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Acculturation and Its Effects on the Religious and Ethnic Values of Bali's Catur Village Community

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65

Abstract

The primary aim of this paper is to identify the best practices for multicultural communities looking to co-exist in the same territory, using Catur village as a case study. Society brings together people of different cultures, and, for people to stay in harmony concerning each other's culture, there must be crucial practices that make such harmonious living possible. This research, therefore, explored the concept of acculturation and its effect on the Balinese and Chinese communities living in Catur village in the Kintamani district of Bali, Indonesia. Data were collected using pre-prepared unstructured questionnaires administered verbally to five different groups of respondents involved in the study. The researcher also observed the values and practices of both communities during the interview period. The data collected were analysed using the thematic analysis method. The study revealed religious, cultural, language and local administration acculturation effects on the Balinese and Chinese communities living in Catur village. The Chinese community has adapted to the practices and values of the Balinese community, whose members are indigenous to the region, such as adopting the Balinese naming system for their children. This study's findings provide a foundation for the government authorities to promote harmonious relationships in the diverse community within their jurisdictions.

Keywords: *acculturation, culture, community, ethnic diversity, religious diversity.*

Introduction

The primary research questions this paper aims to answer is how both religion and ethical values support multicultural communities in co-existing in the same territory. Acculturation is defined as the process of change in cultural identities, values, behaviours, and attitudes through contact with foreign cultures. The aim of the acculturation process is for diverse groups to live harmoniously with each other (Arizona et al., 2016). Generally, human beings seek harmony within their environment as individuals or groups pursuing peaceful co-existence (Ngin, 2018).

55

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According to Jorge and Muñoz (2016), cultural harmony encourages a state of peace and tranquillity among communities. According to Mesoudi (2018), the migration of people from and to diverse cultures has influenced cultural change in most communities throughout history. Indonesia, a Southeast Asian country with a population of approximately 264 million people, has experienced significant cultural fusion due to its location along historic trading routes (World Health Organization, 2015). Indonesia's proximity to such trade routes resulted in strong multicultural practices in most of its major towns, influenced by the diversity of trader religions, including Buddhism, Islam, Hinduism, Christianity and Confucianism (Rodgers, 2017). Some of the cultural fusion between the different religions that emerged include the Javanese Abangan religion, which resulted from the blending of Islam and Hinduism, and Kaharingan, which reflects a fusion of Animism and Hinduism (Paramore, 2016).

Catur village is in the Kintamani district of Indonesia's Bali province. Indigenous Balinese Hindus and Chinese Buddhists inhabit the village. The two ethnic groups are united by a harmonious social-religious activity in which both groups converge on the Pura Panyagjagan temple (Sumarniasih, 2017). This temple has Meru Tumpang Solas (eleven roof tiers), places to worship Ida Batara Chatur Muka—one of the manifestations of the Balinese God—as well as Konco Stana Queen Syahbandar (Subandar), the manifestation of the Chinese God (Arnyana, 2017). The Chinese community in Catur village believes that their Purusa ancestors (i.e., male ancestors) were from China and their Perdana ancestors (i.e., women) were from Bali (Arnyana, 2017). In-depth interviews conducted in Catur village suggest that acculturation processes have had a unique effect on the Chinese people who live there. For example, while members of the Chinese community in the village are registered as Buddhists on their identity cards, they follow Balinese Hindu religious practices.

Moreover, the acculturation of the Chinese community to the Balinese Hindu culture and religion is demonstrated by the existence of a Balinese Hindu shrine (*sanggah*) in Chinese houses (Suija, 2018). The Chinese have Balinese-Hindu shrines as well as typical Chinese ones—the Sin-Chi shrines—to worship God and their ancestors (Suija, 2018). Furthermore, over time, the Chinese community has mastered how to woo both Balinese and Chinese followers as they vie for village leadership (Arnyana, 2017).

While past studies suggest that ethnic pluralism in Catur village has resulted in harmonious co-existence between the Balinese and Chinese communities, the theoretical

perspectives on the phenomenon have not been studied. Moreover, the effect of ethnic pluralism on the Balinese and Chinese communities has hardly been studied. This research evaluates the theoretical rationale for acculturation in Catur village, Bali province. The study also seeks to evaluate the effect of acculturation on two communities living in the village. The paper begins with an introduction to the study, followed by the methodology applied and the results of the study, and ends with a conclusion regarding Chinese acculturation in Catur village.

Research Objectives

The objectives of the current study included:

- Identifying the process of cultural acculturation in people of different religions and ethnicities by exploring the history of Catur village and the process of acculturation there
- Evidencing the form of acculturation in cultures of different religions and the ethnic Chinese in Catur village
- Describing the effects of acculturation on cultures of different religions and ethnicities and on the life of the Catur village community.

Theoretical Review

The focus on harmonious living among multicultural communities has inspired discussions among scholars. As such, it is worth focusing on the scholars' various arguments as well as their theories and views on acculturation and harmonious living. As stated by Nilsen (2015), the theoretical framework assists a researcher in understanding, explaining and predicting the predominant elements of a phenomenon, a process which helps identify areas for further study. As such, this study will rely on four theoretical frameworks—the previous work—in their analysis of the acculturation processes in Catur village: assimilation theory, the local wisdom paradigm, the theory of communicative acts and multicultural theory.

Assimilation Theory

Acculturation has affected traditional and religious activities in several ways. As stated, acculturation involves the transfer or spread of social values from one community to another. It is, therefore, important to analyse such effects about assimilation theory with a focus on Catur

village. The term 'assimilation' comes from the word *assimilate*, which means to change things or people to look or behave the same. The assimilation theory suggests that when a society's culture is subject to elements of a foreign culture, a gradual process of accommodation and integration of the new culture occurs without the native culture losing its core elements, a process referred to as acculturation (Mesoudi, 2018). As such, according to assimilation theory, members of the society may adopt new religious practices and abandon their original culture during acculturation. On such occasions, Mesoudi (2018) argues, the new common religion may bring people together. From Mesoudi's argument and support for assimilation theory it is evident that acculturation changes the religious practices of people in a society and hence has a huge social effect. A classic illustration of such effects in Catur village is the adoption of Balinese-Hindu shrines by the Chinese, who otherwise worship God and their ancestors.

Additionally, the Chinese community in Catur village has experienced huge effects of acculturation on its religion—the adoption of new religious practices and the decline of the original culture. Acculturation is affected by numerous societal factors (Cleveland & Xu, 2019). One element that slows acculturation is the strength of the covert culture as described by the anthropologist Linton (1936) in his book *The Study of Man*. Linton (1936) argued that culture comprises two distinct parts: a covert culture, which is the core of a culture, and an overt culture, which is the external embodiment of culture. Other anthropologists, such as White (2016), have similarly argued that covert culture is resistant to change.

Grzymala-Kazłowska & Phillimore (2018), in their support of assimilation theory, suggest that socio-cultural diversity in terms of race, religion, language, sexual orientation, age and gender pose a challenge to the acculturation process. This is a crucial theory which has shaped the entire research goal. Stivala et al. (2016) say that larger societies are made up of vertical and horizontal cleavages, where vertical cleavages refer to different social classes and tastes, while horizontal cleavages refer to differences in ethnicity, class, religion and race. In this study, assimilation theory is used to identify challenges to the cultural acculturation of Balinese and Chinese people living in Catur village.

Local Wisdom Paradigm

The local wisdom paradigm is a modern concept that applies systems theory to understanding the elements of a culture. The paradigm assumes that human societies are

organisms that operate like a system (Pesurnay, 2018). In the study of acculturation, the local wisdom paradigm helps explain the harmonious, peaceful co-existence of diverse cultures in light of its systemic characteristics (Fedi et al., 2018). According to this perspective, some values contribute not only to anticipating violence committed in the name of religion but also creating harmony among people (Amin et al., 2015). The local wisdom paradigm is used here to help understand the peaceful and harmonious co-existence of the Balinese and Chinese communities in Catur village. The local wisdom paradigm entails vital concepts useful in this study. It is a crucial theory which brings to light the co-operation of individuals in a system of society (Amin et al., 2015).

Communicative Acts Theory

The fact that society comprises people from different cultural origins leads to a question about how much people communicate. Importantly, how would diverse cultural elements influence the communication of people in a society like Catur? According to the communicative acts theory, coordinated action from different social elements leads to the need for effective communication (Fong, 2017). As such, the theory provides a framework for understanding how the social order may be maintained despite social diversity (Gunderson, 2017). In a real sense, the place of study for this research is communities with diverse social norms and beliefs. The Chinese have social norms, like the natives of Catur. The theory holds that a parasitic relationship exists in the pursuit of harmony among different social groups, whereby the elements of each group are dependent on one another (Huttunen, 2015). As such, Huttunen (2015) states that for the cultural elements to exist harmoniously, societies must communicate as they find a common and sustainable way of co-existing.

Multicultural Theory

Catur is a village of different cultures whose inhabitants view their respective cultures as precious and would, at all times, try to be identified by them. The multicultural theory states that various cultures have diverse weaknesses and strengths. As such, societies have an inherent tendency to embrace elements of foreign cultures that complement the native culture's weaknesses (Bakalar, 2017; Lafer & Tarman, 2019; Miller & Collette, 2019). This theory helps structure a local view of how the difference in religious practices of the Chinese and the Catur

natives shaped their way of life. According to Tomasi (2017), respecting cultural minorities results in harmonious co-existence among diverse cultures. Conversely, Turner (2017) stated that a lack of respect for cultural diversity among diverse communities living together often leads to ethnic tension. This study relies on the multicultural theory to assist in identifying the degree of acceptance of foreign cultural elements in the Balinese and Chinese communities living in Catur village.

Local Wisdom

Through the local wisdom of *Tri Kaya Parisudha*, the two communities seek to co-exist in harmony. Here, *Parhyangan* denotes the values of *Tri Hita Karana*, which refer to harmonious co-existence and a balanced relationship among humans, God and the spiritual environment (Madya & Ishartiwi, 2018). Based on an interview conducted with the Head and Chief of Catur village, the ethnic communities of the village have always sought to exist in harmony in their thoughts, words and deeds (Divayana, 2018).

Other local wisdom patterns observed during the Chinese acculturation in Catur village include *Tri Hirta Karana* and the *Tat Twan Asi*. According to an interview with a group of Balinese and Chinese leaders, *Tri Hirta Karana*—interpreted as the Three Causes of Happiness—is a concept of harmony consisting of *Parhyangan*, *Palemahan* and *Pawongan*. *Pawongan* refers to a harmonious relationship between humans and society (Roth & Sedana, 2015). The harmonious and peaceful effect of the *Tri Hirta Karana* concept on the communities in the village affirms Peterson's (2017) assertion that the application of local wisdom within a community helps maintain peace amid cultural diversity.

Methods

Research Design

The study used a descriptive qualitative research design. The research design entails gathering qualitative data from the participants, coding the data and finding common themes in the responses. Thus, in this context, the researchers began by asking about the necessity for conducting the culture study on harmonious living. A simple descriptive qualitative research design was used to find all the cultural elements—religion and ethnic values—among the Chinese and natives of Catur village. The Catur village formed the region case study, where

first-hand information was collected from the inhabitants. This method allowed the researchers to study changes in religion and societal or ethnic values from an acculturation perspective. In addition to obtaining data through interviews with research respondents, detailed notes relating to the meaning of values and the authors' understanding of the variable were taken. Unstructured questionnaires were used to collect qualitative data from the respondents. The collected data were coded to identify the common themes in the responses, and then each theme was analysed relative to the literature review outcomes to enable a clear description of the population culture.

Participants

There were 20 research participants in this study: the leaders and citizens of Catur village of both Balinese and Chinese origin. They comprised one Head of Catur village, one chief of Catur village, two Balinese community leaders, two Chinese community leaders, six Balinese community citizens, six Chinese community citizens and two village Pecalang figures (Pecalang are officers in charge of security in Catur village) with the characteristics shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Characteristics of participants

Participants	Sum	Initial	Age (years old)
Head of Catur village	1	HCV	82
Balinese community leaders	2	BCL_1 BCL_2	46 51
Chinese community leaders	2	CCL_1 CCL_2	82 78
Balinese community citizens	6	BCC_1 BCC_2 BCC_3 BCC_4 BCC_5 BCC_6	65 49 59 52 63 43
Village Pecalang figures	2	VPF_1 VPF_2	74 68

Purposive random sampling was used to select participants with a snowball technique that allowed the researcher to select participants for inclusion in a sample based on given

characteristics (Hoerber et al., 2017). Purposive sampling was used in this study due to the compatibility with the present research objectives and in accordance with other participant characteristics. The selected participants mentioned in the table above, namely the leaders and citizens of Catur village of both Balinese and Chinese origin, were persons born and raised in Catur village and, thus, who know the real situation and conditions of Catur village. In this case, participants were ⁶³ selected based on their role in the community as well as location convenience, considering the available resources and time limitations. The snowball technique was used to select the next participant on the recommendations of previous participants.

Data and Sources of Data

Primary and secondary research data was used in the research study. The primary research data stemmed from the qualitative research study, in which the respondents expressed opinions, feelings and perceptions about ethics and religious information. The themes identified in the study formed the basis for the primary data about the Catur population. The secondary research data stemmed from the studies already conducted on the population. The secondary data ⁶² augmented the findings of the primary research and provided supportive details to enable multifaceted perspectives on the subject. Thus, the primary data was obtained directly from research sources (informants)—20 participants, as shown in Table 1 above—while secondary data was obtained indirectly or through the observation of supporting and related documents in the literature or previous studies.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data collected through the interviews were analysed using a thematic model. This analytical technique involves establishing consistent meanings within a dataset (Palinkas et al., 2015). The responses got coded in terms of statements and words commonly appearing in the responses, and the words used to formulate common themes. Prominent themes within the collected data were coded to provide deeper insights into theoretical perspectives of Chinese acculturation in Catur village and the acculturation effects on the Balinese and Chinese communities living there.

The procedure for qualitative data analysis involved multiple steps: gathering the feedback, coding the respondents' comments, running the research questions and reporting. The

first step in gathering feedback involved bringing together the comments from both the structured and unstructured interviews. This set the stage for the next step, which involved coding the comments and statements from the interview for each question. The penultimate step involved running the research questions through restatements to ensure alignment of the themes and formulation of answers addressing the research questions. The final step of the analysis was reporting, where the major themes observed in the research were presented in an address to the research questions.

Results

The results are presented based on a robust research plan. The essential results stemmed from the research conducted in the study area, which answered the research questions and objectives of this study. From the results, it is evident that the theoretical themes, such as local wisdom paradigm, communicative acts theory and multicultural theory, comfortably explain acculturation in Catur village and its effects on both traditional and religious practices. This section provides an in-depth perspective of the study results through the lens of cultural acculturation, forms of cultural acculturation and the effects of cultural acculturation in Catur village.

Identifying the process of cultural acculturation in people of different religions and ethnicities by exploring the history of Catur village and its acculturation process.

Catur village is located between the Writing Mountains, Batur Mountains, Catur Mountains and Mangu Mountains in the northwest of Bali. Catur village is located precisely to the northwest of the Kintamani subdistrict, 15 km away. ¹⁴ Based on the results of interviews with the head of Catur village, it was explained that the name of the village was taken from that of the Catur mountain to the west of the village, approximately 5 km from *Banjar Mungsengan*, one of the official *banjars* in Catur village. It was also explained that Catur village shares a border with two different districts: Badung Regency and Buleleng Regency. The existence of Catur village cannot be separated from the Kingdom of Bangli. It is said that in around 1860, several royal retainers were assigned to guard the Bangli kingdom area, which borders two different kingdoms (now districts), Badung and Buleleng, assisted by Chinese citizens who were believed to have

great martial-arts abilities. Of course, the existence of the Chinese in the Kingdom of Bangli cannot be separated from the history of *the Pura Dalem Balingkang*, the history of the name and location of Catur village, Kintamani district, Bangli Regency. At present, Catur village has three regional Banjar offices: Banjar Dinas Catur, Banjar Dinas Mungsengan and Banjar Dinas Lampu.

The process of acculturation in Catur village cannot be separated from the village's history. Catur village, Kintamani district, Bangli Regency, is located in the border area of Badung Regency and Buleleng Regency. The village has three Banjar Dinas: Banjar Dinas Catur, Banjar Dinas Lampu and Banjar Dines Mungsengan. Administratively, Catur village is led by the village head, or *Perbekel*, who is assisted by the *Kelian-Kelian Banjar Dinas*, the head of the hamlet. The village head is assisted in non-official, traditional activities by the *Kelian Desa (Pemucuk Desa)*, *Bendesa Village Pekraman*.

Catur village is inhabited by indigenous Hindus and Chinese citizens who embrace Buddhism, uniting in social-religious activities in harmony. In fact, Hindu and Buddhist worship are united in a temple called the Panyagiagan Temple. This temple has *Meru Tumpang Solas* (eleven places of worship) for *Ida Batara Catur Muka* and a *Konco Astana Ratu Syahbandar (Subandar)*.

According to various sources, Chinese ancestors settled in Catur village, specifically *Banjar Lampu*, upon being assigned to guard the Bangli border with Buleleng and Badung by the King of Bangli in around 1860. This belief prevailed because the Chinese were said to have expert martial-arts skills, such as kung fu.

When guarding the border area, the Chinese lit lanterns throughout the village in order to observe the enemy. Enemy soldiers thought the points of light were a sign of the numerous opponents to be fought. In the end, the expansion into Catur village area was cancelled. Thus, the name Banjar Lampu is believed to have originated from the word *lampion* (lantern).

Over time, some Chinese soldiers settled in Catur village and married the village girls. From these marriages arose the acceptance by the two existing communities of each other's traditions, customs, culture and religion; there was a process of acculturation between the local community of Catur village and the Chinese. The Chinese community believes that its Purus ancestors were from China and its predecessor ancestors were from Bali.

Characteristic of the formation of a 'new culture' as a result of acculturation, there is a temple sheltered by Hindus and Buddhists called *penyungsung* and *pengemponnya*. Another characteristic is the existence of two shrines in each Chinese family: *Siu Tji*, believed to be the ancestral shrine of *Purusa (male)*, and *Sanggah*, believed to be a place of ancestor worship for *Perdana (female)*.

According to Catur Head Village, *the Penyagjagan Temple* in Catur village has its roots in the word '*jagjag*', which means 'coming closer'. As the end of the day approaches, the person becomes a teacher, 'active' in that he or she comes close to the place for activities. The aim is to 'get closer' to the idea of *Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa*, the Almighty God, in all his manifestations in Hinduism and (Chinese) Buddhism.

This is where Hindus and (Chinese) Buddhists unite in one goal, even though they have different beliefs other than in the existence of one God Almighty. *The Panyagjagan* temple is thought to have existed in the ancient Balinese kingdom, while its forerunner was unearthed by the discovery of several *pertima* or statues at the temple, which was thought to have been built in the 19th century. *The Panyagjagan* temple underwent restoration in 1947 and 2002. It is the oldest temple in Pakraman Catur village; there are several other old temples in the village, such as Pebini Temple, Padang Nguah Temple, and Bukit Sari Temple.

The acculturation process in Catur village conforms to the acculturation theory, which states that social processes occur when humans with a particular culture are influenced by elements of a foreign culture that are different in nature, so that the elements of the foreign culture are gradually accommodated and integrated into the culture itself without losing the character of their own culture. This is called the symptom of acculturation. In his book *The Study of Man*, Linton (1936) proposed that culture has two different parts: its core (covert culture) and the manifestation of the birth of a culture (overt culture). The core includes (1) a system of cultural values; (2) religious beliefs considered sacred; (3) some customs studied very early in the process of individual socialisation of community members and (4) some customs with functions that are widely used in the community. Conversely, the birth of culture is physical culture, including useful tools and objects but also knowledge, procedures, lifestyle and reactions that are useful and comforting. The covert culture comprises the pertinent part of culture considered difficult to replace with foreign elements. The anthropologists Parsons (1936)

and Boas (1938) stated that culture that is slow to change and difficult to replace with foreign elements is covert culture, as described above.

In analysing an acculturation process, there are also problems regarding various socio-cultures that are always present in society. Therefore, in rather broad society, there is usually a vertical and horizontal diversity. Vertical diversity concerns social class and caste differences. Horizontal diversity concerns ethnic, class, religious and racial differences (Ager & Ager, 2010).

First, from interviews with village citizens, it became clear that the Chinese Buddhist community had accepted and adopted the customs and traditions of the local Hindu community. One of the traditional customs adopted is communal child discipline (Divayana, 2018). The research results showed that acculturation could drastically change the traditional activities of a community. Pecalang figures in the community displayed enough knowledge about *Tri Kaya Parisudha* since good behaviour is associated with good security in the region. Moreover, by observing the behaviour of the Catur village community, it became clear that the concept of self-control has been profoundly integrated into the lives of the two communities. For example, during the interview with the citizens, I observed that parents allowed communal child discipline by adult members irrespective of community origin.

Under the local wisdom of *Tat Twam Asi*, the Balinese and Chinese communities co-exist with high regard for one another in light of the belief that one God created them. An interview with a group of Catur village community citizens found that the Chinese community recognises *Tat Twam Asi* even though the concept is derived from Hindu teachings, namely the Brahman-Atman Aikyam. Interviewees reported that under Hinduism, Brahman is *Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa*, God Almighty and the source of everything in the world. The concept of *Tat Twam Asi* assumes that since everything on earth is derived from Brahman, including humans, then all humans are equal before *Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa*. Local leaders also reported that the local wisdom of ancestral heritage, such as *Tat Twam Asi*, *Sagilik Saguluk Salunglung Sabayantaka*, was preserved for the sake of harmony in religious life and the community. Buddhist and Hindu communities have similar religious practices. For example, in their spiritual life, most Hindus in Catur village have *parahyangan* in their backyard called *sanggah* or *merajan*. These religious practices enable both communities to live harmoniously despite the differences in their traditions (Chotimah et al., 2018). In general, the values rooted in local wisdom are firmly held by both the village's communities (Widana, 2017).

Evidencing the form of acculturation in cultures of different religions and the ethnic Chinese in Catur Village.

In an effort to strengthen inter-religious harmony, the Balinese people in general and the Catur village community in particular cultivate local wisdom that lives and develops in the community. These beautiful pearls of local wisdom can help anticipate religious violence and create harmony between religious groups. The Balinese people possess vibrant local wisdom that has the potential to maintain harmony and peace between religious communities. Local wisdom includes *Tri Hita Karana*, *Tri Kaya Parisudha*, *Law of Karma Phala*, *Village of Kala Patra*, *Tat TwanAsi*, and *Rwa Bhineda*. *Tri Hirta Karana*, the three causes of happiness² is a concept of harmony consisting of *Parhyangan*, *Palemahan* and *Pawongan*. The values of *Tri Hita Karana* that express a harmonious and balanced relationship patterns between humans, God and the spiritual environment are called *Parhyangan*. The harmonious relationship between humans and the social environment is called *Pawongan*. The harmonious relationship between humans and the natural environment, in order to achieve life and inner well-being, is called *Palemahan*. The concept of *Tri Hita Karana* is not only applied in traditional villages but has also institutionalised the units of life and other livelihoods, including maintaining diversity, as in Catur village. The Chinese people and local communities, the Balinese people in particular, lived harmoniously. The Catur village community in particular always seeks a harmonious relationship among thoughts, words and deeds. This concept is known as *Tri Kaya Parisudha*, three actions that must be purified. These actions are *Manacika* (thinking holy or good thoughts), *Wacika* (right words), and *Kayika* (correct behaviour). *Tri Kaya Parisudha* teaches us to think, speak and behave correctly. With a good mind, good words will emerge so as to bring about good deeds or behaviours. From the *Tri Kaya Parisudha* arises self-control, a value of wisdom in maintaining harmony in relations between human beings, including among various children, as in the Kintamani village.

Hinduism also contains *Karma Phala*, the law of cause and effect. Every action or karma must produce a result of action or *phala*. If the action is carried out with good intentions, the result will be good; if the action is based on bad intentions, the result will be bad. This wisdom also has the potential to maintain harmony within Indonesia, which comprises various ethnicities and religions. This concept was well implemented in Catur village. Each community activity,

according to the source, was carried out with full sincerity, in a spirit of cooperation. In addition, one concept of wisdom underlying the structure of Balinese culture is Kala Patra Village. Desa Kala Patra identifies the process of adjustment according to place, time and situation, like accepting a state of diversity in uniformity or a difference in unity. This concept provides flexible reasons for outer and inner communication by accepting differences and variations according to factors of place, time and circumstance. The concept of *Desa Kala Patra* shows an acceptance of life's reality that in diversity, there is diversity, and in unity, there must be differences. This conception gives the communication form and direction, flexibility, and tolerance among the children of Bali. They accept diversity, differences and reality, according to the village, time and *Patra* (state). This concept is deeply embedded in the lives of the people of Kintamani Bangli Village. The Chinese Ethnic Society is Buddhist and accepts and adopts the customs and traditions maintained by the local Hindus in Catur Village.

In addition, Balinese people or Hindus know the concept of *Tat Twam Asi*, which comes from the teachings of Hinduism, namely *Brahman-Atman Aikyam*. Brahman is *Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa*, God Almighty, the source of everything in the world. Because all that is on the earth (*mercapada*) comes from Brahman, including humans, humans become the same before *Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa*, God Almighty. Being a human being with another human being is the same as 'I am You'. The difference is only outward because the quality of each body lived by the atman is different. *Tat Twam Asi* is a reflection of universal love between people. It means 'he is me too'. This expression also means that hurting others means hurting oneself and helping others means helping oneself; there is a high value of solidarity. The most important value of *Tat Twam Asi* is the value of social solidarity, because the function reflected in the past, present and future is as a guide, stylist and coach of humanity helping us to act, behave and respect each other. This can be actualised in the life of the Balinese community, especially the association of life between human names in community life. Therefore, the Balinese community has a motto, '*Sagilik Saguluk, Salunglung Sabayantaka*', which reflects the ideals and desire to always live together in a state of joy and sorrow, facing all the challenges of life. The concept of *Tat Twam Asi* is still held firmly by the Balinese people as a guide in maintaining their diversity.

The values of this local wisdom remain held firmly by the people in Catur village. The spirit of religious and racial diversity in this village is well-maintained. Hindus and Buddhists live harmoniously and peacefully and uphold the customs inherited from their ancestors, as local

wisdom strengthens their unity and togetherness. This village is a national role model of diversity because its people, who are of different ethnicities and beliefs, can co-exist harmoniously. The village's population is mostly Hindu, and around sixty families are Buddhists.

The Buddhist Chinese Catur community lives in Banjar Lampu, mingling with Hindus. Hindus, in addition to Banjar Lampu, mostly live in Banjar Mungsengan and Banjar Catur. Local ancestral wisdom, such as *Tat Wam Asi*, *Sagilik Saguluk Sahunlung Sabayantaka*, is still preserved in the order of religious and social life. These two different religious communities have similarities in carrying out their religious teachings. In their spiritual life, like most Hindus in Bali, each Hindu community in Catur village has a *parahyangan* in his or her yard called *Sanggah* or *Merajan*. Likewise, Buddhists in Catur village, in addition to having *Sanggah* in their yards, have a place of worship for their ancestors called *Siu Tji*, which is built alongside the *Sanggah* (a place of family worship in Bali), as shown in Figures 1 and 2.

This shows that there is a spirit of harmonious co-existence despite following different traditions. Even *Konco* Buddhists stood alongside *Palinggih Meru Tumpang Sebelas* in the *Penyagjagan Temple*, an area with *Puseh Pura* in Catur village. *Palinggih Meru Tumpang Solas* is the place of worship for *Ida Batara Catur Muka*, while the Buddhist *Konco* was the place of worship of *Queen Syahbandar*.



Figure 1. Chinese Citizens' Ancestral Place of Worship (*Siu Tji*)



Figure 2. Ancestral Worship Place

The Catur village head said that in this village alone, there were *Meru Tumpang Solas* (eleven). This is highly unusual to have alongside *Konco*. According to the village head, in living a religious life, Buddhists in this village remain in unity with Hindus, who are in the *Kahyangan Tiga*, *Pura Puseh*, *Pura Dalem* and *Pura Baleagung*. In each yard there are objects;

both objects in the karma house (community) are Hindu and of Chinese descent. The Chinese, however, have a place of worship for their ancestors built alongside the *Sanggah*, called *Sui Tji*. Stated the village head:

The lives of our citizens, despite being ethnically different, remain harmonious and peaceful. This has happened a long time ago. Maintaining the harmony of togetherness in diversity has been recognised nationally, with the evidence that Catur village won first place at the national level in togetherness among religious believers.

Hindu ritual traditions are also adopted in the village. For example, when a Chinese resident of Catur village dies or *kelayu sekar*, the funeral rites begin with a Hindu ritual procession, followed by burial in the Buddhist way. Thus, in this ritual, they must be *nunas tirtha* in *Pura Dalem*.

According to the communicative action theory, coordinated action by people of different religions and ethnicities in Catur village generates communication needs within the community, which must be met if there is a possibility of coordinating actions effectively to meet needs. The need here is for two religious and ethnic groups to live harmoniously. Therefore, the acculturation in Catur village is very much in accordance with the analytical philosophy of the communicative action theory, which offers an initial foothold for communicative action, the media in coordinating actions. This theory departs from the structure of symbolic expressions but still has to focus on the matter of how several actors' actions related to each other achieve an understanding of these actions interwoven in social space and historical time, as happened in Catur village.

A similar theory is the theory of multiculturalism, which aims to celebrate differences. For example, multi-religious education, ritual performances and the promotion of ethnic food are aspects of educational policy. Multiculturalism opposes the practice of ideology and the structure that forms a racist society. Multiculturalism has numerous advantages based on the perspective of the marker. As Hall comments in Baker (2008), identity is not an essentialist category but something that must be learned, as must the pursuit of intention to live with differences. Multiculturalism unifies the diversity of values and the world within the framework of democracy. Identity can be the only similarity, but the commitment to democratic procedures and the rights and obligations recognised inter-subjectively is held by various groups. The

social, civil and political domains advance democracy and provide the conditions for a distinctive identity project, as is the case in Catur village.

Effect of acculturation on cultures of different religions and ethnicities in the life of the Catur village community.

People of Chinese descent inhabiting Catur village are said to have been around for a long time, since the era of the kingdom. According to one of Catur village's Chinese leaders, around the 1860s, ethnic Chinese were placed by *King Bangli* in Catur village, an area bordering Badung Regency and Buleleng. These people were considered strong guards for the border region because they possessed martial-arts skills. Those from various clans, such as *Lee, Poo, Ang* or *Tywa*, were assigned to the village reef in *Banjar Lampu* for shelter. Currently, there are 40 families of Chinese descent in Catur village. Over time, some family members migrated to major cities, such as Denpasar and Surabaya.

Chinese citizens in Catur village have the same rights and obligations as Hindus according to the Chinese leaders of the *Banjar Lampu community*. They have also inherited obligations in onboarding (*turun mekrama* or *mebanjar*), cooperation and fellowship or *pepeson* for the ceremony at the temple. They also celebrate Hindu holy days, such as *Galungan* and *Kuningan*. Balinese and Chinese citizens in Catur village have the same rights and obligations, as explained by the Chair of *Pecalang* and *Danton Hansip Banjar Lampu* and Chair of the Chinese Catur Village Association.

According to the Head of Catur Village, there are no terms 'golden child' and 'silver child', they are the same both Chinese and Hindus, therefore they have same right be *pecalang* leader. In fact, *Kelian Banjar Adat Lampu* was also held by a Chinese resident. This indicates that there is no racial and religious discrimination in this village. Chinese residents are given the same opportunities as Hindus to become leaders and build villages. The description above shows that the social effect of the acculturation in Catur village provides equality in rights and obligations to the people, both Chinese ethnic Buddhists and Balinese ethnic Hindus.

Acculturation has an effect on the socio-religious values of the local community, such as the establishment of the same service to residents of different ethnicities and religions. They jointly worship at the *Kahyangan Tiga* temple and maintain their ancestral beliefs and traditions. Both sets of beliefs are preserved with sincerity and devotion, without burden and coercion, as

they have, essentially, the same goal: achieving inner and outer happiness. Both sets of beliefs are inseparable from the history of their ancestors who first inhabited this region and married indigenous women. *Purusa (male) Chinese* and *Predana (female) Balinese* are considered Hindu. To honour both, *Sanggah* and *Siu Tji* were established in the yards of the houses. Refuse or rampant is a place to worship Hindu ancestors, while *Siu Tji* is a place to worship Chinese ancestors. Consequently, every yard in a Chinese Catur house has a *Sanggah* alongside a *Siu Tji*. There is a *piodalan* ceremony in the *Sanggah* and worship at *Siu Tji* with offerings in the form of drinks and cakes. Some, however, also place the *Siu Tji* in a special room, as in the house of the respondent family. *Siu Tji* is used as a place of worship according to the Chinese tradition, venerating and praying for departed ancestors.

They also come for *turun mekrama* or *mebanjar (ceremonial traditions)*, cooperation and fellowship or *pepeson* for the ceremony. The Chinese mingle with Hindu religious worshippers at the temple in addition to praying at *Konco*. Likewise, they attend the *Majenukan (mourning)* and *Pitra Yad* ceremonies for those who have died. Hindu rituals related to *Manusa Yadnya*, such as *Kepus Pungsed*, *Telu Bulanin* and *Otonan* are also carried out by the Chinese residents of Catur village. When a child becomes an adult, or before marriage, a Chinese ritual is held: 'Praying God'. Wedding ceremonies generally adopt Chinese customs but begin with the *Biyakawonan (Hindu)* ceremony.

Hindu holy days, such as *Galungan* and *Kuningan*, are also celebrated. Chinese people in this village also recognise the Hindu *Ngaben* ceremony for family members who have died. Forty days after burial, the *Co Kong Tik* ritual is carried out. After this procession, the spirits of the ancestors are worshipped at *Siu Tji*. In fact, the *Butha Yad* ceremony is also held: *Pecaruan* in the temple and at home, after three days of burial ceremonies. *Upakara*, the update, is jointly conducted and fostered by *Pura Dalem*. The Chinese residents are also advised by *nunas tirtha* at *Pura Dalem* for this ceremony. The Chinese cemetery contains sacred places, such as *Pura Praja Pati* and a *Hindu palinggih*. Every year, on *Cing Ming* (April 5), they pray at the cemetery for their deceased ancestors.

The research conducted answered the question: how do religion and ethical values support multicultural communities in co-existing in the same territory? Another vital question, the effect of acculturation on traditional and religious activities, was also answered. From the study, it was evident that acculturation practices have had an effect on the religious beliefs of the

Balinese and Chinese communities in Catur village. The first effect, as identified from the study, is that through acculturation, the two communities have embraced the other's religion, even though the Balinese community originally practiced Hinduism while the Chinese community practiced Buddhism. According to the interviews and general observations, the Chinese community has, over time, embraced the *Pura Kahyangan Tiga*, the three main temples in the village of Balinese Hindu origins. Therefore, the Chinese community has mingled with Hindu worshippers at the Hindu temple.

Second, the two communities observe the traditions and beliefs of their respective ancestors based on a sincere devotion to their culture, even though the two communities celebrate together during the Hindu holidays. For example, the Chinese community has embraced the Balinese naming system. Based on interview data, some Chinese individuals have adopted Balinese Hindu family names, such as *Wayan, Made, Nyoman* and *Ketut*. During Hindu holy days, such as Galungan and Kuningan, the two communities celebrate together. Similarly, the Balinese community joins the Chinese community as they observe *Co Kong Tik*, held 40 days after a Chinese person is buried. During this ritual, there is a procession, followed by the worship of the Chinese ancestral spirits in the *Siu Tji*.

It is evident that the two communities have adopted mutual communication strategies. This shows that communication is a vital tool for harmonious living. During the interviews, I observed that people from the two communities had synchronised their symbolic language. For example, although the Balinese and Chinese traditionally have different language signs for the phrase 'I love you' (Wafa & Wijayanti, 2018), the Chinese descendants used the Balinese sign. Based on the interviews with the community's citizens, the need for the two communities to live harmoniously with different religious and ethnic origins necessitated the synchronisation of communication methods. Thus, acculturation in the village of Catur closely matches the analytical philosophy of the communicative action theory.

It is evident from the research that Balinese and Chinese communities in Catur village respect each other's rights and define their obligations, which allows for the harmonious co-existence of the two communities. During the interviews, two community leaders from the village explained that Chinese citizens have the same rights and duties as Hindu citizens. The duties included *mekrama/mebanjar* (patrolling), community service, *kena peturunan* (sharing costs) and *person* (contributions needed for various ceremonies at the temple). Thus, the

Balinese and Chinese people all had the right to be named Head of the *Pecalang*. In fact, at the time of the interview, the position of *Kelian Banjar Adat Lampu*, the chief of a sub-village in Catur village, was held by a person of Chinese descent.

Lastly, the presence of multi-religious education, cultural ritual performances, and the promotion of ethnic foods was evident in the area of study, which relates to the concept of multicultural theory (Baker, 2008).

Discussion

The research results prove that acculturation's effects on religious and traditional practices may lead to harmonious living in society. There is always a need for human beings to live in harmonious environments, either as individuals or as groups, in pursuit of peaceful co-existence amid multicultural environments. Catur village, where the influence of acculturation on both religion and traditional practices is displayed, proves to be a good research area. Historically, Indonesia's location along historical trading routes has resulted in strong multiculturalism and diverse religious traditions, such as those of Buddhism, Islam, Hinduism, Christianity and Confucianism (Rodgers, 2017).

The first part of this paper focused on the cultural acculturation process through the lens of Catur village. The responses reveal a close association between Catur village and its surroundings in terms of the name origin relative to the neighbouring villages. Based on the outcomes, Catur village comprised people from different religious and ethnic settings, such as Hindus and Buddhists, whose worship largely influenced the cultural integration of the people. The establishment of temples demonstrates the acculturation process that had commenced because of the acculturation. In addition, the arrival of the Chinese soldiers led to intermarriage with Catur women, which strongly cemented the association. Cultural arts, such as Chinese kung fu, also spread among the ethnic groups, leading to acculturation among the groups. The process of cultural assimilation between the different ethnic groups led to the creation of the traditions, customs, culture and religion witnessed in the present-day Catur village. The cultural characteristics, such as the establishment of shrines and temples for both the Hindu and Buddhist groups, symbolise the amalgamation of different cultures among the communities living in Catur. Based on the above observations, the acculturation process in Catur seems consistent with the acculturation theory, which postulates that social processes occur when people from a given culture experience the influence of another foreign culture. Notably, certain cultural elements,

such as the shrines and the temples, remain uninfluenced due to the strong beliefs among the people; such elements comprise the covert culture, which cannot be easily replaced by foreign elements. The theory of local wisdom also seems strongly supported by the virtue of the Chinese community consenting to have their dead undergo the Balinese rituals, which conform to Buddhist customs.

The acculturation in cultures of different religions and the ethnic Chinese in Catur village are equally evidenced through different forms. The first form of acculturation is shown through the local wisdom, which enabled the groups to solve different issues that occurred between the Balinese and the Chinese. The communities equally established harmonious relationship with the environment, *Palemahan*, an element mainly propagated by the forces of modernity. The proliferation of such ideas and thoughts among the Catur groups symbolise the various forms of acculturation among them. The values mainly propagated through local wisdom remain strongly embedded in the village fabric as the groups attempt to establish harmony and minimise any conflict that could arise as a result of disagreements between cultural beliefs and values. In addition, the communicative action theory defines the association between the distinct groups within the community. The theory postulates that a coordinated action among people of distinct ethnicities or religions leads to communication needs that must be met. The groups of people in Catur seem to dwell in harmony since their active interaction has inspired the establishment of various needs that must be met through proper communication. Multicultural practices are also evidence of acculturation, with both Hindus and Buddhists engaging in different practices within the same social setting. This reveals that the groups accept and embrace their strong diversity.

The effects of acculturation are also clearly seen among the religious and ethnic groups in Catur village. The research forms a starting point for more debates regarding acculturation and its effects on both traditional and religious practices. This constitutes a field of research that many scholars have long wanted to explore. As covered in the four theoretical approaches, debates and more research on acculturation can proceed in the years to come supported by the basic principles and evidence obtained from this Catur research. Government institutions should, therefore, enhance practices that bring people together for harmonious relationships in any society. As such, it is worth mentioning that the adoption of religious practices within society should be appreciated. Communities where people remain at peace are more likely to develop, unlike those with constant conflicts (Ward & Geeraert, 2016). Bringing together communities

with diverse cultural practices, however, has long been difficult. Thus, if the influence of acculturation on religious and traditional practices can be a primary way to find common ground among various cultures in a society, then acculturation should be viewed as a positive thing.

Conclusion and Limitations

The study's objectives span the identification of cultural acculturation among the distinct religious and ethnic groups, documenting the forms of acculturation and describing the effects of acculturation in Catur and have been evidenced in the above outcomes. In terms of cultural acculturation, the evidence suggests that the process was mainly precipitated by the historical relationship between the Bangli kingdom and the ethnic Chinese, who were given the task of guarding the Bangli royal territory along the border of the Badung and Buleleng kingdoms. Through that historical journey, a process of acceptance and mutual understanding began between the two communities in Catur village, giving rise to a new culture by absorbing the culture and traditions of each ethnic group in Catur village. Among the forms of cultural acculturation exhibited in Catur village is the harmonisation of life that fosters mutual care, *sagilik saguluk salunglung sabiantaka*, which is the application of Hindu local wisdom concepts, such as *Tri Hita Karana*, *Tri Kaya Parisudha*, *Karma Phala*, *Kala Village Patra*, *Tat Twan Asi* and *Rwa Bhineda*. In addition, acculturation exists in the form of a temple in which the main mandala is the Hindu community's *Pelinggih*, *Pelinggih Meru Tumpang Solas* as a place of worship for *Ida Betara Catur Muka*, which is adjacent to the *Buddhist Konco* as a place of worship for *Ratu Subandar*. The temple is the *Penyangjagan Temple*. Similarly, in every Chinese citizen's house is a *Sanggah* as a place of worship of *Predana* ancestors and *Siu Tji* for *Purusa* ancestors. Finally, on the effects of acculturation, the social lives of the Catur community form distinct patterns. For instance, it provides equal rights and obligations to Chinese ethnic Buddhists and Balinese ethnic Hindus. In addition, it affects the social and religious life of the Catur village community, namely through the establishment of multicultural *Srdha Bhakti*, such as the presence of Hindu rituals in Chinese communities and temples jointly held by local Hindus and Chinese Buddhists. The above findings demonstrate the distinct effects on the religious and ethnic values among the communities.

This study provides evidence that harmonious life in any multicultural society can be achieved primarily through acculturation. Using Catur village as a case study, we identify the

best practices for multicultural communities looking to co-exist in the same territory. This is a resourceful and educative scholarly study that forms a foundation for future research on acculturation and its effects on harmonious living. The findings of this research can be used by government authorities as a groundwork for pursuing harmonious relationships among diverse people within their jurisdictions. Due to the limited time of and limited participants within this study, it involved interviews with only a small number of participants from Catur village's citizens. As such, it could not evaluate the full extent of acculturation processes and their effect on the Balinese and Chinese communities. Future studies should further explore acculturation patterns and effects within larger samples using the validated research instrument.

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