

Counter Hegemony in the Implementation of Cremation Ceremonies in Tuka Customary Village in Badung Regency, Bali

I Made Ariawan¹, I Nyoman Darma Putra², Ida Bagus Gde Putra³

awandek143@gmail.com
Udayana University, Denpasar 80114, Indonesia

Abstract

The proliferation of crematoriums indicates a high demand for cremation services, particularly in Bali. One of the newly established crematorium foundations is located in the Badung Regency, specifically in Tuka Customary Village, Dalung. Crematoriums are considered facilitators for conducting Pitra Yadnya (ancestral ceremonies) for Hindu devotees. However, the construction of crematoriums often brings forth various problematic issues in terms of economics, environment, social dynamics, and cultural aspects, including those observed at the Maha Dharma Yasa Crematorium in Tuka Customary Village, Dalung. Conflicting values and struggles arise among community members and between the community and stakeholders such as government bodies at both the central and local levels. This article provides a general discussion on the resistance of the Tuka Customary Village community against the presence of the Maha Dharma Yasa Crematorium through the movement of rejection or counter-hegemony. This study is qualitative research conducted within the paradigm of cultural studies, carried out in Tuka Customary Village, Dalung Administrative Village, North Kuta District, Badung Regency. Observations, interviews, and documentation methods were employed for data collection, supplemented by secondary data sources such as written records, previous studies, books, and relevant documents. The theories of ideology and hegemony were used to analyze the issues investigated. The research findings imply that the resistance against the existence of the Maha Dharma Yasa Crematorium stems from the struggle of local culture against modernity and the increasing quality of democratic participation among the community, as demonstrated through their rejection of actions, leading to the temporary closure of the crematorium.

Keywords: Hegemony; Ngaben; Cremation Ceremonies; Tuka Customary Village

1. Introduction

Modernism, closely linked to practical elements as evident in the current phenomenon, is one of the implications of the advancement of science and technology, where all facets of life are influenced not only materially but also immaterially, including religion, rituals, and religious ceremonies such as Ngaben conducted by Hindu devotees in Bali. For a significant portion of the population, the Ngaben ritual often takes on a hedonistic meaning due to the required resources and the involvement of a relatively large number of participants. This issue subsequently generates unease among those community members who lack the financial means to fulfill their religious obligations in accordance with their beliefs. As time progresses and technology evolves, it drives changes in the circumstances and mindset of Hindu devotees, resulting in the emergence of alternative choices closely aligned with modern values in the organization of ceremonies or rituals, including death rituals such as Ngaben in crematoriums. In line with this, Arjawa (2016: 122) stated that Ngaben in the

² Udayana University, Denpasar 80114, Indonesia

³ Udayana University, Denpasar 80114, Indonesia

crematorium represents the modernization of conventional Ngaben, as it tends to incorporate technology in its processes. It indicates that modernity has influenced various facets of life, including the religiosity of the community. According to Sukarma (2012), modernity's influence on the religiosity of society can be observed through three processes: materialization, the capitalist work ethic, and social mobilization, characterized by evolutions in knowledge systems, value systems, and behavioral systems. However, unbeknownst to many, as stated by Widana (2020), these actions have unintentionally diminished the instinct of religious institutions, leading to an increase in choices and setting the community in a conflict of interests between rationalism and spirituality. An example of this phenomenon is the shift in the Ngaben ceremony conducted by Hindu devotees, utilizing the services of the crematorium foundations.

This phenomenon can be understood as a manifestation of hegemony exerted by modernity, wherein individuals remain unaware and perceive the integration of technology into the realm of spirituality, as observed in the practice of the Ngaben ritual through the utilization of crematorium services. The convenience and efficiency offered by crematorium foundations in the Balinese Hindu community's execution of the Ngaben ceremony, which typically entails substantial financial, labor, and temporal investments, are regarded as facilitators for religious obligations. However, concurrently, the presence of modernity within the religious framework of the Ngaben ritual raises concerns regarding the potential dilution of sacred values, communal cohesion, and the distinctive aspects intrinsic to Hinduism. In line with this, Jalil (2017: 120) posits that the threats posed to local cultural existence are directed by the hegemonic nature of modernity, eroding the pillars of traditionalism interwoven with ethnic, cultural, natural, mystical, and religious values, thus compromising their sanctity. Moreover, the development of crematoriums frequently lacks robust regulations pertaining to building permits and environmental impact.

The prevailing ideology is the focal point defended by a segment of the community within their area, such as the residents of Tuka Customary Village in Dalung, amidst the establishment of a crematorium foundation. For the stakeholders who sustain and spearhead the development policies, as well as certain community members, the crematorium is considered a facilitative means for adherents to fulfill their religious obligations or *Yadnya*. Reflecting the concept of hegemony, as elucidated by Storey (2003: 172), this entails the construction of a dominant discourse that shapes a perception of normalcy, resulting in the voluntary acceptance of new perspectives by society as a matter of course. However, for a segment of the community, a development project may not necessarily yield positive consequences in their lives, thereby engendering a resistance movement. In this case, opposition to the construction of the crematorium bears the form of demonstrations calling for the temporary closure of the Maha Dharma Yasa crematorium, representing a counter-hegemonic movement. The phenomenon of counter-hegemony and the clash of values surrounding the development of the Maha Dharma Yasa crematorium in Tuka Customary Village deliver captivating subjects of study, aiming to investigate (1) the underlying factors driving the counter-hegemonic movement against the implementation of cremation ceremonies at the crematorium, and (2) the various manifestations of counter-hegemony observed in the implementation of cremation ceremonies at the crematorium in Tuka Customary Village.

2. Theoretical Framework

The theory of hegemony, as conceptualized by Antonio Gramsci, is also employed to sustain the analysis related to this present research topic. Gramsci perceives hegemony as a class-based power dynamic, in which the ruling class exercises authority over subordinate classes through persuasive means, employing political and ideological leadership (Jones, 2006). The hegemonic power structure has shaped the discourse surrounding the construction of the crematorium in Tuka Traditional Village, initiated by the management, as a solution and a supposedly correct perspective on the efficiency of the conventional Ngaben ceremony already practiced by the community. Moreover, Gramsci highlighted that revolution is no longer the major way out of class oppression but must be resisted employing counter-hegemony (Gramsci, 1971)

However, for some parties, the Ngaben procession and the construction of the crematorium in Tuka Traditional Village are perceived as being primarily driven by economic prospects, with minimal involvement of the indigenous community and their interests. This condition gives rise to implications regarding the discourse on crematorium expansion, leading to resistance and the emergence of counter-hegemonic practices and discourses by individuals and groups seeking to challenge the authority of the crematorium management or the government. In this vein, Hunt (1990) stated that the counter-hegemonic practices aim to reclaim power from the ruling elite and challenge the prevalent discourse, permitting alternative perspectives and practices to be recognized and incorporated into the decision-making process. This counter-hegemonic concerns the construction and operation of the crematorium.

3. Research Design

The research design utilized in this study is a qualitative descriptive approach, which aims to depict, present, and elucidate the object of study (Arikunto, 2006:11). This research is conducted within the qualitative research paradigm of cultural studies to analyze the research subject to obtain in-depth data (Sugiyono, 2018:3), focusing on a specific object as a case study. The study centers on the struggle encircling the Ngaben ritual process at the crematorium established in Tuka Customary Village. Employing the cultural studies paradigm, a critical analysis is conducted to investigate the community's responses to the presence of the crematorium in Tuka Customary Village during the Ngaben ritual. In this vein, according to Kriyantono & Sos (2015:66), the critical paradigm is employed to investigate issues of injustice, social control, power dynamics, stratification, and the allocation of social rewards and resources that may constrain the existence of specific groups.

The research location is Tuka Customary Village, Dalung Village, North Kuta District, Badung Regency. Considering several factors, there has been an innovation regarding the Ngaben ceremony conducted by the local community, which involves the usage of a crematorium facility in Tuka Customary Village. Tuka Customary Village is also highly intriguing for research due to the fusion of Hindu and Christian communities, with a total of 200 households, 38 of which are Hindu. This location delivers an excellent opportunity to delve deeper and explore extensively the factors contributing to the changes in the Ngaben ceremony practiced by the local community. The community in Tuka Customary Village is divided into two groups: those who adhere to conventional Ngaben practices and those who conduct the ceremony operating the crematorium. Thus, the interplay between tradition and modernization strengthens the rationale for selecting Tuka Customary Village as the research location.

Data were assembled through in-depth and focused interviews employing an interview guide with selected informants, following a purposive sampling technique. The informants were chosen based on their involvement in the research topic, including the Bendesa Adat of Tuka, the Head of Dalung Village, traditional leaders, and members of the Bayung Gede community. In line with this, Nawawi (2003:1) conveyed that case study data can be obtained from all relevant parties, indicating that data for this study were collected from various sources. Observations were also conducted alongside data collection, and the recording and note-taking devices were employed to avoid limitations in the data-gathering process.

4. Result and Discussion

4.1. Overview of Maha Dharma Yasa Crematorium, Tuka Traditional Village, Dalung

The Maha Yasa Taman Prajapati Crematorium, also known as Tuka Crematorium, is located in Dalung Village, specifically within the Tuka Traditional Village area. The Maha Dharma Yasa Crematorium is an initiative of Baga Utsaha Padruwen Desa Adat (BUPDA) and was established towards the end of 2019. It commenced operations around March 2020. The crematorium was constructed on vacant land that was

originally designated as part of the Dalem Temple complex. As a result, it is located close to Dalem Temple, Setra Desa Adat, and a Christian cemetery.



Figure 1. The Entrance to the Tuka Traditional Village Crematorium (Doc. Ariawan, 2023)

The establishment of this crematorium was first initiated by the traditional village chief (Bendesa Adat) of Tuka, I Made Widiatmika, who also acts as the responsible party, in collaboration with the Maha Dharmayasa Foundation. Since its opening and official operation two months later, the crematorium has conducted cremation ceremonies for 84 deceased individuals. The Bendesa Adat stated that the plan to construct the crematorium was aimed at boosting the revenue of the traditional village. Furthermore, in the future, the community of Tuka Traditional Village will not be charged any fees when conducting Ngaben ceremonies at this crematorium.



Figure 2 (a) the front view of Maha Yasa Taman Prajapati Crematorium. (b) Christian cemetery and the boundary of the crematorium. (Dok. Ariawan, 2023)

The facilities in this crematorium consist of several buildings on a 16-acre land. These buildings include the cremation chamber, which serves as the place for cremating the deceased. There is also a Bale Pamukuran, used for the Mamukur ceremony, alongside the Bale Pasanakan/Wantilan and Bale Pamerasan. Each building has different dimensions, with the cremation chamber measuring 8 x 10 meters, the Bale Pamerasan measuring 5 x 4 meters, the Bale Pamukuran measuring 8 x 5 meters, the Wantilan measuring 10 x 5 meters, and there are also three food stalls with dimensions of 10 x 3 meters each.



Figure 3. (a) Exhibition Ceremony Hall (Dok. Ariawan, 2023)

This Tuka Crematorium provides different packages based on the chosen level of the ceremony. The Ngaben ceremony package is priced at Rp. 15,000,000.00 (fifteen million Indonesian Rupiah), while the Mamukur or Ngelanus ceremony package costs Rp. 32,000,000.00 (thirty-two million Indonesian Rupiah). These packages include offerings and the services of the priests. The priests and cremation attendants working at Tuka Crematorium are contracted professionals from other areas.

According to information acquired through an interview with the Bendesa Adat of Tuka, the construction of this crematorium is expected to have positive impacts on Tuka Village. The foundation funding the crematorium's construction assures its credibility. As the land provider, Tuka Village is set to profit economically through revenue sharing and the establishment of a cafeteria within the crematorium premises, which is believed to stimulate the local economy. From a social perspective, the crematorium will assist the small community of Tuka Village, consisting of only 47 households.

Currently, the crematorium is not fully operational for conducting cremations, whether from within Tuka Village or outside the village. It is due to opposition from some residents who do not keep the crematorium as an alternative for conducting Ngaben ceremonies in Tuka Village. Opposition voices have been heard since the beginning of the construction, primarily due to concerns about the potential erosion of the unique values of Balinese Hindu traditions reflected in the transformation of the Ngaben ceremony. Additionally, there are concerns about potential negative impacts on social, economic, and environmental aspects.

4.2. Hegemony Resistance towards the Crematorium Existence and Ngaben Procession in Tuka Village.

The establishment of crematorium foundations in Bali has been on the rise, reflecting the growing trend of constructing new crematoriums, including one in Tuka Village. This development is a consequence of the increasing global mobility influenced by modernism, which emphasizes practical values even in religious aspects such as rituals and ceremonies. The Ngaben ceremony, known for its intricacy and complexity, has now become more accessible with the assistance of crematorium foundations. These facilities are considered advantageous in fulfilling the religious obligations of the Hindu community. However, despite the positive impact of the crematorium foundation, its existence does not always acquire a positive reaction from the entire community. In particular instances, particularly in Bali, some residents in the vicinity of recently constructed crematoriums have voiced negative sentiments. It was also an issue with the establishment of the Maha Dharma Yasa Crematorium in late 2019.

1. Background of the Counter Hegemony Movement

The discourse encircling the establishment of crematorium foundations in the traditional village environment has generated both support and opposition within the community alongside the authorities involved in the growth process. It has directed to ideological conflicts concerning the construction and the

transition of the Ngaben procession to the crematorium. According to Mr. I Wayan Dana, former village leader of Tuka Village, the resistance to the construction of the Maha Dharma Yasa Crematorium primarily stems from the sentiment that it provides insufficient significant benefits, with some even expressing discomfort.

The shift in ideas, ideologies, and cultural activities within a society is a consequence of changes in the values upheld by certain groups, influenced by external values over a long period, toward a better way of life (Suhariyanti, 2020: 13). Culture serves as a battleground for ideological struggles, where different meanings can arise from the same cultural texts or practices. According to Storey (1996a: 4), these ideological battles have the potential for conflicts, as they involve opposing meanings in which hegemony must either prevail or be defeated.

The conflict surrounding the construction of the Maha Dharma Yasa Crematorium in Tuka Village arises from the divergent interests between the village authorities, who initiated the project, and the local community, who perceive the crematorium's presence as lacking significant benefits for them. It aligns with Pasya's perspective (2017:22) that such conflicts are known as vertical conflicts, occurring between the community and those in positions of power (powerful vs. powerless). The contrasting interests between the authorities, represented by the village leader of Tuka Village as the custodian of the crematorium and the community, contribute to the formation of differing value orientations.

Hegemony prevails when the "dominated" class consciously embraces the values of life, norms, and culture that are applied as expected through the act of "imitation." Likewise, Koko (2021:18) argues that a mechanism of imitation exists within oppressed or lower-class societies towards the ideas and mindset of dominant groups. It is amid the process that compliance and submission occur, entailing acceptance, indoctrination, and conformity without critical examination of the dominant group's ideological framework.

The hegemonic power structure has sparked discourse regarding the construction of a crematorium in Tuka Village, initiated by the authorities, as a resolution and perceived correct approach to address the perceived inefficiency of traditional Ngaben ceremonies practiced by the community. According to the authorities, the construction of the crematorium utilizing village assets, specifically the temple's surplus land, is in accordance with written regulations and has obtained the necessary legal approvals from religious institutions and local government authorities. However, some parties argue that the focus of the Ngaben procession and crematorium construction in Tuka Village primarily revolves around economic opportunities, with minimal involvement of the indigenous community and their interests. This situation has led to implications for the discourse surrounding the crematorium's construction, as it faces opposition and alternative discourses that employ counter-hegemonic practices by individuals or groups aiming to question the authority of the ruling power or government (Waruwu and Mudana, 2018).

2. Forms of Counter Hegemony of the Ngaben Ceremony in the Tuka Traditional Village

According to Gramsci, hegemony entails the dominion of one group over others through consent and persuasion rather than coercion, whereby the values of the dominant group are normalized and accepted by other groups (Jones, 2006). The hegemonic power structure has led to the discourse surrounding the construction of a crematorium in Tuka Village, initiated by the authorities, as a perceived solution and the correct approach to enhance the efficiency of traditional Ngaben ceremonies that have long been practiced by the community. However, some argue that the Ngaben procession and the construction of the crematorium in Tuka Village are primarily focused on economic opportunities, with limited involvement of the indigenous community and their interests. This condition has significant implications for the discourse surrounding the crematorium's construction, as it faces resistance and alternative narratives through counter-hegemonic practices pursued by individuals or groups seeking to challenge the authority of the ruling power or government.

According to Gramsci (as cited in Femia, 1981: 46-47), there are three levels of hegemony based on their strength and capabilities. The first is total (integral) hegemony, where society is united with strong moral and intellectual foundations, resulting in minimal conflict. The second is decadent hegemony, characterized by a weakening of hegemonic power and the disintegration presence. The third level is minimum hegemony, characterized by a lack of strong unity, leading to significant gaps and unorganized conflicts. Applying Gramsci's concept to the phenomenon in Tuka Village regarding the construction of the crematorium, it can be seen as a matter of decadent hegemony, where there is disintegration among the authorities who act as the managers of the crematorium, the consenting community, and the opposing community. Regarding the phenomenon of the crematorium's impact on the shift in Ngaben processions in Tuka Village, it demonstrates a level of decadent hegemony, manifested through the following forms and processes.

a. Maintaining the Indigenous Ngaben Tradition Ideology

One of the contradictions that arise in the Tuka Village community regarding the presence of the crematorium is due to the concerns of some people about the erosion of traditional values discovered in the traditional Ngaben procession in Bali. Marx observed that the prevailing ideas are executed by the class that governs society, simultaneously becoming the intellectual group that guides society. According to Fairclough (1995:1), ideology is constructed within society as the creation of meaning that contributes to the production, reproduction, and transformation of dominant power relations. The existence of the crematorium, as in the issue of Tuka Village, has generated both support and opposition among the community members alongside the authorities involved in its construction, leading to ideological conflicts in the development and discourse surrounding the transition from the Ngaben procession to the crematorium. Similarly, as stated by Saputra (2020:2), conflicts that involve both groups and individuals are not only correlated to physical clashes but also extend to non-physical aspects such as ideology.

Storey (1996a: 3) convey that culture serves as the battleground for ideological struggles, where different meanings can arise from the same texts or cultural practices. According to Storey (1996a: 4), conflicts are highly likely in these ideological struggles due to the inherent opposing meanings, where hegemony must either win or lose. The development of crematoriums in Bali, including the phenomenon of constructing a crematorium in Tuka Village, reflects a shift in the ideological beliefs of the Balinese Hindu community towards alternative possibilities for conducting the conventional Ngaben procession, which is perceived as complex and costly. However, simplification does not necessarily result in a complete transformation and transition of the community from the conventional Ngaben procession to cremation through the crematorium, as observed in Tuka Village. This leads to ideological conflicts in the development and discourse surrounding the transition to the cremation process through the crematorium, ultimately giving rise to counter-hegemonic movements demanding the closure of the crematorium by a portion of the community.

b. Community Mediation with Managers as a Compromise Strategy

According to Pramestisari (2022, 48), the presence of groups that are in favor and against the implementation of a policy or discourse actually indicates a dialectical process correlated to contestation in the attempt to achieve hegemony by both sides. The dialectical process between the community and the management has been carried out through several stages of mediation regarding the construction of the crematorium in Tuka Village, as conveyed through an interview with the Head of the Dalung Village Office.

"...kita sudah beberapa kali untuk mediasi, awalnya perihal ketidaksetujuan terkait himbauan prosesi pembakaran jenazah yang terjangkit covid yang dilakukan di wilayah Desa Tuka. Namun

selang beberapa waktu ada komplain lanjutan terkait keresahan warga karena terganggunya pemukiman akibat ramainya jenazah yang ramai menggunakan Yayasan krematorium Maha Dharma Yasa. Tuntutan itu berlanjut karena ada pro dan kontra antara bendesa adat lama dan baru yang bertentangan pendapat terkait pendirian krematorium tersebut, karena dianggap merusak nilai-nilai *tradisi dan keunikan ngaben yang dijalankan oleh umat Hindu*.” (I. G. P. A. W. 4 Maret 2023).

“...We have had several mediations, initially regarding the disagreement concerning the advisory on the cremation process of COVID-19-infected bodies conducted in the Tuka Village area. However, after some time, there were further complaints regarding the residents' concerns over the disturbance caused by the high number of bodies being cremated at the Maha Dharma Yasa Crematorium Foundation. The demands escalated due to the conflicting opinions between the old and new customary village leaders regarding the establishment of the crematorium, as it was deemed to undermine the traditional values and unique Ngaben rituals practiced by the Hindu community.” (I. G. P. A. W. 4 March 2023)

In the interview, it was revealed that the conflict initially arose because some community members felt excluded from the crematorium construction in the traditional village zone. Several meetings were held between the community and the stakeholders involved in the construction, and some residents expressed their objections through written letters. Mediation efforts were made multiple times, aiming to encounter a compromise between the community, the management, and the authorities regarding the establishment of the Maha Dharma Yasa Crematorium in Tuka Traditional Village. Adian (2011: 43) also emphasizes that hegemony involves negotiating and compromising among different interest groups. Mediation became a strategy employed by both parties to fight for their rights.

However, tensions escalated when the management disregarded the outcomes of these meetings and proceeded with the cremation of four bodies on July 12, 2020. It further fueled opposition from residents who had already opposed the crematorium construction in Tuka Traditional Village. Consequently, they closed off access to the crematorium and put-up banners expressing their rejection. The cultural context of this conflict reflects the clash between modernization and traditional values, as the community is concerned about the potential erosion of their cultural traditions associated with the conventional Ngaben ceremony. The struggle over the crematorium's construction highlights the complex dynamics of power, ideology, and the negotiation of competing interests within the community.



Figure 4. Installation of Crematorium Rejection Banners by Residents
 Source: wartabalionline.com¹, 2020

c. Demonstration Strategy as a Form of Counter Hegemony

According to Gramsci, where there is power, resistance emerges against it. The conflict and opposition by the community of Tuka Traditional Village against the construction of the crematorium can be seen as

a form of counter-hegemony, where civil society or subordinate social groups organize resistance and construct alternative hegemony (Gramsci in Siswati, 2017:28). Similarly, according to Kumbara (2018: 36), cultural studies, through this perspective, closely intersect with politics and economics. By using Gramsci's model of hegemony and counter-hegemony, cultural studies analyze the dominant social and cultural forces that are "hegemonic" and explore counter-hegemonic forces. The prevailing values regarding the execution of the Ngaben ceremony, which can be simplified through cremation in the crematorium, have been legitimized by religious institutions and policies. However, this has faced resistance from the community, who believe that the presence of the crematorium undermines traditional values.

The opposition from some locals of the Tuka Traditional Village community against the construction of the crematorium led to a deadlock, resulting in a demonstration where they forcefully closed the Maha Dharma Yasa Crematorium. Despite several mediation attempts to discover a middle ground and address concerns concerning the crematorium being a place for cremating bodies, these meetings were seen as inadequate in accommodating the community's aspirations. Although the crematorium management claimed to have responded and attempted to mitigate the negative impacts of the project, their justification of boosting the economic income of the traditional village by utilizing the temple's land and improving the welfare of the community was met with resistance. This resistance took the form of social movements, demonstrations, and even threats to close down the crematorium.

There are varying opinions among the community, particularly regarding the existence of the crematorium, which is considered as providing limited significant benefits, especially to the Tuka indigenous community, and even disrupting the comfort of those living around the crematorium. Furthermore, in line with this, according to Murniti & Mardika (2021:116), Ngaben is a religious obligation for Hindus in Bali, and its implementation is entirely dependent on the local community, so the transition to the crematorium is often viewed as weakening the cultural ties and/or traditional sanctions for individuals who deviate from the *Awig-awig* or customary rules in place. However, on the other hand, those in favor argue that having a crematorium in the traditional village area can assist them in conducting Ngaben ceremonies more efficiently.

The potential for resistance in any discourse, including the implementation of a policy between one party and another, will always exist if there is a tendency for marginalization, domination, and hegemony to be carried out by counter-hegemony discourse practices. Although the crematorium Ngaben offers practicality and efficiency in its implementation, the coexistence of the crematorium remains a struggle, especially concerning the authority of the traditional village area, which plays a crucial role in the social, cultural, and religious life of the Balinese community, including the phenomenon occurring in the village of Tuka.

5. Conclusion

The tendency towards adaptation to modernity also affects traditional and religious practices, such as the Ngaben ceremony among the Hindu community, particularly in Bali. The construction of crematoriums has become highly demanded, especially in Bali, as they are seen as a solution to the challenges faced during the Ngaben procession. It has led to the emergence of various crematoriums, including one in the traditional village of Tuka, in Dalung Village, Badung Regency. However, despite being considered an alternative to the complex Ngaben ceremony, the existence of crematoriums, closely associated with the hegemony of modern values, is not readily accepted by the Balinese community, which predominantly adheres to the governance of traditional villages, rooted in local values and culture. This phenomenon has triggered a resistance movement or counter-hegemony regarding the construction of crematoriums and the shift towards modernity in the traditional Ngaben

ceremony. The counter-hegemony carried out by some members of the Tuka village community who resist the crematorium construction is primarily driven by their dissatisfaction with not being involved in the decision-making process and permit issuance for the crematorium in their traditional village. Ultimately, this has led to the emergence of a resistance movement, characterized by the preservation of the traditional Ngaben ideology, mediation as a compromise strategy, and demonstrations as forms of counter-hegemony. While crematorium-based Ngaben offers convenience and efficiency in its execution, the existence of crematoriums continues to be a subject of contention, especially in the realm of authority in traditional village areas, which play a significant role in the social, cultural, and religious lives of the Balinese community, including the phenomenon occurring in the Tuka traditional village.

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