

## ***Menyama Braya* as Social Capital of Hindu and Muslim Community: A Case Study in Bali-Indonesia**

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**Abstract:** The fact of many religions in a country has become one of the factors potential of social conflicts. In Indonesia, there is a high possibility religious conflicts occur between two religions, such as between Islam and Hinduism, Islam and Buddhism, Christianity Hinduism or Christianity Buddhism or Islam Confucianism. This research aims to study the relationship between Muslims and Hindus in social life. The research used case study method and case study analysis technique via interview and documentation. The results show that religious conflicts do not happen in Banjar Angansari, Bali-Indonesia. This phenomenon is because people in Banjar Angansary are guided by a local wisdom namely *Menyama Braya* in their daily interactions. Moreover, *Menyama Braya* has become the way of life in social relation between Moslem and Hindus in Bali for an extended period. The local knowledge in Banjar Angansari can minimize the religious conflicts having similar local wisdom with the other regions in Indonesia.

**Keywords:** *Menyama Braya*, Islam, Hindu, Social Capital, Bali

### **INTRODUCTION**

Generally, there are six big religions in the world including Indonesia; they are Hinduism, Buddhism, Christian, Catholic, Confucianism. Therefore, Indonesia gets a predicate of The Meeting Place of World Religions. Parig Digan (2000) states, "However only Indonesia among them makes the singular claim to be a meeting-place of world religions." Lee Khoon Choy also says, "Nowhere in the world do we find a country in which religion plays such an important role in the lives of the people...whether they are Christians, Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims, Confucianists or Taoists, they have to believe in One God. There is no place for atheists" (Muhammad, 2013, p. 21). Although on another side, the people's acceptance of particular religion as the only one truth and the way to get salvation and their claim that the others who are beyond their religion as the ones facing disasters and must be saved will cause conflict (Muhammad, 2013, p. 18). Globally, the involvement of religion element in the sequence of conflicts will not only increase the dispute escalation but also cause the dispute which is hard to solve. Some religious conflicts even cause some countries disintegrated like Pakistan and some countries in South Asia as well as some countries in the Gulf of Balkans (Azra, 2013, pp. 2-3).

Religion conflict happens not only in Indonesia but also in plural countries. For example, the case of "cartoon of the Prophet of Muhammad" happening in Denmark in 2009. Such thing is a violation of the norm and the attack to Muslim as a community and Islam as a religion. This case will raise a religion conflict (Levey, 2009, p. 429). The case occurring on 11<sup>th</sup> of September 2001 in America is an attack done by the militant Islamic

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group of Al-Qaeda by crashing two planes into the twin tower of World Trade Centre in York City (Asani, 2003, p. 40).

In Bangladesh, Ahmed says that the religion group except Islam is a minority causing discrimination and some people immigrated to India (Ahmed, 2013, p. 52). Marginalization, discrimination, and excommunication of the Muslim group happen in India (Thakur, 2013, p. 581). The domination of religion from individual school also happens in Turkey causing a conflict of not only different religion but also among the same religion. As written by Cengiz Akbar, the identity of Muslim Sunni is dominant so that their hegemony is a central power to control public and politic (Akbar, 2015, p. 648).

In Malaysia, Abdul Rahman and Khambali write that every religion is usually perceived by people from the perspective of the religion itself so that it causes exclusivity by claiming that only their religion is the only religion which is right as the revelation offering the right way and salvation (Rahman & Kambali, 2013, p. 81). Francesea Borgonovi mentions that based on the survey results in 256 regencies of United States of America, the pluralism of religion is closely related to voluntary; but based on the fact, the pluralism of religion causes the rise of internal motivation (exclusive) and thus the role of the religious leaders to motivate external interaction (inclusive) is urgently needed (Borgonovi, 2008, p. 124).

Danielle Raeijmaekers, from the University of Antwerp, Belgium, states that sowing democracy needs the media of "pluralism," although, on another side, there are some ruins and threats happens to the pluralism in the name of democracy (Raeijmaekers, 2015, p. 1042). Meanwhile, in Indonesia, the religious conflict often happens in Reformation era, after the collapse of President Soeharto regime collapsed on 21<sup>st</sup> of May 1998. Lorraine V. Aragon says that communal violence between Muslim and Protestant starts to happen in some cities in Indonesia. The conflict in Poso, Sulawesi at the end of December 1998 (the first step) repeated in April 2000 (second step). The conflict escalated to the condition of civil war in all regencies in May 2000 (third step). The next battle occurred in Waikabubak, Ketapang, Jakarta, Kupang, Makassar, South Sulawesi, Banyuwangi and so forth (Aragon, 2001, pp. 47-48).

In the 18<sup>th</sup> of August 1999, the violence happened on the big island of Halmahera. However, the conflict fast became a religion conflict so that the local Muslim and migrants strove together to oppose the Christian of Ambon (Wilson, 2005, pp. 69-70). The research results of Greg Acciaioli, conflict also occurred in Halmahera. According to Syarif Ibrahim Alqadrie, a sociologist in the University of Tanjungpura in the West Kalimantan, the conflict was caused by the competition regarding social and economy stakes among the local citizens of Dayak and Melayu coming from the outside of West Kalimantan, especially in the field of agriculture, plantation, forestry, mining and informal sector (Acciaioli, 2001, p. 82). William V. D'antonio and Dean R. Hoge tell that based on their experience in America, the extermination of religion did not weaken the religion institutions but strengthen them instead. This case is a challenge to a religion belief to struggle in maintaining the religion stand, and this case has caused a prolonged conflict (D'antonio & D.R. Hoge, 2006, p. 345).

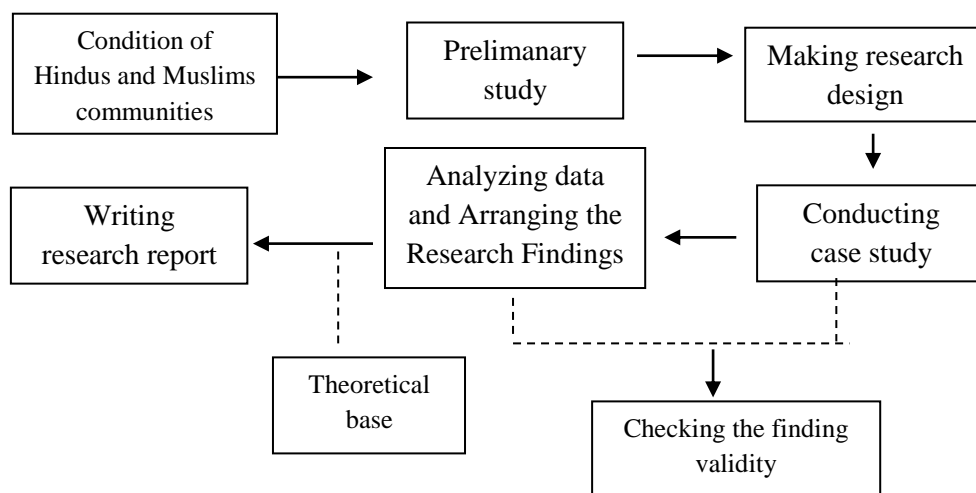
Based on the explanation above, Bali as the one of the best tourism cities in the world which has potential to have conflict between Hindu and Islam started by Bali Bomb in 2002 and 2005 especially in the last of November 2015, there was an information of Muslims who want to build Syariah Village and got reaction from the Hindu group. Therefore, the strategy or approach to minimize or even delete the religion conflict in Bali is urgently needed. One of the strategies or approaches is revitalizing the local wisdom

existing for a long time. Therefore, the society can accept and run whatever the background of the religion is. Thereby, in this research, the study is focused on the local wisdom of *Menyame Braye* as the guideline of harmony social interaction.

## METHOD AND THEORY

This research used a qualitative approach. The data was taken by interview technique, observation, document analysis, and survey. Furthermore, based on the empirical data, in this research, the theory of social capital positioning the importance of subject, structure-agent in the forming of social capital was done. In the context of society having the similarity of value, they tend to work together to reach the together goal (Field, 2010, pp. 1-5). Bourdieu sees the social capital as the asset used by a group of elite especially those who have economic capital (financial) and culture capital (Lubis, 2014, p. 123). The theory tries to bridge the dichotomy of individual-society, agency and structure. The thought of Bourdieu is based on the individual and collective practice on the habitus concept built in the history of individual and collective (Haryatmoko, 2016, p. 35).

The habitus concept of Bourdieu is an effort to synthesize the dualism between actor/agent/subject and object/structure/rule/model since formerly the structure was too dominant, so it got rid of the subject's role (Lubis, 2014, p. 111). Someone's behavior is a combination of the dimension of objectivity and subjectivity and between the dimension of structure and agency (Lubis, 2014, p. 113). Bourdieu has haunted the social science to solve the separation between objectivism and subjectivism (Jenkins, 2013, pp. 47-48). This method recognizes the role of subject and object as well as the role of agent and structure in science and knowledge (Lubis, 2014, p. 127). Therefore, Bourdieu develops a sociology passing the dichotomy of subjectivity-objectivity. The objective structure cannot be separated from the individual's self-analysis' mental structure is a product of incorporation (Jenkins, 2013, p. 27). The steps of research are presented in the following chart.



## RESEARCH RESULT

This research was conducted in Banjar Angansari, Bali located in Kintamani District, Bangli Regency. In Banjar (Angansari), there is a community of Muslim and Hindus living harmoniously up to now. Administratively, they become the member of Banjar (traditional relative system in Bali), although they are from different religion. It is distinct from the other places called as a hamlet or kampong like Sudihati Hamlet in Kintamani, Muslim Kampong in Bangli District so that the administration of the village uses the system of

Service Village. Based on such background, the researchers consider this particular community is unique to observe. Like the Fatchan's view arguing that study of similarity is needed, but the study of difference or the uniqueness is more important (Fatchan, 2013, p. 3).<sup>2</sup> *Menyama braya* means that the local society has implemented the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, Article 28 and 29 about human rights ensuring the freedom, respecting the other's freedom, the freedom should be comparable to the obligation in the society (Sochamawardiah, 2013, p. 53). In the constitution of 1945, the human rights are ruled in the Chapter XA, article 28A-J and special for religious life is ruled in Article 28E<sup>3</sup>, Chapter XI, Article 29 about religion<sup>4</sup>.

Bali also implements administration system of a village called as Custom Village or *Pakraman* Village and Service Village. This case is suitable with the rules in the Law of number 5, 1979, and it was accomplished by the Law of number 8, 2014 about Village, Chapter XII, Article 95.<sup>5</sup> This law is followed up by the Regional Government of Bali Province by issuing Regional Rule No. 6/1986 accomplished by the Rule of number 3, 2001 about *Pakraman*.<sup>6</sup> Village. This system (Warren, 2010, pp. 188-189) is very risky to raise a conflict especially in the plural community since it gives big impact to the authority diverting of many things such as the authority of land, the process of decision making from the custom institution came from the ancestor, but in reality those things did not happen. There are three sections of *menyama braya* between the community of Hindus and Muslim applied through *Tri Hitakarana*, including 1) *parahyangan* activity, 2) *pawongan* activity, and 3) *pelemahan* activity.

The *parahyangan* activities done together are Muslims give helps in the ceremony at the temple (*ngaturang atos*), they bring some offerings to the Mosque when the feast day of Idul Fitri, making *ogoh-ogoh* when feast day of Nyepi, the security of *pecalang* when Idul Fitri, building small mosque/mosque next to the temple and conducting

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<sup>2</sup> Bangli Regency is one of the nine cities/regencies in Bali (Badung, Buleleng, Gianyar, Jembrana, Karangasem, Klungkung, Tabanan regencies, and Denpasar city). Bangli Regency consists of four districts; they are Bangli, Susut, Tembuku dan Kintamani. Bangli Regency is adjacent to Buleleng Regency in the north, Klungkung Regency and Karangasem in the east, and Gianyar in the south as well as Badung and Gianyar in the west. It consists of four districts; they are Bangli, Susut, Tembuku and Kintamani. Banjar Angansari districts. Kutuh village is located in Kintamani district; it is located in the very remote area; the distance from the center of regency is about 30 km and approximately 15 km from the center of district behind Batur Mountain or about 70 km from Denpasar city.

<sup>3</sup> (1) Every one is free to have religion and worship based on their religion, choose education, teaching, job and citizenship, domicile in a country and leave it and have right to come back, (2) Every one has right to believe a faith freely, state the thought and attitude based on their conscience.

<sup>4</sup> (1) The State is based on the Lordship of the one almighty God, (2) The State guarantees the freedom of each citizen to have their own religion and worship based on their religion and belief.

<sup>5</sup> (1) The village government and society can form an custom institution of village. (2) The custom institution of Village is like what has been stated in verse (1), that is an institution that holds the custom functions and becomes the part of village origin arrangement growing up an ddeveloping based on the initiative of the village society. (3) The custom institution of village like what has been stated in verse (1) has tob help the village government and become the partner in empowering, maintaining, and developing the custom as the recognition of the custom of the village society.

<sup>6</sup> Chapter I, article 1 mentions: (verse 4), *Desapakraman* is a unity of custom law society in Bali Province having the one unity of tradition and manner of life interaction of Hindus communities hereditary in the bond of *kahyangan tiga* or village *kahyangan* having certain area and wealth and right to manage their own household.(Verse 6), Village *Krama/Krama banjar* is the one who lives in the desa *Pakraman/banjar pakraman* village or in the area of *pakraman* village/*banjar* or in another place and becomes the villager of *pakraman* village/*pakraman Banjar*.

celebration ceremony and asking for rain together. The *pawongan* activities include giving congratulation each other in the feast day, involving in the activity of the anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia, becoming the member of special banjar, visiting the moment of marriage and death, being together in the activity of *Dasa Wisma*, joining the activity of *Forum Komunikasi Antar Umat Beragama/FKUB* (Communication Forum between Religious People), joining the younger's group (*seka taruna*), helping the Hindus when they hold ceremony in temple (*ngayah*), and the mixed marriage between Muslim and Hindu. The *palemahan* activities include the use of plantation/agriculture land with the proper time based on the calendar system of Bali, the building of worshipping place of Hindus and Muslims side by side, the agreement of selling the custom land as small mosque and tomb for Muslim.

After searching some references, the local wisdom contributes a lot to create harmonious life among religions. For example, in solving the conflict, any approaches can be done such as the economy, social-culture, politic, religion approaches even the local wisdom approach that has rooted for a long time. In some countries, the religion conflict can be solved through the revitalization of local wisdom values. In the writing of Dicson Nkonge Kagema, it is stated that before the coming of religions from the outside (Islam and Christian), the people in Africa had known traditional religion, that was Africa Traditional Religion (ATR) as a unique religion that can unite the tribes in Africa with any differences of religion and ethnic (Kagema, 2015, p. 66).

Nigeria known as continuing conflict place for Christian and Islam still has the possibility to integrate through local culture. Like what has been stated in the writing of Rimamsikwe Kitause and Hilary Chukwuka Achunike, the devotees of Islam and Christian in Nigeria hold the local culture together like the birth, marriage and death ceremonies (Kitause & Achunike, 2013, p. 51). A dissertation written by Hasyim Syamhudi entitled "*Satu Atap Beda Agama*" (Different Religion under One Roof) informs the importance of local culture becoming the media to unite a family with different religion even various ethnic. The holy rite to honor the ancestors by praying when *Imlek*, *Cap Go Meh*, and *Jimbing* is still held by the families of China descendant although they have a different religion (Syamhudi, 2013, p. 121). This phenomenon proves that besides regulation as the government's product, the local wisdom values are also significant to emphasize the values of humanity, equality, tolerance, and sincere empathy (Sochamawardiah, 2013, p. 75). It also happens in Lindu land, Central Sulawesi; to solve this problem in which the regional leaders in Poso, Maluku, and West Kalimantan have done some efforts to create the peacefulness by holding reconciliation of custom ritual. The ex-president, Abdurrahman Wahid flew to Poso to attend in one of the rituals at the end of August 2000 (Acciaioli, 2001, pp. 83-84).

The research done by Robert L. Kidder and John A. Hostetler compared the Christian Amis society in America and Japan. As the result of research, Amish and Japan have the similarity in ideology practice. The consistent leadership with the traditional culture has a reputation in the culture uniqueness (Kidder & Hostetler, 1990, p. 896). The study in Karangbenda, Cilacap reports that formally, the villagers of Karangbenda are Islam devotees. The religion pluralism in Karangbenda society does not cause a significant problem so far. The value which seems to be the life way of Karangbenda society is originated from the traditional teaching of ancestor's heritage about *Gusti Kawulo-Kawulo Gusti* (God is the master of life), *Syahadat-Adat* (Attabik & Sumiarti, 2008, pp. 4-5).

The results of Mangun Budiyanto's research conducted on the society of Tutup Ngisor, Lereng Merapi, Magelang Central Java reports that Tutup Ngisor societies believe

Islam as their religion on one side, but on another side, they still cannot leave the traditions that have rooted tightly in their life, and they sometimes do not stick to the rules in doing their religion. They try to interpret the way they hold Islam by still respecting the tradition (Budiyanto, 2008, pp. 665-666). The research results of Dewa Agung Gede Agung, et al. conducted in Malang show that besides the activity of village, nation, and religion, there is a “maintaining local culture” activity done in cross-religions. They still do the ritual of village clean or *nyadran*. This activity is done in *punden* (it is believed as a residing place of the founding father of the village). They come and bring *encek* containing tumpeng every *Senen Pahing* (pahing Monday) led by a “shaman” (Agung, “*Harmoni Relasi Sosial Umat Muslim dan Hindu di Malang Raya*”, 2011, pp. 9-10). The other research results are from Edi Muhammad Jayadi and Sumarno in Lombok mentioning that the community of Wetu Telu develops a pattern combining the government system, religion system and custom holistically (Jayadi & Sumarno, 2014, p. 109).

## CONCLUSION

Muslims and Hindus can live together side by side harmoniously, and they can understand each other up to now based on the values of *menyama braya* that has rooted for a long time because they can understand well their religion teaching and the local values. The tips of Muslim figures in building the life of “*menyama braya*” are very good, and they rely on the understanding of the meaning and philosophy of *pekraman* village, service village. This institution functions well in all activities regarding religious activities social interactions and the use of land as the home, worshiping place or tomb place. The philosophy of *Tri Hitakarana* becomes their foundation to live in “*menyama braya*” through three kinds of activity done by the Hindus and Muslims including *parahyangan*, *pawongan* and *palemahan*.

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