

Forms of Internal Migrants' Adjustment to Traditional Village Life in the Touristic Area of South Kuta, Bali

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Abstract: The increasing flow of internal migrants to Bali has created social and cultural tensions within traditional village communities that uphold Hindu customary systems. This study examines how migrants adjust within the framework of *Tri Hita Karana* (*Parhyangan*, *Pawongan*, and *Palemahan*). The touristic villages of Jimbaran and Pecatu in South Kuta were selected because both continuously record positive net migration yet show contrasting cultural responses: Jimbaran, as an urban village, is generally more open and adaptive, while rural Pecatu maintains a more conservative orientation, producing different patterns of interaction and occasional tensions. Using a descriptive mixed-method approach, data were collected from 386 respondents across the two villages. The findings show that *Krama Tamiu* migrants (Balinese Hindus) adapt more easily due to shared religious values, while *Tamiu* migrants (non-Hindus) face greater barriers, particularly in spiritual participation. Participation levels are higher in Jimbaran, reflecting its more inclusive structure of the urban context. The study links *Tri Hita Karana* with social capital and acculturation to explain migrant integration.

Keywords: migrant adjustment; *Tri Hita Karana*; social capital; acculturation; integration

1. Introduction

Migration is a persistent population phenomenon that continues to attract scholarly attention due to its complex and dynamic nature (Widaryoko et al., 2023). While studies on migration are considered important because of their implications for demographic distribution, social change, and development (Sukamdi et al., 2022), research on migration often receives less attention than other social issues due to methodological difficulties (Haas, 2021) and limited interest from policymakers (Ullah et al., 2020).

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In Indonesia, migration studies are particularly relevant given the uneven population distribution, decentralized development, and increasing accessibility of transportation and communication (Ananta et al., 2023). Migration also frequently generates identity conflicts between migrants and local communities with diverse cultural backgrounds (Bandiyono, 2008; Tirtosudarmo, 2021). Within this national context, Bali stands out as a unique site for migration research. As an international tourism destination, Bali attracts not only foreign visitors but also significant flows of internal migrants seeking employment and livelihood opportunities (Suartha, 2016; Susilo et al., 2025).

The cultural and religious identity of Bali is strongly shaped by Hindu teachings, particularly the philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana* (the three causes of well-being), which emphasize harmony among humans and God (*Parahyangan*), among humans (*Pawongan*), and between humans and the environment (*Palemahan*) (Triguna, 2011). These values are institutionalized within *desa adat* (customary village), customary law communities with defined territories, traditional rights, assets, and inherited social norms. *Desa adat* are legally recognized as the foundation of Balinese society under Regional Regulation Number 16 of 2009 and function as cultural, spiritual, and ecological custodians grounded in the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy.

However, increasing internal migration to the southern coastal regions, particularly Jimbaran and Pecatu in South Kuta, has generated new social dynamics that challenge the continuity of these traditional values. Both villages consistently record positive net migration but show contrasting responses to cultural change: Jimbaran, categorized as urban, is generally more open and adaptive, while Pecatu, classified as rural, maintains a more conservative orientation. Tensions occasionally surface, such as in cases of norm violations during *Nyepi* (the Hindu Day of Silence) and social friction linked to differing beliefs and behaviors among migrants. These issues indicate that migration is not only a demographic or economic phenomenon but also a cultural process involving negotiation, adaptation, and redefinition of local identity.

These dynamics highlight a deeper structural issue: how the influx of culturally diverse migrants reshapes the spiritual, social, and environmental balance that underpins the life of customary villages. The problem is not limited to individual behavior or norm violations but lies in how migrants navigate and internalize the *Tri Hita Karana* values that define Balinese communal harmony. In this context, migrant adjustment becomes a crucial problem, requiring analysis of how migrants participate in and adapt to customary village institutions, rituals, and ecological practices. Previous studies have generally examined adjustment by comparing migrants and non-migrants based on length of stay (Clark, 2019; Como, 2019; McCutcheon, 2019; Ray Brown M., 2019) or by

assessing participation in community activities (Tutu et al., 2017). However, few have explicitly analyzed how internal migrants integrate into the religious-cultural framework of *desa adat* and how local philosophical values influence this process.

This study fills that gap by examining how internal migrants adjust to traditional village life in Bali through the lens of the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy. Specifically, it investigates the forms and levels of migrant participation in *Parhyangan* (the relationship between humans and God), *Pawongan* (the relationship among humans), and *Palemahan* (the relationship between humans and the environment) in Jimbaran and Pecatu villages. By integrating local wisdom into migration studies, this research provides a novel cultural-contextual framework for understanding migrant integration in plural societies. The findings are expected to enrich the literature on social integration and cultural sustainability while offering practical insights for policymakers and traditional village institutions in fostering harmonious coexistence within multicultural settings.

2. Literature Review

Migrant adjustment is a complex process involving responses to changes in physical, economic, and social conditions. It is often assessed by comparing migrants with non-migrants in destination regions. In internal migration, language, dialect, and cultural differences frequently emerge as major barriers to integration, though migrants with higher human capital tend to assimilate earlier (White & Johnson, 2016).

Cultural adaptation also occurs through acculturation processes shaped by interaction with host communities (Bertacchini et al., 2022). Education and experiences of ethnic discrimination influence acculturation preferences (Nyambok & Zanello, 2022), indicating that adaptation depends on the structural and cultural context of the host society.

Length of residence is a consistent predictor of social and cultural integration. Miglietta & Tartaglia (2009) found that longer residence and language proficiency enhance understanding of local culture and social interaction. Endryushko (2024) confirmed that integration develops cumulatively through sustained contact, while Pretty et al (2003) and Spanner (2025) observed that longer stays foster place attachment, language mastery, and national identification.

In traditional or customary settings, adjustment becomes multilayered. Strong social identity supports integration through psychological attachment (Hu & Cheung, 2024), while status within customary hierarchies influences participation in communal rituals (Suwitra, 2010). Conversely, perceived

rejection can create negative attitudes (Huth-Stöckle & Schlueter, 2023), showing that openness and local acceptance are crucial.

The residential environment is also related to adaptation. Zhang et al. (2023) emphasize that participation in community activities drives integration, particularly in flexible urban settings (*Gesellschaft*). Similarly, Fan et al. (2023), Sousa & Nicosia (2022), and Zhao et al. (2024) demonstrate that migrants in open, inclusive communities integrate more successfully than those in conservative environments. Community openness and institutional flexibility thus remain key determinants of adjustment.

In Bali, Husain et al. (2020) found that Bugis migrants adapt well spiritually, culturally, and socially. Their religious practices intertwine with Hindu rituals, and hybrid cultural expressions reflect intercultural synthesis. Participation as *pecalang* (traditional customary security) during *Nyepi* (the Hindu Day of Silence) illustrates coexistence rather than assimilation.

Unlike previous idealized interpretations, the integration of internal migrants in Bali cannot be assumed to occur automatically within *desa adat*. While migrants reside administratively within the jurisdiction of *desa adat*, their participation in the religious, social, and environmental domains of *Tri Hita Karana* varies significantly according to belief systems, social networks, and local acceptance. *Tri Hita Karana* thus serves not as a doctrine that all residents follow uniformly but as a normative framework that guides community life and shapes expectations for coexistence.

Religion plays a dual role in integration, promoting moral internalization and building networks (Xu & Zheng, 2023). In *Parhyangan*, alignment with Hindu norms enables spiritual acceptance, contingent on shared values rather than economic status (Davis & Rodriguez, 2024). Shared moral values strengthen solidarity and participation (Conley et al., 2010; Garrouette et al., 2014; Irving et al., 2024; Sarmita et al., 2023). In *Pawongan*, philosophies like *Tri Hita Karana*, sustain harmony and interfaith relations (Basyir, 2018; Kiriana et al., 2024). In *Palemahan*, environmental activities foster social legitimacy and bridging social capital (Astawa, 2018; Fry et al., 2024). Overall, migrant adaptation is shaped by individual agency and structural-cultural contexts. While prior studies examined residence duration, education, participation, and religion, few address how these dynamics operate within the *Tri Hita Karana* framework. This study fills that gap by analyzing how internal migrants in Jimbaran and Pecatu adapt across spiritual (*Parhyangan*), social (*Pawongan*), and ecological (*Palemahan*) dimensions, offering a culturally grounded understanding of integration in *desa adat*.

3. Method and Theory

3.1 Method

The study employs a descriptive approach to explore migrant adjustment within Balinese traditional village life without testing hypotheses. The focus is on providing a comprehensive account of how migrants adapt to religious, social, and environmental aspects. This approach captures the cultural richness and contextual nuances of Balinese society, offering a deeper interpretation of migrant experiences that quantitative methods might overlook. Research was conducted in two traditional villages in South Kuta District, Bali: Jimbaran and Pecatu, selected for having the highest migrant populations and representing different village statuses. Jimbaran, an urban-status village, hosts 2,045 migrants, surpassing other urban villages such as Ungasan (269), Benoa (1,210), and Tanjung Benoa (93). Pecatu, representing a rural-status village, has 322 migrants, more than Kutuh Village, which has 45 (unpublished village statistical records, 2024).

The study population consists of all migrants in both traditional villages: 2045 in Jimbaran and 322 in Pecatu. Due to the large population size, sampling was carried out using the Isaac and Michael table with a 90% confidence level (Isaac & Michael, 1995) and calculated using linear interpolation. Linear interpolation applies the formula:

$$\frac{(Y_2 - Y_1)}{(X_2 - X_1)} = \frac{(Y - Y_1)}{(X - X_1)}$$

X_1 is the smaller population value, Y_1 is its corresponding sample size; X_2 is the larger population value, Y_2 is its corresponding sample size; and X is the research population value, while Y is the sample size to be determined. Interpolation was applied because the population size in each research location did not exactly match the figures provided in the Isaac and Michael table (Du et al., 2023). In Jimbaran Village, with a population of 2,045, between 2,000 and 2,200, the interpolated sample size was 238.4, rounded to 238. In Pecatu Village, with 322, between 320 and 340, the interpolated sample size was 147.5, rounded to 148. To ensure balanced representation, samples were divided equally by quota: 50% intra-provincial and 50% inter-provincial migrants. Field observations supported this classification, identifying Hindu-style settlements for intra-provincial migrants and non-Hindu-style settlements for inter-provincial migrants. In traditional village terminology, intra-provincial Hindu migrants are called *Krama Tamiu*, while inter-provincial or non-Hindu migrants are referred to as *Tamiu*. Table 1 presents the sample distribution.

Table 1. Number of Samples in Each Traditional Village

No	Traditional village Name	Village Status	Number of Samples by Migrant Type (People)		Total Number of Samples (People)
			<i>Krama Tamiu</i>	<i>Tamiu</i>	
1	Pecatu	Rural	74	74	148
2	Jimbaran	Urban	119	119	238
Amount			193	193	386

Source: Interpolation calculation and quota adjustment, 2025

Respondents were selected based on three criteria: (1) non-native residents of the traditional village, (2) minimum one-year residence, and (3) at least 17 years old with a valid ID card. While the sampling ensured proportional representation of intra- and inter- provincial migrants, several limitations remain. The inclusion criteria may have excluded highly mobile, undocumented, or younger migrants whose adaptation experiences differ from those captured in this study. Additionally, the equal quota division by migrant type may have created imbalances in gender or socio-economic class, consistent with Neuman (2013) caution that quota sampling can introduce selection bias when subgroup proportions rely on researcher judgment. To mitigate these biases, deliberate efforts were made to achieve gender balance and socio-economic diversity by including respondents from various occupations and housing types. Field observations and consultations with community leaders also helped identify underrepresented groups. Although these measures cannot completely remove sampling bias, they enhance representativeness and strengthen the validity of the findings (Isaac & Michael, 1995).

Subsequently, four qualitative informants from the respondents were selected based on their willingness to provide in-depth information and several methodological considerations. They were chosen to represent migrants’ places of residence within the traditional villages, allowing for cross-environmental comparisons; to reflect gender and socio-economic diversity; to capture variations in length of stay, and to include individuals actively involved in village activities, thereby offering deeper insights into integration dynamics. The aim was not statistical representativeness but rather depth and richness of information in line with the qualitative approach (Neuman, 2013). Table 2 presents the background of these four informants.

Table 2. Informant Background

No	Initials	Age (Years old)	Gender	Origin	Length of Stay (Year)	Residence
1	IBDB	36	L	Siangan	25	Jimbaran
2	IWS	57	L	Payangan	24	Jimbaran
3	DK	23	P	Mengwi	2	Pecatu
4	IMJ	52	L	Bualu	12	Pecatu

Source: Primary Data Processing, 2025

Data were collected through structured interviews, in-depth interviews, and document analysis. Source and method triangulation ensured data quality by comparing information across informants, combining interview types, and documenting daily activities. Triangulation is widely recognized in qualitative research for enhancing comprehensiveness and validity by integrating multiple data sources and methods (Carter et al., 2014; Flick, 2018). Member checks were also performed to validate interpretations by confirming findings with informants, allowing them to assess and comment on data accuracy (Birt et al., 2016; McKim, 2023). These strategies collectively strengthened the trustworthiness and validity of the qualitative findings.

Data was processed using NVivo 12 to organize and manage qualitative information. Coding was conducted systematically through nodes based on the *Tri Hita Karana* framework (*Parhyangan*, *Pawongan*, and *Palemahan*). In the second cycle, inductive sub- nodes captured emerging themes such as participation, social barriers, and adaptation strategies. NVivo's query and visualization tools (e.g., concept and project maps) were used to explore thematic relationships and compare responses across migrant groups and village contexts (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). The processed data were then analyzed descriptively to explain migrants' adjustment across the three dimensions of *Tri Hita Karana*.

3.2 Theory

Understanding migrant adjustment in Balinese customary activities is crucial to achieving social harmony in traditional village communities. Successful adjustment is determined by the extent of social integration. Durkheim (1893), viewed social integration as the bond and solidarity among members of society, distinguishing between mechanical solidarity, which is based on shared norms and values, and organic solidarity, which arises from interdependence in more complex societies. In the context of migration, Durkheim's framework helps explain how migrants integrate through adaptation to local norms.

Social identity theory suggests that individuals derive part of their identity from group membership, influencing interactions between in-groups and out-groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In the migration context, this theory is useful in explaining how migrants (*Krama Tamiu* and *Tamiu*) construct their social identity and how this shapes interactions, tensions, or cooperation with host communities. Putnam (2000), in his theory of social capital, explains that bonding social capital refers to the social ties formed among individuals or groups who share similar identities, such as common origins, ethnicity, language, religion, or migration experiences. These bonds enhance solidarity and foster a strong sense of belonging within the group. Furthermore, bonding capital serves as a facilitator of horizontal integration among members of a homogeneous group and acts as an initial foundation for social participation, as a sense of security and comfort arises from shared identities and experiences. Once internal trust is established, individuals are better equipped to develop bridging social capital, that is, connections with members of other groups, thereby promoting broader cross-group integration.

Acculturation Theory (Berry, 1997) identifies four strategies of cultural adaptation: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization. This theory provides a useful framework for understanding the range of responses migrants may have when faced with a new cultural environment. Finally, Cultural Pluralism Theory (Geertz, 1980) emphasizes that cultural diversity can contribute to societal harmony if managed through dialogue, tolerance, and mutual understanding. In the multicultural context of Bali, this pluralistic approach is key to maintaining social cohesion amidst diverse identities.

4. Result and Discussion

4.1 *Migrant Adjustment in Customary Activities*

Adjustment in this study is shown through the participation of migrants in traditional village activities. Table 3 presents the distribution of migrants involved in traditional activities in South Kuta.

The data reveal consistent patterns showing that migrants' participation in Balinese traditional life is strongly influenced by length of stay, social status within the customary village, and geographic setting. Migrants who have lived in the area for five years or more tend to be more active in social and religious activities compared to those who have stayed for a shorter period. This supports findings by Endryushko (2024), Miglietta & Tartaglia (2009), Pretty et al. (2003), and Spanner (2025), who emphasize that a longer duration of residence promotes socio-cultural integration. The longer migrants reside in a place, the more familiar they become with local norms and practices, enabling them to build relationships and gain informal access to community life. In this sense,

time becomes a crucial catalyst for adaptation, allowing migrants to gradually transition from being outsiders to becoming socially accepted members of the community.

Table 3. Distribution of Migrants Based on Their Involvement in Customary Activities

Length of Stay	Status in Traditional Village/Residential Village		Involvement in Customary Activities			
			No		Yes	
			Amount	%	Amount	%
≥ 5	<i>Tamiu</i>	Pecatu	7	38.9	11	71.1
		Jimbaran	21	30.0	47	69.1
	<i>Krama Tamiu</i>	Pecatu	7	23.3	23	76.7
		Jimbaran	8	8.9	82	91.1
< 5	<i>Tamiu</i>	Pecatu	36	64.3	20	35.7
		Jimbaran	28	54.9	23	45.1
	<i>Krama Tamiu</i>	Pecatu	16	36.4	28	63.6
		Jimbaran	18	62.1	11	37.9
Total	<i>Tamiu</i>	Pecatu	43	58.1	31	41.9
		Jimbaran	49	41.2	70	58.8
	<i>Krama Tamiu</i>	Pecatu	23	31.1	51	68.9
		Jimbaran	26	21.8	93	78.2
	Total	Pecatu	66	44.6	82	55.4
		Jimbaran	75	31.5	163	68.5
		Total	141	36.5	245	63.5

Source: Primary Data Processing, 2025

A clear distinction also emerges between *Krama Tamiu* and *Tamiu*. *Krama Tamiu*, who share the Hindu faith and many cultural values with the indigenous Balinese, tend to be more engaged in customary and religious activities. This pattern aligns with Durkheim (1893) concept of mechanical solidarity, which describes the social cohesion that arises in communities bound by shared beliefs and traditions. In this context, the cultural alignment of *Krama Tamiu* with indigenous groups in Jimbaran and Pecatu nurtures mutual trust and emotional closeness, which in turn strengthens their sense of belonging and participation in community affairs.

In contrast, *Tamiu* migrants, who often come from different religious or cultural backgrounds, lack the shared foundations that foster mechanical solidarity. As a result, they are frequently positioned at the margins of village life. Drawing on Tajfel & Turner (1979) social identity theory, this division reflects how individuals categorize themselves and others into social groups: “us” (the in-group) and “them” (the out-group). *Krama Tamiu*, who are culturally

and religiously aligned with the host community, are generally regarded as part of the in-group, which grants them greater access to social and ritual activities. Conversely, *Tamiau*, often without formal membership status, tend to be perceived as outsiders and face limited opportunities for active participation.

These dynamics illustrate how boundaries within Balinese customary communities are shaped by both identity and institutional structures. As Hu & Cheung (2024) note, migrants with a strong sense of social identity tend to integrate more successfully, while their institutional position determines the extent of their involvement in community rituals and events. Likewise, Huth-Stöckle & Schlueter (2023) observe that differences in religion can create social distance that hinders interpersonal connection. Within the Balinese system, these boundaries define not only administrative status but also a person's symbolic and socio-cultural position. *Krama Tamiau*, although not considered full citizens, still hold specific rights and responsibilities, whereas *Tamiau* remain outside the formal system unless officially recognized. This supports Suwitra (2010) argument that one's social status within the customary hierarchy directly affects participation. In traditional Balinese society, engagement in communal life is not purely voluntary but also carries social and spiritual obligations. Thus, exclusion from the customary structure limits not only participation but also legitimacy and acceptance.

Geographical context further shapes patterns of involvement. Migrants in Jimbaran (urban) are generally more active than those in Pecatu (rural). Jimbaran's urban and tourism-oriented character encourages more open and flexible forms of social interaction, while Pecatu retains a conservative and inward-looking orientation that emphasizes cultural preservation and internal cohesion. These differences are not merely geographic but reflect contrasting social dynamics. Zhang et al. (2023) found that participation in urban community activities contributes positively to social integration. Meanwhile, Zhao et al. (2024) reported that migrants living in open and inclusive environments integrate more easily than those in traditional, closed communities.

Viewed through a sociological lens, Pecatu represents a *Gemeinschaft* type community, bound by shared norms, tradition, and trust, where inclusion requires strong cultural alignment. Jimbaran, by contrast, exhibits *Gesellschaft* characteristics, marked by openness, diversity, and adaptation to change. Here, community life is influenced not only by customary law but also by modern administrative systems and the tourism economy. This more dynamic setting offers broader opportunities for migrants to establish social networks and build social capital, a vital resource for integration (Putnam, 2000). Urban environments like Jimbaran allow for greater interaction across religious and ethnic lines, fostering trust and a sense of belonging. In contrast, the exclusivity

of rural Pecatu can create both institutional and psychological barriers that slow down migrants’ adaptation, particularly for those from different cultural or religious backgrounds.

In summary, the integration of migrants into Balinese indigenous communities is shaped by the interaction between social status, length of residence, and geographic context. Migrants who have formal recognition within the community (*Krama Tamiu*), have lived there longer, and reside in more open urban environments are more likely to achieve meaningful social participation. In contrast, newcomers, especially *Tamiu* migrants in more conservative rural settings, encounter greater challenges due to restrictive customary systems and limited inclusion.

Ultimately, successful adaptation is not solely a matter of individual effort but also depends on the openness and inclusivity of social structures and the presence of shared cultural values that foster belonging and collective participation. Integration, therefore, should be understood as both a personal and structural process, one mediated by identity, solidarity, and institutional acceptance, that defines how migrants find their place within Balinese traditional life.

4.2 Migrant Involvement in the Field of Parhyangan

Most migrants in South Kuta have participated in traditional village activities, although their level of involvement is uneven across different groups. This section focuses on involvement in the *Parhyangan* domain, which pertains to spiritual and religious life. Detailed data are presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Distribution of Migrants Based on Their Involvement in *Parhyangan* Activities

Status in Traditional Village/Residential Village		Self-Adjustment in the Field of <i>Parhyangan</i>			
		Not/Not Yet Able to Participate	%	Able to Participate	%
<i>Krama Tamiu</i>	Jimbaran	36	30.3	83	69.7
	Pecatu	39	52.7	35	47.3
<i>Tamiu</i>	Jimbaran	108	90.8	11	9.2
	Pecatu	72	97.3	2	2.7
Total	Jimbaran	144	60.5	94	39.5
	Pecatu	111	75.0	37	25.0
	Total	255	66.1	131	33.9

Source: Primary Data Processing, 2025

Table 4 highlights a key challenge in the *Parhyangan* domain: migrant participation remains low, indicating that spiritual adaptation is more difficult than social or economic adjustment. This suggests that participation is shaped not only by individual willingness but also by religious alignment. The higher involvement of *Krama Tamiu* compared to *Tamiu* migrants shows that congruence with Hindu values serves as the main gateway to spiritual inclusion. This aligns with Durkheim (1893) concept of mechanical solidarity and Xu & Zheng (2023) finding that shared beliefs and religious networks reinforce collective values. For *Tamiu* migrants, differing faiths create structural boundaries that hinder participation, as reflected in Table 5.

The analysis shows that none of the tested variables significantly correlate with *Tamiu* migrants’ adjustment to the *Parhyangan* domain. Differences in gender, education, and economic status do not influence their spiritual adaptation, contrasting with Nyambok & Zanello (2022) and White & Johnson (2016), who argue that higher human capital accelerates assimilation.

Table 5. The Relationship of Self-Adjustment of *Tamiu* Migrants with Gender, Education, and Economic Condition

Self-Adjustment in the Field of <i>Parhyangan</i> among <i>Tamiu</i> Migrants, Based on:	Pearson Chi-Square	Df	Asymptotic Significance (2-Sided)
Gender	.166 ^a	1	.683
Education	2.070 ^a	1	.150
Economic Condition	.776 ^a	1	.378

Source: Primary Data Processing, 2025

This finding supports the notion that *Parhyangan* is an exclusive domain, accessible primarily to those sharing Hindu beliefs. The absence of variation across social factors highlights the dominance of religious and symbolic systems in shaping spiritual participation. Within the framework of *Tri Hita Karana*, this confirms that *Parhyangan* reflects harmony between humans and God, where access depends on belief rather than economic means (Davis & Rodriguez, 2024). For *Tamiu* migrants, spiritual integration is thus more restrictive and less attainable than socio-economic or social adaptation. Contextual differences between Jimbaran and Pecatu further shape participation. Jimbaran’s urban and plural character offers greater opportunities for involvement, consistent with Fan et al. (2023) and Sousa & Nicosia (2022), who show that urban heterogeneity fosters cross-group interaction and social openness. Conversely, Pecatu, reflecting the *Gemeinschaft* model, maintains customary exclusivity and religious homogeneity, leading to lower integration levels (Zhao et al., 2024).

Overall, participation in *Parhyangan* is determined less by demographic or economic attributes than by religious compatibility and structural recognition within the customary system. As Tajfel & Turner (1979) Social Identity Theory explains, *Krama Tamiu*, as in-group members, gain ritual access, while *Tamiu* remain excluded. Effective integration, therefore, requires adaptive pathways that enable symbolic belonging without transgressing sacred boundaries.

Although many migrants are uninvolved in the *Parhyangan* domain, it is still valuable to examine the forms of participation that do occur. Figure 1 illustrates the various types of involvement by migrant status.

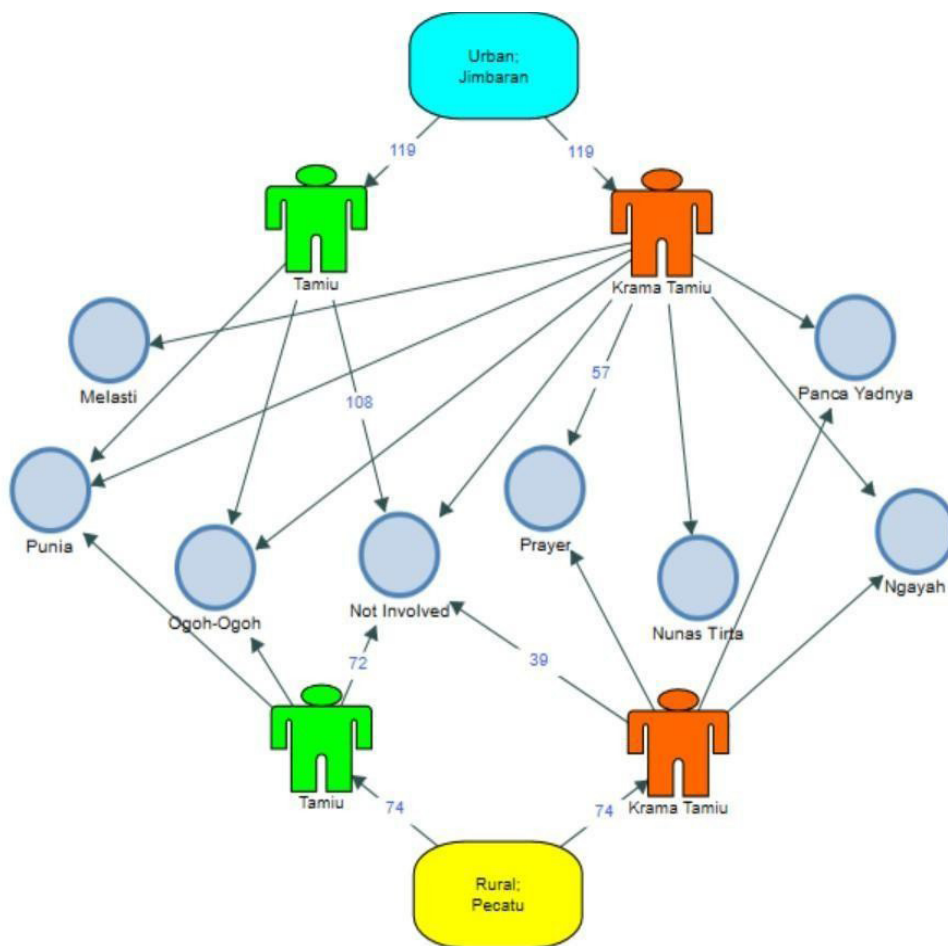


Figure 1. Forms of migrant participation based on their status in traditional villages in the *Parhyangan* sector (Source: Primary Data Processing, 2025)

These results align with Sarmita et al. (2023), who found active *Krama Tamiu* participation in *Dewa Yadnya* (a sincere and wholehearted offering or sacred sacrifice dedicated to God and the deities as His manifestations) and

Bhuta Yadnya (a ceremony or sacred offering in Hinduism dedicated to *Bhuta Kala* (the negative forces in nature) to purify, neutralize, and harmonize these forces so that they do not disturb human life). Garrouette et al. (2014) and Irving et al. (2024), who noted that shared spiritual values foster stronger social ties and prosocial behavior. Similarly, Conley et al. (2010) emphasized that common ethnic or religious identities encourage affiliative interactions. These findings support Putnam (2000) social capital theory, suggesting that shared symbolic-religious elements enable migrants to form cohesive networks that ease integration into traditional village structures while preserving their distinct identities.

To deepen understanding of migrant participation in *Parhyangan*, in-depth interviews examined their forms, frequency, and motivations of involvement, cultural similarities, community openness, challenges, and continuity of origin-based practices. The results are presented in Figures 2–4.

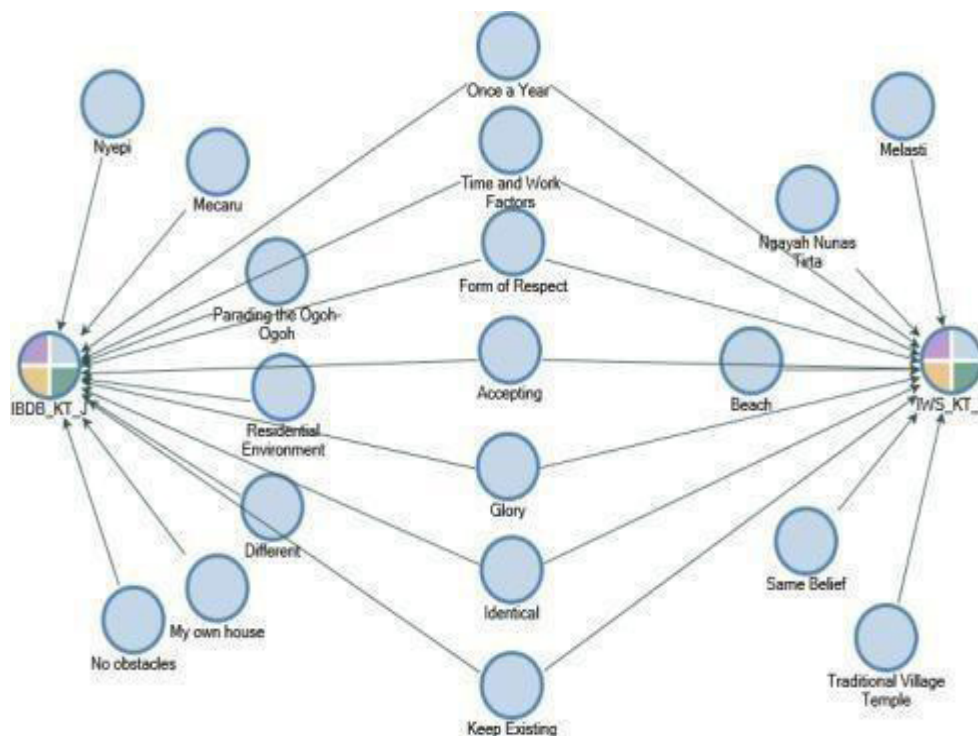


Figure 2. Involvement of migrant informants in activities in the *Parhyangan* sector in Jimbaran (Source: Primary Data Processing, 2025)

Informant IBDB participated in *Nyepi*, *Mecaru* (an offering ceremony that functions to purify the environment from negative energy, ask for safety, and maintain the balance of nature), and *ogoh-ogoh* processions, annual events rooted in the *Panca Yadnya* (five sacred offerings) that hold deep religious significance.

Informant IWS joined *melasti* (purification ceremony of statues representing gods in the sea and/or other water sources) and *nunas tirta* (ask for holy water for self-purification) ceremonies, reflecting similar symbolic participation despite low frequency. Their involvement signifies respect for local traditions and shared spiritual values. While IBDB was motivated by social respect and IWS by shared faith, both noted cultural similarities between their hometowns and Jimbaran, with minor variations such as the *siat yeh* (water fight) ritual. They felt welcomed by locals, showing that community openness is vital for integration.



Figure 3. Involvement of migrant informants in *Parhyangan* activities in Jimbaran
(a) *Melasti* in Jimbaran Beach; (b) *Ogoh-Ogoh* Parade (Source: Documentation from IWS (a) and IBDB (b) Informants)

Time constraints were the main obstacle yet both maintained their original religious practices through family support or participation in hometown rituals. This demonstrates cultural simultaneity (Levitt, 2009), the ability to preserve one's origins while adapting locally. Despite infrequent involvement, participation remains socially meaningful, supporting Whitehouse (2024) view that rituals serve as symbolic acknowledgments of local authority rather than mere routine. Differences in motivation highlight that integration arises not only from shared identity but also from personal reflection, aligning with Durkheim (1893). Social acceptance further reinforces Putnam (2000) theory of social capital, emphasizing trust-based openness in intergroup relations. Overall, migrants' spiritual integration in the *Parhyangan* domain depends more on symbolic legitimacy and shared religious background than demographic factors, making symbolic participation a key adaptive strategy for maintaining harmony and identity.

In Pecatu, migrant participation in *Parhyangan* is lower, but not absent. Figure 4 illustrates the experiences of two informants; DK and IMJ, who

actively maintained religious practices. Informant DK participated in daily prayers, workplace rituals, *odalan* (ceremony to commemorate the birthday of a temple or holy place for Hindus) at Uluwatu Temple, and the *mecaru* ceremony during *Tilem Kesanga* (a holy day in Hinduism that falls on the new moon in the ninth month of the Balinese calendar). Her participation was based on personal conviction rather than obligation, supported by cultural similarities with her hometown and a welcoming community. Informant IMJ showed deeper involvement through home and temple prayers, *mecaru*, *nunas tirta*, and *banten ngejot* (daily offering for Hindus after cooking), while also joining two *melasti* ceremonies unique to Pecatu. Despite scheduling conflicts, proximity allowed him to attend rituals both locally and in his hometown.

These findings reveal that although Pecatu is socially conservative, shared religious values and open social spaces enable migrant participation. Religion thus functions as an identity bridge in the acculturation process (Berry, 1997), facilitating integration even in exclusive settings. Both informants emphasized that participation was driven by religious autonomy, reflecting conscious engagement with local customs as expressions of faith and social responsibility. Such voluntary participation ensures that integration is meaningful, not imposed. Cultural similarities and acceptance by locals eased adaptation, while local ritual variations enriched migrants' experiences, illustrating acculturative flexibility, the ability to adapt without losing one's origins. Geographic proximity also enabled ritual continuity across places, embodying translocality, or belonging to multiple cultural spaces.

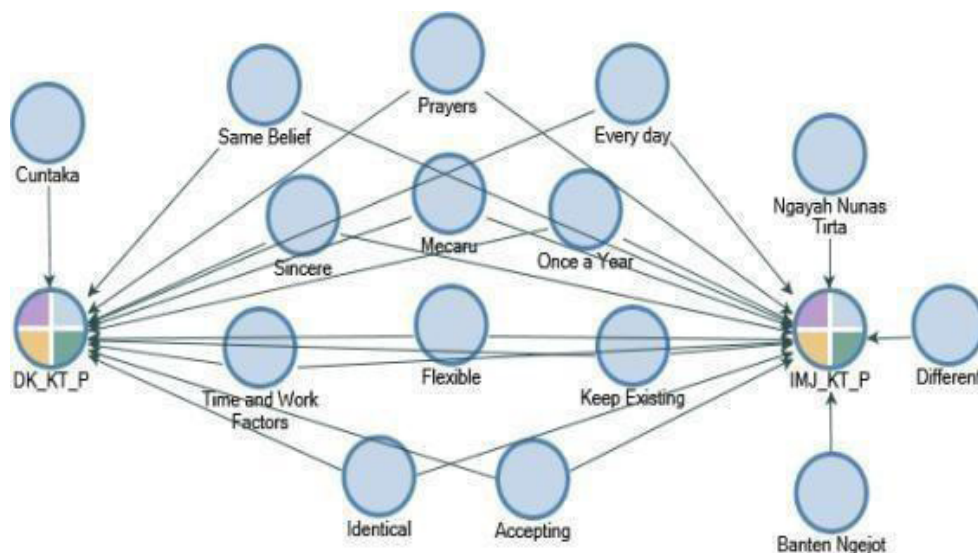


Figure 4. Involvement of migrant informants in activities in the *Parhyangan* sector in Pecatu (Source: Primary Data Processing, 2025)

From a social capital perspective (Putnam, 2000), community openness fosters trust- based intergroup networks that strengthen social cohesion. In hierarchical villages like Pecatu, this tolerance reflects cultural maturity in managing diversity. Moreover, maintaining religious practices from their hometowns alongside local engagement demonstrates cultural simultaneity (Levitt, 2009), where integration occurs without assimilation. Overall, migrant participation in *Parhyangan* activities in Pecatu shows that spiritual integration thrives through shared beliefs, community openness, and flexible identity negotiation, preserving continuity while fostering belonging in a new cultural context.

4.3 Migrant Involvement in the Pawongan Sector

While migrant involvement in *Parhyangan* activities is relatively low, Table 3 shows that overall participation in traditional village activities remains substantial, likely due to more active involvement in the *Pawongan* and *Palemahan* domains. Table 6 presents detailed data on migrant participation in the *Pawongan* sector.

Table 6. Distribution of Migrants in South Kuta Based on Their Involvement in *Pawongan* Sector Activities

Status in Traditional Village/Residential Village		Self-Adjustment in the Field of <i>Pawongan</i>			
		Not/Not Yet Able to Participate	%	Able to Participate	%
<i>Krama Tamiu</i>	Jimbaran	26	21.8	93	78.2
	Pecatu	23	31.1	51	68.9
<i>Tamiu</i>	Jimbaran	57	47.9	62	52.1
	Pecatu	43	58.1	31	41.9
Total	Jimbaran	83	34.9	155	65.1
	Pecatu	66	44.6	82	55.4
	Total	149	38.6	237	61.4

Source: Primary Data Processing, 2025

The *Pawongan* domain concerns interpersonal and social relations within traditional villages. Unlike the *Parhyangan* domain, migrant participation here is higher, especially among *Krama Tamiu*, indicating that social integration is easier to achieve since it does not depend on shared religious beliefs. In Putnam's (2000) framework, this reflects the growth of bridging social capital, connecting individuals across diverse groups. *Krama Tamiu's* stronger participation stems from their alignment with local customary structures, forming an "in- group"

identity that enhances social acceptance (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Meanwhile, *Tamiu* migrants show varied involvement, more active in Jimbaran's open, urban setting but limited in Pecatu's socially exclusive environment. This supports Fan et al. (2023), Sousa & Nicosia (2022), and Zhao et al. (2024), who found that urban communities are generally more adaptive to social change than traditional or rural societies. The forms of migrant involvement in this domain are illustrated in Figure 5.

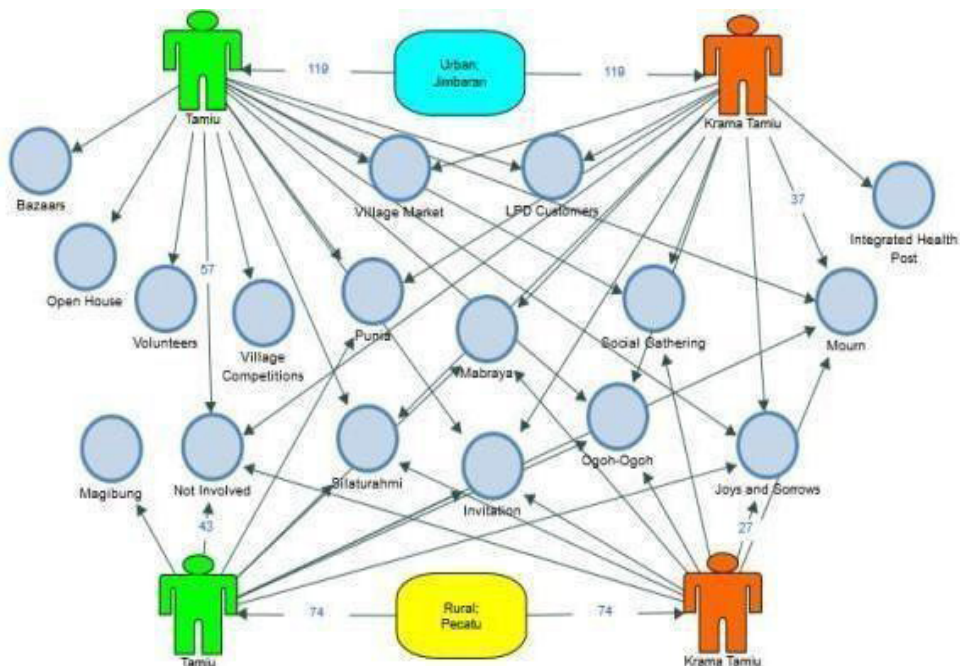


Figure 5. Forms of migrant participation based on their status in traditional villages in the *Pawongan* sector (Source: Primary Data Processing, 2025)

As shown in Figure 5, migrant participation in the *Pawongan* domain, representing social and interpersonal relations, is relatively balanced across groups, though *Tamiu* involvement is lower. *Krama Tamiu* in Jimbaran actively engage in mourning and communal events, while in Pecatu, they participate in *mebraya* (strong and harmonious brotherhood). Other forms of involvement include markets, bazaars, voluntary work, donations (*punia*), competitions, and *ogoh-ogoh* parades. *Tamiu* migrants also join these activities, though less frequently and often in peripheral roles.

The *Pawongan* sphere reflects a more inclusive and flexible interaction model than *Parhyangan*, showing that the Balinese value of *Nyama Braya* (strong and harmonious brotherhood), serves as a foundation for migrant integration. This aligns with Kiriana et al (2024) and Basyir (2018), who highlight local wisdom's role in interreligious harmony, and Husain et al. (2020), who found

that Bugis migrants in Bali adapt through social participation. These findings support Geertz (1980) theory of cultural pluralism: Bali’s strong customary system coexists with openness to diversity, as long as local values guide social relations. Thus, assimilation is not required for integration; harmony emerges from mutual recognition and respect. For instance, a Muslim *Tamiau* can join Hindu mourning rituals without compromising religious identity, illustrating that participation, not uniformity, defines belonging.

However, inclusivity in the *Pawongan* domain also faces challenges. A Bali Express (2022) case involving a migrant’s refusal to pay customary dues revealed tensions between *tamiau* and indigenous groups, as locals viewed it as disrespect toward *dresta* (customary rules). Similarly, Ernawati et al. (2020) reported that after the enactment of Bali Provincial Regulation No. 4/2019, concerns arose regarding unclear migrant status, social norm violations, and residential misuse. In a broader context, the position of *desa adat*, which previously held full autonomy in regulating all aspects of community life (including the *pawongan* domain), has been structurally weakened due to technical regulations, administrative obligations, and centralized control imposed by the provincial government (Sridana et al.,2024). In some cases, media coverage of crimes involving migrants has reinforced negative stigma, despite perpetrators not always being formally classified as *tamiau*.

This duality echoes Castles et al. (2005), who noted migration’s ambivalent nature, contributing to development while potentially generating tension. Therefore, migrant integration in the *Pawongan* sphere is a dynamic process shaped by both harmony and conflict. Its success depends on how strongly *Nyama Braya* values are upheld as a shared moral and cultural foundation, promoting coexistence while managing social vulnerability. Furthermore, Figures 6 and 7 present qualitative data on the lived experiences of migrants in the *Pawongan* domain.

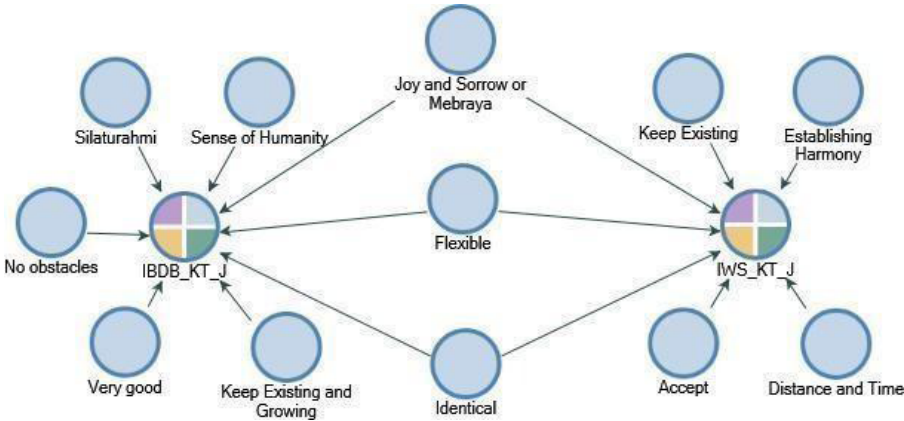


Figure 6. Involvement of migrant informants in activities in the *Pawongan* sector in Jimbaran (Source: Primary Data Processing, 2025)

Informant IBDB participated in *mebraya*, joy and sorrow events, and interreligious *silaturahmi*, all conducted voluntarily and informally, driven by solidarity and humanitarian values. Material contributions, such as sugar, rice, or burial shrouds, were common, reflecting practices from his hometown. He reported no major barriers and felt that his cultural values were well preserved. Similarly, IWS engaged in *mebraya* and social gatherings to foster harmony across identity lines. Although limited by time and distance, he maintained traditions through family coordination and diaspora networks.

The experiences of both informants show that migrant participation in the *Pawongan* domain extends beyond formal customary institutions. Informal practices of solidarity, grounded in empathy and mutual aid, create meaningful social ties. This supports Berry (1997) and Bertacchini et al. (2022) view of integration, where migrants sustain core identities while engaging with host communities. From Geertz (1980) cultural pluralism perspective, diversity does not hinder coexistence but enriches it through egalitarian social arenas such as joy and sorrow activities.

In Putnam's (2000) framework, these interactions generate bridging social capital, connecting groups through shared experiences. Although not fully integrated into formal customary structures, migrants have built trust, acceptance, and solidarity supported by the inclusive ethos of *Nyama Braya*. Despite constraints of time and distance, cultural continuity persists through collective coordination. Thus, social integration evolves organically, emphasizing respect, empathy, and coexistence, key elements of harmony in Bali's plural society.

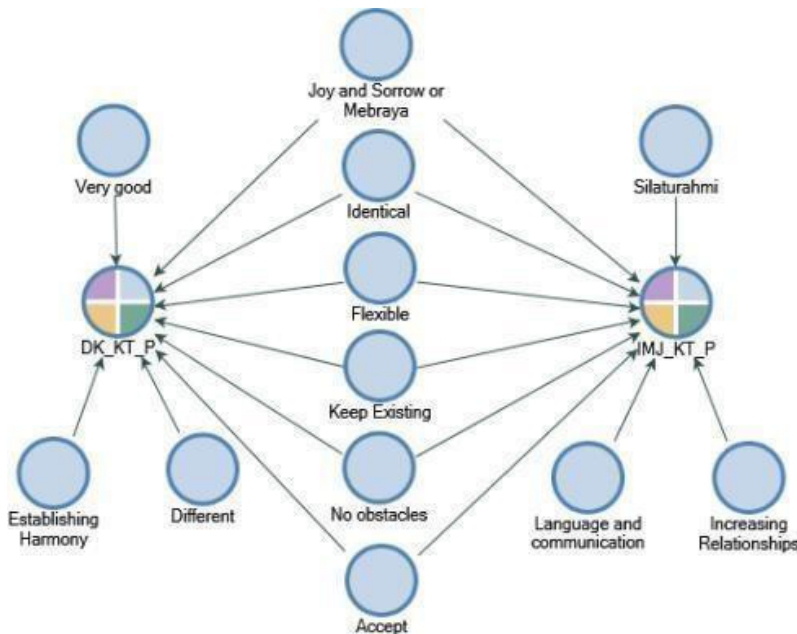


Figure 7. Involvement of Migrant Informants in Activities in the *Pawongan* Sector in Pecatu (Source: Primary Data Processing, 2025)

In Pecatu, migrant participation in the *Pawongan* domain reflects informal yet meaningful integration. As shown in Figure 7, informant DK engaged in joy and sorrow events and *mebraya*, emphasizing voluntary, interpersonal interaction guided by *Nyama Braya* values, similar to those in his hometown of Mengwi. Traditions such as *nguopin* (mutual assistance) and *tedun banjar* (collective cooperation) persisted in both settings, despite ritual differences (burial in Pecatu vs. cremation in Mengwi). DK highlighted strong community openness and the preservation of his cultural identity through continuous ties with his place of origin.



Figure 8. In Pecatu, the involvement of migrant informants in *Pawongan* field activities included participating in a joyful ritual for a three-month-old baby (Source: Documentation from IMJ Informant)

Similarly, IMJ took part in both joyful (Figure 8) and sorrowful gatherings, as well as various *silaturahmi* events, including interfaith visits during religious celebrations. These activities helped foster interpersonal trust and solidarity across identity boundaries. Despite minor communication challenges, overall community acceptance remained high. The proximity of his hometown also enabled dual participation, allowing him to maintain continuity in his cultural practices. Findings from both informants demonstrate that social participation among migrants in Pecatu, despite its conservative reputation, remains accessible and inclusive. Integration occurs not through formal customary systems but through everyday interactions rooted in shared humanitarian values. This supports the concept of cultural value translation, where migrants adapt external expressions while preserving internal meanings. Consistent with Berry (1997) integration strategy, migrants sustain their original culture

while engaging with the host community. Likewise, Putnam (2000) bridging social capital is evident, as egalitarian ties strengthen cohesion across identities. Echoing Geertz (1980), cultural pluralism in Pecatu enables peaceful coexistence through tolerance and dialogue. Overall, *Nyama Braya* serves as a social adhesive that bridges differences, affirming that the *Pawongan* realm functions as a flexible arena for integration, where solidarity and identity coexist harmoniously.

4.4 Migrant Involvement in the Palemahan Sector

Activities in the *Palemahan* sector involve collaborative environmental preservation efforts with local and migrant communities. Table 7 shows migrant participation in these activities, for example in terms of maintaining environmental cleanliness and safety.

Table 7. Distribution of Migrants in South Kuta Based on Their Involvement in *Palemahan* Sector Activities

Status in Traditional Village/Residential Village		Self-Adjustment in the Field of <i>Palemahan</i>			
		Not/Not Yet Able to Participate	%	Able to Participate	%
<i>Krama Tamiu</i>	Jimbaran	24	20.2	95	79.8
	Pecatu	36	48.6	38	51.4
<i>Tamiu</i>	Jimbaran	42	35.3	77	64.7
	Pecatu	61	82.4	13	17.6
Total	Jimbaran	66	27.7	172	72.3
	Pecatu	97	65.5	51	34.5
	Total	163	42.2	223	57.8

Source: Primary Data Processing, 2025

Migrants demonstrate substantial adaptation through participation in *Palemahan* activities, particularly among *Krama Tamiu*, while *Tamiu* in Pecatu show lower involvement. *Krama Tamiu*’s stronger participation is linked to their closer alignment with local ecological and religious values and their symbolic proximity to the customary structure. This reflects Durkheim (1893) concept of mechanical solidarity, where shared beliefs and norms strengthen social cohesion. Conversely, limited participation among *Tamiu* represents organic solidarity, emphasizing functional roles and tangible contributions.

From the perspective of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), *Krama Tamiu* are perceived as the “in-group,” while *Tamiu* often remain the “out-group,” hindering integration. Yet, in Jimbaran’s more open context,

Tamiu builds connections through environmental activities, such as maintaining cleanliness through mutual cooperation, aligning with Putnam (2000) bridging social capital, and relationships formed around shared communal concerns.

Within Berry's (1997) framework, *Krama Tamiu* adopted a stable integration strategy, while *Tamiu* varied from partial integration in Jimbaran to marginalization in Pecatu. These patterns affirm Geertz (1980) pluralism, emphasizing harmony through diversity recognition and equal participation. Environmental initiatives, free from religious boundaries, thus serve as inclusive platforms for social integration. The *Palemahan* realm therefore represents a strategic space for fostering cross-cultural solidarity in multicultural traditional villages like South Kuta, Bali. Figure 9 further illustrates the types of migrant involvement in *Palemahan* activities.

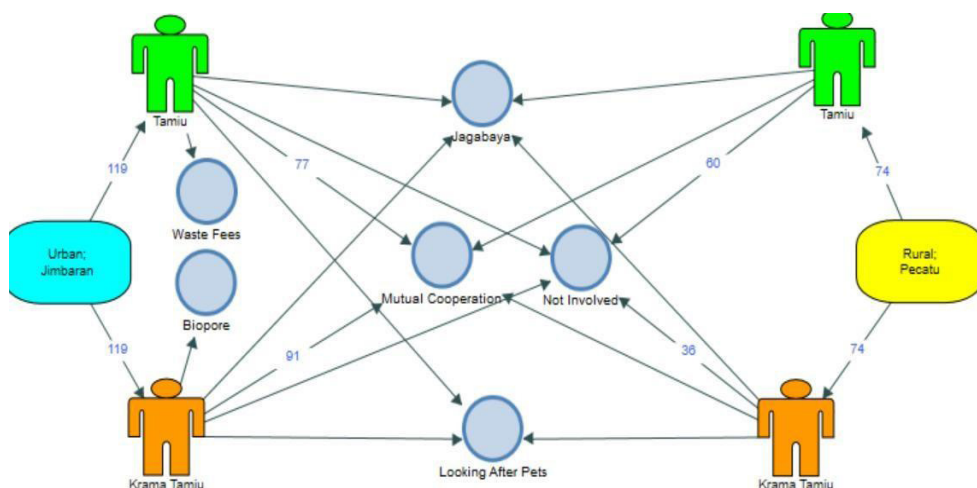


Figure 9. Forms of migrant participation based on their status in traditional villages in the *Palemahan* Sector (Source: Primary Data Processing, 2025)

In Jimbaran, both *Krama Tamiu* and *Tamiu* actively engage in communal activities, particularly mutual cooperation, traditional security (*jagabaya*), and pet care. Distinctions appear in specific actions: *Tamiu* contribute to waste management fees, while *Krama Tamiu* participate in biopore creation as an environmental initiative. The environmental contributions made by most respondents in Jimbaran stand in contrast to the findings of Dalem et al. (2024), who reported that communities showed resistance to source-based waste management policies in Badung Regency due to various factors. In Pecatu, overall participation is lower, though *Krama Tamiu* remain involved in community cooperation and security, whereas *Tamiu* engagement is more limited.

Overall, migrants in South Kuta contribute meaningfully to *Palemahan* activities, with higher involvement among *Krama Tamiu* and in Jimbaran compared to Pecatu. These differences reflect diverse social contexts and adaptation pathways. Migrants demonstrate an evolving social identity, seeking inclusion through environmental stewardship and communal participation.

From a theoretical standpoint, the *Palemahan* realm functions as a negotiation arena for social identity, where migrants gain recognition through tangible contributions rather than formal customary membership. Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) explains how functional participation fosters in-group inclusion, while Putnam (2000) bridging social capital highlights how collective engagement builds cohesion across identity lines. These findings support Astawa (2018) and Fry et al. (2024), who emphasize migrants' ecological contributions and community acceptance as foundations for sustainability. Thus, *Palemahan* embodies ecological integration, fostering new forms of solidarity through shared environmental responsibility.

Further insights into migrant participation in the *Palemahan* sector are provided in Figures 10 and 12. Figure 10 illustrates migrant participation in Jimbaran, which reflects strong social integration. In Jimbaran, informant IBDB reported active participation in mutual cooperation, pet care, and security duties. Monthly mutual cooperation was motivated by a shared concern for cleanliness and comfort, while pet care reflected social responsibility to prevent disturbances. Security tasks, mainly during *Nyepi*, demonstrated collective discipline. IBDB emphasized that such activities reinforced his original cultural values and were supported by community openness and acceptance. Meanwhile, IWS showed more limited participation, mainly through mutual cooperation before ceremonies in the temple (*odalan*), viewing it as a social obligation rooted in traditions from his hometown. Despite occasional challenges such as low attendance and time constraints, he experienced strong community support and positive integration.

The experiences of IBDB and IWS illustrate that participation in the *Palemahan* domain transcends physical contribution, it embodies socio-ecological integration and internalization of local values. Migrants maintain cultural continuity while fostering mutual respect through shared environmental activities, reflecting a process of identity negotiation grounded in universal values of cleanliness, order, and sustainability. Within the *Tri Hita Karana* framework, such participation strengthens harmony between humans and nature (*Palemahan*) and among humans (*Pawongan*), enhancing solidarity and ecological awareness.

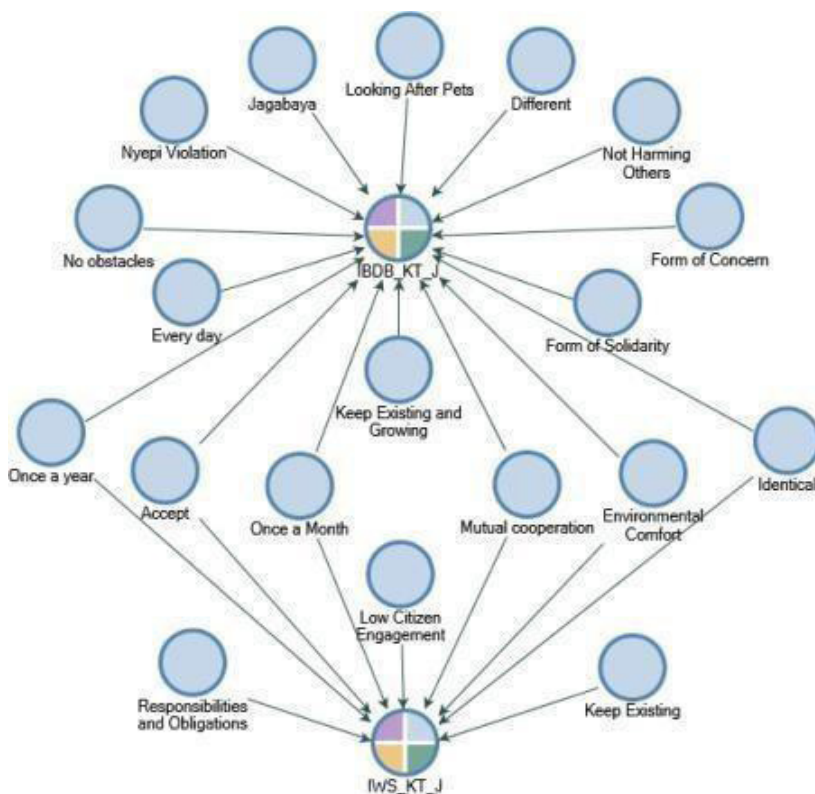


Figure 10. Involvement of migrant informants in activities in the *Palemahan* sector in Jimbaran (Source: Primary Data Processing, 2025)



Figure 11. Migrant informant activities in the *Palemahan* sector in Jimbaran (mutual cooperation) (Source: Documentation from IBDB Informants)

Theoretically, these findings affirm Putnam (2000) concept of bridging social capital, where ecological and social collaboration builds intergroup trust, and Berry (1997) acculturation model, where migrants preserve core identities while engaging with host communities. Thus, *Palemahan* in Jimbaran emerges as an inclusive arena for socio- ecological integration, bridging original and local values through egalitarian, dialogical, and transformative participation.

In Pecatu, where migrant participation is generally low, some individuals still engage meaningfully in environmental activities. Interviews with informants DK and IMJ (see Figure 12) show that ecological adaptation can occur through personal initiative rather than structural inclusion.

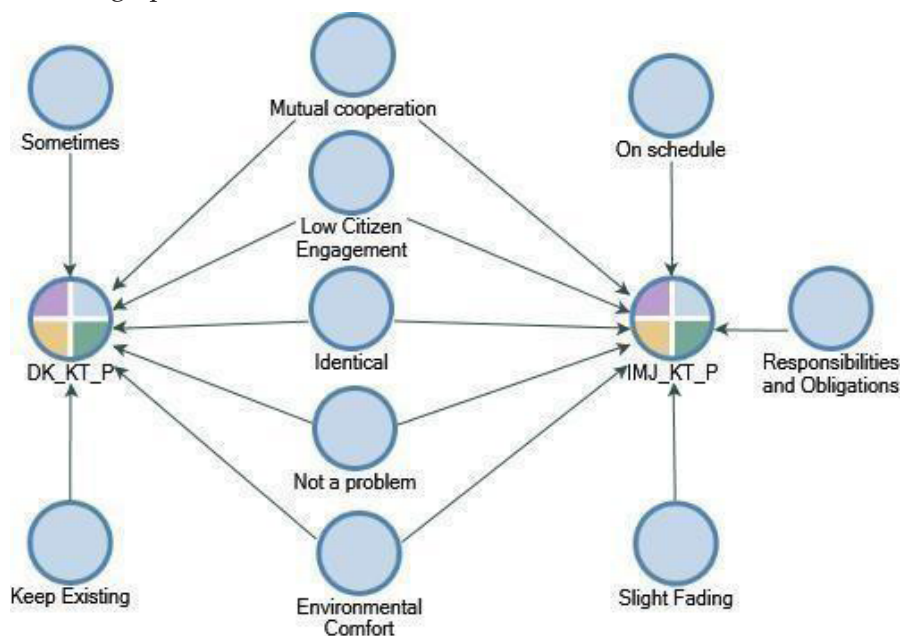


Figure 12. Involvement of migrant informants in activities in the *Palemahan* sector in Pecatu (Source: Primary Data Processing, 2025)

DK reported occasional participation in neighborhood cleanups motivated by environmental awareness. Despite time and work constraints, he contributed voluntarily and found local cooperation similar to his hometown, though with lower participation levels. IMJ joined bi-monthly cleanups organized via WhatsApp, driven by responsibility and social obligation. He observed declining mutual cooperation in his hometown due to broader social change but found no resistance from Pecatu residents or leaders. These cases demonstrate that even in a conservative customary structure, migrants can integrate into the *Palemahan* domain through voluntary participation and ecological awareness. Adaptation is thus contextual, shaped by time, work demands, and social participation levels, yet it fosters legitimacy and respectful

relations with locals. From the *Tri Hita Karana* perspective, involvement in *Palemahan* reflects harmony between humans and nature while enhancing *Pawongan* (social relations). Migrants employ ecological awareness and social responsibility to build bridging social capital (Putnam, 2000), affirming that personal initiative and universal environmental values are essential pathways for socio-ecological integration and community harmony.

4.5 Theoretical Implications

The findings of this study have significant theoretical implications, particularly when viewed through the domains of *Parhyangan*, *Pawongan*, and *Palemahan*. Migrants' adaptation aligns with several macro-theoretical perspectives that illuminate how integration operates within Bali's cultural framework.

First, Social Integration Theory (Durkheim, 1893) explains the coexistence of mechanical and organic solidarity in Balinese society. In the *Parhyangan* domain, *Krama Tamiu*'s participation in Hindu ceremonies reflects mechanical solidarity based on shared religious values with the local population. Conversely, *Tamiu* migrants, constrained by differing beliefs, experience exclusion from religious activities. Yet, in the *Pawongan* and *Palemahan* domains, *Tamiu* participation in communal and environmental tasks reflects organic solidarity founded on functional interdependence rather than shared beliefs. Thus, unity in Bali operates both spiritually and functionally.

Second, Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) clarifies shifting in-group and out-group boundaries. In *Parhyangan*, *Krama Tamiu* share in-group status through ritual duties, while *Tamiu* remain outsiders. However, *Pawongan* activities, mutual aid and communal events, facilitate identity negotiation, allowing gradual inclusion. In *Palemahan*, joint ecological activities foster new shared identities rooted in environmental responsibility, revealing that social identity in Bali is dynamic and domain-specific.

Third, Social Capital Theory (Putnam, 2000) highlights how religious, social, and ecological participation generate distinct forms of capital. In *Parhyangan*, shared rituals strengthen bonding capital among *Krama Tamiu*, while *Tamiu* face restricted access. Meanwhile, participation in *Pawongan* and *Palemahan* fosters bridging capital through collaboration, which may evolve into bonding ties over time. Hence, bonding capital dominates religious life, while bridging capital sustains social and ecological integration.

Fourth, Acculturation Theory (Berry, 1997) underscores domain-based adaptation. In *Parhyangan*, *Krama Tamiu* adopt integration strategies, while *Tamiu* experience separation. In *Pawongan* and *Palemahan*, both groups lean toward integration through social and environmental participation, showing

that acculturation varies across life domains, a migrant may be integrated socially but marginalized spiritually.

Finally, Cultural Pluralism Theory (Geertz, 1980) is embodied in Bali's *Nyama Braya* principle, which promotes tolerance and coexistence. While spiritual participation varies, pluralism manifests through cooperation in social and ecological activities, reinforcing harmony beyond religious boundaries.

Overall, these theoretical implications affirm that adaptation and identity negotiation in Bali are multidimensional. Through *Tri Hita Karana* and *Nyama Braya*, spiritual, social, and ecological integration intersect dynamically, providing a culturally grounded model for fostering multicultural harmony and inclusive community development.

5. Conclusions

This study reveals that migrants' adjustment to traditional village life in South Kuta, Bali, is multifaceted. Their involvement across the three domains of *Tri Hita Karana*; *Parhyangan*, *Pawongan*, and *Palemahan*, shows varying degrees of adaptation and integration. In *Parhyangan*, participation remains limited, especially among *Tamiu* migrants with different beliefs, while *Krama Tamiu* are more engaged due to shared religious values with locals. In *Pawongan*, participation is broader, particularly in social activities like joy and sorrow and *mebraya*, which embody the integrative value of *Nyama Braya*. In *Palemahan*, migrants, especially *Krama Tamiu* in Jimbaran are active in environmental efforts such as mutual cooperation and *jagabaya*. These patterns illustrate Bali's shift from a homogeneous to a pluralistic society where traditional villages are adapting to increasing social diversity. Despite the persistence of customary norms, traditional villages are evolving into more open and flexible social systems that accommodate internal migrants. Integration is influenced by each village's character, openness, and institutional adaptability.

In addition to these findings, this study acknowledges several limitations. First, the quantitative and qualitative approaches used are primarily descriptive and do not include longitudinal analysis capable of capturing long-term changes in integration dynamics. Second, the geographical scope, limited to two traditional villages, does not fully represent the diversity of social contexts across Bali. These limitations imply that the interpretations presented in this study should be understood as context-specific, reflecting the particular characteristics of Jimbaran and Pecatu rather than all traditional villages in Bali. Consequently, the generalizability of the findings to broader Balinese or Indonesian contexts remains limited.

Based on the findings and limitations, two implications can be highlighted. Practically, strengthening inter-group dialogue, recognition of diversity, and inclusive policies by traditional villages are key to fostering social harmony

in Bali's multicultural society. Theoretically, future research should adopt longitudinal and multi-level approaches to better capture adaptation dynamics over time and to analyze the influence of wider macro-structural factors on migrant integration. This would provide stronger grounds for broader interpretation and generalization beyond the immediate case studies examined.

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