Babad Cendek: Inclusive Values in West Bali on Multicultural Communities as an Effort to Deradicalize and Build a *Toleran* Civilization of a Nation

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Abstract. This study aims to examine the inclusive values contained in the Babad Cendek as a past consensus on multicultural societies in West Bali region. This is a picture of the sociohistorical of West Bali as the inheritor of the multiethnic and multi-religious values of harmony. The inclusive practices contained in Babad Cendek can be seen as a means of building a tolerant civilization in the people of West Bali in particular and Indonesia in general. This study used a qualitative research design. Conducted using an ethnographic study design that made former Dutch colonial plantation workers since the second decade of twentieth century. Currently they live in Sumber Kelampok Village, Gerokgak District, Buleleng Regency, Bali. Consists of various ethnicities such as Madurese, Javanese, Bugis and Balinese. The data analysis technique used in this research is qualitative data analysis.

Keywords: inclusive, multicultural, multiethnic, multi-religious

1. Introduction

This research will examine inclusive values contained in Babad Cendek as a product or consensus in the past on multicultural societies in West Bali. They are social communities formed by Dutch colonial plantation workers since second decade of twentieth century. They consist of various ethnicities such as Madurese, Javanese, Bugis and Balinese. Madurese and Bugis ethnic groups were specifically brought in by the Dutch to harvest forest, and the other ethnics, Balinese and Javanese, were in charge of planting and maintaining plant seeds.

Unlike the Dutch plantations in other parts of Indonesia which were water surplus, due to geographic factors and the refusal to open plantations in southern Bali, the establishment of colonial plantations in West Bali focused on coconut and kapok crops. As a result of historical processualization of social community formed by the multiethnic and multireligious the Dutch colonial plantation workers in twentieth century, a consensus was born which they call Babad Cendek which provides historical legitimacy as well as a reference for social practice, culture towards a tolerant and harmonious community life. Babad, as the Balinese, Javanese and Madurese call it, is an attempt to set the stage for the tradition and history of shared values of a group of people.

The Balinese, Javanese and Madurese refer to genealogies to legitimize where the come from. It was written or passed down to the next generation through oral tradition. Babad, apart

from being considered a form of oral tradition, is also one of the ways a person or group of people views the past and then builds and rearranges stories of the past in order to make the present and future better and more meaningful. This kind of view, apart from having a sociohistorical meaning, also contains an educational meaning, in which there are processes and events of documenting ancestral values, regeneration, publication, regeneration and even the inheritance of communal values.

The existence of Babad Cendek as a historical legitimacy in the multiethnic and multireligious society in West Bali which was formed due to historical processualization and still survives until now is very similar with Pancasila as a collective memory in history of the past of Indonesian. By linking various national phenomena recently such as the strengthening of ethnic sentiment and religious primordialism, it is necessary to make efforts to explore inclusive values in locality. Apart from being an effort to strengthen the national identity as well as to provide confidence about a sense of self *bhinneka tunggal ika*, so that foreign ideas that try to tear our nationality can be avoided.

2. Method

This research was conducted using a social history method combined with ethnographic research designs on racial communities formed by the labor of Dutch colonial plantations in West Bali since second decade of twentieth century. This study focuses on description and explanation of cultural phenomena that can be reconstructed from perspective of natural research participants. Research with an ethnographic study approach for above purposes requires researcher to be directly involved in research arena to make observations, in depth interviews, and discussions, as well as study existing historical documents.

3. Result and Discussion

Socialhistorism Background of Multiethnic Society

Approaching nineteenth century, European private companies who opened plantations in West Bali had difficulty finding local labor. Local workers, especially from southern Bali, are usually brought in only at harvest time because of the status of casual workers and not based on contracts (Bagus, 1975). As a solution, workers were brought in from Madura, Java and Bugis (Liefricnk, 1969).

Workers from Java and Madura are assigned the task of clearing land, including digging soil and ripping forests. Because of their heavy duties, they make settlements and settle permanently around the plantations. Workers from southern Bali got a share of weeding the plants and sowing the seeds (Vickers, 1990). After harvesting, they will return to their home areas.

The first settlement of migrant workers from Madura began in 1918 when a coconut plantation in Sumberklampok Village was opened by Willem Remmert. He brought 65 forest workers from Sapudi Island, Madura. They are the first generation of Madurese in region. On the other hand, Javanese workers were brought in in 1922 by John Powtal and established settlements in different plantation locations but still in one village area.

The migration of Balinese people, especially from Karangasem Regency, started in 1963 when Mount Agung erupted. People of Badung, Klungkung, Nusa Penida, Tabanan and Gianyar began in the middle 1980s, along with the need for labor on plantation land whose concession rights were transferred to PT Dharmajati and CV. Margarana.

Early migration of Balinese people to West Bali occurred in 1962. The Governor of Bali, Anak Agung Bagus Suteja, moved 89 farmer families from Badung and Tabanan. He borrowed a plantation area of 50 hectares. Not having had chance to issue a circular to

withdraw farming family, its traces disappeared along with the tragedy of 30 September 1965 (Cribb, 2004). The provisional suspicion is that they are members of Barisan Tani Indonesia (BTI), which is one of the underbow organizations of Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI).

Agrarishe Wet and The Opening of West Bali's Plantation

Agrarian Law which was in effect since 1870 in Java was also implemented outside Java. This law states that there is common land ownership by citizens (*domein verklaring*). All land belongs to the state, except when other parties, such as the local king, raise objections with provable reasons. Therefore, Dutch Government could lease state lands for private European private plantations for a period of 75-99 years (Mubyarto, 1983). In addition, it mentions a statement regarding prohibition of transferring state lands from native to private European without written permission from Colonial government.

Dutch influence entered Buleleng after the conquest in 1849. The Jembrana area which was previously part of the Buleleng Kingdom became subordinate to the Dutch. The influence of the Dutch became even wider after being assigned a resident assistant in 1885 in Buleleng and a controloeur in 1856 in Jembrana. The first land lease in Bali was carried out by I Gusti Made Pasekan, Regent Jembrana in 1860 to L.G.G.R. de Mey van Streefkerk, a clerk in Banyuwangi with a rent payment of f 1500 per year and transactions written in palm leaves (Damste, 1925).

Geographically, the locations of Jembrana and Buleleng are very advantageous in Balinese economy. This area covers the west coast plains to the hilly plains, extending from the middle of Bali's southwest coast to the mountains. At that time, resident of Bali and Lombok, F.A Liefricnk, rejected the request to open a plantation in southern Bali. He reasoned that the opening of plantations would push Balinese agriculture. If that happens, Bali will be short of water followed by death of culture. Even though at the same time, the Dutch Colonial was holding Baliseering project. This project aims to make Bali a living museum where it can only live and develop in water culture. Therefore, the way out of the refusal to open plantations in southern Bali is to use West Bali as plantation land (Djelantik, 1924).

With the geographical character of West Bali which is lacking in water and supported by increasing demand for copra, especially from Singapore since the late 19th and early 20th centuries, coconut has been chosen as the main plantation crop. Liefrich reported that in Buleleng the annual yield of coconut reached 10,000 tons per year, especially at the end of the 19th century. Liefrinck also said that the quality of Balinese coconut is quite good and rarely affected by pests (Reksodihardjo, 1951).

The opening of first Europe plantation in Jembrana in 1860 had an impact on other areas culturally. Migration of labor from Java and Madura, then settled in Buleleng and Jembrana as plantation workers because economic and social problems have made it an area that forms characteristics that also give rise to specific conditions in language, as well as in its customs and culture. (Korn, 1932).

Plantations in West Bali and North Bali as well as other plantations in Indonesia are owned by foreigners. Likewise, the coconut oil factories in Kapal, Denpasar, Temukus and Buleleng were owned by Chinese. The world recession of the 1930s also affected Dutch colonial plantations in Bali. The plantations became withdrawn and with the arrival of the Japanese in Bali the plantations became derelict. After independence, several plantation companies were bought by Indonesians of Chinese descent and the Bali Regional Government (Soekarman, 1983).

Babad and Historism Legitimation

The Balinese refer to *kawitan* to legitimize its origins. It was written down and passed on to the next generation through oral tradition. One form of oral tradition is babad. Babad is considered the Balinese way of looking at the past as well as building and reconstructing the past in order to make the present more meaningful (Nordholt, 1996). Babad and kawitan work together as a link between ancestors and the present. Neither of them will be able to work if they are not ordered to act

In the context of the Dutch colonial plantation workforce in West Bali, which consisted of three ethnicities, they're Balinese, Madurese and Javanese, documentation of origins did not become the domination of one ethnicity, namely Balinese ethnicity. Javanese and Madurese ethnics have consciously documented their existence since 1967, when the administrative village was first formed. The aim is to legitimize the origin as the inheritor of the homeland.

The idea of three ethnic social integration in West Bali has existed since the opening of the first plantations in the second decade of the XX century. This is reflected in social behavior that shows respect, such as the tradition of ngejot and metulungan. Inter-ethnic interaction, even though it is carried out within the boundaries of the settlement, has given birth to an experience which then settles into a common memory. The idea of shared memory refers to the common fate that they are entities that have been uprooted from their culture. This memory does not only live in the minds of ethnic Balinese, but also of Madurese and Javanese ethnicities. It becomes the collective knowledge and truth of the past. Thus, this short babad does not only function as self-legitimacy for a multiethnic and multi-religious society, but also as a kind of historical agreement between ethnic groups.

Babad Cendek becomes a kind of inter-ethnic social glue that can reduce social tensions. The chronicle also becomes a force that is able to unite when dealing with enemies. Together, they used the stories in babad as a reference to explain the position and rights of the homeland.

Through Babad Cendek, that bloodshed sense of ownership is nurtured and shaped because their ancestors in the past had built the village together. They had already been buried and may have become the ancestors who would have stayed behind to watch over the village from the realm there.

4. Conclusion

Babad is considered as a source of identity and past references regarding the existence of a community. Identity becomes very important when faced with a common goal. So, identity becomes a means of self-legitimacy that they have the right to space. On the other hand, babad becomes a source of law, a social glue capable of dissolving ethnic and religious boundaries. This is shown through social expression in the form of actions that reflect tolerance and equality.

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