

Kintamani Bali Chinese Ethnic Religious Hybridity: A Dualism of Cultural Identity

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Abstract

This research aim was to explore the form of religious hybridity carried out by the Kintamani Bali Chinese ethnic group as part of the diversity of Chinese ethnicity in Indonesia. Regarding religious hybridity in the Kintamani Balinese Chinese ethnic group, the reason for choosing this research was because the Balinese Chinese ethnicity is different from the Chinese Indonesian ethnicity in general; here they find unification and assimilation with Balinese culture, resulting in a dualism of cultural identity. This research used a qualitative approach with ethnographic methods, data collection through participant observation and in-depth interviews, and is supported by other secondary references. This research was analyzed using Homi Bhabha's hybridity theory and Parson's functional theory. Research results show since the arrival of ethnic Chinese in northern Bali, they have established economic and political relations with the Bangli kingdom, where there is a good relationship between ethnic Chinese and the king of Bangli, so that it has an impact on the social and cultural life of the Balinese Chinese ethnic, namely the existence of religious hybridity that occurs. The first can be seen in terms of religious rituals such as daily prayer activities, Second, there is hybridization in terms of places of worship, The third is hybridization in terms of religious ornaments and worship facilities. The causal factor is the first one amalgamation, a belief and philosophy of life for the Kintamani Chinese ethnic group, the existence of past history and open relationships, high tolerance, openness to differences, and not questioning religious issues. A new identity, namely the dualism of cultural identity attached to the Kintamani Chinese ethnic group. Therefore, this plays a role in the socio-cultural life of the village and creates harmony with the Balinese Hindu community.

Keywords: *Cultural Identity; Ethnic Chinese; Hybridity; Religion.*

Permalink/DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18326/infsl3.v17i2.175-192>

Introduction

Discussing the position of ethnic Chinese in Indonesia will never be finished; there are various long processes that Indonesian ethnic Chinese have gone through but have not yet found the right format. According to Khaidir (2016:1), relations between indigenous Indonesian ethnic groups and Chinese ethnic groups are still not very good and strong; it could be said to be like fire in the chaff. The presence of the Chinese ethnic group as immigrants can be seen from the background of colonialism, as explained by Fitriasia (2016:43) that Dutch economic policies contributed to the diversity of different cultural roots in Indonesian society. This difference becomes a source of conflict at all levels of society. Latent conflicts have grown into open conflicts, partly due to the increasing ratio of the number of native residents to ethnic Chinese immigrants.

The assimilation policy implemented by Soeharto, in practice, has not been able to work well. This is based on the firm beliefs and cultural identity that are still attached to the Chinese ethnic group. Especially in religious matters. Religious systems are universal, where every individual or group has the belief that there is a supernatural power outside of humans themselves. Basically, it is a form of human resignation over the helplessness of facing everything that he cannot face (Sumarto, 2019). Generally, a particular ethnic or group believes in a certain belief. In carrying out religious activities, an ethnic or group has one belief, a ceremony, and a community of adherents. The importance of the religious system for an ethnic community indicates the formation of the ethnic community's identity. An ethnic group cannot exist as a collective entity without being supported by a common and equal identity. The Chinese ethnic group has long had a religious system that adheres to the traditions and culture of their ancestors. Their belief is to carry out worship, such as worship ceremonies, calling on the spirits of people who have died.

This is different from the Chinese ethnic group in Kintamani Bali, where the data collected was based on the two villages with the largest concentration of Chinese ethnic groups in Kintamani Bali, namely Kembang Sari Village and Lampu. The Chinese ethnic group here is not like other Chinese ethnic groups that most

people are exposed to, where they live in harmony with the local Balinese community so that cultural integration occurs, especially in terms of religion. One of them can be seen during Chinese New Year celebrations: ethnic Chinese pray like Hindus and also pray according to their Tridharma beliefs. Apart from that, they have a Buddhist place of worship, namely Sinci, and also have a Hindu place of worship, namely Sanggah, in their house. All Tinghoa Lampu ethnic houses have these two places of worship. Both places of worship contain a combination of these two religious' elements. So, the phenomenon that occurs creates a unique cultural identity for ethnic Chinese, where there is a hybrid identity between Chinese religion and Balinese Hinduism.

Montessori (2019:53) Religion and culture are two forces that can be used as binding forces in issues of ethnicity. That is the picture of a pluralistic society, with religious and ethnic differences in the era of globalization, which are the characteristics of the heterogeneous Indonesian nation, so it cannot be denied that a pluralistic society has enormous potential and a role in the integration and development process.

It is important to understand that differences are not a negative thing to be disputed, but on the contrary, differences actually have a positive influence which will become the glue that will guide the development of religious harmony in Indonesia (Astajaya and Sari, 2021).

The above problem can be reviewed using Homi Bhabha's theory of hybridity. The idea of the instability of culture and identity leads us to the understanding that culture and identity are always a meeting and mixing of different cultural identities. This is what is called cultural and identity hybridity. Established cultural boundaries are blurred and made unstable by hybridization. Hybridity believes there is no one pure identity category. Hybridity as proposed by Said in Darmawan (2014:26), namely that all cultures are involved with each other, none of which is single and pure, all are hybrid, heterogeneous.

Furthermore, regarding identity, Collier stated that identity is formed based on communicative interactions with other people,

and the messages conveyed by someone when interacting with other people can contain various cultural identities such as race, ethnicity, social class, and various other things. Collier and Milt Thomas (in Gudykunst, 2005: 239–240) then formulated seven basic characteristics of cultural identity. First, individuals have various cultural identities that may emerge in their behavior, including religion. Second, from an individual perspective, these diverse cultural identities vary according to situation. Third, cultural identity varies within certain scopes. Fourth, the process of recognition (self-concept) and assumptions (views by others) Fifth, the intensity with which certain identities are recognized and considered varies depending on the situation, context, topic, and existing relationships. Sixth, survive through time and space and change significantly. Seventh, cultural identity has content and is also relational.

The unique identity that emerges from the interactions and adaptations carried out by the Chinese ethnic group provides an illustration and refutes the belief that ethnic Chinese Indonesians live in exclusivity and find it difficult to blend in. This article opens our horizons regarding the other side of Indonesian Chinese ethnicity and can contribute to solving existing ethnic problems. Therefore, this article aims to see and analyze the form of religious hybridity carried out by the Kintamani Bali Chinese ethnic group, the factors that underlie it, and the results resulting from this hybridity

Methods

This research uses a qualitative approach with ethnographic methods, where the researcher acts as an ethnographer directly in the field, which describes the phenomenon in depth regarding the religious hybridity of the Kintamani Balinese Chinese ethnic group, Spradley (1997). The research instrument here is the researcher himself as the key to seeing reality in the field, supported by recording equipment, cameras, interview guides and observations. Data was collected through participant observation in the field, in this case, the researcher participated in the activities carried out by the informant from morning to evening, participate in the work carried out by ethnic Chinese, and participate in the activities they carry out, for example in religious, social and economic activities. In-depth interviews by in digging up information, the researcher

will ask in more detail, the researcher is careful with contrasting questions which can invade the informant's privacy.

Determining informants using a purposive sampling technique, namely people who have a good position and level of knowledge in the village who understand the problem, including ethnic Chinese leaders, Chinese cultural figures and traditional leaders, in addition to ordinary informants are Chinese and Hindu residents who understand the problem) and document analysis (Researchers dig up information from notes or letters, old photos, videos, archives, or tools related to the research focus). The validity of the data was tested through time triangulation and source triangulation. Data is analyzed starting with data collection, data reduction, data presentation, and finally drawing conclusions and verification

Results and Discussion

The Existence of the Chinese Ethnic Group in Kintamani Bali

According to archaeological data, the arrival of ethnic Chinese on the island of Bali is estimated to have occurred since the beginning of the first century AD, when a bronze mirror dating from the Han dynasty was found in a sarcophagus in Pangkung Paruk Village, Buleleng. Apart from that, ceramics from the Tang dynasty era were also found at the Blanjong site in Sanur, which are estimated to be from the VII–X century AD (Ardika, 2011: 252). The occurrence of contact between Chinese and Balinese cannot be separated from trade activities (Yogi, 2008). In line with that, according to the explanation of ethnic Chinese descendants in Kembang Sari Kintamani Village, Bali, it is estimated that ethnic Chinese inhabited Bali, where they sailed from China to trade and entered the island of Bali via the north coast of Bali, known as Buleleng today. They traded ceramic commodities and equipment, as well as other bronze. This is also in line with the findings of the archaeological team above.

Since the arrival of ethnic Chinese in northern Bali, they have established economic and political relations with the Bangli kingdom, where there is a good relationship between ethnic Chinese and the king of Bangli. There is even a folk tale that tells of the relationship between the king of Bangli and a Chinese princess, where the

king of Bangli Kingdom proposed to the daughter of a Chinese merchant, namely the daughter of Kang Cing Wie. Evidence of this relationship can be seen to this day, namely the Balinese *barong* called *barong landung*, where a pair of statues embody the king of Bangli, namely Prabu Jaya Pangus and his wife Kang Cing Wie, where the figure of the *barong* king Jaya Pangus is displayed in a rather scary form. with black skin, while Kang Cing Wie has white skin and narrow eyes (Sari, 2022).

The ethnic Chinese who came from the north coast of Bali established political relations with the Bangli kingdom, where they were used as soldiers to guard the kingdom's borders, which is in accordance with the current existence of the Kintamani Chinese ethnic group in the border areas. In this case, the research was carried out precisely in Kintamani District, Bangli Regency, in the border villages, namely Kembang Sari Village and Lampu Hamlet. In the past, only men were the ethnic Chinese who served as border guards because of their ability in self-defense and could be relied on as royal shields.

They lived and settled in the guarded area and were given *kobir* (a land certificate gift) with the king's seal by the Bangli kingdom to carry out economic and socio-cultural activities and fulfill living needs such as gardening and raising livestock. With the settlements that were formed, they developed coffee agricultural commodities, thereby attracting workers from various other areas of Bali to work as coffee farmers. The current famous Kintamani coffee is related to the existence of the Chinese ethnic group. Cultivating coffee farming has become a gateway to encounters that have become a point of contact between ethnic Chinese and Balinese people. There, ethnic Chinese also carry out their religious activities, which adhere to the Tridharma belief, and also use Chinese cultural ornaments in their lives.

Gradually, there was cultural contact and mixed marriages between ethnic Chinese and Balinese Hindu women. They melted and mingled with Balinese culture. Even though they were the earliest residents of the settlement, they still adapted to the dominant culture, namely Balinese culture. Currently, we still find ethnic Chinese in

border areas; as the researchers are currently studying, they live as a minority among Balinese Hindus. Despite this, they still have good relations and have even merged culturally with Balinese religion and culture, especially the religious system.

Kintamani Bali Chinese Ethnic Religious Hybridity

The religious system is the cultural element that is most difficult to change, but not for the Kintamani Chinese in Kembang Sari and Lampu Villages. There is cultural instability that occurs when ethnic Chinese carry out religious activities, not only their original Tridharma religious activities but also Balinese Hindu religious activities. The first can be seen in terms of religious rituals such as daily prayer activities. Chinese ethnic groups also carry out activities such as Hinduism using canang besides worshipping at the Sinci Tridharma place of worship. Apart from that, in celebration of big holidays, ethnic Chinese also pray in temples and are led by Hindu religious leaders; only after that do they pray according to their religion, namely the Tridharma belief. They are used to doing prayer movements like Hinduism. During Chinese New Year celebrations, they also pray first in Hinduism and then in Buddhism. Likewise with other celebrations and rituals, they do it in line with both Hindu and Buddhist prayers. In terms of rituals around life such as marriage, death, and other events, they are also carried out like Balinese Hindus and are also equipped with Chinese traditions. All celebrations and rituals in Balinese Hindu society are followed by ethnic Chinese.

Second, there is hybridization in terms of places of worship. The main place of worship for ethnic Chinese here is the kongco, which is located in the temple area. So, ethnic Chinese worship in kongco as well as worship in the temple. They indirectly have two places of worship. Likewise, there are places of worship in each house; they have a shrine for the worship of Chinese Buddhists as well as a sanctuary for Hindu worship. Which they carry out in everyday life, celebrations, or big days. All ethnic Chinese houses here have two places of worship at home as shown on picture below.



Figure 1. ethnic Chinese praying in Sanggah their home

Source: researcher documentation, 2022

From picture 1 above you can see the actions carried out by ethnic Chinese complete with all Balinese ornaments, including Balinese places of worship, Balinese traditional clothing and Balinese facilities for worship. They pray like Balinese people in general.



Figure 2. Besides that, they also pray at the sinci (Chinese place of worship)

Source: researcher documentation, 2022

From picture 2 you can see the prayer activities carried out by the Tri Darma belief of Chinese people who pray in sinci, wearing Balinese clothes, and also the Tri Darma belief worship facilities. Which is a characteristic of carrying out two beliefs at once by combining Chinese and Balinese culture.

The third is hybridization in terms of religious ornaments and worship facilities. Ethnic Chinese here following two religious days such as the Chinese New Year and also the Galungan and Kuningan holidays, especially in terms of celebration ornaments, they make penjor during the Galungan holiday and put-up Balinese ornaments on the door of the house. During the Chinese New Year celebration, they put sugarcane at the house. The offerings used are both Hindu

offerings, such as *canang*, and Buddhist offerings. For religious ceremonial tools, Balinese Hindu religious tools or containers are also used. Apart from that, there are also ornamental statues and images with Hindu and Buddhist nuances in ethnic Chinese houses.



Figure 3. Ethnic Chinese put up lantern ornaments during Chinese New Year celebrations
Source : researcher documentation, 2022

From figure 3, it can be explained that ethnic Chinese use their culture, namely installing lanterns as a symbol of Chinese New Year celebrations in their home area. This is proof that elements of their original culture are still strong in maintaining their identity.



Figure 4. Ethnic Chinese also put up *penjors* during *galungan* and *kuningan* celebrations, which are ornaments for the Balinese ethnic group.
Source : researcher documentation, 2022

From Figure 4, it can be explained that during the celebration of the Balinese ethnic holidays, namely Galungan and Kuningan, ethnic Chinese also adopted penjor ornaments which they put on the front of their houses, just like the Balinese people.

Religious Hybridity Factors in Kintamani Chinese Ethnicity

The existence of hybridity does not just happen in the life of the Chinese ethnic group; there are reasons that underlie and motivate the emergence of this hybridity, the first of which is the issue of mixed marriages or amalgamation. Since the arrival of the Balinese ethnic group to garden and earn a living in Chinese settlements, direct contact and relationships have resulted in mixed marriages. Mixed marriages also add to and color a new culture for ethnic Chinese. There is a uniqueness here where ethnic Chinese are mostly men; this makes sense because from the start they were border guard soldiers married to ethnic Balinese. So, when there is a marriage relationship, the ethnic Balinese woman enters into the religion and culture of the ethnic Chinese man. There is religious crossover and exchange that occurs. The influence of Balinese Hindu culture on the religious life of ethnic Chinese has created a dualism of religious identity in which ethnic Balinese continue to maintain their ancestral beliefs even though their status has embraced Buddhism and the Tridharma tradition. So that it gradually broke down the religious boundaries that existed among the Chinese ethnic group.

Second, there is a belief and philosophy of life for the Kintamani Chinese ethnic group. The Kintamani Chinese ethnic group adheres to the principle “where the earth is stepped on, there the sky is upheld,” which assumes that they are able to adapt to the environment wherever they are. In this case, they are able to adapt to the socio-cultural environment of the majority community, namely the Balinese ethnic group. Gradually absorbing the culture and customs of the environment. Moreover, Bali is famous for its rituals and large-scale celebrations, which are held almost every day, contributing to the absorption of culture by the Chinese ethnic group.

The third is the existence of past history. In this case, there is a long relationship between Chinese ethnic ancestors and the

Bangli kingdom and society. Their ancestors had contact with Hindu culture and religion, so this has become a legacy in the lives of the Kintamani Chinese ethnic group to this day. There is a belief that this was inherited from the ancestors. If it is not implemented, it will result in disasters such as illness and all kinds of things. So the Balinese Hindu religious identity has existed since ancient times and was implemented by the ancestors. Especially if you look at the relationship between ethnic Chinese and the king of Bangli, namely the daughter of Kang Cing Wie as the representative of the Chinese and Raja Jaya Pangus, the representative of Bali. Which is where two identities merge. That is the reason that to this day, the Kintamani ethnic Chinese still believe in what their ancestors did in the past, especially since the Chinese ethnic group really worships and believes in the strength of their ancestors. Apart from that, the dark history during the Soeharto era regarding Chinese policies in Indonesia made ethnic Chinese have to survive the situation that occurred. One of the strategies was to fully adopt the Balinese identity in order to survive. So the assimilation strategy also influenced the formation of the religious identity of the Kintamani Chinese ethnic group.

Fourth, namely open relationships, high tolerance, openness to differences, and not questioning religious issues. From here, it can be seen that ethnic Chinese have been involved with traditional villages since ancient times and have participated in all the rites in the village. There are no divisions or different feelings; there is an opinion among ethnic Chinese that “*all religions have one different way*”. The last thing is the similarity in terms of worshipping ancestors. Ethnic Chinese who are Buddhists and also Balinese Hindus share the same belief that they worship ancestors. So there is no such steep difference in terms of religion. Therefore, it is very easy for ethnic Chinese to understand the Balinese Hindu religious system so that they can perform both rites, but the substance remains the same.

Impact of Kintamani Chinese Ethnic Religious Hybridity

The hybridization that occurred created a third space for the Chinese ethnic group where there was a new identity, namely the dualism of cultural identity inherent in the Kintamani Chinese ethnic group.

So this plays a role in the social and cultural life of the village and creates harmony with the Balinese Hindu community. For example, in government and religious positions in ethnic Chinese villages, there are those who serve as mangku (religious leader) in temples, balian (smart person in Balinese Hinduism), kelihan adat (traditional leader), as head of pecalang (village security officer), and have a place in society. Until now there has never been an inter-ethnic conflict. Because the religious hybridization carried out by ethnic Chinese leads to something that is fully appreciated and accepted as part of the Balinese Hindu religion, especially Balinese Hinduism which is stronger in terms of religion, and what's more, ethnic Chinese can do it so that there is no longer anything wrong with that religion. again a sharp sense of difference, so that they feel part of the Balinese family.



Figure 5. Harmony that occurs from hybridization, where Hindu and Chinese communities gather during Chinese New Year celebrations

Source : researcher documentation, 2022

From picture 5 above, it can be seen that Chinese people and Balinese Hindu people gather together at the village temple during Chinese New Year celebrations, there are no boundaries between the two, so that social harmony is created between ethnic Chinese and ethnic Balinese. This is the real result of the cultural adaptation process carried out by ethnic Chinese.

Discussion

Homi Bhabha (1994) proposed the concept of hybridity. The idea of the instability of culture and identity leads to the understanding that culture and identity are always the meeting and mixing of various different cultural identities. This is what is called cultural

and identity hybridity. Established cultural boundaries are blurred and made unstable by hybridization (Furqon and Busro, 2020)

Parsons (1975) further stated that that society is integrated on the basis of agreement among its members on certain societal values that have the ability to overcome differences so that society is seen as a unified system. functionally integrated in a balance.

As is done by the Kintamani Chinese ethnic who adhere to a religious system, both the religious emotions they carry out, the belief system they adhere to, the rites and ceremonial facilities all experience hybridity which can be seen from adhering to two religious' systems. This activity is also in accordance with what was stated in Babha's hybridity study, namely that culture in the sense of the religious system run by the Kintamani Chinese ethnic group became unstable due to the hybridization that occurred. Where they do not carry out just one religious ritual activity but carry out two activities at once, namely Tridharma culture and Balinese Hindu culture. If these two cultures are applied, they will overlap and go hand in hand. There is nothing single and standard; they carry out two religious' activities at once in their social and cultural life; This is what is called religious hybridity in the life of the Kintamani Chinese ethnic group. There is a dual cultural identity in the life of the Chinese ethnic group which is able to contribute to inter-ethnic stability.

The hybridity that occurs gives rise to a distinctive cultural identity. The order and actions carried out by the Kintamani Chinese ethnic group give rise to a cultural identity, which is called a dual identity. This identity emerged because the culture practiced by ethnic Chinese did not only characterize their culture but also incorporated Balinese Hindu cultural features within it. This is the basis for the emergence of a dual cultural identity in the life of ethnic Chinese.

Hybridization carried out can build a balanced social order and this is very functional in maintaining and maintaining good relations and peace in society, so that religious hybridity can function in the social system. In this case the analysis uses Parsons's views, on different community groups where there are ethnic Chinese and

Balinese. To avoid the possibility of inter-ethnic tensions, cultural adaptation can be carried out by ethnic Chinese, namely by carrying out a cultural acculturation process that includes all existing institutions in village communities, in this way tensions or possible conflicts between ethnic groups can be avoided. The cultural elements in question function in maintaining social solidarity from which these elements are obtained and can create a harmonious life.

A typical finding from this research is that regarding immigrants and local residents, ethnic Chinese as immigrants are able to merge their culture with the dominant ethnicity. Most of us know that Chinese ethnicity is very exclusive, but here they are able to adapt to local culture and this aspect occurs in their religious system.

This research is an extension and another side of the harmony of ethnic diversity on the island of Bali. We know that Bali is the island with the largest number of Hindus in Indonesia, but the existing dominance does not make them act anarchically. The results of this research are strengthened by the results of previous research from articles published by the *Inference* journal conducted by Mahmud Arif and Zulkipli Lessy (2021), explaining that the Muslims of Gelgel Village are Aware on Religious Harmony in Bali. Its position as a “special” village has long historical roots in having a harmonious relationship between Islam and puri (fort) and pura (temple). This awareness encourages them not to act like crazy people who forget their skin (people who forget where they come from) by wrongly denying the knot of shared history. This harmonious relationship is based on a historical knot of togetherness and the value of continuously preserving local wisdom through social traditions such as ngejot (sharing food), breaking the fast, and cleaning the village (cleaning the village together) around the temple.

Furthermore, several studies regarding Chinese in Bali explain the relationship between Chinese and Balinese, the first of which is that trade relations between ethnic groups are a form of cooperation in the field of trade (economics) which is motivated by economic, cultural, social and political factors (Dewi, 2018). Multi-ethnic interaction in Tanjung Bena has been implemented in various

ways which have encouraged the emergence of unique behavioral patterns and space use patterns (Ongelina, 2014). The integration of the Chinese ethnic group with the Balinese ethnic group in Kuta can be created because of the existence of a traditional forum, namely the formation of the Dharma Semadi banjar as a traditional forum (Septiarana et.al, 2017).

Balinese people are never allergic to the ethnic differences that come to Bali with the various cultural influences they bring, including Chinese culture (Sulistyawati, 2011). It is evident from previous research that the Balinese ethnic group is very open and tolerant towards any ethnic group, including the Chinese ethnic group which is the subject of this research.

The above is very related and in line with what Setiawan (2022) explained in Lubis (2006: 40) where the harmonious relationship between ethnic Chinese and Balinese is part of a diversity where it is not a threat, not a loss, but rather as wealth, as a mosaic, which beautifies life. Each race, ethnicity, culture, religion, view of life, although different, is under the roof of multiculturalism. They are all placed in an equal position, while also having equal rights to express their views and life values.

The cultural pattern of ethnic Chinese on the island of Bali is very different from the narrative about ethnic Chinese Indonesia which has developed from the past to the present, as explained by Koentjaraningrat (2009:213) who says that ethnic Chinese have lived and lived for a long time in Indonesia, but they have not able to unite their lives with Indonesian life and culture, so that there is still a dividing line between these ethnic groups. In this case, ethnic Chinese still have difficulty assimilating into Indonesian culture.

Conclusion

Based on the research and discussion above, it can be concluded that Hybridity arises from a long history of adaptation efforts made by the Chinese ethnic group on the island of Bali. There is hybridity that appears in the Kintamani Bali Chinese ethnic religious system, namely carrying out religious activities that overlap between Tridharma and Balinese Hinduism, which is reflected in religious activities, rituals, places of worship, facilities , and ornaments are

used side by side. This is based on unity, philosophy of life, past history, tolerance, and similarities in worshiping ancestors. All of this gives rise to a dual cultural identity which functions to maintain and maintain the balance of the social system and succeeds in creating a harmonious order in a society that is culturally, religiously and ethnically different without any conflict.

It is hoped that this phenomenon can be well implemented by other Chinese communities in Indonesia. The interactions and adaptations carried out by the Kintamani Chinese ethnic group provide an illustration and refute the existing opinion that the Indonesian Chinese ethnic group lives in exclusivity and also finds it difficult to blend in. This article opens our insight into another side of the Chinese Indonesian ethnicity. And can contribute to solving existing ethnic problems. This is a huge capital for achieving harmony between tribes and religions in an effort to achieve national unity and development.

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