Orang NTT:
Diaspora Communities and Multiculturalism in Bali

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
	The cultural interaction of *Orang NTT* with local communities in Bali has implications for forming a multicultural society. Although there have been previous studies on migration and ethnicity, few have examined East Nusa Tenggara ethnicity in the Bali region. This research aims to understand the cultural interaction between *Orang* NTT and local communities in Bali and how they contribute to the social harmony and the formation of a multicultural society in Bali. This qualitative research was conducted in Denpasar City (the center of the government) and Badung Regency (the center of tourism) in Bali. I combined observation and in-depth interviews as my data collection methods. Ten informants were interviewed: seven *Orang* NTT, two Balinese, two Flobamora community leaders, a Christian religious leader, and an entrepreneur. The study shows that push and pull factors influence how Orang NTT migrate to Bali. While the push factors include the economic and educational conditions in NTT and the attractiveness offered by Bali as a destination for NTT migration; pull factors comprise better economic opportunities, better access to education, and better life opportunities. In addition, *Orang NTT* in Bali plays an important role in strengthening cultural diversity and social harmony in the local community. These findings have important implications for society's understanding of social integration and how minority groups contribute to forming a harmonious multicultural society. The study contributes to the understanding on how *Orang* NTT migrate from the eastern region to Bali, while providing new insights into how social and cultural interactions can shape multicultural identity in a region. This can serve as a basis for the development of local policies related to diversity and as a reference for studies on diaspora and the formation of multicultural communities in other regions.

1. Introduction

The introduction of regional autonomy policies in Indonesia in the 2000s led to various social changes, such as the rise of ethnic, local identity, and creative minorities, which strengthened the concept of multiculturalism across the archipelago. The changes that occurred not only had an impact on changing the political constellation between the centre and the regions, but also affected more significant changes, especially the strengthening of concepts rooted in local wisdom, such as the emergence of the idea of local elite, regional expansion, and so on. The changes that occur also seem to impact strengthening ethnicity and identity, where the local elite must come from a region that is presented as having the support of not only the majority group. However, inevitably, this social reality has made room for the emergence of support from minority groups, which has also unwittingly shaped a stronger multicultural society.

This phenomenon and trend are also happening in Bali, which is undergoing an intense process of modernization and globalization due to the development of tourism. As a world tourist destination, this certainly contributes significantly. However, on the other hand, it raises various issues related to the increasing number of migrations to Bali which has gone through a long historical process where they can coexist harmoniously. This can be seen in the western part of Bali, where Javanese and Madurese migrated (Suprapti, 1977). On the other hand, there is ethnic migration from the eastern part of Bali such as from Flores Island, Sumba Island, Timor Island, Alor Island, Lembata Island, Rote Island, Sabu Island, Adonara Island, Solor Island, Ende Island, Komodo island, and Palue island (BPS NTT, 2024), which is represented by the co-ethnicity of East Nusa Tenggara, commonly known as *Orang* NTT.

The general concept of this ethnicity is composed of various other majority ethnicities such as Sumba, Flores, Timor, etc. The presence of this ethnicity in Bali cannot be separated from the tradition and culture attached to it, thus giving it a certain colour. *Orang* NTT work in Bali because they are needed in the building construction and tourism services. Balinese people before the development of tourism worked in the agricultural sector and were very diligent in traditional and religious ceremonies, but after the development of tourism, Balinese began to leave the agricultural sector and switched professions in the field of tourism services. Tourism requires labour that is ready to work and willing to be paid cheaply, this condition causes Balinese people to choose to work outside Bali such as working on cruise ships because it promises greater wages (Aristuti & Agestin, 2024). This situation is utilised by migrants from outside Bali such as *Orang* NTT to compete for jobs in Bali.

The development of the ethnic rapid migration process is mainly made possible by Indonesia's geography as an archipelago known as the Nusantara. This region is inhabited by various ethnicities with different historical backgrounds, traditions, beliefs, languages and religions that form a modern and independent Indonesian society (Ricklefs, 2007). Despite being an independent society, issues surrounding the ripples of majority and minority groups cannot be ignored. For this reason, good management is needed to achieve social resilience of these differences. This is important because social capital maintains Indonesianness to

this day. From this description, this article seeks to discuss the dynamics of the lives of *Orang* NTT who migrated to Bali and examine the push and pull factors and their contribution to the formation of Bali's multicultural society. However, it needs to be understood that *Orang* NTT in Bali consist of various ethnicities. (Adil, 2023).

The migration process from NTT to Bali has increased significantly in recent decades. From the data 2023 on the number of members of the Flobamora Bali community, 11,000 people from NTT are members of the community (Flobamora Web Site) However, an estimated 40,000 *Orang NTT* live in Bali and have not joined the Flobamora Bali community (Rsn, 2018).

The presence of *Orang* NTT in Bali is inseparable from the traditions and culture they bring with them, giving their color to the dynamics of Balinese society. On the one hand, *Orang* NTT fill many informal sector jobs that require physical skills, while Balinese people tend to prioritize artistic and cultural skills related to Hindu traditions. However, what is interesting is how *Orang* NTT adapt and build close social relations with the local community. They even enrich the multicultural life in Bali through their perseverance to work hard and their openness to adapt as a form of the resilience of the NTT community in Bali.

So far, studies on migration and diaspora in Indonesia have been widely researched, but studies on the migration of *Orang* NTT in Indonesia are still rare, let alone on the lives of *Orang* NTT in Bali who contribute to the formation of a multicultural society. Pitoyo and Triwahyuni's (2017) article on ethnic dynamics in Indonesia is a reference for understanding ethnic dynamics in Indonesia. Then the article from Punia and Nugroho (2020) explores the Balinese in Bolaang Mongondow and the local wisdom practiced. It is carried out in the Balinese community, and customs and religious rituals are used daily to create harmony with the local community. The movement of the diaspora to Sulawesi, Sumatra, and Kalimantan is also related to the government's policy on transmigration during the New Order era. Then the article from Rai (2020) discusses the diaspora in Jayapura and the role and function of Pura Agung Surya Bhuwana in maintaining interfaith harmony in Papua with a Balinese cultural approach. Temples are places of worship and symbols of integration that create social harmony in a multicultural society. In contrast, Wirawan (2020) discussed the Balinese Hindu and the Sasak Muslim community in post-conflict social harmonization efforts in Mataram. Interfaith dialogue is needed to create social cohesion, and community and religious leaders must play a role in supporting social harmonization. These three articles discuss the contribution of the Balinese diaspora in maintaining harmony as ethnic minorities in various regions in Indonesia through cross-cultural dialogue and local cultural wisdom (Punia & Nugroho, 2020; Rai, 2020; and Wirawan, 2020).

Other studies related to migrant diasporas outside Indonesia are from Thompson (2018) -discussing ethnicity and national identity influenced by census data, Frodin (2021) examines the role of ethnic immigrant organizations integrating while maintaining cross-cultural interactions while retaining their cultural identity. Nowicka (2020) explores transnationalism and nationalism in modern migration. The migration that takes place can lead to the breakdown of social,

cultural, and political relationships and the implications for migrant identity. Erdal (2020), in her article, examines a multiscale approach to look at the interaction between migrants' transnationalism and their integration with various scales such as family, community, and state. Meanwhile, Brouillett (2018) analyses real-life migration norms and practices involving transnational actors. The above articles examine migration dynamics from various perspectives on diasporic identity and migration policy and contribute to diaspora, transnationalism, and integration.

The article on the NTT diaspora in Bali differs from previous articles in terms of geographical scale and methodology. This article focuses on the lives of *Orang* NTT in Bali which has unique dynamics as a center of tourism and complex culture. It explores the push and pull factors of migration highlights the contribution of *Orang* NTT in building social harmony and emphasizes the social conflict faced by *Orang* NTT with stigma and their integration efforts through social, economic, and cultural activities.

2. Method

This research uses a qualitative approach by exploring the dynamics of the *orang* NTT in a multicultural society in Bali. The research location is in Denpasar City as the centre of Government and Badung Regency because these two cities are the centre of Bali tourism and the location of the *orang NTT* settlement in Bali. The research was conducted for one year, between March 2023 and March 2024.

There are ten informants involved in this study. They consist of seven *Orang* NTT, two Balinese, two Flobamora community leaders, a Christian religious leader and an entrepreneur, whose ages range between 27 and 70 years old. They work in various fields (see Table 1 below).

Table 1. Research Informants

N.	Name	Sex	Age	Status/job
1.	Lucia Yacintha Sare	female	70	Retired Civil Servants
2.	Heru Gangga	male	60	Driver Hotels
3.	Yoseph Uje Fernandes	male	54	Hotel Driver
4.	Maria Goreti Rei	female	50	Household Assistant
5.	Anastasia Rewa	female	48	Self-employed
6.	Valerian Libert Wangge	male	46	Legal Secretary of Flobamora Bali
7.	Herman Umbu Billy	male	40	Chairman of Flobamora Bali
8.	Haryo Sulistyanto	male	32	CEO Event Organiser
9.	Martin Umbu	male	39	Self-employed
10.	Vitalis Mod	male	39	Security Guard

Observation and in-depth interviews are the two data collection methods used in this research. I observed the activities of the diaspora in their neighbourhood, in their daily interactions such as in spiritual activities in the church, the activities of the NTT community Flobamora Bali as well as their interactions with the Balinese. In-depth interviews were conducted by exploring the reasons for

migration to Bali as well as their daily activities in interactions with fellow ethnicities and with the Balinese community.

Analyses were conducted by coding the data and identifying recurring themes (Moleong, 2021). The themes found included social interactions, pull and push factors for migration, contributions to social harmony, and interaction in a multicultural society. This is followed by categorizing data according to the emerged themes. Then, interpretation was made on the basis of the organized data, before making conclusions.

To maintain research ethics, before observations and interviews, I sought permission to do so. Informants agreed to be recorded during interviews while maintaining privacy and confidentiality of the data. All names use in the article are real names.

3. Result and Discussion

- **Social Interaction Between *Orang* NTT and Local Communities in Bali**

Social interaction between the *Orang* NTT and the local community in Bali occurs in the context of economic, cultural, and personal relationships. The social interaction between the *Orang* NTT in Bali and the local Balinese community is an interesting phenomenon in forming a multicultural society. Bali, as the center of world tourism, is a destination to achieve a better life for migrants. Their existence is not only as migrants, but also as an integral part of social diversity.

Social interactions between *Orang* NTT and local residents are shaped by several factors, including economic needs, cultural similarities, and Bali's openness to diversity. In economic relations, many *Orang NTT* are involved in the informal sector, such as shopkeepers, hotel waiters, restaurant waiters, construction workers, drivers, security guards, and business owners, and some work in the formal sector, such as nurses, teachers, lawyers, lecturers and so on. Lucia Yasintha Sare, a retired civil servant at a government hospital, said that "in 1980, some *Orang* NTT who migrated to Bali took the Civil Servant selection test, and some of them were accepted as nurses to work at the Army Hospital and Sanglah General Hospital because at that time labor was needed in Bali."

Moreover, in the 1990s until today, the large number of *Orang* NTT who come to Bali to fulfill their economic needs opens up opportunities for the culinary business. In the culinary business, restaurant entrepreneurs in Bali began to provide choices by serving NTT and Balinese specialties. They even bring in labor from NTT to help the culinary business, creating collaboration in the culinary business. Labor from NTT is hired to cook and serve in restaurants that sell NTT and Balinese specialties. This strengthens the economic and social relationship, where both parties support and benefit each other, as expressed by Anastasya, who is a culinary business owner from NTT in Bali, as follows:

> The culinary business from NTT began to be in demand in Bali such as Sei food (a meat grill typical NTT dish) by combining Balinese recipes to be marketed offline and online. The culinary business has been successful and continues to grow since online application platforms became popular.

Cultural exchange is also important for social interaction between *Orang* NTT and Balinese. The Balinese community is known for its rich and unique culture and traditions. The Balinese community also provides space for *Orang* NTT to introduce their culture to be displayed, such as their traditional dances and music. Conversely, the Balinese are also interested in learning about NTT culture, for example at the anniversary celebration of Udayana University's Faculty of Humanities in Bali which featured opening dances originating from NTT as well as at the meeting, they danced mass dances with musical accompaniment such as the song "Ge Mu Fa Mi Re". Gemu Fa Mi Re is a song created in the Sikka, NTT regional language. This song was created by Nyong Fanco. The purpose of this song was created as one of the media for cultural preservation and entertainment. This can be seen from the selection of Gong Waning musical instruments, the use of local language, and fun rhythms. This song is often sung in family entertainment events and gymnastic instruments (Bogar, 2023).

This exchange process not only increases intercultural understanding, but also builds mutual respect. Social interaction between *Orang* NTT and Balinese is also seen in personal and family relationships. Some NTT men are living in Bali married to Balinese women, creating deeper cross-cultural relationships. These relationships often strengthen social ties between the two communities, creating mutual support. Cross-cultural families due to mixed marriages are a means to strengthen social interactions as values from the blend of two cultures. For example, family members tolerate each other during holiday celebrations or traditional ceremonies and have a high sense of solidarity. A diaspora from Manggarai, Flores, or Vitalis Mod, who is married to a Balinese woman, says that "cultural differences do not become a problem in marriage, instead it strengthens each other's identity because of mutual understanding."

From an anthropological and socio-political perspective, the presence of *Orang* NTT in Bali has had a significant impact on education and social development. *Orang* NTT prioritize the value of togetherness, especially in the context of Banjar and church, adapted to Balinese culture through *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation). In relations to this, Heru Gangga Wijaya, a local Balinese resident, stated that:

> From the experience of interacting with *Orang* NTT in housing complex, they adapt easily by getting involved in social events in the neighbourhood. Even though they are also involved in their ethnic community, but if there is an event in the neighbourhood, they participate in cooperation, community service, *arisan* and become neighbourhood administrators in housing.

There are clear cultural differences, but they can coexist and there are no major problems. For *Orang* NTT who do not yet have a Balinese identity card (KTP), they still carry out their obligations, such as reporting their whereabouts paying fees for the Resident Fee Card and being involved in activities in the *banjar*'.

This process created a mutually beneficial cultural influence, where *Orang* NTT people not only accepted Balinese culture, but also introduced their social values. In education, the contribution of *Orang* NTT is increasingly felt, especially with the presence of teachers from NTT under Catholic foundations teaching

Catholicism that combines Balinese and NTT traditions. They are active in improving the education system, both formal and non-formal, and enriching the multicultural perspective in Bali. As such, *Orang* NTT plays an important part of the development of education in Bali.

Although social interactions between *Orang* NTT and Balinese show positive aspects, it is undeniable that they face challenges. Social stigma against migrants often arises because some Balinese consider that migrants from NTT cause social problems, such as drunks and troublemakers. This is due to news on social media such as Instagram, Facebook, and TikTok posted over the past eight years. Online media outlets have reported clashes involving fellow NTTers and Balinese. There were about 30 cases posted on social media related to clashes that were given the headline about ethnic NTT in Bali (Ismayana, 2024).

This was also confirmed by Herman Umbu Billy, chairman of Flobamora Bali, who stated that the series of cases of violence and disturbing behavior that disturbed security, comfort, and public order carried out by unscrupulous Flobamora or *Orang* NTT in Bali must be changed because a negative stigma has emerged lately.

- **Push and Pull Factors of NTT Migration to Bali**

The migration of *Orang NTT* to Bali is influenced by push and pull factors. The push factors include the economic and educational conditions in NTT and the attractiveness offered by Bali as a destination for NTT migration. The following is a division of push and pull factors based on the results of interviews, observations, and literature studies.

Push Factors

Push factors encourage people to leave their points of origin and settle elsewhere. In this context, the push factors include the economic and educational conditions in NTT and social networking in Bali.

Migration from NTT to Bali is driven by a combination of driving factors arising from socio-economic and educational challenges in NTT. Push factors refer to unfavorable conditions in a place of origin that encourage people to seek better opportunities elsewhere. This includes economic difficulties, limited access to quality education, and the influence of existing social networks in tourist destinations. These factors create a sense of urgency for individuals and families to leave their homeland in search of a better quality of life, better job prospects, and greater access to resources that are unavailable or insufficient in NTT.

The *first* push factor is the difficult economic condition of NTT. NTT communities in some areas face difficulties in fulfilling their needs because of the lack of employment opportunities outside the agricultural sector. Sahur (1998:25) states that the main factor driving the migration movements that occur is due to movements in the economic context in NTT, such as the difficulty of living in the countryside, due to increasing population pressure and the lack of off-farm employment opportunities. Yoseph Uje Fernandes, a hotel driver, said that "many *Orang NTT* choose to migrate to find more stable jobs in Bali, such as travel drivers, restaurant waiters, hotel waiters or manual construction workers

in Bali." However, the majority of NTT migrants who work in the informal sector in Bali reveal that their income is much better than when they worked in NTT as farmers.

In addition to economic conditions, the *second* push factor is the low level of education. Limited access to education in NTT encourages people to seek better educational opportunities outside the region, especially in Bali. The net education participation rate in Bali is higher than in NTT, although it is similar at the primary and junior high school levels. at the senior high school level in Bali in 2022 it is 74.73%, while in NTT it is 58.15. The percentage, a difference of almost 20%, shows the gap between provinces in Central Indonesia and Eastern Indonesia (BPS et al., 2023). One student from Flores, Anthony Septian, said that "one of the reasons for *Orang* NTT to go to Bali is to continue their studies because in Bali there are more options to continue their studies according to their interests and talents."

The *third* push factor is social networks in the destination area. Networks of family or friends who have migrated to Bali before encouraging *Orang* NTT to migrate too. Valerian Libert Wangge, secretary of Flobamora Bali, said that:

> When viewed from the movement process, the migration of *Orang NTT* to Bali has been going on for a long time. Early data on this migration can be traced back to the 1960s. Another factor is job assignments such as becoming teachers, nurses, and continuing education. Two decades later, in the 1980s, the professions transformed, especially seen in the next generation who came to Bali to continue their education in private high schools and universities that did not yet exist in the NTT region.

Orang NTT who go to Bali usually have relatives or family members who have settled in Bali. This family network is important as it can provide moral and material support. Families often help them with various information, such as temporary housing, information on job vacancies, and advice on daily life in Bali. The experience of friendship networks from NTT also creates a sense of community and solidarity among community members. They can interact with a sense of shared identity among *Orang* NTT with similar backgrounds, facilitating the adaptation process of learning about Balinese culture, social norms, and how to interact with Balinese society. This network helps them to integrate and avoid conflict. From the observations made, many NTT migrant families live close to each other or in one community such as the Flores village in Denpasar to support solidarity and facilitate their adaptation process.

Pull Factors

Pull factors attract people to move to new areas. Pull factors provide opportunities to attract *Orang* NTT to migrate. The research findings indicate that these factors include better economic opportunities, better access to education and better life opportunities.

As the *first* pull factor, economic opportunities can be seen from the availability of job opportunities, especially in the tourism sector and informal economy. Kwong and Ronnas, (2010:24) stated entrepreneurship is the most dominant form of employment in rural NTT at more than 80 percent, while in cities the number

of wage jobs accounts for more than half of existing jobs. The very high level of entrepreneurship is driven by low levels of diversification towards the economy, small businesses, and self-owned businesses. This shows that they do not have land, which forces them to work outside. This is also what encourages NTT people to migrate and become entrepreneurs outside NTT. An interview with Anastasya, a culinary entrepreneur from NTT, indicated that "food businesses such as Sei Sapi from NTT sold with modified Balinese recipes can be successful because the market in Bali is wider and more diverse." In addition, many *Orang* NTT in Bali work in the building construction sector as well as in the service sector, such as hotel cleaning service, domestic assistants, and drivers. They take advantage of job opportunities that are not available in NTT.

The *second* pull factor is better access to education. A more advanced educational facility in Bali becomes a significant reason for *Orang* NTT to move to Bali. Not only for parents, but also for their children's education. In Bali, several private universities are destinations for continuing studies, such as Warmadewa University (Unwar), National Education University (Undiknas), College of Computer Science (STIKOM), and so on. State universities are also an option to continue studying, such as Udayana University (UNUD) and Ganesa University of Education (UNDIKSA) in Singaraja. Studying while working in Bali attracts students from outside Bali to continue their studies in Bali.

Jemali (2023), states that the low level of education is caused by several factors, including the low economic level. Low-income parents need help to send their children to primary and university education. The distance between regions also makes it difficult for people in NTT to continue their education. They have to walk due to the lack of public transportation, and even for certain areas, such as students in NTT, they have to cross the sea, unlike in big cities. Many students from NTT live temporarily in Denpasar to continue their studies in private state universities and state universities in Bali.

The *third* pull factor is better life opportunities. Bali offers much better health, education, and infrastructure facilities than NTT. This is an attraction for NTT migrants who want to improve their quality of life. The high number of migrants entering Denpasar City is caused by the pull factor causing residents to prefer to migrate to Denpasar City. There are differences in employment opportunities, high income, investment, and development inequality adequate infrastructure facilities and infrastructure in the southern part of Bali, especially the city of Denpasar which causes a lot of migration to Denpasar City (Dewi & Budhi, 2024:1223). This is confirmed by Valerian Libert Wangge, legal secretary of Flobamora Bali and Herman Umbu Billy's, Chairman of Flobamora Bali, as follows:

> Many of the next generation of migrants in the 1980s came to access secondary education and better education and health facilities in Bali. NTT diaspora who previously worked in the informal sector often brought their families to get better education and health facilities in Bali.

- *Orang* **NTT 's Contribution to Social Harmony in Bali**

The migration of *Orang* NTT to Bali has had a significant impact on social harmony and the formation of a multicultural society in Bali. They are not only present as labor migrants, but also contribute to various social, cultural, and economic aspects that maintain the harmony of the local community.

In previous decades, the presence of the NTT community in Bali can be seen in the role of the missionaries who contributed to the history of the development of Catholicism in Bali. One of the missionaries, Mgr. Petrus Noyen, SVD, who was then in charge of Ende in Flores, wanted to obtain a missionary placement permit and establish a Hollandsch Indische School (HIS) in Bali. Although this was initially unsuccessful, later in 1920 Father De Lange received a telegram from the Governor General stating that the government had authorized the Mission to open a school in Denpasar or Gianyar, as Father Noyen had suggested to Father De Lange. The mission continued with the arrival of Rev. J. Kersten, SVD, who came from Ende, Flores, on 11 September 1935 (Soenaryo, 2019: 88-123).

The presence of the NTT community in Bali is also evident from the statistics of the congregation of St Joseph's Catholic Church in Denpasar, known as Kepundung Church. Kepundung Church was established in 1955 with 1300 Catholics, most of whom came from Flores, Sumba and Timor (Soenaryo, 2019:149). The influx of Catholic missionaries who brought *Orang* NTT to Bali contributed to the formation of the NTT community and brought social harmony to the community.[1] These contributions include contribution to the formation of the Flobamora Bali community and contributions to the tourism and economic sectors.

The Formation of The Flobamora Bali Community

The *first* contribution was the establishment of the Bali Flobamora Community to organise the NTT diaspora in Bali. The purpose of this community is to serve as a forum for NTT residents in Bali in the spirit of togetherness in diversity. One of the communities from East Nusa Tenggara that was established in Bali is Flobamora Bali. Flobamora Bali, which was established on 15 September 1985, has developed 29 units.[2] These 29 units represent migrants from almost all regions of NTT. The secretariat of Flobamora Bali is located at Jl. Sungai Musi No. 5, Renon Denpasar (Wangge, 2024). The establishment of Flobamore Bali not only an organization for *Orang* NTT, but it is also aimed to bridge good relationship with the local people, as confirmed by the chairperson of Flobamora Bali, Herman Umbu Billy (2023-2026), as follows:

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[1] Selain misionaris katolik datang ke Bali, sebelumnya zending telah masuk ke Bali. Pada tahun 1929 Salam Watiyas untuk menjual buku Kristen di Bali Utara, selain itu ada Robert A Jaffray utusan S & MA. Pada tahun 1934 sudah ada 125 orang Bali memeluk Kristen Protestan dan pada tahun 1937 ada 51 orang Katolik di Tuka dan Gumbrih (I Nyoman Wijaya, 2003:44-52).

[2] The 29 units are Lamaholot, Ende-Lio, Ikada, Biin Mafo, Maumere, Ofalannga, Fetomone, Laismanekat, Tafenpah, Belu, Malaka, Paperti, Bungti, Kolorai, West Manggarai, East Manggarai, Nagekeo, Obay, West Sumba, Southwest Sumba, Central Sumba, Hikmast, Sasando NTT-Bali, Sao Meze Riung, Tanjung Benoa coastal community, Flobamora Tabanan, Sang Dewi.

> Flobamora Bali Community is not only an organization for *Orang* NTT, but it is also a bridge to build good relations with Balinese, especially through social and cultural activities. Flobamora Bali regularly organizes cultural events, such as traditional arts festivals at the Bali Arts Festival (PKB), and culinary festivals of all Indonesian ethnicities in Bali involving local Balinese.

On the issue of security and order, Flobamora Bali also plays an active role in resolving internal conflicts with local communities, particularly in relation to clashes involving the *Orang* NTT in BaliThis is aimed to maintain ethnic integration in the community. The fact that Balinese recognize the existence of other tribes, religions, cultures, and customs in Bali, such as the NTT, shows that Balinese society is multicultural.

The NTT migrants who came to Bali come from various religions, such as Catholicism, Christianity, and Islam. History records that Catholic NTT migrants came and settled in Bali in 1958, along with the establishment of the Swastyastu Foundation on 15 August 1958 (Deed of Establishment of Jajasan Swastyastu No. 54 of 1958). In connection with the establishment of the Swastyastu Foundation in Bali, whose business was to establish schools and social enterprises, where teachers were needed. To fulfill the need for teachers, the Bishop of Bali, Mgr. Hubertus Hermens, SVD, brought in teachers from NTT. Thus, the traditions and teachings of the Catholic religion instilled since childhood greatly influenced the socio-cultural life of the *Orang* NTT who migrated to Bali. With the existence of the NTT community until today, it is necessary to pay attention to identity and identity construction as a result of the dynamics between the historical context and its construction (Ardhana, 2012:13).

Contributions to the Tourism and Economic Sectors

The contribution of *Orang* NTT as labor providers in the informal sector. The *Orang NTT* who work in Bali are also known to have certain distinctive stereotypes, as hard workers in the sense that they are willing to work in various fields. In other words, they are present in the informal work sector, such as casual labor and manual labor in the less desirable field of building construction. The presence of workers from NTT also provides an opportunity to replace local Balinese workers who are off work due to traditional and religious ceremonies in Bali. In addition, there are service sectors such as security, household assistants, shop assistants, hotel and office cleaning services, travel drivers, and other informal sectors. But, nowadays not only informal labourers, but *Orang* NTT also work as formal labourers such as teachers, lawyers, entrepreneurs, and travel agent owners who support Bali tourism, even some years ago, *Orang* NTT was active in the military and police force.

Business owners in Bali, especially in the tourism sector, rely on labor from NTT because of their reputation as hard workers. In relation to this, Haryo Sulistyanto in Denpasar, an event organizer who employs *Orang* NTT, stated that "they are very loyal and reliable in jobs that require physical labor such as installing and dismantling event backdrops." By taking on informal jobs, *Orang* NTT does not create direct competition with the local population, thereby reducing the

potential conflict. Instead, their contributions help to strengthen mutually beneficial economic relations.

- **The Role of *Orang* NTT in the Formation of a Multicultural Society in Bali**

Bali is one of the regions in Indonesia known for its multicultural society due to its cultural and religious diversity. The existence of *Orang* NTT in Bali shows the dynamics of a harmonious multicultural society because migrants not only earn a living but also contribute to building a rich and inclusive social life. *Orang* NTT in Bali coexists with the indigenous population in various dimensions, ranging from religious, and social to humanitarian. The roles and contributions of *Orang* NTT in Bali's multicultural society are regarding religious freedom and high social solidarity.

Religious Freedom

Religious freedom is a pillar of multiculturalism. Indonesia guarantees freedom of religion in Article 29 of the 1945 Constitution, which states "The State guarantees the freedom of each resident to embrace a religion and worship according to his/her religion and belief." This is reinforced by Law No. 39/1999 on Human Rights which guarantees the religious][rights of minorities, including Catholics and Christians who are religious minorities in Bali (see Burhani, 2019:85).

One of the gathering places for *Orang* NTT in Bali is the church. The church is a multicultural space because it is not only a place for worship but also for socializing. There are 14 Catholic churches in the East Bali Decenate and West Bali Decenate. In addition, there are 10 Parishes in the East Bali Decenate area, including Cathedral Parish, Babakan Parish, Gianyar Parish, Kepundung Parish, Kulibul Parish, Kuta Parish, Nusa Dua Parish, Pecatu Parish, Tangeb Parish, Tuka Parish. The Bali Decenate region has 5 (five) parishes, including Gumbrih Parish, Negara Parish, Palasari Parish, Singaraja Parish, and Tabanan Parish.[3]

The activities of Catholics and Christians from NTT in each Church mingle with Catholics and Christians from various ethnicities in Indonesia, they do not only gather in one ethnicity. The church also provides space for various ethnicities to display cultural diversity through mass inculturation events. Mass inculturation is the transformation of the authentic culture of the people in the liturgical rite of Catholic worship, for example, the Manggarai inculturation mass is performed at the Church of Mary Mother of All Nations, Nusa Dua, Bali (Hiro, 2023). The practice of mass by displaying traditional clothing, dances, and church chants in the local language. This practice, according to Sholihan (2017:15), strengthens intercultural harmony and creates a sense of community. Not only in Catholic churches, a pastor in a protestant church, Ni Made Narawati (pastor) confirmed that "church is a place to introduce each other's culture, NTT culture is introduced through dances performed in the Christmas Celebration service in one of the Protestant Christian Churches in Bali (GKPB), while Balinese culture

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[3] A parish is a community of Christians established on a stable basis within a particular church; the pastoral care of a parish is entrusted to a priest as its shepherd under the authority of the bishop.

is introduced through worship using Balinese language, wearing Balinese traditional clothes and church architecture with Balinese decorations and carvings."

High Social Solidarity

Orang NTT living in Bali also has high social solidarity in daily life. In times of joy and sorrow, *Orang* NTT who are members of the NTT community in Bali work together to support each other when a family member of the community is sick or dies. In the case of a teenagers from Labuan Bajo (NTT) who needed medical expenses, the Labuan Bajo Bersatu youth community and the Manggarai Sanur Community managed to raise funds to help the patient. The group consists of 80 Manggarai Flores people who live in Sanur area of Denpasar Bali. The funds collected were used to pay for the hospital fees. The purpose of this activity is not only to raise funds, but also to invite Manggarai youth to live in an overseas community (Jempao, 2017). One of the community members, Valerian Libert Wangge, who is a legal secretary of the NTT community, said that "community members are always together in joy and sorrow and in help the sick as a way to show that community members care each other."

The NTT community in Bali is also active in helping their hometown. For example, the Bali Lamaholot Association not only helps NTT relatives in Bali. For instance, they also helped victims and refugees of flash floods and landslides on Adonara Island, East Nusa Tenggara. They assisted worth IDR 50 million in 2021. Not only that, but assistance is also provided by becoming foster parents for 34 children ranging from college to university students so that they can continue to study for higher education. Humanitarian assistance is a form of empathy for diaspora residents, even though they are abroad and still remember relatives in their home regions (Rhismawati, 2021). This shows the concern of *Orang* NTT across regions.

The NTT community shows its contribution to the Balinese community through social and environmental activities. Flobamora Tabanan Bali, with 462 members, in collaboration with the Bali Provincial Government, was involved in social services by cleaning up rubbish in the Tanah Lot Temple area and helping residents affected by landslides. Herman Umbu Billy, Chairman of Flobamora Bali said that "To be a good Balinese citizen, you must also contribute to Bali because migrants who are looking for food and school in Bali must participate in protecting this island of a Thousand Temples" (Anwar, 2024). This indicates how *Orang* NTT cares about Bali and its surrounding, a place where they become part of it.

The *Orang* NTT who are members of the NTT community in Bali are a clear example of the success of a multicultural society. Through church, social solidarity, humanitarian activities, and economic participation, they not only preserve their cultural identity, but also strengthen cross-ethnic relations. Utilizing inclusive spaces such as churches and local communities, *Orang* NTT in Bali demonstrates that intercultural harmony can be achieved through collaboration, empathy, and recognition of diversity.

4. Conclusion

The migration of *Orang* NTT to Bali highlights the cultural interaction between *Orang* NTT and the local community in Bali. Social interactions between *Orang* NTT and local Balinese communities occur in the context of economic, cultural, and personal relationships. The migration of *Orang* NTT to Bali is influenced by push factors, namely the difficult economic conditions of NTT, low educational conditions, and social networks in the destination area. The pull factors include better economic opportunities, better access to education, and better life opportunities.

Orang NTT also contributes to social harmony in Bali's multicultural society through the Bali Flobamora community as well as contributions in the tourism and economic sectors. *Orang NTT* also has a role in the formation of a multicultural society in Bali through social solidarity activities and daily life. The presence of *Orang* NTT also contributed at the beginning of their arrival in terms of education as teachers in Bali which was very significant as well as supporting the existence of *Orang* NTT in Bali.

The study confirms the importance of the role of minority groups in forming a harmonious multicultural society. This research contributes to the literature on migration and ethnicity by highlighting how social and cultural interactions can shape multicultural identities in a particular region. The findings also have significant policy implications, particularly in the development of local strategies to support diversity and social integration, as well as a reference for diaspora studies in other regions.

Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest.

Acknowledgment

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