groups. The one important goals it is to help all students in order to acquire the knowledge, attitudes and skills required in carrying out roles as effectively as possible in a democratic pluralistic-democratic and required to interact, negotiate, and communicate to diverse groups in order to get a society immoral running for the common good.62

Thus, the intellectuals national-level still doubt the existence of the multicultural society in Indonesia. Their doubt can be understood because the multiculturalism nature is the equality in diversity. While, the reality shows the equality absence diversity in Indonesia. According to Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X, there are sentiments of ethnicity that have the potentially divisive and destruction among the Indonesian society. The reason is partly because Indonesia pluralistic society produces the ethnic groups boundaries based on stereotypes and prejudice, which results in social primordial subjective level.63

Those restrictions finally are delivered inter-ethnic and interreligious conflicts. The reason for their ethnic identity activation for solidarity over resources. Therefore, according to Sr Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X, pluralistic society that emphasised the ethnic needs diversity to be studied and shifted to a multicultural society, which includes not only ethnic cultures but also a local cultures variety and must be accompanied by national climate policy that put the various cultures that the degrees equivalence. In this way, there is no more ethnic feel superior and inferior, because there is no more social ladder based ethnic origin.64

Thus, the intellectuals national level do not want to claim the Indonesian society as a multicultural society, which is also used to confirm that the Balinese society is not a multicultural society. The Balinese society is not an American people, who have experienced a melting pot, a mixing cultures model without state intervention. Liquefaction or melting (melting) diverse cultures in the United States begins with the disintegration. After that continue with reintegration together into a large container that contains it. In other words, everyone must relinquish their each cultural characteristics to be part of a new culture. In the model of the melting pot, no one is able to maintain its each cultural existence, however, must live in a culture that is produced from its mixing.65

Melting pot theoretically lead two possibilities i.e. the merging occurrence to racial and social mix and form a harmonious culture; and two, the process occurrence of strengthening cultural cauldron that produced the old culture or the new culture emergence that is totally different from the old culture.66

In Bali, there is no historical evidence that shows there has been a melting pot. There is no happen a process of strengthening cross-cultural that produced the old culture or the emergence of a new culture that is very different from the old culture.67 It means gradually prehistoric culture elements to gain a sense of Hindu. The process starts from when the priests local elites, sight society who have a strong influence in the community, which then appointed as a local king. These kings are supposed to be the incarnation of the god


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Saiva Buddha, to be revered by the society as the original ancestor worshiping continuation and leaders who have died. From the palace, an osmosis process to continue for society layer, that its form can still be seen in contemporary Balinese culture. That is why recently Balinese culture in looking very Hinduists, however, tucked behind the pre-Hindu elements are so dominant. One example is in material culture, especially the form of the temple building. The pre-Hindu elements in the temple building, which can be seen from the architecture pounded the steps and gate winged birds.68

The cultures meet in Bali as well as highly exaggerated if any dare to say there has been a melting pot in Bali. Not only Canada, Australia as well as did not want to be an American melting pot States. Academics and people 'leftist' in Australia tend to mention he did not have a national identity and culture. They stated culture as one of the English cultures and prefer to call themselves as mish-mash multicultural of various cultural or mixed (jumble).69

The social reality in Bali showed the characteristics of a mish-mash (mixed) in culture, meant intercultural encounter has arisen mosaic cultural that is a mish-mash, however, it is not in term of society (structure). At the society level, the meets between Balinese ethnic with non-Bali ethnic that along have lasted, can not simply be used as a reason has been the multiculturalism implementation, therefore, Balinese society is not deserving or is not able to be stated as a multicultural society. In the multiculturalism perspective, there is a necessity not only a culture that peaceful coexistence, one another mutually influence, but also the society (structure).70

While, the prominent in Bali since this article was written is a characteristic of plural society unlike formulated by I Nengah Bawa Atmadja, i.e. Firstly, various society elements have cultural traits differing from each other, however, the each society life in his own interest. Secondly, therefore, the each society retains its cultural boundaries explicitly. The interaction that is patterned across structure and across society a very minimal. Even there, the interaction usually takes place in the market or a public space that is driven an interest. The relationship was not always highlighted the justice equality, however, rather tend domanative, so that is discriminatory, even though his form is disguised. Thirdly, the each group is holding a religious, culture, language, and each way of life.71

Thus the description of a plural society in Bali with alongside society living parts, however, it is separated from the same political unit, unlike a building complex in Taman Mini Indonesia Indah. Everyone who entered his neighbour's society will seem strange due to they do not know the culture consist inside. The society typology unlike it did not meet a requirements number that must be met to qualify, as a multicultural society seems Bawa Atmadja stated i.e. in the society plurality should be involved in an active in daily life interaction. Secondly, every society could not maintain the expressly limits culture, so that's interaction and across society towards across culture are very intensive, not only merely in the market, but also on a variety of public spaces with a variety interests. Thirdly, the each group may merely hold the religion, culture, language, and each way of life, however, the other cultures existence should not only be substituted in the tolerance and mutual respect context, however, the more important is the equivalence of each other.72

4. Conclusion

If Indonesian intellectuals leader do not brave to state their society is a multicultural society, it would be very unusual if the only reference to the practice of inter-ethnic tolerance and culture, it hard to say since prehistoric times people have been shaped Multicultural society. Therefore, their statements should be reconsidered, due to the perspective of multiculturalism required is not merely tolerance, however, more than awarding. The two cultures terminology meet in mutual respecting, which means one culture is equal to other cultures. Meanwhile, within the tolerance opposite happens, it means a culture to appreciate other cultures, but only one side, meaning that people give to the society tolerance to other cultures, can not expect much whether they will get the same treatment.73

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68 Ibid., p. 11.
72 Ibid.
In the multiculturalism perspective, the tolerance may occur due to power that governs relations across cultures.\(^4\) The main requirement that is offered by multiculturalism to get a tolerance is their mutual appreciation between societies without intervention power.\(^5\) If there is no power intervention, the tolerance becomes, unlike pendulum that can stay in the middle if it is controlled by study, however, it will move to the left or right if there is political turmoil caused chaos. This perspective applies in Bali, when the power king can not arrange migrants settlement, however, provides sanctions for those who violate the values, ideals and symbols of the expressive culture of Bali. The sanctions can include fines, forfeiture as applicable regulations coral captive, arrest, and even murder.

Thus, according to multiculturalism perspective, the tolerance legacy empire was in the middle between acceptance and love to across cultures. That is why the tolerance now is proud in Bali, can not be used as an excuse to call being multiculturalism in society (structure). Due to the first requirements that must exist in a multicultural Bali society, that is their mutual appreciation between societies without intervention power.\(^6\)

Throughout, there is a king power, especially who does monarchies, authoritarian, and totalitarian, a tolerance will be more easily realized, due to the individuals or groups safety entrants will be dependent on the king's command, as the supreme regulations. Once the king power disappeared, Bali along with surrender to the colonial government in 1908.

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\(^4\) Ibid
\(^5\) Ibid.
\(^6\) Ibid.


Biography of Author

Nyoman Wijaya has been completed his studies in the Department of History, Faculty of Letters, University of Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta on February 1986 in Cumlaude predicate. Starting on April 1986, he served as an adjunct lecturer at Faculty of Letters, University of Udayana, Denpasar, and in 1988 was appointed as asistant professor. In 1994, he has finised his Master of Humanities (S2) in Department of Humanities Sciences, Studies Program Postgraduate at University of Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta in Cumlaude predicate. His thesis was entitled “Pengaruh Nederlandsch Handel Maatschappij (cikal bakal Bank Exim) terhadap Perkembangan Sosial Ekonomi Indonesia 1824-1900,” under the guidance by Prof. Dr. Djoko Surjo. The thesis has been published into Kekaisaran Kompeni Kecil: Korupsi, Kolusi, Nepotisme Abad 19 (Yogyakarta: Mahavira, June 2001).

On February to March 1998, he followed a visiting fellow at the Institute of Social Change and Critical Inquiry, University of Wolonggong, NSW, Australia that was invited by Associate Prof. Adrian Vickers in 1999. I Nyoman Wijaya founded Tri Sadhana Putra (TSP), a non-governmental organization engaged in research and education. One of its divisions i.e. Art and Science Writing covered in history writing, biography, and prosopography. He was ever believed to be the Organizing Committee Coordinator. Publication Section in The First Asia Pacific Conference for People With Disability in Hotel Grand Bali Beach on September 24-28, 2000; and become participants in Programme Workshop “Indonesia in Transition: Work in Progress,” organized by The Netherlands Institute for War Documentation in Amsterdam, in Padang, West Sumatra from on August 20-25, 2002.

In 2004, he continued to S3 (Ph.D.) program at the Post-Graduate of University of Gadjah Mada. Following Sandwich program at the University of Sydney, Australia, on November 2008-January 2009 under the guidance of Prof. Adrian Vickers. He wrote his dissertation entitled Mencintai Diri Seniri: Gerakan Ajeg Bali dalam Sejarah Kebudayaan Bali 1910-2007 under the guidance of Prof. Dr. Djoko Surjo, M.A. and Prof. Dr. Bambang Purwanto, M.A. He got his Dr. (Ph.D.) in 2010 in honour's Cum Laude.