Mainstreaming Religious Moderation in Male Tradition of the Balinese Muslim Community

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Abstract
The plural societies, on the one hand, are an asset. However, it can also lead to social conflict. This study aims to uncover the values of moderatisme found in the Male tradition in Jembrana, Bali. This article is qualitative research with an interpretive method. The data were collected through observation and interviews. This study reveals that there are values of religious moderation found in the Male tradition practiced by the Muslim community in Jembrana, Bali. The tradition contains integration between Islamic teachings and traditions that do not conflict with the normative teachings of Islam. The tradition involves not only the Muslims but also the Hindus. Thus, the social harmony and co-existence among religious believers are firmly established through Male tradition. This study expectedly contributes to giving more references for mainstreaming religious moderation based on the factual case in Indonesia. Theoretically, it also supports the government’s formulation of the indicators of religious moderation in creating a harmonious relationship among believers through local tradition preservation. Yet, this study has not explained the concrete strategy taken by the Jembrana local government regarding the success of mainstreaming religious moderation in the practice of Male tradition.

Masyarakat majemuk, di satu sisi, merupakan aset. Namun, ia juga bisa mengakibatkan konflik sosial. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap nilai-nilai moderatisme yang terdapat dalam tradisi Male

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Introduction

The facts show that the issue of religious moderation is not always warmly welcomed by Muslims in Indonesia. Many believes of mainstreaming religious moderation are intended as liberalization and secularization of religious teachings in social, cultural, and state contexts (Siswanto & Islamy, 2022, pp. 198–199). Even though the manifestation of religious moderation for the Indonesian people is an undeniable necessity (Husaini & Islamy, 2022, p. 52), especially in the context of the life of the multicultural Indonesian society (Islamy, 2022, p. 51).

Amid the importance of efforts to realize moderate Islamic religious understanding and attitudes (Sutrisna, 2021, p. 243), there is a local tradition in Indonesia that describes the embodiment of religious moderation in harmonizing the relationship between Muslims and other religious people (S. Saihu & Åžahin, 2020, p. 56). The local tradition in question is the Male tradition, practiced by the Muslim community in Jembrana, Bali. This tradition is a manifestation of religious moderation that integrates the values of Islam with the local traditions in a way that does not contradict the normative teachings of Islam. Consequently, it is a harmonious relationship between Muslims and Hindus. This study contributes to enriching references for the mainstreaming of religious moderation based on sociological facts in Indonesia. Theoretically, this study also supports the government's rumination on the values of religious moderation to create a harmonious relationship between Islamic teachings and local culture. However, this study has not explained the concrete strategy implemented by the Jembrana local government in the success of mainstreaming religious moderation in the Male tradition.
Jembrana to commemorate the birth of the Prophet Muhammad (Mawlid Nabi). However, even though this tradition is a practice of Muslim religious traditions, practically, it always involves the Hindu community (S. Saihu, 2020, p. 38). This phenomenon is interesting to study more deeply as it shows us the manifestation of moderate religious understanding and attitudes that can be poured into local traditions based on religious teachings. Not only that, the practice of the Male tradition can open the barriers of religious differences so that they do not become a barrier to realizing harmonious life relations amid the plurality of religious communities in Indonesia.

Moreover, the Indonesian government has formulated indicators of religious moderation in Indonesia through the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia (Azis et al., 2021, p. 231). The values of religious moderation include the value of national commitment (nationality), tolerance, counter-radicalism, and accommodating local traditions (Kementerian Agama RI, 2019, pp. 42–43). These values can then be used as an indicator to identify moderate religious understandings and attitudes in the life of the Indonesian state.

Several studies have been found regarding acculturation among religious believers. Kartini studies the form of cultural acculturation between Muslims and Hindus can be seen in various historical relics. However, the pattern of social relations between these two religious communities since the kingdom’s reign has not always been harmonious (Kartini, 2017, p. 142). Her study is corroborated by a study conducted by M. Abdul Karim, who found that the development of the Jembrana community after the arrival of Islam had caused cultural acculturation. This acculturation would be a strategic step toward realizing harmony between Islam and Hinduism in Jembrana (Karim, 2016, p. 30). Then Fahham's study tried to map out relations between the Muslim and Hindu communities and the factors. According to him, the way of relations between Muslims and Hindus in Bali is not singular but plural. First, there are associative patterns; some are classified into three forms: cooperation
accommodation, and tolerance. This pattern is supported by historical factors, economic interests, and integration. Second, dissociative patterns are classified into two, namely contestation and conflict. This pattern is supported by aspects of economic jealousy, anti-tolerance of Islamic teachings, communication and strong traditions (Fahham, 2018, p. 34). Fahham’s study explains this in more detail than the two previous studies.

Again, a study by Saihu revealed that harmony between Muslims and Hindus in the Male tradition in commemorating the birth of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH could not be separated from the awareness of mutual respect and respect for religious pluralism (S. Saihu, 2020, p. 31). Besides, there is also an element of Islamic da’wah in the Male tradition based on the teachings of ‘Urf in Islamic law. This then makes the practice able to shape Hindu interest and the character of the Hindu and Muslim communities in Jembrana to be humanist, tolerant, and inclusive (M. Saihu, 2019). A study by Fajri Zulia Ramdhani confirmed the study by Saihu, Busro and Abdul Wasi. They also classified the general relationship between Muslims and Hindus in Bali, which was formed in four periods: the kingdom, colonialism, after independence, and now. The study stated that local traditions contributed significantly to the integration of relations between the two religious’ communities, including the anniversary of the birth of Prophet Muhammad PBUH (Mawlid), Nyepi, Eid al-Fiṭr (Ramdhani et al., 2020, p. 196).

However, based on various previous studies above, a study that focuses on identifying the dimensions of religious moderation in the Male tradition through the approach of religious moderation indicators conceptualized by the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia has not been found yet. This is the importance and significance of this study. So, this study aims to uncover the dimensions of religious moderation in the practice of the Male tradition by the Muslim community in Jembrana, Bali.

This article is qualitative research in the form of a case study of the Male tradition in Bali by applying interpretive methods. The primary data
were collected through observation and interviews. Meanwhile, the data analysis technique underwent three stages: data reduction, presentation, and verification. To achieve this goal, this study uses four indicators of religious moderation formulated by the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia to reveal the various dimensions of religious moderation manifested in the practice of Male tradition. This study is necessary, especially amidst the challenges and even resistance to various mainstreaming of religious moderation in Indonesia, whether academic, cultural, or political strategies (Irham et al., 2021, p. 2).

**Indicators of Religious Moderation in Indonesia**

Religious moderation always contests various values, both on the right and on the left. Therefore, in identifying religious moderation, an individual must be able to describe how the contestation and struggle for values occurs. As illustrated above, the analogy of a pendulum clock can be further explained as an individual's religious attitude, which is strongly influenced by reason and revelation. Excessive alignments with reason can be seen as extreme left, which often results in the birth of an attitude of ignoring the text. On the other hand, a textual understanding of religious texts can lead to a conservative mindset if it only accepts the absolute truth of a religious interpretation. On this basis, a moderate individual will always try to compromise both sides of these tendencies. In other words, it can move to the left using its wits, but it doesn’t stay in its extreme position. It swings to the right to remain guided by the text but is accompanied by an understanding of the context surrounding it (Kementerian Agama RI, 2019, p. 42).

The term religious moderation in Indonesian is a form of balanced spiritual understanding or attitude based on the middle way principle in religious practice that can keep it from extremism, both the extreme left and right. The manifestation of religious moderation is a critical part of forming a harmonious community life order amid the plurality of all aspects surrounding it. Therefore, the manifestation of religious
moderation in the context of the plurality of Indonesian society is necessary (Kementerian Agama RI, 2019, pp. 13–18).

It is necessary to have an active role in all elements of society, especially the government, to form moderate religious understanding and attitudes in Indonesia. It takes a collective effort that is carried through various ways to instill different moderate religious values. In this context, the role of educational institutions, both formal and non-formal, is highly expected (Zaman et al., 2022). In this sub-chapter, four indicators of religious moderation conceptualized by the Indonesian Ministry of Religion will be described as follows:

First is a national commitment. The value of this first indicator can be an indicator to identify individual religious beliefs, attitudes, and practices for their loyalty to the Indonesian constitution, especially Pancasila, whose existence is the ideology of the Indonesian state. This national commitment is also an indicator that can show an individual's religious understanding and attitude regarding whether he can practice his religious teachings moderately in the context of state life in Indonesia.

The second is tolerance. The value of this second indicator can be an indicator to identify individual religious understandings, attitudes, and practices in responding to the plurality of people's lives. Therefore, the manifestation of tolerance for religious people in Indonesia is fundamental in realizing a harmonious life amid the plurality of Indonesian society. In practical terms, the tolerance indicator will emphasize the intensity of mutual respect, respect and acceptance between religious and intra-religious people related to social and political life. With the embodiment of an attitude of tolerance, religious communities in Indonesia will emphasize acts of tolerance, enabling dialogue and cooperation in social life in diversity.

Meanwhile, in the context of intra-religious relations, it is hoped that individuals will be wise in responding to various minority sects which they see as deviations from mainstream teachings in certain religions. The higher the spirit of tolerance of a nation towards the diversity of life that
exists, the government tends to be more democratic, and vice versa. Therefore, tolerance is not only related to religious beliefs but can be closely related to differences in race, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, culture, etc.

The third is anti-radicalism. The value of this third indicator can be an indicator in identifying religious beliefs, attitudes and, practices of individuals who do not have an orientation tendency to change the social and political system in Indonesia with violence in the name of religion. In the realm of action, radicalism is often identified with various acts of terrorism in the name of religion. This is because those involved in religious radicalism can take multiple forms and ways to realize their orientation, even if they have to terrorize or harm other parties who are not in accordance with or against them. In this case, it is essential to know that radicalism in the name of religion can infect followers of any religion (belief), not just certain religions.

Fourth is accommodating to local culture. The value of this fourth indicator can be an indicator to identify individual religious understandings, attitudes, and practices in being moderate when faced with the plurality of local traditions in Indonesia. It is because the realization of an accommodative attitude towards local traditions is expected to be able to realize individual religious understanding and attitudes that are open and tolerant of various traditional practices of local wisdom as long as they are not counterproductive to the teachings of their religion (Kementerian Agama RI, 2019, pp. 42–47). Given the fact that the cultural diversity of the Indonesian people can be a cultural asset, it can also have great potential to cause social and religious conflicts in the community (Prasojo & Pabbajah, 2020, p. 1).

Apart from the description of the four indicators of religious moderation above, it is essential to realize that substantively religious moderation is not a new thing for the Indonesian people. This is because the Indonesian people have deep-rooted social and cultural capital. Indonesian people are used to being tolerant, respecting brotherhood, and
respecting diversity (Kementerian Agama RI, 2019, pp. vi–vi). The four indicators of religious moderation described above will be used as analytical theories in exploring and identifying the dimensions of religious moderation values in the practice of the Male tradition by the Muslim community in Jembrana, Bali Province.

Overview of the Relationship between Hindus and Muslims in Jembrana

There are about 231,707, or approximately 72.18% of Hindus from 321,008, the total population in Jembrana. Then the number of Muslims there amounted to about 81,329 people or approximately 25.34%, followed by the three Christians numbering around 4,090 people or 27%, and Catholics amounting to 2,786 people or 0.87%, Buddhists 1,069 souls or 0.33%, Confucianism 15 souls or 0.00% and the belief system 12 souls or 0.00%. From this data, it is clear that Hindus occupy the first position with the most significant number of religious groups in Jembrana, followed by the Muslim community.

The harmonious relationship between Hindus and Muslims in Jembrana cannot be separated from the historical influence of the presence of Islamic da’wah in Jembrana itself. The history of the Muslim community in Jembrana has existed for a long time. In this case, it is essential to know that the spread of Islam in Jembrana is classified into two. First is the ancient Muslim community in Baluk Village. Muslims in Jembrana existed following the Majapahit Kingdom's collapse due to the Demak Sultanate's attack in 1518. At the same time, most of the Majapahit Kingdom became increasingly converted to Islam. This then impacted the Kings of Majapahit to convert to Islam, especially in Java. While religious leaders, state officials, and princes do not want to convert to Islam choose to flee to various other areas in Indonesia (M. Saihu, 2019, pp. 181–182).

It is essential to know that in the Jembrana community, most of the culture (traditions) of the people are based on a system of ideas from the
teachings of Hinduism. Therefore, it is not easy to understand the socio-cultural life of the Balinese people in general, including the traditions of the Jembrana community, without a good understanding of Hindu religious teachings. This is because without understanding Hinduism, it will be difficult to distinguish between religion and culture in Bali. This statement is not an exaggeration because, philosophically, the genealogy of religion as a practice in Bali is the fruit of the Mimamsa philosophy, namely philosophical teachings that emphasize religious rituals. Meanwhile, Muslims were present in Jembrana around the 17th century; they were Muslims who incidentally descended from the Wajo Sultanate of South Sulawesi, Bugis, and finally, Pontianak, who formed a new civilization in Jembrana based on Islamic teachings.

The Hindu and Muslim communities in Jembrana worked together to form new civilization in Jembrana, which was based on the teachings of their respective religions and cultures. In this case, it is interesting to understand that conducive communication between them has created a harmonious condition in the Jembrana community despite their differences. The harmonious social relations in Jembrana cannot be separated from the existence of the Jembrana people, who have internalized cultural Christianization in each individual from an early age. The culture in question is a culture that can accept and a culture that can adapt (M. Saihu, 2019).

**Male Tradition: Acculturation between Local Tradition and Islamic Values**

The relationship between religion (Islam) and local traditions in both practical and theoretical realms does not always show a harmonious relationship. Still, it indicates a dichotomous relationship and even conflicts between the two. Suppose it is considered in a reasonable, open, and wise manner. In that case, there is still possible to be a meeting point and synergy between the two in forming a peaceful religious and cultural life (Makatita & Islamy, 2022, p. 241).
One example of the harmonious relationship between religion and culture can be seen in the Male Tradition of the Muslim community in Jembrana Bali. A Male tradition is a form of a religious ritual practiced by the Muslim community in Jembrana for commemorating the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. Therefore, the presence of Maulid and Male tradition becomes an inseparable unit in the ritual activities of the Muslim community in Jembrana.

In practice, Male is a term that refers to boiled eggs without peeling the outer shell. The eggs are then assembled with high aesthetic values and religious philosophy. The Male in this regard is in the form of "Pajegan" or other forms by sticking dozens of boiled eggs into banana tree trunks decorated with colorful paper; there are also those that resemble calluses, trees, and camel animals. The Male ritual begins with going around the village while carrying eggs that have been shaped in various patterns or according to the tastes desired by the maker, such as temples, boats, mosques, houses, bonsai, etc. The Male that was paraded was escorted by special forces using traditional Balinese clothing called pager uyung. It is traditional hero clothing represented by several people from both Muslims and Hindus—when traveling around the village, accompanied by reading prayers and praises to the Prophet Muhammad and accompanied by a tambourine (marawis).

After completing the village tour, all the decorated eggs are collected in the mosque, accompanied by the recitation of prayers. The eggs are colored, pierced by bamboo, and then plugged into the banana tree so that the banana tree bears eggs (Pajegan) presented at the birthday. When all the eggs have been displayed, the Muslim congregation reads Salawat (prayer and praise upon Prophet Muhammad), and together, followed by reading Salawat diba' which tells the life story of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH. The Male ritual was closed with a prayer reading followed by the distribution of eggs to the people there. When eggs are distributed, people are enthusiastic to try to get them even though they have to jostle and scramble. This is because they believe the egg to which the people pray can give blessings and safety (Karim, 2016).
It is important to know that the Male tradition of commemorating the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad has been going on for centuries. The tradition is not just meaningless but contains a philosophical meaning in the life of Muslims. An example of the existence of eggs, the main food in the Male tradition. Based on the author's interview with the informant (Rifqil Halim), he explained that the egg shell is a symbol of faith, while the egg white is a symbol of Islam, and the presence of the egg yolk is a symbol of Ihsan. More than that, egg white is also a symbol of purity and majesty. The egg yolk is a symbol of gold, and other colors such as red and blue on the eggshell at the time of birth are also a symbol of happiness. Eggs pierced by bamboo are also a symbol of straightness, strength, and determination, like a bamboo tree that grows tall. Hopefully, these various philosophical values through the Male tradition can become a medium of character internalization for Muslims in Jembrana always to be upright, straight, and committed to Islamic teachings and commendable actions as exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad (Riqil Halim, interview, 2018).

The practice of the Male tradition as above can be said to be a manifestation of mainstreaming religious moderation in local culture with religious nuances. The indicator of religious moderation in the Male tradition is manifested in the accommodative attitude of the Muslim community towards the religious ritual culture, which has become a hereditary tradition in the life of the Jembrana Muslims. The indicator of religious moderation in the form of an accommodative attitude towards local culture in the realm of praxis can be the basis for the paradigm and religious attitudes of an individual Muslim in general and in Jembrana in particular. It is related to whether he can be moderate in responding to the plurality of local wisdom in his environment. The accommodative attitude towards local traditions in the realm of the praxis of social life can shape the understanding and attitudes of individual Muslims who are friendly, open, and tolerant towards various local traditional practices as long as they do not conflict with the teachings of Islam itself (Kementerian Agama RI, 2019, pp. 43–47).
The *Male* tradition of the Muslim community in Jembrana also shows awareness of religious attitudes to maintain tradition and preserve it amid modernity and globalization of modern society. In this context, there is a space for integration between religious teachings (Islam) and culture in fostering religious harmony in local traditions which do not contain things that are contrary to the teachings of Islam itself. From the epistemology of Islamic law, Islamic legal theory in the form of *'Urf* (custom/tradition) can legitimize the manifestation of accommodative local wisdom values in the *Male* tradition. It is important to understand that the existence of *'Urf* as one of the theories of Islamic law can be a basis for the validity of culture, whether the presence of that culture is in accordance with or contrary to the norms of Islam (Fahimah, 2018, p. 91). In this context, if we look back at the practice of the *Male* tradition, it can be said that there are no practices against Islamic teachings. On this basis, it is no exaggeration if the theory of Islamic law in the form of *Urf* can strengthen the position of Islamic law as part of Islamic teachings and contribute significantly to the formation of Muslim civilization in social and cultural life (Islamy, 2021b, p. 69).

Referring to the description above, it is not exaggerated to say that indicators of religious moderation are in the form of an accommodative attitude towards local traditions by the Jembrana Muslim community as an effort to preserve local wisdom without having to question the provisions of religious norms (Islam). Given that Islamic teachings can be eclectic with local traditional values (Ediyono, 2017, pp. 149–150). In this context, an accommodative attitude towards local wisdom can manifest moderate Islamic religious and social teachings (Husaini & Islamy, 2022, p. 52). This is what we can see in the *Male* Tradition of the Muslim community in Jembrana.

**Tolerance and Inter-religious Harmony within *Male* Tradition**

Establishing inter-religious harmony in Indonesia is one of the critical agendas to maintain the continuity of peace amid the existing religious plurality. In this context, the manifestation of understanding and tolerance becomes a fundamental basis that cannot be ignored and must be
developed in all lines of life (Masduki, 2017, pp. 14–15). No exception in the context of realizing moderate religious understanding and attitudes amid the plurality of religious communities in Indonesia.

The importance of the manifestation of tolerance in inter-religious life can be found in the practice of the Male tradition in the Muslim community in Jembrana. This can be seen empirically in the course of the Male tradition, which always involves the Hindu community. Many Hindus follow the process in the practice of the Male tradition. This can be seen from the presence of a Male who was paraded around the village escorted by special forces wearing traditional Balinese clothes, namely the clothes of traditional Balinese knights represented by several people from Muslims and Hindus (M. Saihu, 2019).

Eggs as the main ingredient of the Male are distributed to all participants of the Prophet's Birthday regardless of religious differences. Such activities are a tangible form of the tradition of the Jembrana people, who are consciously together to live in harmony in their diversity. The portrait in Jembrana manifests the implementation of ethnopedology-based character education, which starts from within the family and then spreads to the community. They know that they are different in terms of religion. Still, religious differences are not a barrier or something that can prevent them from living in harmony together in building civilization or creating a civil society between Muslims and Hindus in Jembrana.

This is because, in the practice of the Male tradition, there are philosophical and educative meanings in building harmony and harmony between religious communities, namely Muslims and Hindus in Jembrana. This statement parallels the information of K.H. Ahmad Muzakki that the author got. According to him, the practice of the Male tradition contains various noble values needed to build a peaceful and harmonious life between religious people in Jembrana. These noble values can be seen from multiple instrumental aspects in the practice of the Male tradition.

First, ethical values. The manifestation of these values can be found in the procession that has an orientation to inform the general public, and especially the Hindu community, that Muslims ask for permission to carry
out activities to commemorate major holidays in Islamic teachings. Second, aesthetic value. The manifestation of these aesthetic values can be found in the practice of the Male tradition, which contains artistic values. The form of artistic value, among others, is in the form of reading asrakalan while walking around the village using clothes from the acculturation of Islamic and Hindu culture by the parade participants. Third, social values. The manifestation of these social values can be seen in food distribution to the broader community, not only to Muslims. But also people of other religions, such as Hindus (Muzakki, interview, 2018).

The three philosophical values that bind inter-religious harmony above (ethical, aesthetic, and social values) can be indicators of religious moderation for the Muslim community in Jembrana. The indicator of religious moderation is an attitude of tolerance in responding to the plurality of religious life. Through awareness of the attitude of tolerance in the realm of praxis, it can lead individual Muslims to have moderate religious understanding and social attitudes, namely being able to respect, appreciate and accept social pluralism as a natural reality that cannot be denied. Moreover, the manifestation of religious moderation indicators in the form of attitudes can also emphasize the intensity of tolerance between religious communities and tolerance within religions, both related to social and political life. On this basis, the involvement of Hindus in the Male tradition is concrete evidence of the awareness of Muslims to be able to dialogue with each other, be open, and cooperate in the social life of the pluralistic religious community in Jembrana. In this context, the manifestation of inter-religious tolerance in Indonesia requires the absence of minority claims to the small number of religious followers and the majority claim to the most significant number of religious followers (Islamy, 2021a, p. 217).

The manifestation of tolerance between religious communities in the Male tradition is also in line with Islamic teachings, namely the teachings of tasamuh (tolerance). The manifestation of tasamuh teachings is a fundamental need for the lives of Muslims in Indonesia in general. Therefore, the manifestation of tasamuh teachings between religious
communities in the practice of the Male tradition can be a medium for mutual understanding between religious communities, which is expected to solve social problems in inter-religious relations (Yanti & Witro, 2020, p. 446). Furthermore, when viewed from the perspective of Islamic law, the manifestation of tolerance in the practice of the Male tradition by the Jembrana Muslim community parallels with the concept of maqāṣid al-shari‘ah (objectives of Islamic law), values for protecting religion (ḥifẓ al-dīn) (Aziz, 2017, pp. 88–89) which is the formation of inter-religious harmony in the Jembrana community.

**Conclusion**

This article found a dimension of mainstreaming religious moderation in the Male tradition by the Muslim community in Jembrana, Bali. First, the manifestation of accommodative value within Male Tradition in harmonizing Islam and local custom can be seen from the integration of Islamic teachings and traditions into the practice of the Male tradition in the form of various rituals that do not conflict with the normative teachings of Islam. At the same time, the manifestation of the value of tolerance in maintaining inter-religious harmony presents from the involvement of Hindus in the practice of the Male tradition. The involvement appears in the manifestation of pluralism in the tradition in the form of ethical, aesthetic, and social values.

Theoretically, this study supports the government’s formulation of the indicators of religious moderation through the Male tradition in Jembrana, Bali. Some moderatism values are found in traditions such as national commitment (nationality), tolerance, counter-radicalism, and accommodating local traditions. Those indicators can be a paradigm and approach to building a harmonious relationship between Islam and local tradition. The limitation of this study is that it has not explained the concrete strategy of the Jembrana local government regarding the succession of mainstreaming religious moderation values in the Male tradition and other traditions.[w]
References


