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Reciprocity:
A Human Value in a Pluralistic World

Edited by
Tianen Wang, Peter Jonkers & Astrid Vicas

The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy

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Introduction

WANG Tianen & Peter JONKERS

Reciprocity is a fundamental anthropological characteristic and a moral value. In the first sense, it refers to the fact that human beings are in a relationship of interaction with other human beings, groups of people, and societies. No one can survive as a human being alone; no one can even think as a human being without interacting with other people. Interaction can take on many forms, and the exchange of material and immaterial goods is one of them. When persons or groups give something to others, there is an exchange between them. In this context, the term reciprocity is commonly used to attribute an important moral qualification to the kind of exchange that human beings and societies strive for, namely that it should be fair and equal.

The Chinese language and Western languages have a different understanding of reciprocity. The Chinese character that is typically used as a translation of the English word “reciprocity” means “mutual benefit” or “mutually beneficial cooperation.” In comparison, the Latin word “reciprocus,” from which reciprocity is derived, covers an important mechanism, a movement of give-and-take and back-and-forth. Reciprocity as a human value and a fundamental anthropological characteristic has always been important for personal, societal, and international relations. Therefore, it deserves to be examined from many perspectives, philosophical, anthropological, political, and theological. This volume aims at exploring four important dimensions of reciprocity.

Part I discusses the nature and characteristics of reciprocity; the first paper by the late Vincent SHEN, entitled “Reciprocity and Generosity: Ethical Praxis and Ontological Foundation,” starts from the observation that the whole world is in the process of globalization, thus emphasizing the act of reaching out to many others to obtain recognition and establish new reciprocal relationships. Reciprocity is indeed what we achieve when we establish a relationship with a new counterpart. On the other hand, globalization is characterized by boundary-crossing and can be experienced as various kinds of “transcendence,” that is, “going beyond.” Shen proposes to practice mutual strangification with many others to increase mutual understanding instead of conflict, clash, or even war. The idea of mutual strangification involves a positive meaning of intersubjectivity, leading to reciprocity because intersubjectivity in the strict sense might only be seen as an extension of modern subjectivity. Just like the Hegelian concept of *Anerkennung* could be only a way of recognizing the others’ subjectivity as well as one’s own, a minimal understanding of intersubjectivity might be only a way to recognize that I am a subject and you are a subject too. However, first, there should be an act of

reaching out to someone who breaks the ice to establish reciprocity. Therefore, the original generosity implied in this act of reaching out should now be seen as the condition *sine qua non* of all reciprocal relationships. Shen's paper aims to find in the Confucian ethical tradition and the Daoist onto-cosmological traditions the cultural and philosophical roots that still can inspire us today in dealing with the issues of reciprocity and generosity. First, he analyzes the Confucian notion of *shu* (translated as strangification), which is regulated by the principle of reciprocity. Thus, this principle becomes a guiding idea of social and political philosophy. Shen then continues with a discussion of the onto-cosmological foundation of generosity and reciprocity in Daoism. The Constant, another name of *dao*, does not stay within itself, but generously reaches beyond itself to give birth to all things in the universe; all these things then return to *dao*. Hence, it is by way of assistance and mutual interaction that a series of creative actions takes place, which implies reciprocity and regulation.

The second paper by WANG Tianen, entitled "Reciprocity: Mutually Beneficial Cooperation and Radical Anthropological Characteristic," starts with distinguishing between reciprocity as a practice of exchanging things with others for mutual benefit and reciprocity as a relation of mutual influence, mutual action, and dependence; examples of the latter are creative activities or thought productions. In this latter sense, reciprocity means that human beings are not able to function properly and even survive without it, so reciprocity can be qualified as a radical anthropological characteristic. It is this kind of reciprocity that Wang Tianen's paper discusses.

There are three basic levels of this kind of reciprocity: a physical level, a mental level, and a spiritual level. The lowest level is physical mutual dependence, and the highest form of cooperation is the reciprocal sharing of creative ideas, which will typically emerge as a consequence of the rise of the information civilization. This kind of civilization is a very different era in the development of humankind because information differs from physical matter and energy. In Wang's view, the main feature of information civilization is "sharing." Information is not only sharable but also shared differently in comparison with other shared material objects. People are agents in the sharing of an information civilization. The more participants there are to share with, the more information one receives from sharing. Sharing is one of the main characteristics of reciprocity as a fundamental anthropological characteristic.

With regard to human information civilization, Wang argues that the crucial fact is the superposition of the radical character of information and anthropology, which is an important basis to research information civilization. It involves reciprocity – a radical characteristic of information and anthropology. The superposition of the reciprocity of information and anthropology that is highlighted in the information civilization era is anything but a coincidence. It reflects the inherent correlation between the form of existence of people and information. This fact is important to have an in-depth understanding of information civilization and to clarify the concept of reciprocity.

Thomas MENAMPARAMPIL in his paper “Reciprocity: A Great Value in a Pluralistic World” argues that, while all developing societies are eager for economic growth, they do not pay sufficient attention to holding on to their skills of remaining human and helpfully relating with others. Again, if neighboring communities on the way to rapid development do not keep their expectations realistic and in complementary relationships, there is a possibility of a clash of perceived interests. Conflicts can also arise about claims over natural resources, job opportunities, political disparities, or the rapid demographic growth of a particular community. What is important for all communities is to build a consciousness of being called by nature to play complementary roles in human growth, promote healthy *reciprocal relationships*, and allow space for each other as individuals and communities. Communities that may have had the advantage of early education or a specialized skill that has become a part of their heritage are quick in taking up financially rewarding jobs. Others can look at the situation as a threat. Diversity of natural talents, acquired knowledge, skills, experiences, and cultural heritage are mutually stimulating, not threatening. If there are intelligent and sensitive leaders, who adopt a human and humane approach to each other in periods of tension and provide an inspiring and complementary vision, the communities concerned easily move forward with a great sense of serenity and self-confidence to the advantage of all. According to Menamparampil, the only way forward is to consciously cultivate an attitude of *reciprocity*: fostering a creative form of dialogue with others, listening, affirming, appreciating, questioning, and searching together. Hence, reciprocity comes down to being human in different contexts. In Menamparampil’s view, a fact that we should not forget is that we belong to a cosmos that exists as a “web of cooperative and symbiotic relationships” and that everything is connected to everything else. When we forget this law, we are on the path to self-impoverishment. Being committed to reciprocity means respecting the other; it means appealing to the humanity and natural goodness in the heart even of an opponent and not embittering him or her with denunciations. It means adopting a persuasive style of approach; it means changing one’s grievance into a stimulating message. It means being above partisan interests, cultivating sensitivity toward smaller and weaker groups and individuals, developing a common vision for the future. It means promoting ideas of collaboration and fostering a natural sense of fairness. This, then, is Menamparampil’s message: “Reciprocity is a Great Value in a Pluralistic World.”

In “Reciprocity and Reference,” Astrid VICAS examines another characteristic of reciprocity. She starts from the observation that all human cultures have in common referential communication or symbolization, in contrast with communication by signaling, which humans also share with animal communities. In her paper, she explores the thesis that certain patterns of reciprocating activity are needed to acquire referential competence, in contrast to the ability to respond to signals. Vicas highlights the importance of now relatively neglected work in developmental psychology in making the case that patterns of reciprocation are tied to the comprehension of reference.

The main piece of evidence concerning the connection between patterns of reciprocation and the acquisition of reference comes from studies of first language acquisition elaborated by developmental psychologists from the 1960s and 1970s, namely Hans Werner and Elizabeth Bates. Werner proposed the construct of the primordial sharing situation and Bates developed the construct of the gestural complex. Part of Vicas's paper is aimed at outlining what these constructs are and the specific kinds of reciprocating activities they highlight.

Werner's and Bates's constructs drew on two bodies of work: 1) observations that had been accumulating in diaries of caregivers from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries; and 2) a set of claims that stemmed from Johann Gottfried Herder, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, and Wilhelm von Humboldt, developed in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries. It is especially the thesis adopted by Humboldt, in his reflection on a Fichtean conception of agency, that referential communication requires the understanding of norms, rather than only the following of norms, which has an important implication for the examination of practices of reciprocation. The implication is that practices of reciprocation have a strong bearing on the understanding of norms. Thus, Vicas brings to light relatively neglected work in theorizing about the development of symbolic competence and its significance to appreciating the relationship between practices of reciprocity and the understanding of norms.

QIU Renfu's "Reciprocity and Human Symbiosis" argues that reciprocity, as an important mechanism of human symbiosis, shows multiple levels, such as interdependency, mutual benefit, sharing, and mutual achievement, which gradually develop from a low to a high level and form a hypercycle process of spiral escalation. Only by continuously seeing the mechanism of reciprocity in human symbiosis can we exhibit the common values of humankind, facilitate constant mutual achievements in the future progress of human civilization, and promote humankind as a whole to move toward a higher level of civilization.

Andrew Tsz Wan HUNG in his "Reciprocity in Friendship: The Dialogical Transformation of Friendship" explores to what extent reciprocity is essential in various forms of friendship. He first discusses Aristotle's three concepts of friendship and analyzes the debates about whether friendships based on utility and pleasure entail goodwill toward friends. Are they true friendships? Aristotle assumes that our altruistic regard toward others arises only through our appreciation of our friends' virtuous characters. However, our ordinary experience reveals that our friendships usually initiate as utility or pleasure friendships and then may be transformed into character friendships through continuous dialogue and association. By using the idea of the dialogical self, proposed by Charles Taylor and Mikhail Bakhtin, Hung argues for the transformative nature of friendship, in which the self is transformed into connected selves, and friendship has become a kind of mutually virtuous con-

stitutive relationship. Hung concludes that the exploration of dialogical transformative relationships not only affirms the intrinsic value of friendship but also helps us re-evaluate the value of utility or pleasure friendships.

Asha MUKHERJEE's paper, entitled "Reciprocity and Justice as the Boundaries of Human Relationship: A Philosophical Concern," discusses the tensions between the rules of justice, which require individuals to sacrifice their welfare for the good of others, and reciprocity, according to which all the benefits I give to the other have to be returned to me in full. Furthermore, in love, friendship, and family relationships parties are connected by mutual affection and benevolence, which is at odds with reciprocity. If so, then justice, reciprocity, and benevolence must define the boundaries within which people pursue their most intimate relationships. Based on these observations, Mukherjee demonstrates the importance and limitations of reciprocity as the basis of justice. In the next section of her paper, she shows that reciprocity gets a much broader meaning in the context of family relations. Finally, she discusses the limitations of reciprocity in the case of people's (moral) obligations toward senior citizens, orphans, deserted children, etc. All this shows how difficult it is to get a good general conception of reciprocity.

Part II analyzes the dimensions of human reciprocity in a pluralistic world. In "Reciprocity as a Source of Reconciliation," Denys KIRYUKHIN discusses to what extent reciprocity can contribute to answering the vexing question of reconciliation in cases of gross violations of human rights. The author demonstrates that the option of reciprocity and reconciliation is preserved even in a situation that might be called a manifestation of radical evil. The resolution of acute crises of human and intercultural relations manifested in tragic events, such as the Holocaust or other genocides, lies in reciprocity through forgiveness, on the one side, and in reciprocity through justice (ethical equality of the conflicting parties), on the other side. This is an extremely complicated and hardly realizable task in the decades to come. However, according to Kiryukhin, we have no alternative to solving this problem. Reciprocity, in the broadest sense of the word, as our obligation toward others to return to them the advantages they give to us, is one of the basic prerequisites of the very possibility of social cooperation. The discussion of ways of reconciliation – especially its legal aspects – is more typical for Western European culture based on the tradition of Christianity. Nevertheless, this does not mean that there are no possibilities for reconciliation in Islam, Confucianism, or any other cultural or religious tradition. Therefore, it is extremely important in the globalizing world firstly to study and to update knowledge of the various "reconciliation cultures" represented in various traditions and ethos, and secondly to look for opportunities for reconciliation understood as peaceful coexistence and accommodation of superficially warring positions and cultural and religious concepts.

Lalan Prasad SINGH in his "Reciprocity: A Human Value in a Pluralistic World" argues that the peaceful co-existence of different religions and ethnicities depends upon the cultivation and acceptance of reciprocity as a

human value in the pluralistic world of the 21st century. This can only be realized by transcending the narrow visions of institutionalized religions and ethnicities and by developing a unifying principle, in particular spiritual humanism. This principle resides in the Chinese and Indian religious values and the Western Abrahamic theological interpretations of Christian, Islamic, and Judaic religious scriptures. To realize spiritual humanism, interfaith dialogue is necessary, based on the principle of reciprocity. Singh then shows how this principle plays a central role in the works of prominent political thinkers, such as John Locke, John Stuart Mill, and Karl Marx, just like in several religious and cultural traditions, such as Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism.

In “Bisosiative Dialectic in Pluralism,” Wiwik SETIYANI argues that religion teaches moral values that gave birth to the attitude and behavior of love and tolerance toward other religions. Therefore, religion is not only a vertical ideology or doctrine but must also be interpreted contextually and horizontally. This means that religion is not a goal in itself, but is for the benefit of the people. Hence, religious diversity should be understood as a form of competition in obtaining goodness that can be enjoyed or felt by all people. From this perspective, dialectics is the proper way to understand religious pluralism or diversity. Setiyani calls the human ability to articulate pluralism and the creative power to analyze the real conditions in the community bisosiative. The recognition of the existence of other religions encourages people to always reflect and learn from others without raising religious truth claims. The recognition of religious pluralism is a source of inspiration for interpreting the ongoing dialectic of society. Bisosiative dialectic is the dialogical process that occurs through the power of thought and creative action with particular attention to the principles and the personal use of them that can give birth to universal principles.

Kunawi BASYIR discusses the “Religious Pluralism Movement in Indonesia” in his paper. Indonesia is a country with a rich diversity in ethnicities, cultures, tribes, and religions. With this diversity and difference, it comes to be a factor of integration and unity, which has led Indonesia to independence. However, along with the development of modernization, Indonesia experiences a new phase, particularly since the 1998s, with the fall of the new government. Politics is mainly contested along with the claims of freedom of thought, which hurt social order. Since that period and until today, the experience of multiculturalism in Indonesia has always come with conflict and violence, inflicting restlessness and deep concern in the country, despite its pluralist endowment. Therefore, for the last decade, Indonesia is not only renowned as the state with “*Bhineka Tunggal Eka*,” but also as a country with numerous challenges and problems resulting from ethnic, religious, and socio-cultural diversity. The result is that pluralism and multiculturalism in Indonesia will be in danger. Such a condition is the effect of modernization and globalization, bringing changes in thinking among religious people who tend to be aggressive and exclusive. According to Bashir, this situation needs serious attention from all parties, that is, the government, religious figures, and all social communities in general. An approach used by Muslim and Hindu

people in Bali after the unfortunate outbreak of *Bom Legian* (Legian Bombing) involves all elements so that problems regarding humaneness, justice, and equality are quickly resolved and Bali can rise again and become one of the references to build religious pluralism in Indonesia.

The title of Prabhu VENKATARAMAN's paper is "An Enquiry into the Case of Animal Welfare through Reciprocity." The focus of his paper is how reciprocity can be taken as the principle of moral concern in human's relationship with the non-human community, which includes nature and other animal beings. Venkataraman starts from the observation that some thinkers discuss human obligations to animals from the perspective of reciprocity, often discussed in terms of a contract. While Peter Carruthers claims that animals do not merit direct ethical concerns as there is no contract between humans and animals, Mark Rowlands tries to argue in favor of animal rights, thereby basing himself on the same principle of contract. In a similar vein, Bryan Norton talks about protecting domesticated animals based on a mutual contract that humans have with those animals, while there is no such contract with wild animals. Prabhu discusses these positions on the moral considerability of animals through the principle of reciprocity, arguing that in certain spheres of ethical concern we need to go beyond the idea of reciprocity. In his view, reciprocity can be an important point of discussion in moral concerns, but it is not the endpoint.

Part III is devoted to reciprocity on a spiritual and creative level. NING Lina's "Reciprocity of Thinking and Thought from a Logical Perspective" elaborates how thinking and thought as two different concepts have different effects on human behavior. However, the boundaries between them are not clear, so they often confuse people. Ning aims to clarify this confusion from a logical perspective and distinguishes different aspects in the reciprocity of thinking and thought: First, thinking, affective or abstract, as mass characteristic of humanity, produces conformity. Resulting from reflections on thinking, thought is independent, spontaneous, and critical, and thus has a tendency. They influence and interact with each other. Second, the progress of human wisdom and morality shows that thinking generates thoughts, and thoughts refactor thinking. From the perspective of logical epistemology, thinking provides possibilities for thoughts, while the main body of thoughts constantly enriches the connotations of thinking during the process of cognition. Third, thinking in order to become thought needs to clean up ambiguity and contradictions, and obtain effectiveness through logical analysis and inference. Thought traces the origin of the conclusion and confirms the belief when reforming the mode of thinking.

In "Information, Community, and Reciprocity from the Perspective of Axiology," ZHANG Yanfen discusses that a human being acquires his/her definition from the community, which is characterized by reciprocity. She argues that reciprocity is to be distinguished from the division of labor in a community, in which people are only extrinsically related. Reciprocity is rather the exchange of existential experiences; it is not immediate but mediated

by information. Correspondingly, information becomes essential in the pursuit of community. In our era, facts in terms of information are the most primary and universal ones conveyed by internet technology. As a result, the information community proves to be a way of life for human beings. Finally, the information community has a vision of the future because mediation is diachronic. And reciprocity and community are characterized authentically by the information of the absent subject.

SHEN Haiyan explores “Reciprocity as the Sign for a Buddhist Understanding of Truth.” She starts from the observation that reciprocity as a sign contributes to our understanding of the world so that its implementation can serve as a bridge between the objective and the subjective world. Shen attempts to explore reciprocity as a sign for revealing truth in Chinese Buddhism. Based on his sign interpretation, master Zhiyi in Chinese Tiantai Buddhism can demonstrate his insight into the Ultimate Truth. Consequently, his method of interpreting signs to present Tiantai teaching has an impact on the Chinese Chan Buddhist method of teaching. Chan masters use varieties of signs to either indicate their stages of striving for enlightenment or to describe their insight into truth or as skillful means of guiding others to make a breakthrough in their course of practice.

TU Xiaofei discusses the relation between “Confucian Reciprocity and the Debate on Humanitarian Intervention.” He starts with discussing a great number of theoretical studies about the pros and cons of humanitarian intervention and illustrates this by some recent examples of (un)successful interventions. He then confronts these views and examples with a Confucian perspective and draws some important moral lessons from them. Based on this discussion, Tu concludes with several criteria to assess the viability of international intervention.

In “The Confucian Idea of Reciprocity,” WU Liqun discusses how Confucianism emphasizes “this-worldly” affairs and is human-oriented. The nucleus of Confucianism is about reciprocity issues. Because Confucianism holds that the same structure applies to ethical virtues and political institutions, it offers a unique perspective on the different dimensions of reciprocity. Human nature is an important clue to interpret reciprocity issues. Confucianism states that we should keep our eyes open for human nature when we investigate human real life and ideal life, which are fundamental themes in Confucianism. Wu shows that Confucianism distinguishes two dimensions of reciprocity: One is reality-oriented for real life and the other is transcendence-oriented for the ideal life. On the one hand, Ritual (*Li*) and Social Virtue (*Ren*) embody the dimension of reality. People realize their essential attribute of being human in “this-world.” On the other hand, *Tao* manifests the transcendent dimension. *Tao*, which is also regarded as an essential attribute of human beings, is about spiritual values that surpass the concrete “this-world” and reveal an inherent aspiration of transcending “this-world.”

Part IV focuses on the problem of reciprocity between cultures and nations in an era of globalization. Peter JONKERS asks whether “Reciprocity

Can Be the Principle of a Global Ethics.” He argues that reciprocity is an ethical principle in almost all religious and secular cultures and philosophies of the world. However, the attempts to implement this principle in a globalized world have been unsuccessful. The “Declaration Toward a Global Ethics” (1993) tried to solve this problem based on the principle of reciprocity. However, despite its obvious merits, this Declaration has raised fundamental criticisms, and Jonkers discusses two of them. The first one stresses the importance of the economy of the gift, which goes beyond reciprocity. A society based on the principle of reciprocity alone is unforgiving because it fails to take into account the importance of asymmetric relations, i.e., the altruistic attitude of giving something without expecting something in return. Therefore, the principle of reciprocity needs to be complemented by an economy of gift, based on the abundance of love. The second critical response confronts the principle of reciprocity with the challenge of particular ethical traditions. What is the relevance of a global ethic if it proves unable to address concrete, pressing moral questions? Ethical life does not only rest on moral obligations but needs to be nourished and substantiated by the experience of the good life. These moral sources are particular, bound to the specific way of life in a given community. To bridge the gap between universal moral principles and particular traditions, Jonkers concludes that one should start from a profound self-reflection on one’s tradition. This means that a global ethic does not emerge by transcending particular traditions, but by taking the insights of these concrete traditions seriously. This can lead to the recognition that other people can endorse the same moral principle (e.g., the principle of reciprocity) from a different point of view than ours, i.e., from their embeddedness in a different tradition.

ZAIRU NISHA’s paper entitled “Vedic Ideals of Reciprocity for the Globalized World” observes that during the last three decades the term “globalization” has been used to characterize the emerging future shape of the world. A reading of the literature on globalization indicates that the votaries and critics of globalization pick up selective features to present rosy or bleak scenarios in support of their respective opposite claims. It seems arbitrary, unfair, and misleading to make a selective pick to imagine and construct one’s preferred narrative for the future yet to come. Zairu Nisha argues that, despite the story of conflicts, wars, brutal oppressions, what is common to the entire humanity is an aspiration to live in peace, harmony, and cooperation. We need to recognize the urgency of taking decisions at the global level to work together for saving the planet Earth from disaster. Zairu Nisha attempts to work out how the Vedic ideals of reciprocity can be used for the sharing of information, skills, and resources to make the world a less dangerous and less insecure place for humanity to live as a family. This is expounded in the *Rig Veda* in terms of “Vasudhaiv Kutumbhakam” i.e., the world is a family.

Irina BOLDONOVA in her paper “A Hermeneutic Dialogue for Sustainable Development” illustrates the application of a hermeneutic methodology for the justification of a dialogue among such bordering countries as Russia, China, and Mongolia regarding common actions in the achievement of

reciprocity in a Eurasian context, including the Lake Baikal Nature Reserve. The hermeneutic mode in the relationship of the neighboring countries is connected with the concept of sustainable development and focuses on the perspectives of mutual cooperation around the Baikal region, which was announced as the model territory of transition to sustainable development, or a platform for the implementation of environmentally-protecting technologies and social projects. The countries have already been engaged in a dialogue on concerns raised by the global age.

The principles of philosophical hermeneutics, such as the hermeneutic circle and interpretation, the dialectics of question-answer, understanding history, prejudices, fore-conception of completeness as part of pre-understanding, the importance of cultural tradition, etc., provide a framework for the scientific-analytical approach realized in Boldonova's paper. The main subject of research is a comparative view of traditional Confucian moral values and traditional ethnic-ecological values applied to the level of environmental awareness, and their importance as heuristic resources for sustainable development and philosophical reflection in the future. The theory of sustainable development, a new paradigm of a mentality and an ecological type of civilization, is supposed to rethink moral values and teaches how to balance human material satisfaction and these moral values. This new vision would place the inner world and moral values on a higher level than material satisfaction.

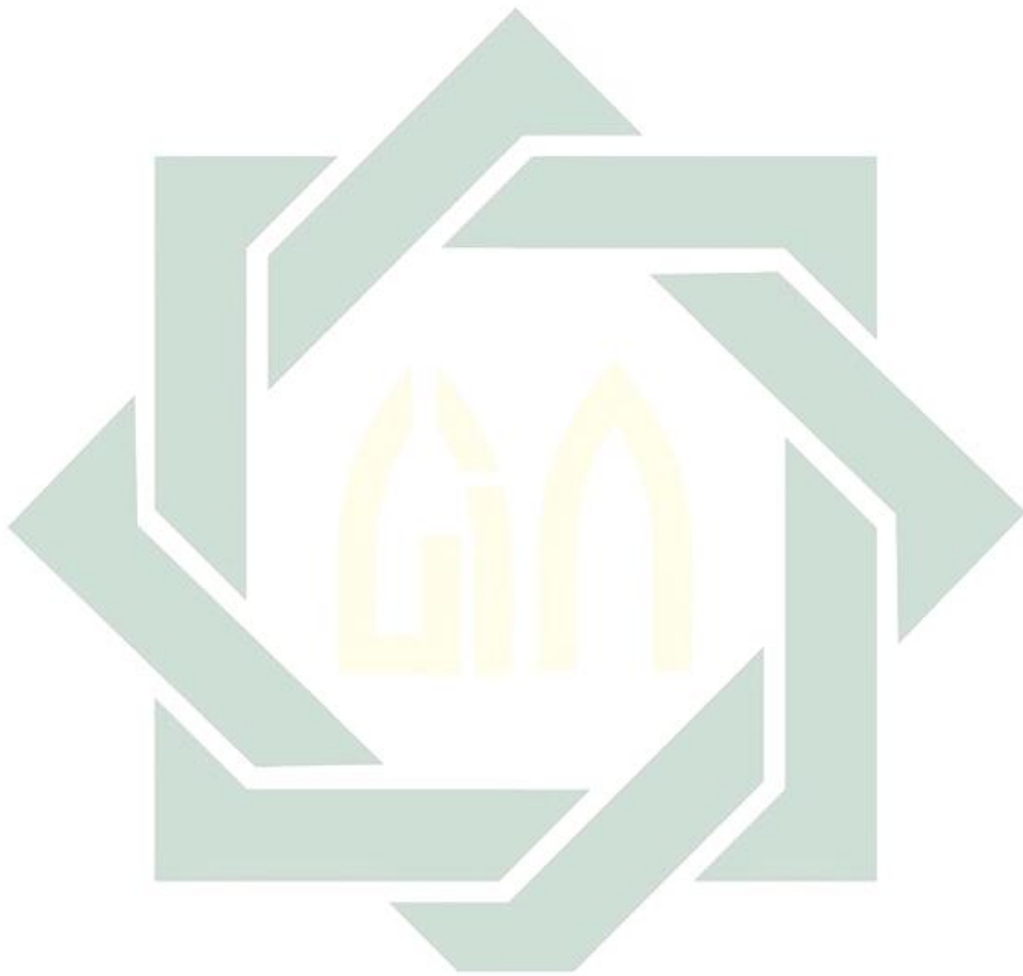
The analysis of dialogic relations also contains certain issues concerning the sustainable development of the Baikal region: preservation and environmental protection of natural resources, watershed and forest management, green economics and ecotourism, and other topics. The use of the hermeneutic approach provides a more holistic interpretation and a deep understanding of reciprocity between different cultures and countries.

Olayiwola Victor OJO discusses "Sino-Nigeria Relations: Exploring the Roles at Play" by showing that Sino-Nigeria ties have been growing for many years. Bilateral relations between these countries have expanded, based on economic complementarities rooted in growing bilateral trade and strategic cooperation. The surge in terms of bilateral trade between the Asian giant and the most populous country in Africa has made Nigeria the third-largest trading partner of China in Africa. Thus, China has provided extensive economic, military, and political support for Nigeria while Nigeria has since become an important source of oil and petroleum for China's rapidly growing economy and huge population. Ojo explores the roles at play between the two countries, focusing on the historical development of the China-Nigeria relations; his paper also investigates the nature, benefits, and character of the economic and trade relations and other strategic cooperation between Nigeria and China.

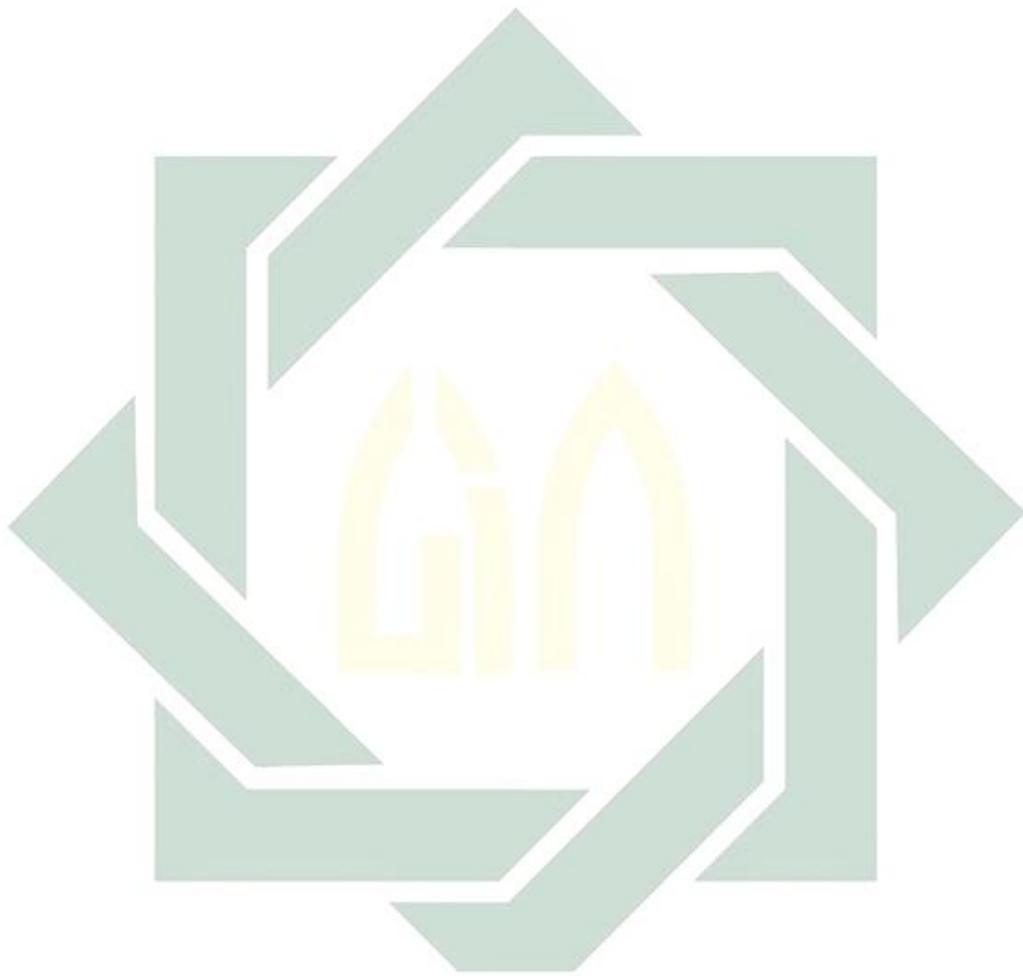
Rachel CHAN Suet Kay speaks about "Reciprocal Bilingualism: The Case of "Bananas," or Purely English-Speaking Malaysian Chinese." In her view, in the conceptualization of the bridge between individualism and collectivism in the era of globalization, one dimension that can be examined is language. The effort to overcome linguistic divides may indicate a greater

level of cosmopolitanism. Chan examines the case of multilingual socialization through education and mass media. The case in point is a group of Malaysian Chinese who have received education in the English language and the national Malay language, and are not literate in the Chinese language. In Malaysia, due to the availability of multilingual education systems, there are Malaysian Chinese who choose to pursue Chinese-language education and those who do not. Research has shown that collectivist values tend to be associated with students who attend Chinese-medium schools, while individualist values tend to be associated with students who attend English-medium schools. Chan's study delves into the phenomenology of interaction among the English-literate Malaysian Chinese, colloquially known as "bananas" (white on the inside) with their Chinese-literate counterparts. By using a focus group interview, she identifies values of reciprocity among these individuals, discerned through their exchange of meanings with one another. The role of education and mass media as agents of socialization is discussed. Chan locates these values as important cultural capital in the context of globalization and the need for enhanced competitiveness in a global labor market.

The papers of this volume were presented at an international symposium on "Reciprocity: A Human Value in a Pluralistic World," which was held in Shanghai in June 2016 and was organized by Shanghai University and the Council for Research and Values in Philosophy.



Part I
The Nature and Characteristics of Reciprocity



The Religious Pluralism Movement in Indonesia

Kunawi BASYIR

Introduction

In the era of modernization and globalization fueled by capitalism and liberalism, members of religious communities have a chance to interpret religion at will. As a result, religion loses its image as the source of value and norm and as the guidance of collective behavior in social and cultural life. It rather appears as a source of religious recognition through the process of construction, deconstruction, and reconstruction, which is more individualistic in relation to interpretation and comprehension. Many academics in this regard call the current era the resurrection era of religious thought together with social conflict.¹ Although religion does not have the same impact as before, religious thoughts still play a pivotal role. As Huston Smith mentions, the world today has entered a critical period in the sense that religion has become the weak point of national and constitutional life. The loyalty of religious members negatively tends to bear an exclusive ideology that is capable of causing *ethnic-religious* conflicts.²

This condition hurts the future of national and constitutional life in Indonesia because, for some centuries until the last decade, the order of social and religious life in Indonesia has been peaceful and avoided conflicts. However, since Indonesia is entering a new phase of the reformation of national and constitutional life, the emergence of political and economic unrest resulted in social conflicts, which disrupted the peace of the Indonesian state. For instance, in 1998, the source of conflicts had two cultural elements: ethnicity and religion.³ Through both religion and ethnicity, society tends to be-

¹ The era is marked by the remarkable rise of religious life and spiritual inclination for the modern human around the globe. See Huston Smith, *Agama-Agama Manusia*, trans. Safroedin Bahar (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1995), 15. Compared to Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam Doctrine Peradaban: Sebuah Telaah Kritis Tentang Masalah Keimanan, Kemanusiaan, Dan Kemodernan* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1992), 7.

² Smith, *Agama-Agama*, 5.

³ The phenomenon affirms Huntington's thesis that the main determining factor of the political contestation of the world is the divergence of cultures and civilizations, rather than the disparity of ideological interests, national state, and economy. One of the most distinguished elements is religion. He summarizes that the clash of civilizations is visible between the East and the West. Ethnicity, tradition, or culture is blocked by objective elements such as ethics, history, traditional speech, institution, custom, and religion. With

come more identitarian, dichotomic, and differentiated. In this regard, the cultural fault line of the situation becomes the basis of controversies. In cultural relations, religion becomes one of the most determinant elements.⁴

Some phenomena have shown that the problem of plurality constitutes the top challenge for religions in Indonesia. The existence of religious plurality needs to be regarded as a natural reality in today's society and has a logical consequence for social life, namely the obligation to live in peace among different religions. The paradigms and postures, which for so long tended to be exclusive, are tested in a multi-religious scope in the multicultural society, so that the inclusive paradigm,⁵ tolerance, and even moderate understanding of religion have become the only solution for Indonesia. This is happening in Denpasar–Bali. The composition of the Bali people is more plural and multicultural and constitutes a substantial matter in building a condition intended to bring about a good social order. However, in 2002, the state was shaken by the incident of the Bali bombing. This phenomenon made the Islam-Hindu relationship much more difficult, for it had been conducive to seeking compromise and tolerance. With that incident, the government along with the religious elites in Bali immediately held a conference with the participation of six religions to find solutions to the tension between Muslim and Hindu peoples. Several meetings finally resulted in an agreement that the Bali bombing was not an Islamic mistake but because Bali culture had been disturbed by the political and global world. The only need faced by the government and the society in Bali is the revitalization of the Bali tradition, that is, *Menyama Braya* tradition (you are me, and I am you) as *Ajeg Bali*. To resurrect the culture of *Menyama Braya*, the local government along with the local people launched the multiculturalism movement, which can be seen from the following discussion.

The Government Role in Practicing Religious Pluralism in Indonesia

As mentioned above, the journey of religious pluralism in Indonesia has been dealing with a reverse situation. The value of religious pluralism in Indonesia is experiencing a reshuffling due to the high wave of globalization.

the logical impact of the objective element, culture has the same restriction as the subjective element, which is the self-identification of individuals. In turn, these two things make up intercultural distinctions that are not only real but also elemental. See Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 68.

⁴ Ibid., 56.

⁵ This paradigm believes that the adhered religion (*Agama Anutan*) possesses the perfect truth and salvation more than other religions. Other religions may be right because they contain certain characteristics possessed by the adhered religion (*Agama Anutan*). This concept is open and does not agree with a claim that can be used as an excuse to negate the rightness and creed of other religions. This concept always seeks the common platform in a plural society. See Fatimah Husein, *Muslim-Christian Relations in the New Order Indonesia: The Exclusivist and Inclusivist Muslims Perspectives* (Bandung: Mizan, 2005), 31.

This means that all cultures from the outside have colored social life in Indonesia. The Arabic culture came to Indonesia by carrying its culture and ideology, such as *Wahabiyyah*, *Syiria*; the Indian culture contributed with its *Ahmadiyah*, the Persian with its *Shi'ah*. But Indonesia has its own culture which contains diversity in unity showing each their own identity and ideology. However, the variation of culture and ideology in Indonesia did not become the prime model. Indonesia has become a divided society, thus the multicultural reality possessed by Indonesia has become a social liability. Indonesian culture is no longer a friendly culture, but a violent one. Violence in the name of ethnicity, culture, or religion has become a trademark in Indonesia. But before the world religions appeared, Indonesia already had a religious faith emphasizing inner tranquility, equality, balance, and inter-ethnic harmony.⁶

In terms of the historical experience of religions in Indonesia, although Islamic typology in Indonesia can currently be qualified as syncretic,⁷ the spirit of pluralism is still well-maintained and leads *Islamic Indonesia* to a moderate territory with the development of technology and information. However, the emergence of religious radicalism threatens religious pluralism in Indonesia. In the 1960s, the problems related to interreligious conflicts could be quickly solved by discussions that produced pillars (*sila-sila*) in Pancasila (five pillars) and the presidential decree. Such a situation has not prevailed because in 1965 the interreligious relationship was upset by tension, for example, the church impairment in Makasar (1967), the Jakarta Slipi incident (1969), the Banyuak Island of Aceh (1969), Flores (1969), Donggo of East Sumbawa (1969), the Bukit Tinggi Hospital (1970), and the Catholic Tarakinata Building of Jakarta (1975). According to Natsir, those problems were caused by the Muslims' protests against the government, which was not able to produce a good result.⁸

K. H. Mochammad Dahlan, the minister of religious affairs of Indonesia at that time, held an interreligious conference to avoid interreligious conflicts, attended by T. B. Simatupang, A. M. Tambunan, the Protestant representative, Kasimo, the Catholic representative, H. M. Rasyidi, the Muslim representative, and others from Hindu and Buddhist communities. This conference showed the government's serious response to the problems of violation among religious followers. The concern was that such problems would lead to a bigger problem (a national disaster) if they were not resolved through interreligious dialogue. According to President Soeharto's recommendation,

⁶ For more detail on social harmony in the religious field in Indonesian history, see Niels Mulder, *Kepribadian Jawa dan Pembangunan* (Yogyakarta: Gajah Mada University Press, 1981), 12.

⁷ Islamic syncretism is Islamic religious practices mixed with local cultures but the exchange of Islamic values with local cultures (Hindu) means that Islamic behavior is in contradiction with Islamic values.

⁸ M. Natsir, *Mencari Modus Vivendi Antarumat Beragama di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Media Dakwah, 1980), 23.

to live interreligious life smoothly, we need to have an attitude of respecting each other and not compelling people to join a religion.⁹

In 1975, the interreligious institute was finally formed. It took so much time because of some obstacles, in particular, that no institution could represent Islam. At that time, there were only institutions affiliated with certain religious organizations, rather than independent organizations. Finally, on July 27, 1975, the Indonesian Ulama' Council (MUI), an independent organization representing Islam in Indonesia, was formed. Christians have the Indonesian Church Council (DGI), Catholics have the Committee of Church Representatives (MAWI), Buddhists have the inter-Indonesian Buddhist Coordinating Institution (WALUBI), and Hindus have the Indonesian Parishada Hindu Dharma (PHDI).¹⁰ Through government support, Mukti Ali organized various consultative forums, dialogues, and interreligious conferences. He created the "interreligious harmony project."¹¹

The strained situation occurred not only because the government suspended supporting Islam but also because of competition among Muslim people. We can observe this competition in the Building United Party (PPP), consisting of two big powers: *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) which tends to be critical toward the government, and the Indonesian Muslimin (MI), which is more accommodative. These two political powers often show rivalry, which risks exacerbating disputes among Muslims and threatening Indonesian national stability. Alamsyah Ratu Prawiranegara, the religious minister of the Indonesian Republic, took the situation in hand and advocated for interreligious harmony with the phrase of "*trilogi kerukunan*" (harmony trilogy).

The government policy toward interreligious harmony did not only stop with the period in office of Alamsjah but continued with Muhammad Maftuh Busyani, the religious minister, who organized many dialogues and seminars about interreligious harmony. In the seminar organized by the minister of religion in Jakarta on December 31, 2008, Basyuni conveyed that interreligious harmony constituted a dynamic pillar of national harmony that needed to be cultivated continuously to create a harmonic relationship based on tolerance, mutual understanding, and respect of equality in practicing religious teaching in social and national life.¹² In 1978, Alamsjah published Decisional Letter No. 70 about the rule of religious dissemination and the assistance to religious institutions in Indonesia.

Many conflicts and violence in the name of religion took place and increased from 1999 to April 2001 as, for instance, 327 churches and 254 mosques were ruined in Maluku. After various aggressive actions, the expul-

⁹ Azyumardi Azra, *Menteri-Menteri Agama RI: Biografi Sosial-Politik* (Jakarta: INIS Bekerjasamadengan Balitbang Depag RI, 1998), 259.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 302.

¹¹ Djohan Effendi, "Dialog Antar Agama: Bisakah Melahirkan Teologi Kerukunan," *PRISMA*, no. 5 (June 1978): 14.

¹² Accessed October 2, 2012, <http://www.scribd.com/doc/90.358408/agama-islam-kerukunan-antar-umat-beragama>.

sion and impairment of worshipping places affected many religious communities, Catholic, Christian, and Hindu.¹³ In the Ahmadiyah case, violence continued more dramatically in several places, such as Manis Lor Kuningan of West Java, Parung Bogor, Prayo of Central Lombok, and Lingsar of West Lombok.¹⁴

To keep national stability and to avoid social conflicts, the government has a fundamental role in realizing the recognition of pluralism and interreligious harmony in Indonesia, with the assistance of religious organizations such as the Interreligious Interaction Forum (FIA), Interreligious Harmony Forum (FKUB), and the Cross-Religious Communication Forum (FKLA). Besides dialogues, the government should also issue regulations, either in the form of constitutional and decisional letters or instructions, as well as instructions executed by the president or the ministers. These government regulations do not purport to intervene in religious freedom in Indonesia but to preserve law and order so that national stability is not disrupted. The religious problem should be placed in the private sphere; however, if religious activities disrupt the public order and threaten the peaceful coexistence of people, then the form of religious operations would become not private but public. The government then is responsible to protect and prioritize the collective welfare by creating harmony in Indonesian religious life.

Civil Society as a Basis for the Movement of Religious Pluralism

One of the popular issues in the late 90s was the discourse of *masyarakat madani* (urban society). This issue was discussed among academics regarding the unstable social-political condition of Indonesia that finally reached the level of a crisis of identity and civilization. According to Naquib al-Attas, the term “madani” equals “civil society,” meaning people who highly respect the values of civilization.¹⁵

As Indonesia is in a post-reformation phase, central power has vanished. The new order is in the scope of symbolic power. Power is finally placed in the state organization located at the level of the province, region, district, and village. For instance, *Desa Pakraman* (traditional village) in Denpasar-Bali was included in this power struggle. The spirit of regional autonomy as one of the powers to build a civil society in Denpasar is more powerful, for the traditional village becomes a reincarnation of the new state for the Bali people, who place *Desa Pakraman* as the last defensive fort of Bali culture. Varied movements and programs for maintaining tradition are taking place. The government, along with the Bali people, has started to popularize the “Ajeg

¹³ Muhammad Ali, *Teologi Pluralis-Multikultural: Menghargai Kemajemukan Menjalani Kebersamaan* (Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas, 2003), 65.

¹⁴ Fawaizul Umam, “Tera Ulang Peran Profetik Tuan Guru,” in “Konteks Kebebasan Beragama di Pulau Lombok,” *Ulumuna* 13, no. 2 (December 2009): 433.

¹⁵ Naquib al-Attas in Riswanda Imawan, *Masyarakat Madani dan Agenda Demokratisasi* (Jakarta: LSAF, 1999), 12.

Bali,” that is, Bali must return to “barract,” meaning that it has to be established based on Bali culture, which is Hindu.

The will of the Bali people to regulate their regional rules in accordance with Hindu teaching is starting to be practiced.¹⁶ Although the Bali people use Hindu laws in their regulation, the regional rules still allow other religious groups to live side by side with the Hindus. Such religious tolerance based on traditional rules existed long ago in the small kingdoms of Bali, such as the Waturenggong Kingdom in Klungkung and Badung in Denpasar.¹⁷ In the kingdom era, the term *Menyama Brama* was prominently introduced; however, because of modernization and hegemony of the new political order, the tolerant tradition of Bali culture disappeared.

Thus, one of the *Ajeg Bali* that needs to return is *Menyama Braya* (I am you and you are me). That culture constitutes a powerful form of religious tolerance in the Denpasar city of Bali. The key concept of the Hindu people in terms of interreligious tolerance is “*Tat Twam Asi*” and “*Yama Niyama Brata*.” The former means I am you; the latter, you are me. For the Bali people, when we love ourselves, having self-affection, we have to say and do something to others as we do to ourselves. If these principles work, the peace of life in this world will be granted. We can see the embodiment of the concept in people’s routine activities through the tradition of *Ngupoin*, *Mapitulung*,¹⁸ *Mejenukkan*, *Ngejot*,¹⁹ etc. All of those traditions constitute a form of interreligious harmony in Denpasar Bali.

Strong interreligious tolerance as well as “*Ajeg Bali*” or “*Ajeg Hindu*” conform to the social structure of Bali people who are multicultural. This is what the local government of Denpasar city is trying to attain: “*Denpasar Kreatif Berwawasan Budaya Dalam Keseimbangan Menuju Keharmonisan*” (the creative Denpasar insightful culture in balance with harmony). *Ajeg Hindu* as the Bali icon for national and international eyes, apparently equal

¹⁶ The 1991 Local Regulation No. 3 states that Bali culture has much to do with Hinduism to preserve the harmony of society and its culture. The first Bali governor, I Made Mangku Pastika, stated that for tradition, culture, and religion, Hinduism is the basic model to realize safeness.

¹⁷ In the era of Nusantara Kingdoms, the *Badung* Kingdom had a conflict with the *Mengwi* Kingdom. The *Badung* Kingdom gained assistance from Muslim troops of the *Bugis* Kingdom and defeated the *Mengwi* Kingdom. This was one of the Muslim pioneers in Kepaon of Denpasar city. See “Muslim Has Come to Bali Since the 15 BC,” *Bali Post*, December 2, 2001.

¹⁸ *Ngupoin*, *mapitulung* means to help neighbors, friends, and relatives in the ceremonial preparation. This tradition has become a custom of the Denpasar society when there would be ceremonies either in marriage or other rituals. Muslim and Hindu people are around to give each other a hand for the success of the ritual, also for accommodation, etc. The distinction between *Ngupoin* and *Mapitulung* is that the former means a person who conducts the *Hajatan* (someone’s will), while the latter is used when a religious ceremony is conducted.

¹⁹ *Ngejot* is food sharing (meat) to neighbors, nearest relatives. This tradition used to be performed in Hari Raya (Holy day) of *Nyepi* among the Hindu people and *Idul Fitri* among the Muslims.

to the theory of multiculturalism,²⁰ was excluded by George Ritzer. This postmodern figure emphasizes the problem of alienation and the upward trend of intellectuals, meaning that minority and isolated groups are well educated to a higher position and significance in the social world.

“*Ajeg Bali*” as the icon to unite the multicultural society in Bali, especially in Denpasar, is the right choice to make Bali a zone of security, peace, and welfare. If we try to understand the historical record of the term, although it has a strong sense of Hinduism, it does not mean to close off interreligious tolerance but rather to be open to religious harmony similar to that of “*Menyama Braya*.” The term *Ajeg Bali*, meaning that the Denpasar people must have an autonomous Bali culture, prevailed because for several years, particularly in the new era, the government organized only one agency for tourism in Bali with the term *Sapta Pesona*. Government hegemony made Bali lose its identity. The outcome was that the Bali people became confused. This was the background of the Bali bombing in 2002.²¹

According to Antonio Gramsci, there are two levels in the principal structure of government administration: civil society and political society. Civil society evokes the whole apparatus commonly called *swasta* (private agency), such as educational institutions, mass media, and religious institutions. Political society or the state evokes all public institutions that have the power to control the governmental system. Gramsci argues that hegemony belongs to a political class that is successful in deceiving other classes of society into accepting moral values, politics, or cultures.²²

The Bali people realize that they have to rise and stand on their own feet. Borrowing A. S. Hikam’s terminology, the Bali people have to build a civil society based on self-identity. In this regard, the local wisdom (Hindu culture) could be the way to bring Bali into *Bali maksartham jagadhita ya ca iti dharma* (physical and spiritual welfare), as dreamed by the Hindu or Bali people in general. The function of fortification and the discourse to empower civil society of the Bali people, “*Ajeg Bali*” and even “*Ajeg Hindu*,” is to popularize a return to Bali tradition so that Bali could become a brighter, more

²⁰ This theory has seven characteristics: *first*, to refuse a universalistic theory to defend the ones in power; *second*, to try to be inclusive and give attention to the oppressed groups; *third*, not to be free from moral values; *fourth*, to try to be open; *fifth*, not to distinguish big and small narrations; *sixth*, to be critical; *seventh*, to acknowledge work restricted by a certain creation either in a cultural contextual form or a social form. See George Ritzer, *Teori Sosial Postmodern*, trans. Muhammad Taufiq (Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2005), 322.

²¹ The reason for the problem of the relationship between Muslim and Hindu people in Bali after the Bali bombing, according to Agung Putri is the collapse of economic life. Tourism is down due to fear of the insecure situation in Bali. The Bali bombing was conducted by a Muslim, giving rise to an anti-Islam sentiment. See “Nguhah Agung Memulihkan Keretakan Hindu-Muslim” [Nguhah Agung recovers the cracked Hindu-Muslim relation], *Tempo*, August 21, 2013.

²² Antonio Gramsci, *Selection from Prison Notebook* (New York: International Publisher, 1971), 57.

secure, and more fascinating place with its culture, economics, and socio-religious tradition.²³

One of *Ajeg Bali* that needs bringing back as the pole of *masyarakat madani* (civil society) in Bali is the role of history, Islam being established since 1460 in the era of the Gelgel Kingdom in Klungkung.²⁴ In Tabanan, the relationship between the Hindu and Muslim people has existed since the early 1900s. The togetherness and harmony of Muslim and Hindu people in Bali have been long preserved and protected by the people. The Muslim and Hindu people in Bali want to rebuild their relationship in the context of the interrelationship of *ke-Muslim-an dan ke-Bali-an* (Muslim-ness and Bali-ness). However, the contemporary situation, especially socio-political and economic, has distorted the harmony of the Muslim-Hindu relationship, and the Bali bombing eventually exacerbated the problem of interreligious tolerance in Denpasar and Bali generally.

Ngurah Agung,²⁵ for example, goes by the motto of re-building “*Bali Harmony*” under the flag of the Hindu-Muslim Brotherhood in Bali (PHMB).²⁶ For him, the harmony of Hindu-Muslim people was brought about by the presence of moral values and the socio-cultural consistency of the Hindu and Muslim people. In terms of moral values, Bali has beautiful resources. This beauty is well maintained since Bali people apply *Tri Hitakarana* and *Tat Twam Asi*. In terms of socio-political culture, Bali has an

²³ I Gede Mudana, “Lokalisme dalam Politik Lokal Bali” [Localism in Bali local politics], in *Jelajah Kajian Budaya*, ed. I Made Suastika (Denpasar: Pustaka larasan in cooperation with Program Studi Magister dan Doktor Kajian Budaya Universitas Udayana, 2012), 59.

²⁴ The pioneers of Islam in Klungkung were the forty guardians of the Majapahit Kingdom in the era of Dalem Ketut Ngelisir (Raja Gelgel I). The king of Dalem Ketut Ngelisir in the Majapahit dynasty established the Gelgel Kingdom in Klungkung. M. Sarlan, *Sejarah Keberadaan Umat Islam di Bali* (Denpasar: Bimas Islam Depag Propinsi Bali, 2002), 64.

²⁵ Being born in the Puri (kingdom) circle, Ngurah Agung was raised in accordance with the Hindu tradition in *Pakraman*. The forefather of Ngurah Agung was renowned and had a close relationship with Islam. For instance, A. A. Manik Mas Mirah, the princess of the Pemecutan king, married the king of Madura Barat Cakraningrat IV and then converted to Islam and changed her name to Siti Khodijah. However, Ngurah Agung’s fear of Muslim people emerged since he became acquainted with Gus Dur around 1995. Since then, Ngurah Agung frequently visited Islamic boarding schools in East Java and has ongoing relations with the *Kiai* (Islamic religious figures). He is fluent in reciting or spelling *dzikir* (Islamic praying). Based on his close relationship with *Muslimin* (Muslim people), he is even called Ngurah Agung Muslim. See “Ngurah Agung Memulihkan Keretakan Hindu-Muslim.”

²⁶ PHMB is an Association of Hindus and Muslims in Denpasar Bali, which teaches tolerance and respect to each other. Its leading members are A. A. Ngurah Agung, SE (PHMB leader), A. A. Putu Rai (advisor), A. A. Gd Ariewangsa, SS (the leader of PHMB soldiers), and Wayan Gede Gunawan, Msi (academician/honorary advisor). This association was established when the Bali bombing disrupted the peace of Bali and caused tension between the Muslim and Hindu people. The bomb was detonated by a terrorist but in the name of religion. However, the relationship between Hindu and Muslim people was harmonious in earlier times. *Tempo*, October 6, 2013, <http://phmbBali.blogspot.com>.

open-minded culture and is capable of cultivating the culture of *nyama braya*, *segilik seguluk*, *beda paksi bina paksa*. These two aspects of *ke-Bali-an* (Baliness) are relevant to the Islamic concept; as the local wisdom, this concept has been applied by different communities collectively. The Bali community in the past, for example, was able to create such harmony despite different faiths. This spirit has been carried on by the Bali people as a principle based on religious tolerance.

Multiculturalism as a Base for the Movement of Religious Pluralism

The plural culture of the Denpasar people is supported by its ethnic groups. The ethnic Bali consists of the indigenous people of Bali, who are the largest community compared to other ethnic groups. But the local culture is still dominated not only by the indigenous Bali culture but also by Hinduism. There is a mutual relation between religion and the local culture. Thus, we may say that the Bali culture is Hinduism, and Hinduism is the Bali culture; namely, the existence of Hinduism could not be separated from the Bali culture itself. The religion of the Bali Hindu becomes the moral value system and norm implemented in action and the social system and is manifested in varied cultural materials.

Existentially, Bali should not become a hindrance to the rise of pluralism in Denpasar City.²⁷ The spirit of Bali is the building stock of the multicultural awareness of the Denpasar people, which will lead them to a strong cultural pluralism. This is because Bali culture is based on Hinduism and espoused by the popular term of *Menyama Braya*, which is always socialized and practiced in this plural society.²⁸ Along with plural culture and ethnicity, the plurality of religions (Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism, Catholicism, Christianity, and Confucianism) is also espoused. The divergence of beliefs and faiths does not hurt the existing social structure in Denpasar; instead, it brings the spirit of togetherness to the building of a reliable city.²⁹

²⁷ A religious movement is often related to moral values because some elements are out of date or irrelevant to the change and development of the age. Theologically, fundamentalism is identical to literalism, primitivism, legalism, and tribalism, whereas politically, it is connected with *populism reaksioner* (reactionary populism). See James Barr, *Fundamentalism* (London: SCM Press, 1977), 1. Lionel Caplan, *Studies in Fundamentalism* (London: Macmillan Press, 1987), 1.

²⁸ We can see in the 1991 regional regulation number 3 that tourism in its development is based on the Bali culture and the Hindu tradition by protecting the harmony of inter-tourism, society, and culture. Some time ago, the Bali governor, I. Gd. Mangku Pastika, conveyed in his opening speech that with the one tradition, culture, and religion which is Hinduism, we have a model to bring safety to our tradition, culture, and religion. In addition, the same idea is conveyed in the mission of Denpasar “*Denpasar Kreatif Berwawasan Budaya dalam Keseimbangan Menuju Keharmonisan*” [Creative Denpasar Cultural Insight in Harmonious Balance], one point of which is to grow self-identity of the people of Denpasar based on the Bali culture.

²⁹ In the wake of the 2002 bombing, the first step was taken to build interreligious and ethnic cooperation for a multicultural society. Several institutions such as FKUB, FKAEN,

Interreligious tolerance and harmony in Bali and Denpasar are promising, for there have not been collisions. This is because the Bali people have inherited a tradition transmitted from generation to generation for fifteen centuries. Due to the mutual understanding and appreciation of people of different ethnic and religious groups, they have created interreligious tolerance and harmony. For example, when the Hindu people celebrate the great day of Nyepi (the new year of Saka 1935/2013 M) in Denpasar, the Muslim community participates in helping the process of Nyepi.

The culture of *Menyama Braya* can become a good program for a multicultural society in Denpasar because *Menyama Braya* has a strategic meaning for the development of Bali in the future. *Menyama Braya* becomes an excellent expression for all religions in Bali. A program for dialogue was presented by FKUB Bali, in which all representatives of religions shared their perspectives on the concept of *Menyama Braya* and its relevance to each of the religious teachings.³⁰ Several religious figures depicted that *Menyama Braya* constitutes one of the supporting factors for the implementation of interreligious tolerance in Bali, particularly in Denpasar. The term *Menyama Braya* is not only popular among the Bali people (only the Hindu) but also among others (*Nyama Selam*). Thus, the difference in religious understanding does not constitute a challenge but a solution for the religious life of the multicultural society (Hindu-Muslim). They have mutual respect, understanding, and consideration toward each other, for they can distinguish what is doctrinal and social.

To avoid any disputes among religious people in Denpasar, religious figures and *Ulama'* (Islamic religious leaders) are always active in reminding the *MuBalighs*, *Ustadz*, *Guru Ngaji* (religious teacher), and *Khotib* (mosque official) to promote interreligious tolerance in any religious lecture on al-Qur'an and Hadith and to avoid themes that destabilize the nation, for instance, infidel, pig, and statue worship. These themes could bring offense to the Hindu community and should be avoided as triggers to disintegration. By scrutinizing some of the phenomena above, we can see how the Bali people maintain interreligious harmony in the multicultural society in Bali. Although some unpredictable incidents may take place, thus bringing a feeling of insecurity, suspiciousness, and doubt, the effort based on traditions fosters the realization of the idea of multiculturalism.

PHMB had the agenda of establishing dialogue for promoting the harmony of inter-religious and ethnic communities in Denpasar.

³⁰ The representative of Islam, Muhammad Anshory, for example, conveyed that Islamic teachings, especially the Islamic pillars, constituted the universal principle that is used to foster the ethical and peaceful life of *Menyama Braya*. The concept of Islamic pillars must be implemented to promote brotherhood in the plural society as well as in Denpasar because *Menyama Braya* is an excellent social institution. Agreeing with Anshory, Suharlin, the representative of Hinduism, explained that *Menyama Braya* is an attitude and behavior of the Bali people to acknowledge and accept diversity of ethnicity, religion, and race. This statement was supported by Sudiarta, the Buddhist representative, showing that the local wisdom of *Menyama Braya* in Denpasar is not only a discourse but also something that should be implemented among the Bali people.

Multi-ethnic diversity essentially has two potential sides: unique diversity and conflict. These potentialities need to be carefully organized and well maintained so that conflict will not arise. For this purpose, interreligious tolerance and harmony were established by the educational sector and social movements (LSM). The educational organization of *Miftahul Ulum* in the Javanese village developed the following vision and mission: learning to know, learning to make, learning to live together, and learning to face others (four educational pillars).

The awareness of multiculturalism leading to interreligious tolerance in Bali is also continued by social webs such as the Interracial Community Forum/*Forum Komunikasi Antar Etnis Nusantara* (FKAEN), the Interreligious Harmony Forum (FKUB), and the Bali Muslim-Hindu Brotherhood (PHMB). The purpose of these forums is to preserve the harmony of religious life in the local area. These are the result of several agreements about the harmony of living together. Such agreements include the following: first, the expression of religious greeting in accordance with each religion; second, the preservation of the purity and safety of worship as the responsibility of all religious people; third, the promotion of the local wisdom "*Menyama Braya*" as the basis of harmony; fourth, the promotion of essential values of each religious teaching related to harmony as the guidance of religious people; fifth, dialogue as the solution to problems, mediated by the interreligious harmony forum along with related officials.³¹

These multicultural movements seem to increase the consciousness of religious pluralism on the local level.³² The idea of multiculturalism is starting to be understood and practiced in a plural society in line with the tradition of *Menyama Braya*. This becomes the foundation for the Bali people to create a relationship with Muslim communities. Muslim communities had a history that was strongly related to the native people of Bali in the past, such as *Nyama Selam* or *Saudara Islam* (Islamic brother). But the tradition of *nyama braya* experienced a disastrous incident, the Bali bombing, in 2002. At that time, the relationship between Hinduism and Islam became quite tense. After the Bali bombing, the Muslim community still had a difficult situation, for it became the target of distrust. After that, security in Bali started to be rebuilt.³³

In response to such a situation, the multicultural movement pioneered by religious figures joined by the interreligious harmony forum in Bali fre-

³¹ I Gusti Made Ngurah, *Saling Menerima dan Menghargai Perbedaan Melalui Dialog Antar Umat Beragama dalam Masyarakat Multikultural* (Denpasar: Sari Kahyangan Indonesia, 2010), 8.

³² The holy day of Nyepi is coincidentally the same on Sunday and Friday. The awareness of having pluralism is also visible when both religions celebrate their religious services, and Muslim and Hindu people help each other in assuring the smoothness and safety of ongoing ceremonies.

³³ I Wayan Sukarma, "Pariwisata Bali Pasca Bom Kute," in *Bali yang Hilang: Penda-tang, Islam dan Etnisitas di Bali*, ed. Yudhis M. Burhanuddin (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2008), 15; "Muslim Pasca Bom Bali," *Bali Pos*, December 2, 2010.

quently organized meetings and dialogues to discuss problems related to religious issues. Leaders from all religions in Bali agreed to contain and decrease any potential conflict among people from different religious backgrounds.³⁴ In addition, Muslim and Hindu people in Bali agreed that the incident of the Bali bombing should not be related to any ethnic group or religion. Through the hard work of religious figures, the government, and the Bali people, along with the *Pakraman* village, in practicing interreligious tolerance and harmony,³⁵ the interreligious life of multicultural society in Denpasar has been going well until today. The result is that any issues raised by radical movements that might disturb the agenda of *Menyama Braya* could not be found in Denpasar and surrounding places.

Conclusion

Religious pluralism in Indonesia has ups and downs due to the political situation in the country. In its early period, Indonesia was an independent country marked by Islam, but religious pluralism was there. However, with the development of technology and information, followed by political turmoil in the country, the nature and the values of pluralism became endangered. Although theologically, Islamic Indonesia has progressed from purity toward modernity, it does not guarantee the value of religious pluralism. Sometimes, Indonesia is in a very poor condition concerning religious pluralism. One of the solutions that should be developed is to revive the local wisdom and develop multicultural awareness so that a harmonious atmosphere can be generated to promote the values of religious pluralism.

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³⁴ I Gusti Made Ngurah, *Saling Menerima dan Menghargai*, xi.

³⁵ In 2013, the committee of Ibn Batutha mosque participated in the contest of the national level mosque and became the second winner of the contest due to the support from the Pakraman village (traditional village) either in a material or spiritual way.

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