CULTURAL ADAPTATION STRATEGIES OF THE BALI HINDU COMMUNITY WITHIN THE MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY IN PATOMAN, BANYUWANGI

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Abstract

This study aims to reveal the underlying values, forms, and implications of the cultural adaptation strategies of the Bali Hindu community within the multicultural society in Patoman, Banyuwangi. The research was conducted qualitatively with an ethnographic approach based on the theory of cultural adaptation and social harmony. This study finds that the values that underlie the cultural adaptation strategy of the Bali Hindu community within the multicultural society in Patoman include *Tri Hita Karana*, *Tat Tvam Asi*, *Manyama Braya*, and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. Forms of cultural adaptation strategy include strengthening socio-cultural and religious identities internally and developing external consolidation by mediating seven universal categories of culture in their social interactions. The implications of the cultural adaptation strategy include the formation of a "Bali Patoman Village" with a distinctive cultural and religious identity, the maintenance of social harmony in a pluralistic society, and the affirmation of a multicultural society structure marked by the coronation of Patoman Village as a "Kampung Pancasila".

Keywords: Bali Hindu community, cultural adaptation strategy, multicultural society

I. INTRODUCTION

The diversity of races, ethnicities, customs, and religions in Indonesia is a social reality that must be grateful for, as well as managed as the basic capital of development. Considering that in this diversity there are cultural values that can be a driving force and motivator for nation-building (Tilaar, 2004). This socio-cultural capital must be explored and mobilized as a force, not only to strengthen national culture but so that all elements of the nation can contribute positively and participate actively in development (Kumbara, et al., 2019). However, managing differences is not an easy thing because the values, perspectives, and interests of the community in responding to the phenomenon of diversity are also different. The biggest challenges of multicultural society can be found in various factual conditions, such as forced universalism of values, conflicts of interest, and the influence of globalization that increases prejudice against other cultural entities (Parekh, 2007).

The development of multiculturalism must also be carried out continuously by exploring cultural values that grow and develop in society. Referring to the cultural relativism approach initiated by Franz Boaz (1887), every culture has its context and frame that cannot be understood from the perspective of other cultures (Goo, 2013). This approach is relevant to be used to reveal the various values of multiculturalism in the structure and culture of a specific society. Considering that the ideal multicultural life order must be in complete harmony with the values, needs, and goals of the community's life itself. With this approach, the phenomenon of the multicultural society in Patoman Village, Blimbingsari District, Banyuwangi Regency, East Java Province, is interesting to be revealed in depth. There are four dominant ethnic groups living together in this village, namely Madura, Javanese, Balinese, and Osing. While the composition of the population according to religion is Islam 82.3%, Hindu 17.3%, Christian 0.4%, and Buddhist 0.2% (Wicaksono, et al., 2019).

The Bali Hindu community lives in the Sub-village of Patoman Tengah and is named the area "Kampung Bali". All residents of Kampung Bali are Balinese who are Hindus. Some of them are descendants of soldiers from Bali who came around the 18th century to help the Blambangan Kingdom in the war against the VOC (Sudjana, 2001), and others were refugees after the eruption of Mount Agung – Karangasem, in 1963. Although the Bali Hindu community in Patoman Village is the second majority after Islam, this community can give a unique character to the village so that it is nicknamed "Bali van Java" (http://pemerintahdesapatoman.blogspot.com/). This collective image cannot be separated from the articulation of the identity of the Bali Hindu community by maintaining distinctive religious cultural attributes, such as *Kahyangan Tiga*, the *Banjar* system, cremation ceremonies (*Ngaben*), and traditional Balinese arts.

Their success in maintaining cultural identity in a multicultural society without causing social shocks for centuries also marks the success of the cultural adaptation strategy carried out. This is in line with Merton's statement that to survive, a system must adapt to the environment, both natural and socio-cultural (Sutrisno, 2005). Adaptation as a survival mechanism of a cultural system ensures its existence remains functional for society. Kaplan & Manners (2002) assert that it is impossible to think about adaptation without referring to the environment, namely the circularity and reciprocity of the relationship between culture and its environment. Based on this theory, it can be understood that a multicultural society with different systems of knowledge, values, and symbols is a cultural environment that is felt by the Bali Hindu community in Patoman Village in their daily lives. Therefore, they must carry out a strategy of cultural adaptation to the environment, both to maintain their existence, maintain their cultural identity, develop themselves, as well as build a cohesive and harmonious social life.

The cultural adaptation strategy as a social attitude is a complex and dynamic phenomenon because it is influenced by historical factors, structural dynamics, and the role of agents holistically (Stzompka, 2007). This complexity emphasizes the importance of studying the cultural adaptation strategy of the Bali Hindu community within the multicultural society in

Patoman Village. The purpose of this research is focused on analyzing three important aspects, namely the values that underlie cultural adaptation strategies; forms of cultural adaptation strategies; and implications of cultural adaptation strategies within the multicultural society in Patoman Village.

II. METHOD

This study was designed within the framework of a qualitative research methodology with an ethnographic approach. Oetomo (Suyanto & Sutinah (Ed.), 2005) states that qualitative research is a type of naturalistic and inductive research in approaching a setting without pre-determined hypotheses and does not use statistical figures. Qualitative research emphasizes understanding the relationship between facts through interpretation to find the meaning of these relations. The ethnographic approach in qualitative research is more field research to describe a culture in depth. According to Spradley (2006), ethnography does not only study society, but also learns from society by exploring the meanings behind the actions, expressions, and perspectives of the people being studied.

Data collection techniques used in this study include participatory observation, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and documentation studies. Participant observation was carried out by observing various activities, events, and cultural artifacts related to the problem and research objectives. In-depth interviews are used to explore information, ideas, and the informant's understanding of the object under study. Focus Group Discussion was conducted involving traditional leaders, religious leaders, and community leaders in Patoman Village. Documentation study is a technique of collecting data from written sources, such as books, scientific journals, and the results of previous research that are relevant to this research, as well as related documents obtained in the field. Qualitative data analysis was carried out during the research in a descriptive and interpretive manner (Bogdan & Biklen, 1984; Moleong,1993).

Ethnographic studies aim to produce thick descriptions of culture so that data analysis must be carried out in-depth through understanding (*verstehen*). Affifuddin & Saebani (2009), even emphasize that meaning is actual data, definite data, and determines the value behind visible data. In this regard, Geertz (1973) offers two steps of interpretation, namely thinking and reflecting; and thinking of thought. So, the interpretation of the data is done through refreshing thoughts whose ideas come from readings, theoretical perspectives, and concepts put forward by the informants. In this regard, the research analysis was carried out by interpreting and reflecting on the data based on the theory of cultural adaptation and social harmony.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
A. Theoretical Framework

Van Peursen (2016) develops a conception of cultural strategy, that is human efforts to study and design their culture. The cultural strategy does not only include government policies in cultural development but is a strategy that must be fought for by all groups. Cultural adaptation is one of the strategies of humans and society to build a meaningful life for their daily lives and culture. Kaplan & Manners (2002) state that cultural adaptation is a connected process between a cultural system and its environment. The process of cultural adaptation shows the distinctive ways of individuals and/or communities in responding to changes in social space and time. Hardesty (1977) also states that cultural adaptation is a dynamic process because the relationship between humans and the environment is not constant or fixed. Population resilience is not passive to the environment but provides space for individuals and populations to actively modify behavior, maintain certain conditions, overcome risks in new conditions, and improvise existing conditions (Triguna, et.al., 2020).

In this study, the concept of the cultural strategy proposed by van Peursen (2016) is used as a framework for understanding the cultural adaptation of the Bali Hindu community in Patoman Village, namely how people learn about their cultures, such as the purpose of life, the meaning of living together, and norms that regulate human contact and social development. They will use these learning outcomes to design appropriate strategies to achieve future goals in a multicultural society. This is in line with the

opinion of Sanderson (2003) that adaptation is a social trait due to individual needs, goals, and desires. Adaptation is related to socio-cultural patterns that encourage the presence of new socio-cultural forms through the adaptation process. Cultural innovation is developed intentionally and not carelessly through the process of taking up space for change, either ideologically, structurally, or technologically.

The multicultural society has become a social environment adapted by the Bali Hindu community in Patoman Village in their daily lives. Multicultural society refers to a plural society living in an area. Differences in religious background, ethnicity, race, origin and other cultural entities mark this plurality. The awareness of each individual or group to appreciate the existence of other individuals or groups is an ideal condition for a multicultural society. The first wave of multiculturalism thought also emphasized that a multicultural society was based on the recognition and legitimacy of cultural diversity or cultural pluralism (Tilaar, 2004). Multiculturalism becomes an ideal condition for a pluralistic society when religious, ethnic, and cultural diversity is not only recognized but also gets the widest possible space to develop themselves and articulate their cultural identities within the framework of equality and justice. Based on this theory, the cultural adaptation strategies of the Bali Hindu community within the multicultural society in Patoman Village are undoubtedly directed at self-development and the articulation of their cultural identity, as well as building social harmony in a plural society.

B. Values Underlying a Cultural Adaptation Strategy

The Bali Hindu community in Patoman Village has a similar socio-cultural and religious background as the basis for building their collective cultural identity. According to Liliweri (2003), cultural identity is a characteristic that arises because a person is a member of a particular ethnic group, which includes acceptance and learning traditions, innate traits, language, and descent from a culture. This means that the collective cultural identity of the Bali

Hindu community in Patoman Village is inherited, then used as the basis for building a cultural adaptation strategy to deal with changes in space and time throughout their existence. The sustainability of their cultural identity to date shows that they have succeeded in developing a productive cultural adaptation strategy, both in facing internal challenges in the form of maintaining a religious and cultural identity as well as the external challenges inherent in their existence as migrants living in areas with different ethnicities and religions.

The success of the Balinese Hindu community in Patoman Village in building a productive cultural adaptation strategy certainly cannot be separated from the value system that is inherited, maintained, and developed in their various activities and social interactions. Considering that the value system is the core of culture (Koentjaraningrat, 2002) which normatively sets the rules of life and standards of good behavior for humans (Joesoef, 1996; Sutrisno, 2005). Therefore, it is impossible to talk about the cultural adaptation strategy of a society without understanding its cultural values. This study found that there are at least four dominant cultural values that underlie the cultural adaptation strategies of the Bali Hindu community within the multicultural society in Patoman Village, as follows.

Tri Hita Karana. This concept is built by three words in Sanskrit, namely *tri* 'three', *hita* 'happiness', and *karana* 'cause', so they can define as three causes of happiness. The three causes are *Parhyangan* "harmonious relationship between humans and God"; *Pawongan* "harmonious relationship between humans and each other's"; and *Palemahan* "harmonious relationship between humans and nature— environment" (Kaler, 1983; Wiana, 2004). Sukarma (2022) asserts that *Tri Hita Karana* reflects the three highest things in Balinese life, or simpler language "the Balinese cannot live without God, others, and nature—environment". This value provides an important foundation in the cultural adaptation strategy of the Bali Hindu community within the multicultural society in Patoman Village, as shown in their socio-cultural and religious system. In the context of *Parhyangan*, they still maintain the belief

system, ritual system, and socio-religious system of Hindu-Bali. In the context of *Pawongan*, they strengthen internal integration through the *Banjar* system and engage in inclusive social interaction and cooperation with other ethnic and religious communities. In the context of *Palemahan*, they maintain the preservation and beauty of the natural environment around their homes, including in the village area.

Tat Tvam Asi. The concept of *Tat Tvam Asi* is found in *Chandogya Upanisad 6.8.7*, which means "You are that", a philosophical statement that all creatures originate from one God and God resides in all (Tika, 2019). Therefore, respecting and loving all beings is the duty of every human being. In general, the Bali Hindu community in Patoman Village understands this concept as the basis for building sympathy and empathy for humanity, as exemplified by "if pinched hurts, don't pinch other people". This universal love value is the basis for living together in harmony with all people regardless of ethnicity, culture, and religion. In this context, there has been a transformation of *Tat Tvam Asi*'s teachings from divinity to humanity which is actualized in various social relations and interactions in the multicultural society in Patoman Village.

Manyama Braya. This value is rooted in Balinese culture which views all people as brothers (*nyama – braya*), even though they come from different social, cultural, and religious backgrounds. The actualization of this value can be seen from the way the Balinese who are Hindus refer to those who are Muslim as "Nyama Selam" or Muslim brothers; as well as those who are Christians as "Nyama Kristen" (Ludji, et.al., 2020). This value is also inherited and forms the perspective of the Bali Hindu community in adapting to the plural society environment in Patoman Village. They consider all residents in the village as brothers and open themselves to interact cohesively in various social domains. One of them is by visiting each other in joy and sorrowful activities, such as marriage or death.

Bhinneka Tunggal Ika. This value was derived from the text of *Sutasoma*, *139.5.*, which later become the motto of the Indonesian nation which means "unity in diversity". The diversity of ethnicity, culture, and religion of the Indonesian nation is seen as a given social reality so its existence must be respected. The diversity of the Indonesian nation must be seen as a cultural capital that becomes a potential strength to welcome a better future (Triguna, 2019). The Bali Hindu community in Patoman Village also understands this value very well and makes it an ideal foundation for building social harmony with the surrounding multicultural community. They can coexist with all ethnic and religious communities in Patoman Village without having experienced conflict due to ethnic and religious differences for centuries.

C. Form of Cultural Adaptation Strategy

The adaptation process involves genetic selection and cultural variants that are considered the best way to solve the environmental problems faced. Adaptation is a dynamic process because there is no constant relationship with the environment (Hardesty, 1977). Ellen (1982) divides adaptation into four levels, namely (a) phylogenetic, which works through genetic adaptation through natural selection; (b) physical modification of physical characteristics; (c) learning process; and (d) cultural modification. From this fourth stage, the process of learning and cultural modification becomes the key concept of cultural adaptation, while the transmission of information as a giver of specific characteristics is dominant in the whole process of adaptation. The concept of the developmental level of adaptation refers not only to technology but also to the configuration of institutions and social relations that are appropriate to the effectiveness of any particular energy system (Cohen, 1985).

That is, cultural adaptation is not only presented as a form of response of a cultural entity to its environment but also arises from individual motivations and goals. Therefore, the theory of cultural adaptation, in addition to focusing its studies on social groups, also focuses on individual roles. Group adaptation is seen as a product of individual cumulative adaptation or manipulative adaptation of individuals collectively in groups. Learned individual adaptive responses can be transmitted to others independently (Ellen, 1982). In cultural adaptation, there is always a close relationship

between actors, agents, and structures. Adaptation at the individual level develops into adaptive behavior and strategic action, while the synthesis of the two is called adaptive strategy. The adaptive strategy is a component of strategic action or specific actions with a success rate selected by individuals in determining their decisions (Bennet, 1976).

Based on this theory, the cultural adaptation strategy of the Bali Hindu community within the multicultural society in Patoman Village can be understood in an internal and external context. Internally, adaptation strategies are carried out to meet the needs of life, motivation to progress, and achieve higher life goals following cultural and religious values. Externally, the cultural adaptation strategy is a way of responding to environmental influences, getting positive feedback from the environment, and building harmony with the environment as an ideal condition to realize individual and group goals holistically. The form of cultural adaptation strategy of the Hindu Bali community within the multicultural society in Patoman Village can be found in seven universal categories of culture, including 1) live equipment system; 2) livelihood systems; 3) social systems; 4) language; 5) arts; 6) knowledge system; and 7) religious systems (Kluckhohn, 1953).

Live Equipment System. The Bali Hindu community in Patoman Village still maintains several elements of Balinese traditional living tools, especially traditional clothing, traditional house structures, and ritual equipment. To get it all, they keep in touch with Bali because there are not many traditional Balinese tools that they can get in the area or produce themselves. However, they also continue to adapt to technological developments, such as transportation, agricultural technology, communication technology, and other modern technologies needed for daily life. In this context, they must open a wide space for interaction and cooperation with the multicultural society around them to build a productive arena for the exchange of technology and tools of life. According to Bourdieu (2010), the arena is a space that allows all potentials to exist and develop, so that the adaptation strategy in the exchange of living equipment is simultaneously transformed into an arena for the development of multiculturalism in Patoman Village on a reciprocal basis.

Livelihood System. The Bali Hindu community in Patoman Village is a migrant who was given a place to live by the rulers of the Blambangan Kingdom in the past. Therefore, the area they occupy is not too wide and is adjacent to the area occupied by other ethnic groups. They do not have large agricultural land, so in the early times, many worked as farm laborers and coconut sugar makers. Over time, the differentiation of economic structures changed their livelihood patterns from farm laborers and coconut sugar makers to various economic sectors, such as trade, carpentry, entrepreneur, private employees, and government employees. This change in livelihood patterns also opens up a wider space for fostering relationships and interactions with the surrounding multicultural community in various forms of economic cooperation. Related to that, Soekanto (2001) states that economic factors can facilitate assimilation because they can neutralize the cultural differences of different people.

Social Systems. The Hindu Bali community in Patoman Village still maintains a Balinese traditional social system, such as the patrilineal kinship system, naming system "Wayan, Made, Nyoman, Ketut", and the *Banjar* system. This community organizes their traditional social system in "Banjar Patoman Tengah" while maintaining the attributes of the Balinese traditional system, such as the title of *Klian Adat* (head of the *Banjar*), *Bale Banjar* (building for traditional activities), and *Pacalang* (customary security officer). Externally, they are also involved in various social organizations in Patoman Village, such as BPD (Badan Permusyawaratan Desa – Village Consultative Council), LPM (Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat – Community Empowerment Institution), and so on. In this context, the Bali Hindu community in Patoman Village applies the duality of the social system, namely Banjar Patoman Tengah as a customary organization, and Dusun Patoman Tengah as an official regional organization. The head of the *Banjar* is called "Klian Adat" and the head of the *Dusun* is called "Klian Dinas" or "Kepala Dusun".

Language. In their daily interactions with fellow Balinese, the Bali Hindu community in Patoman Village still uses the Balinese language with a distinctive dialect and absorbs some local language vocabulary (Javanese or Osing). The language level in the Balinese language (*sor-singgih basa*) is used in interpersonal communication and guiding the procession of religious ceremonies. Language is one of the symbols of cultural identity (Liliweri, 2003) so the use of the Balinese language in communication shows the efforts of the Bali Hindu community in Patoman Village to assert their cultural identity. But externally, they also adapt the language to the surrounding community, such as Javanese, Madurese, and Osing (Banyuwangi's native language). Most of the Balinese people in Patoman Village can communicate well using these three languages so they do not have communication barriers with other villagers. This cultural adaptation strategy opens a productive intercultural communication space in a multicultural society.

Arts. The Bali Hindu community in Patoman Village still maintains various Balinese arts in their socio-religious life, such as Balinese traditional dance, traditional music (*gamelan*), sound art, sculpture, carving, and so on. However, they also accept Javanese and Banyuwangi arts as an integral part of their culture. One of them is the art of *Dhamarwulan*, *Jinggoan*, or *Janger* which combines elements of Balinese, Javanese, and Banyuwangi art (Anoegrajekti, 2014; Elsa, 2018). The *Janger* arts group that still exists today is "Seni Janger Dhamarwulan Dharma Yasa", Dusun Patoman Tengah, which was formed in 1921. Several informants stated that this group inspired the emergence of other *Janger* art groups in Banyuwangi. This confirms that the arts of the Bali Hindu community in Patoman Village also have inspired the development of arts in Banyuwangi Regency through a continuous process of art acculturation.

Knowledge System. According to Kluckhohn (1953), the knowledge system refers to all the knowledge that humans use to live their lives. Although knowledge systems are related to the system of technology and living equipment, it refers more to specific knowledge in the culture of a society, for example, astronomical system. In this context, the Bali Hindu community in Patoman still maintains some Balinese traditional knowledge, such as *Wariga* (traditional astrology), *Asta Kosala-Kosali* (traditional architecture), and *Usadha Bali* (traditional medicine). However, they carry out cultural modifications to adapt this traditional knowledge to environmental situations and conditions. For example, not all houses follow the traditional Balinese architectural structures due to limited land. The entry of modern knowledge systems through education encourages the adaptation of knowledge in a sustainable manner.

Religious System. Internally, the Bali Hindu community of Patoman adapted the Hindu-Bali religious system which was built on three religious' frameworks, namely *Tattwa* (belief system), *Susila* (moral rules), and *Acara* (ritual system). In terms of *Tattwa*, they believe in *Panca Sraddha* (five principles of Hindu belief) including *Widhi Sraddha* (belief in one God by many manifestations called *Deva* or *Bhattara*), *Atma Sraddha* (belief in the soul), *Karmaphala Sraddha* (believe in the law of deeds and result), *Punarbhawa Sraddha* (belief in reincarnation), and *Moksa Sraddha* (belief in liberation or union with God) (Gunadha, 2015). In terms of *Susila*, they follow the teachings of Hindu ethics, whether general moral rules or moral rules that are specified in Bali Hindu tradition, such as *cuntaka*, *suci-cemer* (holy or unholy category), and so on. In terms of *Acara*, they carry out the *Panca Yadnya* ritual like Hindus in Bali, both in processions (*upacara*) and ritual offerings (*upakara*). Externally, they develop an inclusive and tolerant religious understanding of other people's religions. One of them is shown by the involvement of *Pacalang* in securing Muslim religious activities, while *Banser Nahdlatul Ulama* is also involved in securing Hindu religious rituals.

D. Implications of Cultural Adaptation Strategy

Cultural adaptation theory refers to the ability of individuals and social groups to sustain life and culture. The adaptation process is characterized by adaptation upgrading (Parsons, 1971) or

adaptation with modification (Sahlins, 1960). The form of the cultural adaptation strategy of the Bali Hindu community in a multicultural society in Patoman Village shows a two-way model, both internally by strengthening cultural and religious identity and externally by consolidation with the surrounding community through the mediation of seven universal categories of culture as an arena of cultural adaptation. This model gives birth to various implications in people's lives reciprocally in a multicultural society.

Multiculturalism requires that the existence of cultural identities that are built based on similarities in religion, ethnicity, and tradition must be recognized and respected (Tilaar, 2004). Therefore, maintaining group identity based on religious and cultural similarities is a necessity in the structure of a multicultural society. A harmonious and peaceful life in a multicultural society becomes a productive space for everyone to articulate their cultural and religious identity, without pressure from others. Group identity can be determined by material cultural factors such as food, clothes, house, or living equipment, and also through non-material factors such as language, customs, beliefs, ways of thinking, attitudes, and so on. Identity is something that is fluid and can be exchanged through social reconstruction (Liliweri, 2003). Based on this theory, one of the implications of the cultural adaptation strategy of the Bali Hindu community in a multicultural society in Patoman Village can be seen in the formation of "Kampung Bali Patoman".

The "Kampung Bali Patoman" is more accurately interpreted as a cultural area because that is where the Bali Hindu identity is constructed by the community. In this cultural area, the Bali Hindu community builds its cultural identity by articulating its sociocultural-religious attributes or symbols. The existence of *Kahyangan Ti*ga (three temples: *Puseh, Desa*, and *Dalem*) becomes a socio-religious binder, as well as a marker of collective religious identity. The *Banjar* system is the center for organizing social, cultural, and religious systems that bind all members of "Kampung Bali Patoman". Various Balinese cultural attributes are also seen in various aspects of the life of the "Kampung

Bali Patoman" community as a marker of the continuity of their cultural identity. According to Eriksen (1993), the way each cultural community maintains its group identity is closely related to the identity construction process that involves understanding self-concept and integral assessment of environmental responses. That is, identity construction occurs when each group understands how it should narrate itself according to its religious and cultural values, but at the same time always assesses the response of its social and environmental.

Even though they understand how to narrate their identity, without the support of the environment, the identity construction process will certainly be hampered. The sustainability of group identity is one of the markers of a multicultural society because of the recognition, appreciation, and legitimacy of differences. Multiculturalism requires that group identities must be transformed into collective identities to maintain social equilibrium. In this regard, Barker (2004) states that the conception of identity must be rooted in human action in its social context. Identity is not only about similarities and differences, personal and social, but also how all these different identities can contribute to social harmony. Therefore, collective identity has an important role in a multicultural society to foster a sense of belonging to diverse communities (Parekh, 2007).

The cultural adaptation strategy of the Bali Hindu community shows that they have mediated seven elements of universal culture in their social interactions with different communities. Social interaction in this plural society plays an important role in building the collective awareness of all community members that they are residents of Patoman Village who are obliged to live in harmony with one another. The creation of social harmony in a pluralistic society can be seen from Berger's view that social construction takes place through three processes, namely externalization, objectivation, and externalization (Berger & Luckman, 1990). Externalization is an anthropological necessity that everyone must adapt to their social environment. Objectivation is a moment of interaction between two realities – humans as subjective reality and the social world as

objective reality. Intersubjectivity is the basis of the formation of a social system through the institutionalization of subjective values in collective life. Internalization is a moment of reabsorption of objective structures into subjective structures, then subjectively realized. The last phase of internalization is the formation of a collective identity that is maintained, modified, and reformulated in social relations. Through these three processes, harmony in diversity has become part of the collective identity of the Patoman Village community which is maintained, modified, and reformulated in the social structure.

Their success in fostering social harmony in a plural society for centuries has received appreciation from the government. In 2018, Patoman Village was inaugurated as a "Desa Bhineka Tunggal Ika" by *Forum Pembauran Kebangsaan* (National Assimilation Forum) of Banyuwangi Regency. Then at the beginning of 2022, Patoman Village was inaugurated as a "Kampung Pancasila" by Kodim 0825 (Military District Commander) of Banyuwangi. The two awards show the government's appreciation for the success of the Patoman Village community in maintaining social harmony in ethnic, cultural, and religious pluralism for centuries. Of course, this cannot be separated from the contribution of the Bali Hindu community in Patoman as the second majority after Muslims in building a cultural adaptation strategy that is inclusive and tolerant of the diversity that exists in the surrounding community.

IV. CONCLUSION

Cultural adaptation strategies in a multicultural society are needed by every ethnic, cultural, and religious group to develop a productive, harmonious, and peaceful social life. This study finds that cultural adaptation strategies must provide space and opportunities for each group to articulate its group identity, then collectively work together to build a cohesive collective identity. The basic idea of multiculturalism does not want the disappearance of every group identity, but how all groups with different cultural backgrounds get a fair and equal living space, as well as being able to coexist in harmony and peace. In this context, the cultural adaptation strategy of the Bali Hindu community in a multicultural society in Patoman Village can be used as a role model in building an ideal multicultural life. This is closely related to the purpose of ethnographic studies which emphasize the importance of an emic approach which in this case is to learn from the community about how they carry out cultural adaptation strategies in a multicultural society.

The results of this study indicate that cultural adaptation strategies must be based on social, cultural, and religious values that are relevant to the basic idea of multiculturalism. Therefore, these values are important to be explored and practiced in social life. Cross-cultural understanding is needed to build intersubjectivity as the basis for social construction, so learning and habituation about living together in a pluralistic society need to be continued. However, it must be admitted that building multiculturalism is not enough to rely on individual and social awareness of the importance of living together, because multiculturalism is also influenced by political policies. In this context, it takes a strong political will from the government to appreciate, care for, and develop the multicultural life that grows in society and makes it a reference in formulating multiculturalism political policies that are in line with the spirit of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*.

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