

Exploring Resilience through *Tri Hita Karana* among Divorced Balinese Hindu Women

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Abstract / Abstrak

Denpasar has emerged as a major locus of divorce in Bali, posing significant psychological, social, and spiritual challenges for women. This qualitative case study examined how *Tri Hita Karana* supports resilience among divorced Balinese Hindu women. Using purposive sampling, nine participants were recruited: three divorced Balinese Hindu women with children and employment, and six significant others (one child and one close friend for each woman). Data were collected through semi-structured, in-depth interviews and analyzed using reflexive thematic analysis. The findings show that *Tri Hita Karana* strengthens resilience through harmony with God (*Parahyangan*), fellow humans (*Pawongan*), and nature (*Palemahan*) by fostering self-acceptance, supportive relationships, autonomy, and a renewed sense of purpose. These values were reflected in gratitude, emotional recovery, and personal growth following divorce. The study underscores the cultural relevance of *Tri Hita Karana* as a local framework for women's psychosocial adaptation after marital dissolution.

Denpasar telah muncul sebagai pusat utama perceraian di Bali, yang menimbulkan tantangan psikologis, sosial, dan spiritual yang signifikan bagi para perempuan. Studi kasus kualitatif ini mengkaji bagaimana *Tri Hita Karana* mendukung resiliensi di kalangan perempuan Hindu Bali yang bercerai. Menggunakan teknik purposive sampling, sembilan partisipan direkrut: tiga perempuan Hindu Bali yang bercerai (bekerja dan memiliki anak), serta enam orang terdekat (satu anak dan satu teman dekat untuk setiap perempuan). Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam yang semi-terstruktur dan dianalisis menggunakan analisis tematik reflektif. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa *Tri Hita Karana* memperkuat resiliensi melalui keharmonisan dengan Tuhan (*Parahyangan*), sesama manusia (*Pawongan*), dan alam (*Palemahan*) dengan menumbuhkan penerimaan diri, hubungan yang suportif, otonomi, dan pembaruan tujuan hidup. Nilai-nilai ini tercermin dalam rasa syukur, pemulihan emosional, dan pertumbuhan pribadi pascaperceraian. Studi ini menggarisbawahi relevansi budaya *Tri Hita Karana* sebagai kerangka lokal bagi adaptasi psikososial perempuan setelah berakhirnya pernikahan.

Keywords / Kata kunci

Divorce;
Women;
Resilience;
Tri harta karana

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Introduction

Marriage is a legal, emotional, and social relationship between a man and a woman as husband and wife, established with the intention of forming a harmonious and fulfilling family unit (Sissilia & Falah, 2020). However, marital relationships often diverge from initial expectations due to various factors, both intentional and unintentional, that can disrupt harmony within the household. In many cases, the inability to achieve mutual understanding and alignment of life goals leads to persistent conflict,

ultimately culminating in divorce (Haikal & Latipun, 2020). Divorce, defined as the formal and religious dissolution of a marital union, is often associated with familial instability and social fragmentation (Dewi & Soekandar, 2019; Hamid, 2018).

In Indonesia, divorce has become an increasingly visible social issue, with implications not only for family stability but also for women's psychological, social, and economic well-being. Official statistics recorded 394,608 divorces in 2024 within the religious court system, indicating

that marital dissolution remains a substantial national issue (Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali, 2025). In Bali, this issue is particularly significant because divorce is embedded not only in legal and domestic arrangements but also in cultural, kinship, and religious structures. Denpasar City, the provincial capital, has emerged as a prominent locus of this trend. According to data from the Bali Provincial Statistics Office (ANTARA News Bali, 2025) and the Central Statistics Agency (Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali, 2025), there were 426 court-approved divorces registered in the Denpasar Religious Court in 2024, alongside 1,111 recorded marriages. In addition, the District Court of Denpasar reported 1,155 divorce cases in the same year. These figures originate from distinct judicial systems, religious and general courts, each governing different populations. While direct comparisons between these figures require caution, the trend is nonetheless clear: divorce has become a salient social issue in Denpasar. This condition makes Denpasar a relevant site for examining how divorced women negotiate post-marital life within a culturally dense Balinese Hindu setting.

The impact of divorce is multidimensional, particularly for women. It often entails emotional distress, psychological upheaval, financial insecurity, and shifts in social standing and interpersonal relationships (Amato, 2000). Women are frequently required to assume dual responsibilities: nurturing and caregiving on the one hand, and securing economic survival on the other (Jannah et al., 2023). Nevertheless, not all post-divorce trajectories are characterized by decline. Some women demonstrate remarkable resilience, rebuilding their lives despite adversity (Haikal & Latipun, 2020; van Scheppingen & Leopold, 2020). In this study, resilience is understood as the capacity to cope with, adapt to, and recover from the disruptions caused by divorced (Reivich & Shatté, 2002). This capacity may be reflected in emotional regulation, optimism, self-efficacy, problem solving, and the ability to reorient life goals after marital dissolution.

While the concept of resilience has been extensively explored in Western psychological literature, relatively few studies have investigated how culturally embedded systems, such as *Tri Hita Karana*, contribute to resilience in the local context. This gap underscores the need for culturally responsive frameworks that integrate Indigenous knowledge systems into the broader discourse on well-being and adaptation. In the

Balinese context, the experience of divorce is not only personal but also deeply social and spiritual. The dissolution of a marriage can lead to diminished participation in religious ceremonies, disrupted social roles, and altered kinship dynamics, particularly for women. Divorce may carry stigma within tightly-knit Balinese communities, where familial and social cohesion is highly valued. This layered experience creates additional psychological burdens beyond the legal and emotional implications of divorce itself. Thus, understanding post-divorce resilience in Bali requires a lens that considers the interplay of individual emotion, social expectations, and cultural-religious practices.

Given these complexities, it is essential to explore how Balinese women navigate post-divorce life through frameworks that resonate with their cultural realities. *Tri Hita Karana*, as a foundational cultural philosophy, may offer more than moral guidance, it may function as a practical system of psychosocial support. One of the indigenous cultural philosophies in Bali that may serve as a protective and empowering factor in the post-divorce experience is *Tri Hita Karana*, which articulates three interconnected pillars of well-being: *Parahyangan* (harmony with the divine), *Pawongan* (harmony among human beings), and *Palemahan* (harmony with the natural environment) (Swebawa, 2021; Wanadjaja & Samputra, 2021). This Balinese philosophy offers a comprehensive framework for cultivating balance in all domains of life. In addition to being a cultural value system, *Tri Hita Karana* serves as a spiritual foundation that can enhance individual and collective resilience during times of crisis (Agustini & Priastana, 2023).

In the socio-cultural context of Bali, Hindu women occupy central roles in sustaining familial and communal life within a collectivist framework. They are culturally expected to uphold spiritual obligations, maintain household order, and contribute to ceremonial life (Oktarina & Komalasari, 2022). The rituals tied to *Parahyangan* are performed regularly, creating a spiritual rhythm that may assist women in regaining emotional stability after experiencing divorce. Moreover, the Balinese concept of *menyama braya* (social solidarity) reinforces interpersonal harmony and collective identity. This supports *Pawongan* and fosters a sense of belonging. Simultaneously, routine interaction with sacred natural sites, such as rivers, mountains, and temples, embodies the *Palemahan*

value and offers a grounding, embodied connection to healing.

Empirical studies support the view that *Tri Hita Karana* contributes significantly to the resilience of divorced women. Research by Larasati et al. (2022) and Sissilia and Falah (2020) illustrated that women who undergo marital dissolution yet remain embedded within spiritual and communal practices tend to exhibit higher resilience. *Parahyangan* offers a sense of inner peace through devotion and religious ritual, while *Palemahan* enables psychological grounding through nature-connectedness. *Pawongan*, on the other hand, provides critical social support and prevents social isolation. These cultural resources offer emotional, spiritual, and relational scaffolding for recovery and growth.

Resilience in this study is understood not merely as an individual psychological trait, but as a dynamic process shaped by culturally meaningful relationships, beliefs, and environments. This perspective aligns with Ungar's (2012) social-ecological model of resilience, which emphasizes that resilience emerges through access to contextually relevant and culturally valued resources. In the Balinese Hindu context, *Tri Hita Karana* provides such a framework by integrating harmony with God (*Parahyangan*), with others (*Pawongan*), and with nature (*Palemahan*). These interconnected dimensions offer spiritual grounding, social connectedness, and ecological balance that may support women in coping with the emotional, social, and existential challenges of divorce. In line with Indonesian scholarship highlighting the role of local wisdom in adaptive processes (Fatmariza et al., 2024; Pratiwi et al., 2024), this study focuses specifically on *Tri Hita Karana* as a culturally embedded source of resilience among divorced Balinese women.

Tri Hita Karana, therefore, is part of a broader pattern in which indigenous belief systems offer frameworks for understanding and managing life's disruptions. However, despite the richness of these systems, mainstream psychological literature and intervention strategies often neglect them in favor of individualistic, Western-centric models of mental health. This oversight can lead to culturally dissonant approaches that fail to resonate with local populations. By centering *Tri Hita Karana* in this study, the research contributes to the ongoing call for epistemological pluralism in resilience studies, recognizing that multiple cultural logics can foster adaptive strength in different ways.

Despite these strengths, the specific research gap remains clear. Previous studies have generally discussed post-divorce recovery from psychological or socio-economic perspectives, while studies on *Tri Hita Karana* have more often emphasized its role as a cultural or philosophical value system. Few studies have explicitly examined how *Tri Hita Karana* operates as a culturally grounded resilience framework in the lived experiences of divorced Balinese Hindu women, particularly by tracing how its spiritual, social, and ecological dimensions support psychosocial adaptation after marital dissolution. More importantly, limited attention has been given to how divorced Balinese Hindu women themselves interpret and mobilize these cultural values in everyday coping, recovery, and adaptation.

Accordingly, this study aims to analyze how *Tri Hita Karana* functions as a culturally grounded resilience framework among divorced Balinese Hindu women. More specifically, it seeks to examine how the dimensions of *Parahyangan*, *Pawongan*, and *Palemahan* shape women's coping processes, recovery, and adaptation following divorce, while also generating locally grounded insights that may inform culturally responsive social work, mental health support, and policy interventions in Bali.

Method

This study employed a qualitative case study design to gain an in-depth understanding of how *Tri Hita Karana* values operate in the lives of divorced Balinese Hindu women. A case study approach was considered appropriate because it enables the researcher to investigate a bounded phenomenon in its real-life context and to develop a rich, contextualized understanding from multiple sources of information. As Creswell and Creswell (2018) note, case study research is particularly useful for describing and analyzing a specific phenomenon in depth.

A qualitative approach was essential because *Tri Hita Karana* is a culturally embedded and experiential philosophy that is expressed through ritual practices, interpersonal relations, and spiritual beliefs. These meanings cannot be adequately captured through standardized or decontextualized measures. Rather, they require close attention to participants' lived experiences and interpretations. By prioritizing depth over breadth, this design made it possible to explore how divorced Balinese Hindu women understand, embody, and mobilize *Tri Hita Karana* values in

responding to the challenges of divorce. This approach is consistent with recommendations in psychological anthropology and cultural psychology, which emphasize methodological sensitivity when examining Indigenous knowledge systems and non-Western frameworks of resilience.

Researcher reflexivity was explicitly considered throughout the study. Because qualitative inquiry is shaped by the researcher's positionality, background, and interpretative lens, reflexive awareness was maintained during data collection and analysis. The third author is a Balinese woman with prior familiarity with Balinese culture and Hindu practices. In relation to the broader cultural setting, she occupied a partial insider position; however, she remained an outsider to the participants' personal experiences of divorce and to their immediate family networks. This positionality had implications for rapport, interpretation, and the meanings attributed to *Tri Hita Karana*, particularly because divorce, gender roles, and spiritual practice are culturally sensitive topics in Bali. To address this, the researcher maintained reflexive notes after interviews, discussed emerging assumptions during peer debriefing, and remained attentive to how personal background and prior understandings may have shaped data interpretation.

Participants

Participants were recruited using criterion-based purposive sampling, a strategy that selects information-rich cases that are directly relevant to the research objectives (Sugiyono, 2019). As noted by Jannah (2018), purposive sampling involves selecting participants on the basis of the researcher's judgment regarding their relevance to the topic under investigation. In this study, three Balinese Hindu women were selected as the primary participants. Each met the following criteria: (i) divorced within the last five years, (ii) having at least one child, and (iii) currently employed. These criteria were established to ensure that participants had direct and relatively recent experience of post-divorce adaptation while also carrying parental and occupational responsibilities, both of which were considered important to understanding resilience in everyday life.

The number of primary participants was intentionally limited to three in order to preserve the depth, contextual richness, and case-oriented focus required in qualitative case study research. Rather than seeking numerical breadth, this study

aimed to generate intensive understanding of a relatively homogeneous group of women who shared key sociocultural characteristics. The small number of focal cases also allowed for detailed within-case and cross-case analysis. To strengthen contextual understanding and enhance the credibility of the findings, each primary participant was asked to nominate two significant others: one child and one close friend. These six secondary informants were included because of their close involvement in the participants' post-divorce lives and their ability to provide corroborative perspectives on changes in coping, relationships, and daily functioning. In total, the study involved nine participants.

The three focal participants were W (45, product consultant; divorced in 2022), A (45, nurse; divorced in 2020), and S (43, tailor; divorced in 2020). All were mothers of school-age children and were employed at the time of the study. Although each maintained some degree of contact with extended family, the quality and intensity of support varied across cases. The inclusion of one child and one close friend for each focal participant enabled the researcher to contextualize and nuance the women's self-reports through multiple perspectives.

Data were collected through semi-structured, in-depth interviews. As noted by Sugiyono (2019), interviews are structured interactions aimed at generating shared understanding around a particular research focus. Semi-structured interviews were selected because they provided enough flexibility for participants to narrate their experiences in their own terms while still allowing the researcher to address core topics relevant to the study (Willig, 2008). The interview guide explored: (a) the trajectory of divorce and its immediate aftermath, (b) coping strategies, (c) spiritual, social, and ecological practices, and (d) perceived changes in self, relationships, and life goals. All interviews were conducted individually in private and comfortable settings. Informed consent was obtained prior to each interview, and all sessions were audio-recorded with participants' permission. Each interview lasted approximately 60 to 90 minutes.

Given the sensitivity of the topic, attention was paid to participants' emotional comfort during the interviews. Participants were informed that they could pause, decline to answer any question, or stop the interview at any time without consequence. When emotionally difficult experiences emerged, the interviewer slowed the pace of the interview, allowed participants time to

regulate their emotions, and checked their willingness to continue. In cases where participants disclosed severe emotional distress, including past suicidal ideation, the interviewer responded supportively and non-judgmentally, prioritizing immediate emotional safety. In cases where participants disclosed severe emotional distress, including past suicidal ideation, the interviewer responded supportively and non-judgmentally, prioritized immediate emotional safety, and reminded participants that they could pause or discontinue the interview at any time. Where appropriate, participants were encouraged to seek professional support. These procedures were included because discussing divorce could reactivate painful memories and vulnerability.

Data Analysis

Data were analyzed using reflexive thematic analysis (RTA) as outlined by Braun and Clarke (2021). The analytic process followed six phases: (1) familiarization with the data, (2) generation of initial codes, (3) searching for themes, (4) reviewing themes, (5) defining and naming themes, and (6) producing the report. Throughout the analysis, emphasis was placed on reflexivity, methodological coherence, and transparency in documenting coding decisions and thematic development. The analysis sought not only to identify recurring patterns across accounts but also to preserve the contextual distinctiveness of each case.

The trustworthiness of the findings was strengthened through several credibility procedures. First, source triangulation was applied by comparing accounts from the primary participants with those of their nominated child and close friend, allowing the researcher to examine convergence, divergence, and contextual nuance across perspectives. Second, peer debriefing was conducted among the research team to discuss coding decisions, thematic interpretations, and potential researcher assumptions. Third, an audit trail was maintained throughout the study to document interview procedures, coding development, theme refinement, and analytic reflections. Together, these strategies supported the credibility, dependability, and transparency of the study.

Formal member checking was not conducted in this study. This decision was taken because the study used reflexive thematic analysis, in which themes are understood as interpretive constructions developed through the researcher's engagement with the data rather than as fixed

meanings to be validated by participants (Braun & Clarke, 2021). However, credibility was supported through source triangulation, peer debriefing, reflexive memoing, and the maintenance of an audit trail. Although formal member checking was not undertaken, the interviewer used in-interview clarification and paraphrasing to confirm participants' intended meanings during data collection.

Ethical Clearance

Ethical considerations were rigorously applied. Informed consent was obtained from all participants; participation was voluntary; and pseudonyms were used to protect confidentiality. Because the topic involved potentially distressing experiences, ethical practice also included monitoring emotional discomfort during interviews and respecting participants' decisions to pause or discontinue participation. These procedures align with current guidance for reporting reflexive thematic analysis by Braun and Clarke (2024) and established qualitative research standards (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

Results

Analysis of interviews with three divorced Balinese Hindu women and six significant others generated two broad thematic domains. The first concerned *Tri Hita Karana* as a lived post-divorce resource, expressed through *Parahyangan*, *Pawongan*, and *Palemahan*. The second concerned resilience processes strengthened through *Tri Hita Karana*, reflected in emotion regulation, impulse control, optimism, problem analysis, empathy, self-efficacy, and achievement.

Across cases, all three dimensions of *Tri Hita Karana* were present, although they were enacted in different ways depending on each participant's circumstances, social position, and daily responsibilities. Overall, participants described movement from acute post-divorce distress toward greater emotional steadiness, social adjustment, personal agency, and future orientation.

Parahyangan: spiritual practice as acceptance, guidance, and inner steadiness

All three participants described *Parahyangan* not merely as a religious obligation, but as an active coping resource after divorce. Prayer, offerings, and ritual practice helped them interpret suffering, regulate distress, and move toward acceptance. Participant W explained:

“Ada usaha Tuhan juga disana ya. Dengan berdoa, dengan berusaha itu bisa menemukan jalan keluar”

“There is God’s effort there too. By praying and making an effort, I can find a way out”

Participant A described her nightly routine after the divorce:

“Setiap malam kalau mulai ingat lagi, tarik nafas, Mantra Gayatri (mantra doa), ikhlasin gitu”

“Every night, when the memories come back, I take a breath, recite the Gayatri Mantra, and try to let it go”

And participant S likewise emphasized daily prayer and gratitude:

“Pokoknya baru bangun berdoa, kedepannya dan selanjutnya selalu sehat, pokoknya suksma (berterima kasih)”

“When I wake up, I pray for the future, for health, and I give thanks.”

These narratives suggest that *Parahyangan* functioned as both a meaning-making framework and a practical coping strategy, enabling participants to navigate post-divorce distress through ritual, prayer, and gratitude. This pattern was also visible in participants’ commitment to ritual continuity. Even when emotionally overwhelmed, they continued *Mebanten*, attended *Odalan*, visited temples, and remained involved in ceremonial activities. Participant W stated:

“Saya aktif selalu ikut. Jadi penari, Ngayah kalau ada rahinan ada upacara apa gitu, untuk spritiual tante aktif menjalankan”

“I always stay active. I dance, and I do *Ngayah* when there is a holy day or a ritual. Spiritually, I keep practicing.”

A significant other similarly described Participant A as “very religious” and someone who “never changed” in her habit of prayer and offerings. The sustained engagement in prayer and offerings, as observed by a significant other, suggests that ritual practice served as a psychological anchor, maintaining structural regularity at a time when core domains of daily life had been fundamentally destabilized.

Pawongan: support, selective openness, and the rebuilding of social belonging

Pawongan emerged as a critical yet variable resource, with the quality and availability of social support differing substantially across participants. Social support was important across all three

cases, but participants differed in how openly they engaged with other people after divorce. Both Participants W and A remained involved in community and ritual-based social life, whereas Participant S was less involved in customary community activities because she lived away from her home village. As Participant W explained:

“Kan tante aktif di banjar. Untungnya tante aktif di banjar kan jadinya dapat info-info. Kalau dibilang ada teman ngobrol iya, tapi bukan sesuatu yang luar biasa membantu karena tante kan ga terlalu suka bergaul ya, iya lebih ke ada teman aja”

“I am active in the banjar, so I get information there. If you ask whether I have people to talk to, yes, but not in a very extraordinary way. It helps mainly because there are people around”

Participant A described community participation more positively:

“Kerja pagi terus sorenya Ngayah dah tante, terus gitu kalau hari raya, karena emang kewajiban jadi harus dilakukan. Dengan begitu juga jadi bisa kumpul-kumpul sama ibu-ibu yang lain, jadi rame aja gitu”

“I work in the morning, then in the afternoon I do *Ngayah*. It is the same during holy days, because it is an obligation, so it has to be done. That way, I can also gather with the other women, so it feels lively.”

By contrast, Participant S said simply:

“Ga karena kan tante merantau ke kota, kalau tinggal di kampung pasti ikut”

“No, because I move to the city. If I were still in the village, I would definitely join.”

These differences matter because they show that *Pawongan* was not identical for all participants; it ranged from active communal involvement to more limited but still meaningful ties. Family and friendship support were especially important in preventing participants from feeling abandoned or socially diminished. Participant A stated directly:

“Iya, support besar. Kalau ga ada orang tua tante, teman-teman, anak apalagi. Pasti udah jatuh sekali mentalnya. Jadinya, ya, banyak membantu ngasih support biar tante nggak terlalu down”

“The support was huge. If I didn’t have my parents, my friends, and especially my children, I think my mental state would have completely collapsed.”

Significant others confirmed this pattern. One friend explained that support from family and friends helped because it gave participants a place to talk, get advice, and a way not to feel alone. Even in Participant W's case, where she deliberately limited contact because of family conflict, support was not absent. She explained that she sometimes protected herself from "negative energy," yet still acknowledged that relatives at times gave her financial help. This indicates that *Pawongan* operated not only through closeness, but also through selective boundary-setting and strategic dependence.

Palemahan: grounding through nature, space, and everyday environmental care

Palemahan was consistently identified as a salient theme across all three participants; however, its phenomenological manifestation varied considerably in both form and functional expression, reflecting the highly individualized nature of human environment engagement as a coping resource. For Participants W and A, nature was experienced as a place of retreat and psychological calm. Participant W said:

"Tante suka sekali ke alam, kalau lagi pingin me time ke Pantai duduk-duduk aja, Melukat tadi itu juga, ke pegunungan, keliling aja naik motor, kalo ngemall engga"

"I really like being in nature. If I want me-time, I sit at the beach, do Melukat, go to the mountains, or just ride around. I am not interested in malls."

Participant A described a similar orientation:

"Tante suka melali (jalan-jalan) ke alam-alam, sama banten rarapan tu kan juga untuk alam berterima kasih sama alam, ya tu dah paling sih kalau tante hubungan sama Tuhan sama alam itu 11 12"

"I like going out to the nature and with Banten Rarapan too; it feels like giving thanks to nature. For me, my relationship with God and with nature is very close"

These accounts suggest that *Palemahan* was not simply about environmental awareness in an abstract sense, but about embodied experiences of relief, spaciousness, and reconnection. Participant S expressed *Palemahan* differently. Because of work demands, she had less time for outdoor activities, but she still connected harmony with nature to everyday cleanliness and order. She explained:

"Terus kalau alam yaa sama kayak kita Mebanten, kita menjaga kebersihan kan menjaga hubungan juga dengan alam tu Namanya"

"And when it comes to nature, it is also like when we do in Mebanten; by keeping the environment clean, that also means maintaining our relationship with nature."

A significant other reinforced this interpretation by saying that keeping the shop clean was one way of practicing *Palemahan*. This broadens the meaning of *Palemahan* in the data: it was not limited to beaches, mountains, or sacred landscapes, but also appeared in ordinary domestic and work environments as a practice of care, order, and groundedness.

Emotion regulation and impulse control

Participants described several ways of managing emotional distress after divorce, and these strategies were closely tied to *Parahyangan* and *Palemahan*. Participant W used solitude, meditation, gratitude, and writing to stabilize herself:

"Begitu mumet tante ga pernah nongkrong, tante me time sendiri. Nanti kalau udah mulai stabil lagi ambil kerjaan, tante lebih suka meditasi sih. Jadi lebih tenang, lebih happy. Sekalian meditasi, sekalian terapi syukur dah tante merenungi apa aja yang terjadi dalam hidup tante yang harus tante syukuri"

"When I feel overwhelmed, I do not go out. I take time for myself, I prefer meditation. I feel calmer, happier. I meditate and do gratitude therapy, reflecting on what in my life I should be thankful for."

These statements show that emotion regulation was not only a psychological skill but also a spiritually and culturally mediated practice. Impulse control emerged most sharply in the accounts of both Participants W and A, both of whom disclosed past suicidal ideation. Participant W stated bluntly:

"Makanya tante sampai buat tato I'm loved ini karena saya cinta. Ini awalnya karena tante pernah hampir bunuh diri. Kalau lihat tato ini biar tante ingat kalau tante ini dicintai. Ada orang yang butuh tante, anak tante"

"I wanted to kill myself. That is why I got this 'I'm loved' tattoo. It reminds me that I am loved. There is someone who needs me, my child."

Participant A expressed a similar sentiment:

“Jadinya kalau tante lihat dia malamnya itu, aduh kalau saya mati anak-anak sama siapa gitu mikir. Coba kalau engga ada anak tuh mungkin udah bunuh diri”

“When I saw my children at night, I thought, if I die, who will they have? If I did not have children, maybe I would have killed myself.”

These statements show that children were not simply a source of affection; they functioned as a powerful moral and emotional anchor against self-harm. Support from others also mattered. Participant W referred to help from “competent people” around her, while Participant A’s significant other explained that she regained direction after being reminded to think of her children and seek professional support.

Participant S’s case took a different form. She did not report suicidal thoughts, but she struggled with social stigma, judgment, and tension with her child. Over time, however, she described becoming less reactive after meeting a mentor:

“Setelah itu tante kenal ni mentor gitu, jadi dapat pencerahan, jadi lebih plong, diajarin berterima kasih, bersyukur. Banyak afirmasi-afirmasi positif dikasih jadi semenjak itu hidupnya lebih positif”

“After that, I met this mentor, and I gained a new sense of clarity and felt much more relieved. I was taught to be thankful and grateful. I was given many positive affirmations, and since then, my life has become more positive”

Here, impulse control was less about self-harm and more about learning not to be governed by humiliation, anger, or public judgment.

Optimism and Problem Analysis

All three participants expressed a future-oriented stance despite past suffering. Participant W said:

“Tante lebih menikmati masa sekarang aja. Dulu tante sedih dengan masa lalu, khawatir dengan masa depan. Sekarang tidak, hidup santai apa yang ada saat ini aja. Pasti akan lebih baik”

“I enjoy the present more now. Before, I was sad about the past and worried about the future. Now I am not. I just live with what is here now. It will be better.”

Participant A’s optimism was closely linked to relational support:

“Semua itu karena anak ya, optimis karena anak satu. Keduanya itu tante merasa ada teman cowok dekat, dia memang sangat membantu, tante merasa ga sendiri gitu lo”

“It’s because of my child, and also because I have a close male friend now who really helps. I don’t feel alone.”

Participant S projected hope into her children’s future:

“Yang jelas anak-anak bahagia, berhasil, sukses itu aja harapannya tante”

“I just want my children to be happy, successful, and to do well. That is my hope.”

These narratives suggest that optimism in this study was not abstract positivity. It was built from obligation, companionship, and the conviction that present hardship was not final.

The data also show that resilience involved practical reasoning. Participants W and A both discussed recurring tensions with their children and described learning how to respond more effectively. Participant W reflected:

“Kemarin-kemarin sempat berantem kecil sama anak. Terus anaknya tante nyadarin kalau dia ga suka mama marah, jadinya baikan lagi. Pelan-pelan paham gimana harus merespon dia, menegur dia, ngasi tau”

“Recently I had a small fight with my child. Then she made me realize she does not like it when I get angry, so we made up. Slowly, I am learning how to respond, how to correct her, how to talk to her.”

In Participant A’s case, similar parent-child tensions were reframed as part of adjustment rather than as failure. Participant S’s main challenge was different: caring for aging parents after returning to her natal family. She explained:

“Tante wajib beliin obat-obatan buat orang tua sakit-sakitan karena udah umur, itu aja sih paling. Tapi ya bukan beban juga sih. Tante sekarang anggap itu sebagai bentuk tanggung jawab aja”

“I have to buy medicine for my parents because they are getting old, but I do not see it as a burden. I see it as responsibility.”

This shows that resilience in these cases was not only emotional endurance, but also the ongoing analysis and management of new family responsibilities.

Empathy, Self-efficacy, and Achievement

Another recurring finding was that participants' own difficult experiences appeared to deepen empathy toward other divorced women. Participant W said:

"Tante dengar in dia kalau memang dia butuh teman ngobrol, teman cerita. Ceritain sesuai pengalaman tante, bagaimana harus bersikap diposisi seperti itu"

"If she needs someone to talk to, I will listen. I tell her from my own experience how to act in that position."

Participant A similarly explained:

"Sering ada yang curhat banyak, sekarang aja ada minta pertimbangan gimana cerai apa ga. Karena tante pernah ngalamin itu kan, tau gimana rasanya diposisi itu ga enak"

"There are many people who confide in me now because I have gone through it, I know what it feels like. I only give solutions by telling them what I experienced."

Participant S was even more direct:

"Pasti tante tolong, tante temenin. Pasti tante tanya dulu masalahnya apa, kalau udah benar-benar ga bisa jalan keluar. Daripada tersakiti mending pisah aja"

"Of course, I would help. I would stay with her first and ask what the problem is. If there is really no way out, better to separate than keep getting hurt."

These suggest that empathy in this study was relationally productive: participants not only recovered personally but also became informal sources of support for others facing similar crises. All three participants demonstrated high levels of self-efficacy in navigating post-divorce life. Participant W said:

"Semakin bisa lah tante untuk percaya diri, yakin kalau saya ini bisa lo walaupun kalau dipikir-pikir itu berat ya masalahnya"

"I am becoming more confident, more certain that I can do this, even though, when I think about it, it feels heavy."

Participant A emphasized decisiveness and independence:

"Kalau sekarang ragu tentang ngambil keputusan itu ndak, menjalani hidup ndak ragu, ndak pernah. Sudah lebih berani, lebih percaya diri"

"Now I do not hesitate in making decisions. I am braver and more confident."

Participant S also stated:

"Tante selalu ajarin ke anak-anak jangan ada keraguan, tante itu ga berpikir dulu, yang penting menurut tante benar langsung jalanin. Tante ga pernah ragu"

"I always teach my children not to hesitate. If I think something is right, I do it. I do not doubt."

These statements were reinforced by the participants' daily roles as financial providers and caretakers. Significant others described Participant A as someone who could stand without a husband and Participant S as someone who could stand on her own feet. Thus, self-efficacy was not merely a feeling of confidence; it was evidenced in sustained action, livelihood, and parental responsibility.

Finally, all three participants described post-divorce achievement in terms of growth, gratitude, and improved life management. Participant W expressed pride in being able to support her child independently. Participant A described divorce as something painful but ultimately beneficial because her life had become calmer and more manageable. Participant S similarly described divorce as a difficult event that nonetheless helped her become more mature and independent. Across cases, achievement was not framed in grand external terms but as the ability to rebuild life, care for children, make decisions independently, and interpret suffering as part of personal development.

Discussions

This study aimed to examine how *Tri Hita Karana* functions as a culturally grounded source of resilience among Balinese Hindu women following divorce and how its values reinforce the seven components of psychological resilience proposed by (Reivich & Shatté, 2002). Rather than operating merely as a set of cultural ideals, *Tri Hita Karana* appears in this study as a lived interpretive framework through which participants made sense of marital dissolution, regulated emotional distress, restored relational security, and reconstructed purpose after a major life disruption. In this sense, resilience is not expressed only as an individual psychological capacity, but as a culturally mediated process in which recovery becomes possible because adversity is interpreted, managed, and transformed through spiritual, social, and

ecological meaning systems. These are how *Tri Hita Karana*, as a culturally grounded resilience resource and strengthens the seven resilience aspects.

The findings suggest that *Parahyangan* does more than provide comfort during distress; it offers an interpretive structure through which participants reposition divorce within a broader spiritual horizon. Prayer, ritual, and daily devotional discipline did not simply reduce sadness, but helped participants convert an emotionally destabilizing event into an experience that remained morally intelligible and spiritually bearable. This helps explain why participants did not describe themselves as spiritually abandoned, but instead as becoming calmer and more accepting through religious practice. Such accounts indicate that *Parahyangan* functions as a meaning-making system that stabilizes inner life by reframing suffering as part of a larger order. This supports evidence that spirituality can buffer stress during life transitions (Brown et al., 2013) and that commitment can encourage acceptance and psychological flexibility (Dewi, 2024). Additionally, interpreting divorce through karma phala may reduce self-blame and support psychological control by framing hardship as part of a spiritual journey rather than personal failure.

An important nuance, however, is that spirituality here should not be understood as passive surrender. The participants' account suggests that *Parahyangan* did not encourage resignation; rather, it helped them tolerate emotional uncertainty while still acting in everyday life. In other words, spiritual meaning did not replace agency, but stabilized it.

The significance of *Pawongan* in this study lies not only in the availability of support but in the restoration of social legitimacy after divorce. For these women, resilience was not built in isolation; it was sustained through recognition, guidance, and acceptance from others. Family members, friends, and community relationships provided emotional and practical assistance, but more importantly, they helped participants re-enter a socially meaningful position after experiencing stigma, shame, or relational rupture. This suggests that *Pawongan* is not simply a support network; it is a relational arena in which damaged identity can be repaired. The findings therefore extend prior work by showing that social relationships do not merely accompany recovery, but actively mediate it by enabling women to regain confidence, belonging, and relational dignity. This aligns with evidence that social

support contributes to well-being among single mothers (Widan & Greeff, 2019) and that the quality of social interaction correlates with psychological resilience (Sari & Wahyuliarmy, 2021). Within a Balinese framework, *Pawongan* reinforces not only emotional safety but also belongingness and social identity. The data also illustrate how supportive relationships (including mentorship in participant S's case) can help individuals manage stigma, rebuild confidence, and restore strained family relationships.

At the same time, *Pawongan* in this study was not uniformly positive. The same social world that provided support could also be a source of judgment, stigma, or emotional strain. This is theoretically important because it shows that culturally grounded resilience does not emerge from a purely harmonious social context. Rather, it develops through negotiation within a social field that can both heal and wound. In this sense, resilience may depend not only on connectedness, but also on selective distance, boundary-setting, and careful management of relationships.

The role of *Palemahan* indicates that resilience in this context is not only cognitive or interpersonal, but also embodied and spatially grounded. Participants' engagement with nature, ritual offerings, and everyday practices of order and cleanliness suggests that healing was partly achieved through re-establishing a sense of balance with the surrounding environment. This is important because it shows that recovery was not confined to internal reflection; it was also enacted through repetitive, sensory, and place-based practices that created calm, continuity, and groundedness. *Palemahan*, therefore, can be interpreted as a culturally meaningful mode of embodied coping, one that reconnects individuals with stability through both sacred and ordinary environmental practices. This resonates with work emphasizing that Balinese practices such as Melukat and Mebanten are perceived as restoring inner balance by cleansing negative energy (Seniwati & Ngurah, 2020). Importantly, participants' descriptions also indicate that *Palemahan* is not limited to ceremonial practices; everyday habits that reconnect individuals to their environment can function as culturally meaningful grounding strategies.

A notable nuance in the findings is that *Palemahan* did not appear only in explicitly sacred or scenic forms. For some participants, it was present in much more ordinary acts, such as maintaining cleanliness, creating order, and preserving a calm home or work environment.

This broadens the interpretation of *Palemahan* beyond ritual or sacred nature alone and suggests that culturally grounded resilience may also be enacted through small, repeated spatial practices that create everyday stability.

The findings suggest that emotional regulation was strengthened not simply because participants used coping strategies, but because those strategies were culturally legible and affectively sustaining. Prayer, meditation, crying as release, journaling, and nature-based grounding appear effective partly because they are embedded in meaningful moral and ritual practices rather than functioning as detached self-help techniques. This indicates that emotional regulation in this study is best understood as culturally scaffolded regulation: distress becomes more manageable when women can channel it through familiar practices that provide spiritual containment and embodied calm. Participants' strategies (prayer, meditation, crying as emotional release, journaling, and nature-based grounding) reflect adaptive emotional self-regulation, consistent with definitions emphasizing the capacity to modulate affective responses (Gross & Ford, 2024). In this dataset, *Parahyangan* and *Palemahan* appear to jointly provide a culturally coherent "toolkit" for calming distress through meaning, ritual, repetition, and embodied grounding.

What is especially important here is that emotional regulation did not mean the disappearance of pain. Participants still experienced sadness, pressure, and vulnerability, but these emotions became more manageable because they were processed through familiar symbolic and embodied practices. Thus, regulation in this study should be understood as culturally supported modulation rather than emotional suppression.

Impulse control in this study appears to emerge from moral and relational accountability rather than from purely individual restraint. Participants' narratives indicate that destructive impulses were checked because they remained connected to significant responsibilities and relationships, especially to their children. This suggests that self-control after divorce was not merely intrapsychic, but relationally sustained: women regulated themselves because they still saw themselves as needed, obligated, and socially embedded. Such a pattern clarifies how *Pawongan* operates as a protective cultural force, anchoring behavior through ties of care and responsibility. For W and A, responsibility toward children acted

as a protective factor against suicidal ideation, supporting findings that children can be strong motivational anchors in single mothers' resilience (Saraswati & Lestari, 2020). More broadly, participants' accounts indicate that supportive relationships (children, mentors, friends) help regulate impulsivity during distress, consistent with research emphasizing the importance of social support for self-control under pressure (Cai et al., 2017). In *Tri Hita Karana* terms, *Pawongan* appears central to buffering destructive impulses.

An important implication here is that impulse control should not be read solely as an internal psychological trait. In this study, it was sustained by relational meaning. The participants did not merely control themselves; they remained in control because their lives were still tethered to others who mattered.

The optimism expressed by participants was not a naive expectation that life would automatically improve, but a culturally anchored conviction that suffering could still lead toward a meaningful future. This is an important distinction. Hope emerged through two interacting pathways: spiritual trust and relational reassurance. Through *Parahyangan*, women interpreted life as still under divine direction; through *Pawongan*, they received affirmation that they were not facing the future alone. Optimism, therefore, was socially and spiritually produced rather than individually generated in isolation. Participants' optimism was supported by faith-based meaning (*Parahyangan*) and relational reassurance (*Pawongan*). Belief in divine direction and karma can cultivate hope, while supportive networks can reinforce future-oriented thinking and emotional energy. This aligns with evidence that supportive networks promote recovery by strengthening a sense of future possibility (Muqoddam & Sa'idah, 2025).

At the same time, the findings suggest that optimism here was grounded rather than idealized. Participants were not denying difficulty; instead, they sustained the belief that difficulty remained survivable and meaningful. This positions optimism as an interpretive orientation shaped by culture and relationship, not merely as a dispositional trait.

The findings also indicate that problem analysis was practiced as a relational and value-oriented process, not merely as rational individual decision-making. Participants often interpreted difficulties through consultation, reflection, and role-based responsibility, especially in matters concerning children and family adjustment. This

suggests that the capacity to assess problems was strengthened by culturally patterned dialogue with trusted others and by a sense of obligation toward maintaining meaningful relationships. In other words, women's problem-solving capacities were embedded in *Pawongan*, where deliberation is relationally distributed rather than solely individual. The data show that W and A used reflective analysis and consultation with trusted others to address parenting conflicts, consistent with evidence that single mothers often consult social networks when managing post-divorce challenges (Bakar et al., 2020). For participant S, problem analysis centered on caregiving responsibilities, which she framed as a meaningful duty rather than a burden. This resonates with research noting that caregiving can be internalized as devotion and gratitude within Indonesian families (Yuhono, 2017). These patterns reflect *Pawongan* as a framework in which resilience is practiced through dialogue, connection, and value-aligned responsibilities rather than strict self-sufficiency.

A useful nuance here is that resilience did not always take the form of solving problems quickly or efficiently. Sometimes it involved reclassifying a difficulty itself, for example seeing caregiving as an obligation rather than a burden. This means that problem analysis in this study included not only solution-seeking, but also interpretive reframing.

Empathy in this study appears as a transformative outcome of suffering. Rather than remaining trapped within personal pain, participants' experiences of divorce seemed to deepen their capacity to understand and support other women facing similar hardship. This indicates that resilience is not only about "bouncing back," but also about converting private adversity into relational sensitivity and social compassion. Such a finding is theoretically important because it shows that culturally grounded resilience can have collective effects: personal recovery may widen into prosocial responsiveness. Participants' willingness to support other divorced women reflects empathy as an interpersonal practice that can strengthen collective coping. This supports the view that empathy fosters constructive social interaction and contributes to resilience (Ni'mah, 2018). The comparison with other Indonesian cultural principles such as *silih asah*, *silih asih*, *silih asuh* (Tanama et al., 2025) and *tepa selira* (Santoso, 2016) further underscores empathy as culturally scaffolded behavior. Within *Tri Hita Karana*,

Pawongan helps transform personal hardship into social compassion.

What is noteworthy here is that empathy did not appear as a detached personal trait. It emerged through lived suffering. This suggests that resilience in this context may have a generative social dimension, where hardship not only tests the self but also enlarges relational understanding.

Participants' self-efficacy was reinforced not only by their ability to survive divorce, but also by repeated confirmation that they could still act, decide, and sustain family life under difficult conditions. This suggests that agency was rebuilt through both competence and recognition. *Parahyangan* contributed by sustaining inner conviction, while *Pawongan* helped validate women's worth and capability through relational affirmation. Thus, self-efficacy in this context was neither purely internal nor purely social; it emerged through the interaction between belief, responsibility, and acknowledgment from others. Participants' confidence in decision-making and managing dual roles reflects strong self-efficacy, which prior work links to financial independence and emotional stability among divorced women (Maghfiroh & Nurchayati, 2023). Religiosity may further reinforce confidence and adjustment (Muhammad et al., 2019), consistent with Hindu concepts of faith and devotion (Adegrantika, 2024). Importantly, participants' self-belief also appeared reinforced by relational affirmation, suggesting that *Parahyangan* and *Pawongan* interact to sustain agency and dignity.

A key implication of this finding is that self-efficacy should not be read only through a Western individualist lens of autonomous mastery. In this study, confidence was built through fulfilling obligations, being recognized by others, and remaining spiritually anchored. Agency, therefore, was relationally situated rather than purely self-contained.

Finally, the achievement dimension suggests that participants did not simply recover equilibrium; some also re-authored their post-divorce identities in ways that reflected growth, competence, and renewed purpose. This is a crucial interpretive point, because it shows that resilience here is not limited to endurance. Through *Tri Hita Karana*, divorce could be reframed as a turning point that opened the possibility of moral, emotional, and relational reorganization. Achievement therefore signifies not only an external accomplishment but also an internally recognized sense of having moved forward with dignity. Participants' accounts

suggest that divorce, while destabilizing, can become a turning point for growth and identity reconstruction, consistent with literature on post-divorce transformation (Sarmila & Hamid, 2024; Sissilia & Falah, 2020). For participants A and S, interpreting hardship through karma helped frame suffering as part of a process of growth and purification, aligning with Dewi (2024) on spirituality as a resilience amplifier. Achievement was also socially reinforced (*Pawongan*) through encouragement from children, friends, and family, indicating that progress is both personally experienced and relationally validated.

Overall, the findings indicate that *Tri Hita Karana* should not be understood merely as a background cultural philosophy, but as an active resilience system that organizes how divorced Balinese Hindu women interpret suffering, regulate emotion, sustain agency, and reconnect with life after marital dissolution. Its contribution to resilience lies precisely in its integration of spiritual meaning, relational belonging, and ecological grounding. This makes resilience in the Balinese context more than an individual trait or coping style; it becomes a culturally mediated process of restoring balance, dignity, and continuity after rupture.

Conclusion

This study shows that *Tri Hita Karana* is not simply a cultural background or a moral ideal in the lives of divorced Balinese Hindu women, but an active resilience system through which post-divorce life is interpreted, stabilized, and reorganized. What becomes clearer through this study is that resilience in this context is not best understood as an individual trait alone. Rather, it emerges through the interaction of spiritual meaning, relational embeddedness, and ecological grounding. In other words, women's recovery after divorce was not sustained only by personal strength, but by culturally available ways of making suffering understandable, remaining socially connected, and restoring a sense of balance in everyday life.

This study also adds a more specific understanding of how each dimension of *Tri Hita Karana* contributes to resilience. *Parahyangan* did not function merely as religious consolation, but as a meaning-making structure that helped participants regulate distress, accept hardship, and maintain hope without collapsing into helplessness. *Pawongan* was not only a source of support, but a relational space in which women negotiated belonging, dignity, and recovery after

stigma and rupture. At the same time, the findings show that social relationships were not uniformly protective, meaning that resilience also involved selective distance and relational boundary-setting. Meanwhile, *Palemahan* was revealed not only in sacred or ceremonial encounters with nature, but also in ordinary, repeated practices of environmental care, calmness, and grounded daily order. This broadens our understanding of ecological coping in culturally embedded resilience.

Taken together, these findings shift the understanding of post-divorce resilience from a predominantly psychological model toward a culturally mediated one. What we now know, beyond earlier studies that emphasized spirituality or social support in more general terms, is that *Tri Hita Karana* provides an integrated local framework through which emotional regulation, impulse control, optimism, problem analysis, empathy, self-efficacy, and achievement can be sustained in interconnected ways. The study therefore contributes to resilience scholarship by showing that local cultural philosophies do not merely support adaptation from the outside, but can actively shape how adaptation itself is achieved.

Practically, the findings suggest that psychosocial support for divorced Balinese Hindu women may be more effective when it is designed in ways that recognize the cultural logic of women's lived recovery. Counseling, community-based assistance, and social work interventions may become more meaningful when they acknowledge spiritual practice, relational networks, and everyday environmental grounding as part of resilience rather than treating them as secondary or peripheral factors. At the same time, this study is limited by its qualitative scope and small number of participants, so the findings are intended to offer depth rather than broad generalization. Future research could build on this work by involving more diverse backgrounds and examining how *Tri Hita Karana*-based resilience processes operate across different social settings and over time.

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