

## Traditional Ngaben or Crematorium Ngaben?

I Gede Suwindia<sup>1\*</sup>, Made Ferry Kurniawan<sup>2</sup> 

<sup>1</sup> STAH Negeri Mpu Kuturan, Bali, Indonesia

<sup>2</sup> Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

### ARTICLE INFO

#### Article history:

Received March 08, 2023

Revised March 11, 2023

Accepted August 10, 2023

Available online August 25, 2023

#### Kata Kunci:

*Ngaben Tradisional, Ngaben  
Krematorium, Ganti*

#### Keywords:

*Traditional Ngaben, Crematorium  
Ngaben, Change*



This is an open access article under the  
[CC BY-SA](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/) license.

Copyright © 2022 by Author. Published by  
Universitas Pendidikan Ganesha.

### ABSTRAK

Saat ini Ngaben sebagai prosesi ngaben bagi masyarakat Hindu di Bali tidak hanya dalam bentuk tradisional saja, namun prosesi ngaben juga dilakukan di krematorium. Peralihan atau proses ini menjadi suatu aspek yang menarik, jika dikaji secara sosiologis. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk menganalisis latar belakang perubahan tersebut, mulai dari tata cara pelaksanaan ngaben adat hingga krematorium. Ngaben. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah kuantitatif-deskriptif, dengan proses pengumpulan data berupa angket, wawancara dan observasi. Kuesioner digunakan untuk mengetahui persentase masyarakat Hindu Bali mengenai keberadaan ngaben tradisional hingga krematorium ngaben. Kemudian dilakukan wawancara terhadap beberapa responden, dengan tujuan untuk mengetahui keberadaan kremasi tradisional dan peralihan pelaksanaan krematorium krematorium. Terakhir, observasi dilakukan dengan tujuan untuk mengamati keberadaan krematorium di desa adat. Rekomendasi darvi penelitian ini adalah tata cara pelaksanaan kremasi, baik yang dilakukan secara tradisional maupun krematorium, merupakan kegiatan seremonial yang perlu dipertahankan. Tata cara pelaksanaan liturgi dapat dilaksanakan menurut pola sebelumnya, atau mengikuti perkembangan zaman saat ini, dengan syarat pada hakekatnya makna dan aspek filosofis liturgi ini tidak berkurang. Perubahan tata cara pembakaran jenazah pada masyarakat Hindu di Bali disebabkan oleh berbagai faktor, seperti efisiensi, solidaritas dan ekologi. Kedua jenis ngaben tersebut, masih dilakukan oleh umat Hindu Bali hingga saat ini.

### ABSTRACT

Today, *Ngaben* as a cremation procession for the Hindu community in Bali is not only in the traditional form, but the cremation procession is also carried out in the crematorium. This transition or process becomes an interesting aspect, when studied sociologically. The purpose of this research is to analyze the background of the change, from the procedure for carrying out the traditional *ngaben* to the crematorium. *ngaben*. The method used in this research is quantitative-descriptive, with data collection processes in the form of questionnaires, interviews and observations. The questionnaire was used to determine the percentage of the Balinese Hindu community regarding the existence of *traditional ngaben* to the *crematorium ngaben*. Then, interviews were conducted with several respondents, with the aim of knowing the existence of traditional cremation and the transition to the implementation of crematorium cremation. Finally, observations were made with the aim of observing the existence of a crematorium in a traditional village. The recommendation from this study is that the procedure for carrying out cremation, whether carried out traditionally or in a crematorium, is a ceremonial activity that needs to be maintained. The procedure for carrying out the liturgy can be carried out according to the previous pattern, or following the current developments of the times, provided that essentially the meaning and philosophical aspects of this liturgy are not diminished. The change in the procedure for burning corpses in the Hindu community in Bali is caused by various factors, such as efficiency, solidarity and ecology. The two types of cremation, are still practiced by Balinese Hindus today.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Culture in a sociological perspective is seen as a conception, expression or an action formed by social consensus. Social consensus is built by maximizing social capital. Social capital is related to concrete conceptualization, in which individuals and groups maximize social relations, which consist of beliefs, values, norms and social networks. This reality will create a moral effect between individuals and social

groups, and create good will among them. In the Weberian paradigm, this is known as conscious determinism, that ideas can create concrete actions in social relations (Fathy, 2019; Muttaqin, 2016; Robet, 2013). Social consensus becomes a collective affirmation that is guarded and defended by each individual or community who are members of a unified social system. Talking about culture, Balinese people have various variants of mindsets and cultural expressions as a cultured community. Culture is social action, which symbolizes individual relations in a multidimensional structure. Culture is manifested in various forms, such as art. The aspects that are formed are not easy to define, because they are built with discipline and there are institutions that look after them (Adnyana et al., 2021; Prabowo, 2017; Shapiro, 2019; Supraja, 2015). The culture of the Balinese Hindu community represents harmonious relations with God, humans and the universe. It can be said that local culture provides knowledge to individuals about the existence of other entities. Human life is always related to nature (both physical and social) in a very broad sense (Adhitama, 2020; Sukrawati & Putri, 2021). Thus, the conception of culture and cultural activities is a form of collective consciousness, which provides an understanding of the existence of human social life, theology and universality.

The culture of the Balinese Hindu community depicts multidimensional relationships, teaches character values regarding values, and behaviors related to God, humanity and the environment. In the context of social formation, ethnicity, culture and the existence of religion become a continuum and significant way of life. The existence of society becomes something integrated, involving the existence of individuals and collective action in the "social territory". (Jodhka & Fazal, 2021; Weib, 2021). This context is conceptualized and implemented in various ceremonies. In Hindu beliefs, the ceremonies performed are classified into five types – called Panca Yadnya (Panca means five, while Yadnya means holy, sincere and sincere sacrifice). Panca Yadnya itself consists of a) Dewa Yadnya, namely sacred, sincere and sincere sacrifices to God Almighty, b) Pitra Yadnya, namely sacred, sincere and sincere sacrifices to ancestors, c) Manusa Yadnya, namely sacred sacrifices, sincere and sincere to parents and the community, d) Rsi Yadnya, namely holy, sincere and sincere sacrifices to holy people (priests or religious leaders) and e) Bhuta Yadnya, namely holy, sincere and sincere sacrifices to the universe (Renawati, 2019; Sukrawati, 2020). Balinese culture and ritualism are the result of social construction, formed by understanding and a collective order. This order then builds moral, philosophical, ethical and theological awareness. Culture and tradition are seen as a level of civilization and a form of intellectual quality of a society across time. In an essential aspect, a culture can shape the practical aspects of individual and societal action (Sari & Dewi, 2020; Sukarma, 2020; Sukrayasa, 2021; Sutana, 2020). Thus, it can be said that the conception of Balinese culture is holistic, due to efforts to harmonize all components in a balanced order.

If seen in the theological and cultural concepts of the Balinese people, which are classified into Panca Yadnya, one of the most complex yadnya practices and ceremonies is the cremation ceremony or procession of cremation. *Ngaben* itself is included in the concept of Pitra Yadnya, because this ceremony is closely related to sacrifices to ancestors. The cremation ceremony has several levels, consisting of the *Nistaning Utama* level (the simplest level), *Madyaning Utama* (middle level) and *Utamaning Utama* (the most complex level). In the context of traditional cremation, the aspects that must be completed before carrying out the cremation ceremony are quite complex. One of them is preparing an adventure or a special place that is used in the process of cremating the corpse. Types of *petulangan*: a) *petulangan lembu* which is used as a cremation place for priests or saints in Hinduism, b) *petulangan singa*, which is used as a place to cremate the bodies of kings or royal descendants, c) *petulangan gajah mina* (place for cremating the bodies of which is in the form of a combination of elephants and fish), used for the *weysa* circle or group of traders, and others. The form and type of adventure in the traditional *Ngaben* ceremony contains a sociological aspect. If interpreted, the sociological aspects regarding the conception of culture cannot be separated from elements of social segmentation and power relations which was used as a place for cremating the bodies of kings or royal descendants, c) *Petulangan Gajah Mina* (a place for cremating bodies in the form of a combination of elephants and fish), used for *Weysa* circles or merchant groups, and others. The form and type of adventure in the traditional *Ngaben* ceremony contains a sociological aspect. If interpreted, the sociological aspects regarding the conception of culture cannot be separated from elements of social segmentation and power relations which was used as a place for cremating the bodies of kings or royal descendants, c) *Petulangan Gajah Mina* (a place for cremating bodies in the form of a combination of elephants and fish), used for *Weysa* circles or merchant groups, and others. The form and type of adventure in the traditional *Ngaben* ceremony contains a sociological aspect. If interpreted, the sociological aspects regarding the conception of culture cannot be separated from elements of social segmentation and power relations (Hjelm, 2014; Seriasih, 2021). In the process of creating social segmentation, there are "actors" who play a role with the support of local norms and culture. This reality develops into a process of creating power, strength and influence. Furthermore, these aspects will give birth to a pattern of individual behavior in society (A. Kinseng, 2017; Kusmanto & Elizabeth, 2018; Mawardi, 2020). When viewed sociologically, the

creation of an exclusive liturgy indicates that the social system of society is segmentative, thus creating a stratification. This context will create a social order that belongs to a certain group, as well as influence its cultural or liturgical style.

The practice of *traditional ngaben* is also considered as a series of ceremonies that require various resources, both human resources, time resources and optimal financial resources. In terms of human resources, the traditional cremation process must involve many people, because there are many instruments that must be prepared. Furthermore, the time spent preparing instruments or devices for cremation, such as adventures, requires a very long time, which can take days, weeks or months. In addition, before carrying out the burning of corpses, the Balinese Hindu community believes that it must be carried out on an auspicious day, and the process of waiting for an auspicious day is also relatively long. Then, in terms of financial resources, the costs incurred are also not small. Because many people are involved, the financing from the logistics aspect is also relatively larger. In terms of making instruments or the overall costs during the *Ngaben* procession, it certainly requires adequate resources. In other words, this type of cremation is seen as ineffective and inefficient. Resources, including social resources are representations of the creation of social structures. The social structure describes the relationship between "actors" and various institutions. A social structure also creates an unbalanced constellation of ideas The social structure describes the relationship between "actors" and various institutions. A social structure also creates an unbalanced constellation of ideas The social structure describes the relationship between "actors" and various institutions. A social structure also creates an unbalanced constellation of ideas (Pinzur, 2021; Smyth, 2021). In the process of creating social structure, there is an interaction between consumption and money. Apart from that, there is also a claim to codification and morality (McMahan & McFarland, 2021; Woodward, 2021). It can be said that the implementation of ceremonies that require optimization of resources, shows one's social status, as well as a form of social legitimacy.

However, currently the Balinese Hindu community does not only carry out the traditional cremation procession, but has switched to the crematorium crematory procession. *Crematorium ngaben* is a procession of cremation of corpses carried out using modern cremation tools. The process of burning the corpse is carried out in a room or place that is not too large, and utilizes the services of a crematorium officer, who assists the *Ngaben* procession from the corpse bath until the physical body of the corpse is reduced to ashes. There are various considerations, the crematorium was chosen as the place to carry out the *Ngaben* procession, one of which is a fast and efficient process (in terms of finance, time and human resources). Crematorium cremation is an option, because the procedures for carrying out cremation can be simplified or not as complex as carrying out traditional cremation. This is a sign that in this modern era there has been a practical transition from the Balinese Hindu community in viewing the cremation procession as one of the practices of the *yadnya* ceremony. The context of modern life is marked by a reality that is fluid and moves very dynamically. However, changing the old reality into a new reality that continues to form. This is the same as the cycle theory which states that the process of ups and downs and changes is a necessary thing. Likewise, the processual nature of religious rites, which continues to experience an endless process of change This is a sign that in this modern era there has been a practical transition from the Balinese Hindu community in viewing the cremation procession as one of the practices of the *yadnya* ceremony. The context of modern life is marked by a reality that is fluid and moves very dynamically. However, changing the old reality into a new reality that continues to form. This is the same as the cycle theory which states that the process of ups and downs and changes is a necessary thing. Likewise, the processual nature of religious rites, which continues to experience an endless process of change This is a sign that in this modern era there has been a practical transition from the Balinese Hindu community in viewing the cremation procession as one of the practices of the *yadnya* ceremony. The context of modern life is marked by a reality that is fluid and moves very dynamically. However, changing the old reality into a new reality that continues to form. This is the same as the cycle theory which states that the process of ups and downs and changes is a necessary thing. Likewise, the processual nature of religious rites, which continues to experience an endless process of change This is the same as the cycle theory which states that the process of ups and downs and changes is a necessary thing. Likewise, the processual nature of religious rites, which continues to experience an endless process of change This is the same as the cycle theory which states that the process of ups and downs and changes is a necessary thing. Likewise, the processual nature of religious rites, which continues to experience an endless process of change (Pribadi, 2017; Soehadha, 2018; Sutrisno, 2017). In the context of modern life, humans are the biggest aspect in a social concept, which is segmented into social classes and continues to carry out social practices. Social practice is synonymous with the process of forming culture or culture. Culture is concerned with individual and societal processes that continue to be or never reach a final point (Baert et al., 2022; Fuchs, 2021). In other words, the existence of a transitional process regarding ordinances is a consequence of dynamic and ever-changing social reality.

*Ngaben* as one of the religious rites, which is loaded with socio-historical values is one aspect that cannot be separated from the life of the Balinese Hindu community. In research on cremation in Ulakan Village, Karangasem District, stated that cremation is a process to understand the function and meaning of life, aiming to increase *sradha* (belief) and *bhakti* (respect). In addition, in the village of Ulakan the cremation procession is based on the attitude of *asah* (upholding equality), *asih* (putting compassion first) and *fostering* (taking care of one another). (Sudarsana, 2017). The cremation procession is also carried out by the Hindu community in Rama Agung Village, North Bengkulu. In this place there are two types of cremation, namely the process which is carried out individually (called cremation *lanus*), namely the procession of burning the bodies carried out by a family, and all operational costs are borne by the family concerned. Then, there is the mass cremation, which is a collective type of cremation, where the operational costs of the cremation are borne by several heads of families (KK) who wish to cremate their family members. This type of cremation aims to save costs and cremation operations (Ernatip, 2019). The mass cremation procession was also carried out by the Hindu community in Solo Village, East Luwu Regency, South Sulawesi. The mass cremation procession in this area is seen as a process to "pay debts" to deceased parents and ancestors or known as *PitraRna*. Thus, the cremation procession must be carried out in totality by the descendants left behind (Paraswati et al., 2021). Furthermore, the cremation procession is also carried out by the Hindu community in the Banguntapan area, Bantul, Yogyakarta Special Region. The Hindu community in this area views cremation as a way or effort to accelerate the return of the *Panca Maha Bhuta* (the five elements that make up the physical body) which consist of solid, liquid, heat, air and vacuum elements. This area is dominated by the Muslim community who see the cremation ceremony of the Hindu community as a ceremonial ritual that must be respected. In other words, this area is very close to the value of tolerance (Melisa et al., 2021). Furthermore, the *Ngaben* ceremony is also closely related to the *tetabuhan* (gamelan sound that accompanies the funeral procession). The use of *tetabuhan* in the implementation of cremation is believed to have a close relationship with natural elements (cosmological). Because, the Balinese Hindu community believes that the sound of the percussion that is sounded during the *Pitra Yadnya* ceremony is a sound that comes out of the universe. (Arsana et al., 2015).

From the research above, there are no researchers who describe the causes or factors for the transition from the traditional *Ngaben* procession to the Crematorium. So, from this reality it is necessary to analyze the background to the emergence of the Crematorium in Bali. Crematorium *ngaben* is a very interesting social phenomenon, when viewed from a sociological perspective. The purpose of this study is to analyze the causes or factors for the transition of the procedure for carrying out the cremation of the bodies of the Balinese Hindu community, from the traditional to the modern form.

## 2. METHOD

This study uses a descriptive quantitative approach. Descriptive quantitative approach is one approach that uses the process of calculating numbers and the process of interpreting the results of the data calculations performed. When viewed from the point of view of quantitative social research, it is explained that the quantitative approach provides a distance between the researcher and the object under study. When observations involve individuals, the focus of this type of research is to focus on aspects of calculation and description of calculation results. This research approach can also be used to look at the values shared by a community or individual, beliefs, cultural realities, and so on. Thus, the question of "how", "what" or "who" can be revealed. The point of view of this research approach will also help in viewing and describing a finding. The findings obtained from the data interpretation process will assist in the process of identifying and evaluating what has been found (Nielsen et al., 2021; Podschuweit, 2021; Smith et al., 2021; Souza, 2022). So, this research approach provides an overview of respondents' responses in the form of percentages, then the results of these percentages are interpreted and explained.

A descriptive quantitative approach is used to conduct a data search regarding the views of the Balinese Hindu community regarding traditional cremation ceremonies and crematorium cremation ceremonies. What we want to find out is the views of the Balinese Hindu community regarding the transition of the crematorium procedure to using the crematorium as a marker or a more efficient ceremonial style. To get an explanation about this, the researcher was guided by the questions contained in the open questionnaire presented in Table 1.



**Table 1.** Questionnaire indicators

No	Question
1.	Traditional <i>Ngaben</i> is a tradition that needs to be maintained
2.	Traditional <i>Ngaben</i> is a tradition of burning the bodies of the Hindu community which has noble values (religion and culture), which cannot be replaced by other traditions
No	Question
3.	Traditional <i>Ngaben</i> is one of the traditions of burning corpses which are very complex and require various resources (human, time and financial).
4.	Traditional <i>Ngaben</i> is one of the traditions of cremation that requires careful preparation, especially determining the day and place for the ceremony
5.	<i>Traditional ngaben</i> culture consists of several levels, which in the implementation process are adjusted to the ability of the community
6.	In the modern era, traditional cremation must still be carried out by Hindus in an effort to speed up the process of returning the Panca Maha Bhuta elements from family members who are burned
7.	Currently there is a cremation process that is carried out at the crematorium. This type of cremation is a way of burning corpses known by Hindus
8.	<i>Crematorium ngaben</i> is a procedure for carrying out cremation of corpses which is considered efficient
9.	<i>Crematorium ngaben</i> is a procedure for carrying out cremation that can be carried out by Hindus from all walks of life or economic strata
10.	<i>Crematorium ngaben</i> can be used as a solution for Hindus who want to carry out the funeral procession
11.	<i>Crematorium ngaben</i> is a type of cremation in accordance with Hindu religious procedures
12.	<i>Crematorium ngaben</i> is a process of burning corpses that can be carried out now and, in the future,
13.	<i>Crematorium ngaben</i> is a process of burning corpses that need to be maintained
14.	Every village in Bali needs to build a crematorium for the needs of cremation of bodies
15.	<i>Crematorium ngaben</i> is a form of cremation according to the instructions of Hindu scriptures

In addition, this research is also guided by interview questions, which are submitted to practitioners and academics who understand the background of the transition process from the traditional crematorium to crematorium. The subjects of this study were the Balinese Hindu community spread across Buleleng (559 respondents), Karangasem (55 respondents), Bangli (45 respondents), Jembrana (102 respondents), Badung (39 respondents), Gianyar (35 respondents), Klungkung (24 respondents) Tabanan (37 respondents) and Denpasar Municipality (172 respondents). The number of respondents from all regencies and municipalities in Bali is 1,068 respondents. The questionnaires were distributed randomly, so that the respondents came from all age ranges. This is done to find the views of the Balinese Hindu community regarding the *Ngaben* ceremony, from all walks of life.

The subjects of this study were Balinese Hindus, who are spread across Buleleng, Karangasem, Bangli, Jembrana, Badung, Gianyar, Klungkung, Tabanan and Denpasar Municipalities. Data collection techniques from this study consisted of distributing questionnaires, interviews and observations. Questionnaires were distributed in two ways, namely through Google Forms and hard files. The questionnaire method made in Google Forms format was used with the aim of reaching respondents from various districts in Bali. Then, questionnaires in the form of hard files were specifically distributed in the *griya* area (where the ceremonial leaders of the Balinese Hindu community live). Next is the interview, this process is carried out with traditional leaders, who in their traditional village have a crematorium. The interview process involved the Head of Customary Law and Members of the Village Sabha (the highest consultative structure of a traditional village) in one of the areas in Bali. Furthermore, interviews, this process was carried out with academics from one of the Hindu-based tertiary institutions. The interview activity with academics aims to gain theoretical views regarding the process of transition from the *traditional ngaben* ceremony to *crematorium ngaben*. The last is observation, in this process the observation process is carried out, especially related to the activity of cremating the bodies in the crematorium of one of the traditional villages in Bali. The interview activity with academics aims to gain theoretical views regarding the process of transition from the traditional crematory ceremony to crematorium. The last is observation, in this process the observation process is carried out, especially related to the activity of cremating the bodies in the crematorium of one of the traditional villages in Bali. The interview activity with

academics aims to gain theoretical views regarding the process of transition from the traditional crematory ceremony to crematorium. The last is observation, in this process the observation process is carried out, especially related to the activity of cremating the bodies in the crematorium of one of the traditional villages in Bali.

In this study, the first stage in conducting data analysis was to collect respondent data from questionnaires that had been distributed. After the data was collected, categorization was carried out, especially the age category. Then, from the results of the categorization, calculations were carried out to get the percentage of respondents' answers. In addition, data analysis was also carried out by listening to the results of the interviews and writing down the results of the interviews according to the research theme raised. The interview process used Indonesian, then the interview data that were considered relevant to the research theme were translated into English. Observations were also made to observe the crematorium as a burial place in one of the traditional villages in Bali. So, researchers carried out three processes, namely the process of distributing questionnaires, interviews and observations. After the data has been collected from the three processes and the collected data has been analyzed, an interpretation of the data that has been obtained will be carried out. From these results will be obtained research conclusions.

### 3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

#### Result

Research that aims to determine the background of the transition from the traditional *Ngaben* procession to the *Crematorium ngaben* has been carried out by observation, interviews and distributing questionnaires. The implementation of this research is presented in Figure 1. The results of the study show several findings related to the shift in the implementation of the funeral procession for the Balinese Hindu community. These findings include showed in Figure 1.



Figure 1. Research Activities

The research results obtained from interviews and distributing questionnaires, obtained data that 82.02% of the community considers that traditional cremation is a tradition whose existence must be maintained. This can be seen from the answers of respondents who are in the age range of 20-25 years. The preservation of the funeral procession is a form of the process of maintaining traditions, customs, culture and religious ritualism, whose existence must be maintained under various conditions. Liturgical practices or religious ritualism that are practiced in the traditional cremation procession in the conception of Hinduism in Bali are identical to the implementation of ritualistic religious rituals. The ritualistic in question is the implementation of the Vedic literature instructions as the holy book of Hinduism, and the three basic frameworks of Hinduism, consisting of *tattwa*, namely the philosophical basis as a fundamental aspect of the implementation of religious ceremonies. Furthermore, morals are the procedures or actions that must be implemented when carrying out ceremonies, which must be based on a sincere, sincere and responsible attitude. Lastly ceremony, namely the means or medium used in supporting the ceremonial procession. This means or medium symbolizes the existence of God as an absolute abstract entity, human and universal.

The birth of the ritualistic cremation style can be seen contemplatively about the life of the Balinese people in ancient times. The life of the Balinese people at that time was homogeneous (moving in the agricultural sector). So that the resulting ceremonial practices also accommodate the behavior and habits of the local community. The ritualistic impression on the process of Balinese society at that time was also supported by natural wealth and management of time (which was relatively free) which tended to be the same. Because people work in uniform, the management of time is also relatively uniform. Thus, when there is a *Ngaben* ceremony held, all time is devoted to the same place and condition – because the construction

of the method is inherited in a very long timeline, the custom of the method is internalized to this day. Another aspect that causes ceremonies and ceremonies in Bali to seem ritualistic or even ceremonial is that people's access to the Vedas as Hindu literature and sources is very limited, the Vedas can only be accessed by certain circles. Then, the concept of a form that should be simplified without reducing the essence of a way that is linear with Hindu literary orders becomes incomprehensible. As a result, the people or society devote their energy and all their abilities to the context of the form only. From the social aspect, it can be seen that the limitations of accessing Vedic knowledge are limited, and giving more portion to the context in the form is considered as a means to create harmonization that has both vertical and horizontal contents. Vertically seen from the process of sacralization of the ceremony, while the horizontal aspect is built from the process of social unification through the cooperation of all components of society who contribute to the ceremony. In other words, the horizontal aspect is seen from the communal collective action to jointly complete the series of ceremonies that are being held

The research results obtained from interviews and distributing questionnaires, obtained data that 80.90% of the community considers that traditional cremation is a tradition that has noble values. This can be seen from the answers of respondents who are in the age range of 20-25 years. The implementation of traditional cremation is the practice of religious ceremonies that contain various values, such as religious, cultural, and noble values, so that they cannot be replaced by other traditions. The values contained in the traditional cremation as a cremation ceremony, teach about the eschatological conception of human life, from the process of living life to death which is called Catur Purusa Artha (four levels leading to release), consisting of dharma (obligations), karma (deeds), artha (property) and moksa (renunciation/immortality). The concept of implementing a yadnya or ceremony must be guided by these four key concepts. That everything must look at someone's self (assets or artha that will be allocated to carry out the ceremony), artha or property used for ceremonial purposes must be based on goodness and sincerity or dharma, and followed up with good deeds or karma. Because, the accumulation of these three concepts will lead humans to ultimate happiness or release from the suffering caused by birth (moksha), and followed up with good deeds or karma. Because, the accumulation of these three concepts will lead humans to ultimate happiness or release from the suffering caused by birth (moksha), and followed up with good deeds or karma. Because, the accumulation of these three concepts will lead humans to ultimate happiness or release from the suffering caused by birth (moksha).

The research results obtained from interviews and distributing questionnaires, obtained data that 80.81% of the community considers that traditional Ngaben is a complex tradition (requiring optimal human, financial and time resources). This can be seen from the answers of respondents who are in the age range of 20-25 years. The traditional cremation practice is a very complex funeral procession. The complexity of carrying out this cremation can be seen from the large need for human resources, adequate economic or financial capital because the long ceremonial procession will have an impact on expenses in various aspects, such as capital to make bade as a place to carry the bodies, consumption costs to entertain the ngayah community (work together), the cost of making offerings (offerings) used in the cremation procession, and others. The preparation is relatively long, because the procession for carrying out the Ngaben ceremony must be carried out on an auspicious day, this also has an impact on timing as a series of ceremonies. The time it takes can be days, weeks or even months. The complexity of carrying out the traditional cremation is seen as a momentum for Hindus to fulfill and "pay" Rna or debt to the ancestors, consisting of Dewa Rna (debt to God as the creator and source of human life), Pitra Rna (debt to parents and ancestors, due to the existence they are humans who can regenerate and exist) and Rsi Rna (debt to holy people, because it is through them that the knowledge and goodness of Hinduism can be understood and learned). The context of Ngaben is linear with the second Rna or debt, namely Pitra Rna, because the existence of every human being alive today is determined by the existence of the ancestors, the form of a child's devotion to his parents and ancestors is shown by the totality of thought and behavior in the form of cremation. The totality of this last moment is what makes the Ngaben ceremony in Bali seem grand, extraordinary and big. Ngaben is used as a medium to express gratitude for the services of the ancestors, so there is a view that it is not wrong to do maximum service at the moment of Ngaben to take the ancestors to the realm of liberation, and this momentum is also used as a means to pay debts or debts. The totality of this last moment is what makes the Ngaben ceremony in Bali seem grand, extraordinary and big. Ngaben is used as a medium to express gratitude for the services of the ancestors, so there is a view that it is not wrong to do maximum service at the moment of Ngaben to take the ancestors to the realm of liberation, and this momentum is also used as a means to pay debts or debts. The totality of this last moment is what makes the Ngaben ceremony in Bali seem grand, extraordinary and big. Ngaben is used as a medium to express gratitude for the services of the ancestors, so there is a view that it is not wrong to do maximum service at the moment of Ngaben to take the ancestors to the realm of liberation, and this momentum is also used as a means to pay debts or debts.

The research results obtained from interviews and distributing questionnaires, obtained data that 82.21% of the community considers that traditional Ngaben is a tradition that requires careful preparation. This can be seen from the answers of respondents who are in the age range of 20-25 years. The traditional cremation ceremony is a cremation ceremony for the Balinese Hindu community which requires various preparations, especially determining the day and place for cremation. In the beliefs of the Balinese Hindu community, in carrying out any ceremony, especially cremation, it must be done on an auspicious day, which is known as mature ayu. Adult ayu is believed to be a good moment, because on that day the positive vibrations emitted by the universe are considered to have blessed the ceremony. So, at the time of the implementation of cremation is not hindered by any difficulties or obstacles.

The research results obtained from interviews and distributing questionnaires, obtained data that 80.52% of the community thinks that traditional cremation has several levels and must be adjusted to the ability of the people who do it. This can be seen from the answers of respondents who are in the age range of 20-25 years. However, the level of the cremation is used as a place to show the social status of the person being cremated, so that it is full of ceremonial spectacles. The ceremonial impression inherent in the process of carrying out cremation in Bali cannot be separated from the Balinese social system which is segmented symbolically in the concept of color. This concept explains the classification of Balinese society which is grouped into 4 (four) professions, consists of brahmanas (social groups operating in the realm of science), knights (social groups operating in the realm of government or state policy makers), weisya (social groups operating in the economic realm) and sudras (social groups operating in the agrarian realm). The attachment of a ceremonial label to the Ngaben ceremony cannot be separated from the social status of the person being burned, because it is through this procession that the accumulation of social legitimacy occurs.

The research results obtained from interviews and distributing questionnaires, obtained data that 80.24% of the community thought that in the modern era, traditional cremation must still be carried out. This can be seen from the answers of respondents who are in the age range of 20-25 years. The traditional cremation ceremony is still being carried out because it is related to the ideas and ideas contained in this tradition which have been internalized in every individual and Hindu community in Bali. The existence of the traditional cremation ceremony must be maintained because this ceremony contains aspects of the essential truth contained in Vedic literature (Tattwa and Susila). Because Vedic literature contains references and religious guidelines that contain universal truths, these values become a reference for Hindus in carrying out anything, including rituals (Ngaben).

The results of the research obtained from interviews and distributing questionnaires, obtained data that 76.03% of the community considered crematorium cremation as one of the crematory processes known to Hindus. This can be seen from the answers of respondents who are in the age range of 20-25 years. Crematorium ngaben is an ordinance to simplify the cremation procession. The simplification of the procedures for carrying out cremation is a consequence of the cycle of social change. Social change is a reality that is inevitable and will definitely happen. This reality will affect all aspects, including cultural aspects, religious practices and customary practices in Bali. So, crematorium cremation is the fact that there has been a change in the procedure for carrying out cremation as an effort to return the living to immortality. The transition to this procedure is a consequence of globalization, which demands effectiveness, efficiency, speed and predictive calculations.

The research results obtained from interviews and distributing questionnaires, obtained data that 78.09% of the community considers crematorium cremation as an efficient process of burning corpses. This can be seen from the answers of respondents who are in the age range of 20-25 years. Crematorium cremation is a form of cremation that is considered fast, especially in terms of saving time. At present there are many movements to simplify the implementation of the cremation procedure. If we return to literature, the essence of this ceremony is very simple and few ceremonies are made. In the Lontar Yama Purana Tattwa it is stated "when I die, give me daksina (coconuts with a pointed top) on my head, give colored chess pieces (rice consisting of four colors) on my chest, give me angkeb rice and bubuk pitara (rice and special porridge for the cremation ceremony), and give segehan (consisting of rice with five colors and some secondary crops) at my feet." This offering is actually the essence of the cremation ceremony according to the instructions of Vedic literature – to become the companion of the spirit to the sunia loka realm (the afterlife). Because cremation using complete facilities such as bade (a place for carrying the corpse), ox (a place for burning corpses), and others is not necessarily an indicator that the atma (spirit) gets the best place. This offering is actually the essence of the cremation ceremony according to the instructions of Vedic literature – to become the companion of the spirit to the sunia loka realm (the afterlife). Because cremation using complete facilities such as bade (a place for carrying the corpse), ox (a place for burning corpses), and others is not necessarily an indicator that the atma (spirit) gets the best place. This offering is actually the essence of the cremation ceremony according to the instructions of Vedic literature – to become the companion of the spirit to the sunia loka realm (the afterlife). Because cremation using complete facilities



such as bade (a place for carrying the corpse), ox (a place for burning corpses), and others is not necessarily an indicator that the atma (spirit) gets the best place.

The research results obtained from interviews and distributing questionnaires, obtained data that 71.72% of the community considered crematorium cremation as a process of burning corpses that could be carried out by all levels of society. This can be seen from the answers of respondents who are in the age range of 20-25 years. All Hindus in Bali, from all walks of life, social status and strata can access the Crematorium as a solution to speed up the procession of returning the constituent elements of life from family members who died. In the Vedas, it is stated that in carrying out the ceremony must be adjusted to one's abilities. Hinduism recognizes the classification and stratification of offerings, which are divided into three levels, consisting of nista (lower level), madya (middle level) and main (upper level). The category and level of a ceremony that is performed is not determined by the size of the ceremony or the euphoria that is performed. In other words, ceremonies that are carried out in a simple manner are not necessarily at the level of contempt, nor are ceremonies that are grand or grand not necessarily at the main level. Segmentation and categorization of the primacy of a ceremony is measured from the proper ceremonial procedures according to the instructions of the sacred literature and to whom the ceremony is addressed. The implementation of crematorium cremation straightens the understanding of wrong perceptions about the cremation ceremony. There are many perceptions circulating in the community that the Ngaben ceremony is the cause of Hindus becoming poor. This perception must be firmly rejected. It's not the cremation ceremony that causes people to become poor, but cremation procedures that have the potential to consume resources (including financial).

The results of the research obtained from interviews and distributing questionnaires, obtained data that 75.94% of the community thought that crematorium cremation could be a solution for Hindus in the funeral procession. This can be seen from the answers of respondents who are in the age range of 20-25 years. This simplification is caused by the global context of life that has entered the local community of traditional villages. The global context of life demands a variety of things – efficiency, speed and accuracy. The most specific thing the movement to simplify the cremation ceremony has done is the massive air pollution. The contribution of burning in open space brings various pollutants that have a significant effect on health. So, sanitation or environmental health factors are the fundamental reasons why today many burning corpses are carried out in crematoriums. This hygiene becomes a guideline that has a broad impact. The meaning is that the procedures for carrying out cremation through the crematorium provide various benefits such as convenience, speed and efficiency. In addition, the impact of pollutants resulting from burning corpses can be minimized.

The research results obtained from interviews and distributing questionnaires, obtained data that 65.36% of the community considered crematorium cremation as a process of burning corpses in accordance with Hindu religious procedures. This can be seen from the answers of respondents who are in the age range of 20-25 years. Crematorium cremation is the cremation of corpses in accordance with the context of the proper puput, which means a series of cremation that has been completed and in accordance with the instructions of the scriptures. This cremation is also carried out at the setra or village cemetery, and is "witnessed" by the Prajapati Temple (place of worship of the Goddess Durga or Sang Hyang Bharawi as the ruler of the graves).

The research results obtained from interviews and distributing questionnaires, obtained data that 74.16% of the community considers crematorium cremation as one of the processes of cremation that can be carried out today and in the future. This can be seen from the answers of respondents who are in the age range of 20-25 years. The prospect of the continuity of the Ngaben procedure using the crematorium returns to the needs and demands of the people today and in the future (the future). Why is burning the bodies using a crematorium, because this is one of the answers or solutions to the needs of the people - still viewing cremation and its procedures is something that is burdensome. Because in the context of Hinduism, when a human dies it must be processed as soon as possible, not all people have funds for urgent needs such as funeral funds. It is on this basis that the petunon or crematorium is the answer for people who do not have enough funds to speed up the procession of returning the human-forming elements (Panca Maha Bhuta) from their deceased family members.

The research results obtained from interviews and distributing questionnaires, obtained data that 61.05% of the community considers crematorium cremation as a process of burning corpses that needs to be preserved. This can be seen from the answers of respondents who are in the age range of 20-25 years. The existence of this procedure for burning corpses is closely related to maintaining the existence and preservation of the environment so that it is not polluted by the smoke from burning corpses. Thus, the implementation of Tri Hita Karana as a concept of harmony for the Balinese people can be implemented. The wider impact of this procedure (crematorium cremation) is the responsibility of humans to maintain the cycle of sustainability and harmonization of humans with the environment and the universe – according

to the philosophy of Tri Hita Karana. So, there is an ecological ideology that is carried out by moving the procedure for cremation, from conventional procedures to modern ones.

The research results obtained from interviews and distributing questionnaires, obtained data that 49.53% of the community thought that every village in Bali needed to build a crematorium for the needs of cremation of bodies. This can be seen from the answers of respondents who are in the age range of 20-25 years. The need to build a crematorium for every village in Bali is needed for sociological reasons. The prospect of a crematorium in the context of Hindu society in Bali is flexible. That is, its existence is functional in certain contexts, depending on who is using it (for example, village people who have been sepekan or expelled from village membership) or the context of time of use (for example, the weather is not conducive to burning corpses in open spaces). The use of a crematorium can be used as an indicator of the intensity of a person carrying out social interactions in a traditional village. That is, the individual concerned has a low intensity of social interaction, so when holding a cremation ceremony which incidentally requires large social resources, they do not get a response from the local traditional village community.

The research results obtained from interviews and distributing questionnaires, obtained data that 54.12% of the community considered crematorium cremation as a form of cremation in accordance with the instructions of Hindu scriptures. This can be seen from the answers of respondents who are in the age range of 20-25 years. In the Lontar Yama Purana Tattwa it is stated "when I die, give me daksina (coconut with a pointed top) on my head, give colored chess rice (rice consisting of four colors) on my chest, give angkeb rice and put pitara (rice and porridge specifically for the cremation ceremony), and give segehan (consisting of rice with five colors and some crops) at My feet. This offering is actually the essence of the cremation ceremony according to the instructions of Vedic literature – to become the companion of the spirit to the sunia loka realm (the afterlife). The crematorium cremation series are carried out at the setra or village cemetery and are "witnessed" by the Prajapati Temple (place of worship of the Goddess Durga or Sang Hyang Bharawi).

## Discussion

The maintenance of the traditional cremation procession as a cremation practice in Hinduism is a form of the process of maintaining traditions, customs, culture and religious ritualism. This preservation is a form of ritualistic Hindu liturgical activity. The ritualistic in question is the implementation of the traditional cremation ceremony based on the Veda as the holy book and the basic framework of Hinduism, consisting of tattwa (philosophical aspects), susila (behavior or action aspects) and upakara (religious activities). The ritualism contained in the Ngaben ceremony is a form of religious internalization and is implemented through activities in the form of ways. Sociologically, the context of religious and cultural life will slowly shape individual activities. In the paradigm put forward by Marx, Durkheim and Weber, explaining the combination of religion and structure, will construct the characteristics and behavior patterns of each individual. Individuals are in the aspect of subjectivism and objectivism, which between these two realities forms a perspective on life experiences and gives meaning to social activities in a social structure. (Adamczyk & Hayes, 2012; Atkinson, 2021). The existence of traditional cremation today cannot be separated from the reality of the agrarian life of Balinese society in ancient times. The lifestyle of an agrarian society is having a uniform or homogeneous pattern of time management, and having the availability of food or agricultural products. Availability of time which tends to be the same allows the Balinese people at that time to have uniformity of actions in the form of activities, all times and actions are carried out in the same space and time, including the cremation ceremony. Likewise with the availability of agricultural products, enabling each individual who works as a farmer in totality to provide agricultural or plantation products needed for the Ngaben ceremony. This context provides an understanding of the social arena, which builds the discipline of each individual. The beliefs of a society ultimately lead to social processes as a way of organizing life together. Moreover, the village community has an intimate interpersonal distance proxy. This aspect forms a strong social knot (Foster & Thomas, 2022; Suyoga, 2020). In other words, the resulting ceremonial activities also accommodate the behavior and habits of the local community.

The existence of traditional cremation which still exists today cannot be separated from the eschatological concept of Hindu society, which believes in the process of life until death. This conception is known as Catur Purusa Artha, consisting of dharma (obligations), karma (results of actions), artha (properties) and moksa (renunciation of worldly attachments). Ngaben is seen as a way to speed up the process towards moksha as the highest stratum in the cycle of life and death. This context shows the human aspect as *homo esparan* or a human who always hopes. The hope in question is the process of accelerating the return of the elements that make up human life or the person being burned. The conception of CaturPurusaArtha as an eschatological conception and the background for the birth of Ngaben shows that religious conception is implemented in religious and cultural activities. Culture is an aspect that is born in

the context of the life of a society, is a prerogative, and is a very important reality. Culture as a reality of life in a social context is an important aspect to maintain its existence in the context of modernity. Because, the idea of modernization is to form specifically the reality of processual changes or transitions Culture as a reality of life in a social context is an important aspect to maintain its existence in the context of modernity. Because, the idea of modernization is to form specifically the reality of processual changes or transitions Culture as a reality of life in a social context is an important aspect to maintain its existence in the context of modernity. Because, the idea of modernization is to form specifically the reality of processual changes or transitions (Morgan et al., 2021; Simon, 2021). So, traditional cremation activities as a process of burning corpses are actions that are carried out not only with theological meaning, but also with sociological meaning.

In addition to the existence of rna as a "debt" that must be paid, the complexity of the traditional cremation with the accumulation of human, financial and time resources is also caused by the very limited knowledge of the Vedas as Hindu literature and sources, the Vedas can only be accessed by certain circles. Then, the concept of a method that should be simplified, without reducing the essence of a way that is linear with the orders of Hindu literature (the value of tattwa or philosophy and morality) becomes incomprehensible. This context indicates that there is text that is not freely accessible. The text can only be accessed by certain circles as the dominant group, so that the text which is supposed to provide guidance, is not properly elaborated. Texts that can only be accessed by certain social groups have the potential to create domination. Domination is created because of an unequal discourse process. This imbalance is created by individuals or social groups who have large political and economic capital. This ownership of capital creates a monopoly. This will have implications for the creation of tendentious and contradictory discourses (Pfothenauer et al., 2022; Rekker, 2021). The inaccessibility of text as a reference material can also be a way to dominate other parties. Thus, those who are able to access texts are social groups that have accumulated capital, both economic capital, social capital, cultural capital and symbolic capital. The traditional cremation ceremony that is carried out becomes a ceremony to show a certain social status. Celebrations carried out during the traditional cremation by showing the quantity of human, financial and time resources are used as a momentum to legitimize certain social strata, in order to get social affirmation. This shows that the style of society in this era is a consumptive society, where market interests have a dominant aspect than the spiritual value system, so that it can change the orientation which is no longer based on the value system. (Asiyah et al., 2019; Malcolm, 2021). It can be said that the celebration shown during the traditional Ngaben ceremony is considered as a "truth", so that it is accepted in the social space.

In addition, the ceremonial impression of the traditional Ngaben ceremony cannot be separated from the social stratification of Balinese society, which is segmentatively divided vertically into four groups or known as colors. The presence of color indicates a hierarchy or level. Hierarchies or levels indicate the particular social status of the person being burned. Sociologically, the existence of a person's level of social status is influenced by various factors, one of which is the ownership of dimensional capital. In the Weberian paradigm, dimensional capital consists of three aspects, namely prestige (related to the context of individual social status), power (related to the context of political power owned by individuals) and privilege (related to the context of individual economic accumulation). The classification of society into the color system shows the level of dimensional capital accumulation. So, the higher a person's color, indicates the more optimal his capital ownership. The reproduction of economic, political or social values creates a process of creating habits and beliefs and forming social moral internalization. In this case, there is a process of producing and reproducing living forms that are adapted according to certain social categories. Ownership and access to economic, political and social values from certain social groups will shape the structure of community life political or social values create a process of creating habits and beliefs and forming social moral internalization. In this case, there is a process of producing and reproducing living forms that are adapted according to certain social categories. Ownership and access to economic, political and social values from certain social groups will shape the structure of community life political or social values create a process of creating habits and beliefs and forming social moral internalization. In this case, there is a process of producing and reproducing living forms that are adapted according to certain social categories. Ownership and access to economic, political and social values from certain social groups will shape the structure of community life (Archer & Souleles, 2021; Monticelli, 2021). Thus, the ceremonial impression contained in traditional cremation and its various levels, is also determined by the dimensional capital owned by the family and family members of the people who are incised.

The birth of the crematorium cremation as a procedure to simplify the procession of burning the bodies of the Balinese Hindu community is one of the consequences of modernization. Modernization demands that all aspects of life become faster, more precise, predictive and calculative. Crematorium ngaben is one aspect of social change. Social change or social dynamic becomes a social context that inevitably occurs. In addition, the birth of the crematorium procession shows a transition or transition in a

way that places more emphasis on the essence of these religious rites. Modernization is a representation of a change process that develops very quickly. Modern life presents the beginning of a total fragmentation. The style of this life is the prominence of rationality, movement and the process of forming new things (Boy, 2021; Davies & Gane, 2021). So, it can be explained that at this time, cremation crematorium is the process of forming a procedure for burning corpses with a new pattern, namely a pattern that is more effective and efficient, in accordance with the ideology promoted by modernization.

Crematorium cremation process is an efficient process of burning corpses. This is because at the time of cremation, the corpse is not made a funeral or a special place for cremating the bodies, such as the *petulangan* lembu (the cremation of the body in the shape of an ox), the *petulangan Singa* (the cremation of the body in the form of a lion), the *petulangan Gajah Mina* (the cremation of the body in the form of an elephant's head with the body of a fish), and others. At the time of cremation, the crematorium uses a modern cremation device, with a relatively short burning process, ie 1-2 hours. Thus, time efficiency is the main reference when doing this cremation. With a short time, efficiency, the sequence of ceremonies that have not been completed can be completed by the grieving family immediately. Efficiency in the context of modernity is a priority in social action. Society and modernization are important concepts in the discipline of sociology, because these two aspects are indicators of the process of social change, especially in relation to globalization and the spread of Europeanization influences. Modernization then forms cosmopolitan enclaves that create dynamics or changes, including aspects of the local community context (Rey et al., 2021; Walby, 2021). Thus, in cosmopolitan reality, aspects of life and social activities of local communities are also influenced by efficiency or practical values.

Practically the implementation of crematorium cremation as one of the processes of cremation of the bodies of the Balinese Hindu community, shows that the process of purification and acceleration of the return of life-forming elements called Panca Maha Bhuta is not determined by the size of a ceremony. The big cremation ceremony is not an indicator of how quickly the spirit reaches the natural world (nirvana), and vice versa. Crematorium cremation is an option or choice that can be taken for Hindu people who want to do a funeral. With the existence of a crematorium, the cremation ceremony can be accessed by people from all walks of life. Thus, the eschatological conception of Hindu society that wants to fulfill Rna or "debt", especially to parents and ancestors can be fulfilled. Crematorium cremation as a form of a child's moral obligation to parents who have died and this type of cremation can be accessed by all groups in accordance with the principles of stoic cosmopolitanism. This principle explains the equal position for everyone to get something, in accordance with the principle of their beliefs. The process of paying off a "debt" from a child to a deceased parent is related to the form of devotion, love and compassion. Love guides someone to do something with totality and has a good impact on those who do it according to the principles of his beliefs. The process of paying off a "debt" from a child to a deceased parent is related to the form of devotion, love and compassion. Love guides someone to do something with totality and has a good impact on those who do it according to the principles of his beliefs. The process of paying off a "debt" from a child to a deceased parent is related to the form of devotion, love and compassion. Love guides someone to do something with totality and has a good impact on those who do it (Balmer & Durrant, 2021; Hill & Nidumolu, 2021). So, the crematorium cremation provides access for anyone who wants to carry out the cremation procession.

Sociologically, it can be read that with the Crematorium, it becomes a medium for practicing religious activities without any segmentation or exploration of a person's particular social status. Every family that carries out crematorium cremation uses the same corpse bathing facility until the cremation of the corpse. This facility is used regardless of the economic or social background of the person being burned. This reality explains that religious and cultural activities are egalitarian collective forms, which function to perfect relations between subjects. The connection between these subjects explains the principle of fellow and feeling or an effort to create a sense of sympathy and harmony between individuals, regardless of social background. (Allen-Collinson et al., 2021; de Freitas & Truman, 2020). In other words, there is an aspect of egalitarianism that is shown from the Ngaben procession which is carried out at the crematorium.

The process of burning the corpses carried out in the crematorium is also motivated by sanitation or environmental health factors. The Balinese Hindu community has local wisdom, which views that human life must be harmonious both vertically and horizontally, this concept of harmonization is called Tri Hita Karana. One form of downward vertical harmonization of life is indicated by a harmonious life between humans and the universe (called Pamerahan). Harmonization with the universe can be seen when carrying out the crematorium cremation, during the ceremony the pollutant in the form of smoke from burning the corpses is minimal. The minimum number of pollutants is due to the short process of burning corpses, so that the smoke emitted has little intensity. On the other hand, the long burning of corpses, it actually has the potential to produce smoke or larger pollutants, and has the potential to affect air hygiene. Crematorium ngaben is a sketch of environmental impact, and efforts to minimize that impact. Sketches about environmental impacts and efforts to minimize them involve material and process aspects, such as physical

actions to build something accompanied by social actions. A social action requires an adequate analysis of thinking. Because, having a system of thinking about what is going on will help to describe the actual situation, and be able to present recommendations to make a decision. Sketches about environmental impacts and efforts to minimize them involve material and process aspects, such as physical actions to build something accompanied by social actions. A social action requires an adequate analysis of thinking. Because, having a system of thinking about what is going on will help to describe the actual situation, and be able to present recommendations to make a decision. Sketches about environmental impacts and efforts to minimize them involve material and process aspects, such as physical actions to build something accompanied by social actions. A social action requires an adequate analysis of thinking. Because, having a system of thinking about what is going on will help to describe the actual situation, and be able to present recommendations to make a decision (Barry, 2021; Souza, 2022). It can be explained that, ecologically, the implementation of the crematorium cremation is a form of harmonizing human relations with the environment, by minimizing the spread of pollutants in the environment itself.

The cremation ceremony at the crematorium is an alternative or solution for Hindus who want to carry out the cremation ceremony. Sociologically, what makes crematorium crematoriums possible to survive today and in the future is their functional existence in certain contexts, depending on who uses them. That is, crematorium cremation can be used for individuals who are subject to social or customary sanctions. Social or customary sanctions in the context of Balinese Hindu community life are known as *kasepekang*. *Kasepekang* is a sanction given to customary village residents who are considered to have violated *awig-awig* (the highest customary village law), not contributing to joys and sorrows, *menyama braya* or *ngayah* (mutual cooperation system or cooperation of indigenous peoples in Bali). Crematorium cremation can be used as an indicator of the intensity of a person carrying out social interactions in traditional villages. Sociologically, *kasepekang* is a form of decision made by the elite. The elite in question are traditional village leaders in accordance with applicable regulations. The existence of traditional village leaders as elites who practice *awig-awig* as a social fact, is a sign that individuals and indigenous communities are in the social structure. The existence of a social structure becomes a consistent agent in implementing regulations to regulate social relations between individuals. When relations between individuals do not go according to regulations as a consensus, then those who are considered inconsistent will receive social sanctions. In a structure (Barrie, 2021; Turner, 2019; Welch, Mandich, et al., 2020). This is a sign that individuals who carry out crematorium cremation have low intensity of social interaction, so when holding a cremation ceremony which incidentally requires a lot of social resources, they do not get a response from the local traditional village community.

The existence of the traditional cremation ceremony today is still commonly found in the practice of death for the Balinese Hindu community. Although this cremation practice has a high level of complexity. The complexity of implementing this cremation can be seen from the accumulation of financial capital, human resources, time and energy. However, if examined sociologically, what causes the existence of traditional cremation that is still practiced today is the maintenance of the concept of *ngayah* and *menyama braya* (Balinese local wisdom regarding the culture of working together, applying collectivity and embracing others as brothers). The Durkheimian paradigm, explains this context in terms of mechanical solidarity. Mechanical solidarity is a very strong form of social relations between individuals or groups. The strength of "social networks" is caused by the intensity and the awakening of intimacy between individuals because of the similarity of area, place of residence or blood relationship. The existence of traditional cremation as a cremation rite does not only have theological meaning. The existence of a culture and religious activity is an aspect that has high value. This rite is not only a form of action, but an idea to form social solidarity. Talking about solidarity, in his analysis, Durkheim explains the existence of individuals who are formed in an integrative manner by social factors. Individual quality is determined determinantly by the social environment. Solidarity formed by culture contributes to creating social closeness. In sociological analysis, this reality is known as *teleoaffective structures*, namely the existence of an orientation between individuals that forms an attachment to one another. This attachment is created because of affection (Abbott, 2019; Shilling, 2022; Vassenden & Jonvik, 2019; Welch, Halkier, et al., 2020). In other words, the establishment of a relational social relationship is due to the formation of a collective consciousness.

In addition to the traditional cremation which is still found today, the Balinese Hindu community is also familiar with the system of burning corpses using a crematorium. In addition to providing both time and financial efficiency, the emergence of the Crematorium Cremation phenomenon is caused by several sociological factors, including certain village communities who have been *sepekang* or expelled from village membership, for not following or violating *awig-awig* as a customary village "statutory system". This will result in a person being excluded from membership in the *adat* village, and not being allowed to use village facilities, including burial or cremation facilities. The use of a crematorium can be used as an indicator of



the intensity of a person carrying out social interactions in a traditional village. It means, the individual concerned has a low intensity of social interaction, so when holding a cremation ceremony which incidentally requires large social resources, there is no response from the local traditional village community. The implementation of crematorium cremation is an indication of modern life. In modern life there are expectations and the desire to create new things or new experiences as a consequence of accepting an idea. This reality is called “creativity dispositive”. The creation of new things is always motivated by economic behavior, which is based on rationality. However, this process has implications for interaction patterns between individuals. The existence of a transition of solidarity from initially very intimate to low solidarity is a sign that the reality of life in this era is “fluid” (Hayes, 2020; Segre, 2019; Stokes, 2019). So, in a “fluid” modern life, it allows the intensity of social interaction between individuals to be lower. And when carrying out the Ngaben ceremony, the community chose the crematorium as a solution, because it did not involve large social resources.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

The emergence of the crematorium crematory procession was motivated by various sociological factors. Apart from the fact that the costs and time spent are not too large, the implementation of the cremation also indicates a transition of social solidarity in society. Communities who carry out this type of cremation are a sign that the individual concerned is a member of the customary village community who has been expelled or excluded from village membership. So, when experiencing grief, especially death, the family chooses the Crematorium as an alternative. Implementation of crematorium cremation is also a solution to reduce the impact of pollutant smoke from burning corpses. By doing this cremation, the sanitation aspect becomes an aspect that is taken into account.

#### 5. REFERENCES

- A. Kinseng, R. (2017). Structugency: A Theory of Action. *Sodality: Jurnal Sosiologi Pedesaan*, 5(2), 127–137. <https://doi.org/10.22500/sodality.v5i2.17972>
- Abbott, A. (2019). Living One's Theories: Moral Consistency in the Life of Émile Durkheim. *Sociological Theory*, 37(1), 1–34. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0735275119830444>
- Adamczyk, A., & Hayes, B. E. (2012). Religion and Sexual Behaviors: Understanding the Influence of Islamic Cultures and Religious Affiliation for Explaining Sex Outside of Marriage. *American Sociological Review*, 77(5), 723–746. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122412458672>
- Adhitama, S. (2020). Konsep Tri Hita Karana Dalam Ajaran Kepercayaan Budi Daya. *Dharmasmrti: Jurnal Ilmu Agama dan Kebudayaan*, 20(2), 29–45. <https://doi.org/10.32795/ds.v20i2.1020>
- Adnyana, I. B. P., Redi, I. W., & Sena, I. G. M. W. (2021). Konsep Kosmologi Hindu Dalam Teks T tutur Bhuwana Mareka. *Jurnal Pangkaja*, 24(2), 184–193. <http://dx.doi.org/10.25078/pkj.v24i2.2598>
- Allen-Collinson, J., McNarry, G., & Evans, A. B. (2021). Sensoriality, Social Interaction, and “Doing Sensing” in Physical–Cultural Ethnographies. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 50(5), 599–621. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08912416211014266>
- Archer, M., & Souleles, D. (2021). Introduction: Ethnographies of Power and The Powerful. *Critique of Anthropology*, 41(3), 195–205. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308275X211038605>
- Arjawa, G. S. (2016). *Ngaben di Krematorium (Fenomena Perubahan Sosial di Bali)* (A. Ryan (red)). Pustaka Ekspresi.
- Arsana, I. N. C., Lono L. Simatupang, G. R., Soedarsono, R. M., & Dibia, I. W. (2015). Kosmologis Tetabuhan dalam Upacara Ngaben. *Resital: Jurnal Seni Pertunjukan*, 15(2), 107–125. <https://doi.org/10.24821/resital.v15i2.846>
- Asiyah, U.-, Prasetyo, R. A., & Sudjak, S. (2019). Pergeseran Makna Ritual Ibadah di Era Digital. *Jurnal Sosiologi Pendidikan Humanis*, 4(1), 14–20. <https://doi.org/10.17977/um021v4i1p14-20>
- Atkinson, W. (2021). Fields and Individuals: From Bourdieu to Lahire and Back Again. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 24(2), 195–210. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368431020923281>
- Atmadja, N. B., Atmadja, A. T., & Ariyani, L. P. S. (2016). Ngaben di Krematorium pada Masyarakat Hindu di Bali: Perspektif McDonaldisasi dan Homo Complexus. *Mozaik Humaniora*, 16(2), 1–17. <http://dx.doi.org/10.20473/mozaik.v16i2.5862>
- Baert, P., Morgan, M., & Ushiyama, R. (2022). Existence Theory: Outline For a Theory of Social Behaviour. *Journal of Classical Sociology*, 22(1), 7–29. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468795X21998247>
- Balmer, A., & Durrant, M. (2021). Simmel and Shakespeare on Lying and Love. *Cultural Sociology*, 15(3), 346–363. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1749975520987064>
- Barrie, C. (2021). Political Sociology in a Time of Protest. *Current Sociology*, 69(6), 919–942.

- <https://doi.org/10.1177/00113921211024692>
- Barry, A. (2021). What Is an Environmental Problem? *Theory, Culture and Society*, 38(2), 93–117. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276420958043>
- Boy, J. D. (2021). 'The Metropolis and The Life of Spirit' by Georg Simmel: A New Translation. *Journal of Classical Sociology*, 21(2), 188–202. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468795X20980638>
- Davies, W., & Gane, N. (2021). Post-Neoliberalism? An Introduction. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 38(6), 3–28. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02632764211036722>
- de Freitas, E., & Truman, S. E. (2020). New Empiricisms in The Anthropocene: Thinking With Speculative Fiction About Science and Social Inquiry. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 27(5), 522–533. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800420943643>
- Ernatip, E. (2019). Upacara 'Ngaben' Di Desa Rama Agung – Bengkulu Utara. *Jurnal Penelitian Sejarah Dan Budaya*, 4(2), 1115–1133. <https://doi.org/10.36424/jpsb.v4i2.62>
- Fathy, R. (2019). Modal Sosial: Konsep, Inklusivitas dan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat. *Jurnal Pemikiran Sosiologi*, 6(1), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jps.v6i1.47463>
- Foster, B. B., & Thomas, J. M. (2022). Sociology of Race and Ethnicity, Onward! *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, 8(1), 1–5. <https://doi.org/10.1177/233264922111059843>
- Fox, J. (2021). What is Religious Freedom and Who Has It? *Social Compass*, 68(3), 321–341. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00377686211012368>
- Fuchs, C. (2021). Cornel West and Marxist Humanism. *Critical Sociology*, 47(7–8), 1219–1243. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0896920520988314>
- Gunada, I. W. A. (2021). Konsepsi Agama dan Seni Rupa dalam Rurub Kajang Tutuan (Kajian Estetika Hindu). *Mudra Jurnal Seni Budaya*, 36(2), 153–162. <https://doi.org/10.31091/mudra.v36i2.1072>
- Hayes, A. S. (2020). The Behavioral Economics of Pierre Bourdieu. *Sociological Theory*, 38(1), 16–35. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0735275120902170>
- Hill, L., & Nidumolu, P. (2021). The Influence of Classical Stoicism on John Locke's Theory of Self-Ownership. *History of the Human Sciences*, 34(3–4), 3–24. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0952695120910641>
- Hjelm, T. (2014). Religion, Discourse and Power: A Contribution towards a Critical Sociology of Religion. *Critical Sociology*, 40(6), 855–872. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0896920513477664>
- Jodhka, S. S., & Fazal, T. (2021). Religion and Politics in South Asia. *Sociological Bulletin*, 70(4), 447–452. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00380229211062752>
- Karuni, N. K., & Suardana, I. W. (2018). Wacana "Ajeg Bali" Pada Seni Kerajinan Sarana Upacara Di Gianyar Bali. *Mudra Jurnal Seni Budaya*, 33(1), 26–34. <https://doi.org/10.31091/mudra.v33i1.321>
- Kusmanto, T. Y., & Elizabeth, M. Z. (2018). Struktur dan Sistem Sosial pada Aras Wacana dan Praksis. *JSW (Jurnal Sosiologi Walisongo)*, 2(1), 39–50. <https://doi.org/10.21580/jsw.2018.2.1.2252>
- Leung, K. H. (2022). Sartre and Marion on Intentionality and Phenomenality. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 39(1), 41–60. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02632764211024349>
- Malcolm, D. (2021). Post-Truth Society? An Eliasian Sociological Analysis of Knowledge in the 21st Century. *Sociology*, 55(6), 1063–1079. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038521994039>
- Mawardi, A. I. (2020). Charles Wright Mills dan Teori Power Elite: Membaca Konteks dan Pemetaan Teori Sosiologi Politik Tentang Kelas Elite Kekuasaan. *Jurnal Sosiologi Pendidikan Humanis*, 4(2), 73–83. <https://doi.org/10.17977/um021v4i2p73-83>
- McMahan, P., & McFarland, D. A. (2021). Creative Destruction: The Structural Consequences of Scientific Curation. *American Sociological Review*, 86(2), 341–376. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122421996323>
- Melisa, A. M., Sofya, T., Islamika, M. F., & Jubba, H. (2021). Respons Masyarakat Muslim terhadap Tradisi Ngaben di Banguntapan Bantul Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta. *Satya Widya : Jurnal Studi Agama*, 4(2), 95–107. <https://doi.org/10.33363/swjsa.v4i2.768>
- Monticelli, L. (2021). On The Necessity of Prefigurative Politics. *Thesis Eleven*, 167(1), 99–118. <https://doi.org/10.1177/07255136211056992>
- Morgan, T. K. K. B., Reid, J., McMillan, O. W. T., Kingi, T., White, T. T., Young, B., Snow, V., & Laurenson, S. (2021). Towards Best-Practice Inclusion of Cultural Indicators in Decision Making by Indigenous Peoples. *AlterNative*, 17(2), 202–214. <https://doi.org/10.1177/11771801211015686>
- Muttaqin, H. (2016). Menuju Sosiologi Profetik. *Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif*, 10(1), 219–240. <https://doi.org/10.14421/jsr.v10i1.1147>
- Nielsen, S. B., Lemire, S., & Tangsig, S. (2021). Unpacking Context in Realist Evaluations: Findings From a Comprehensive Review. *Evaluation*, 28(1), 91–112. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13563890211053032>
- Paraswati, R., Merthawan, G., & Yasini, K. (2021). Persepsi Masyarakat Hindu Terhadap Terhadap Ngaben Massal (Hindu Community Perception Of Ngaben Massal). *Widya Genitri : Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan, Agama dan Kebudayaan Hindu*, 12(1), 177–187. <https://doi.org/10.36417/widyagenitri.v12i3.336>

- Pemayun, C. B. P. N. N. W. (2016). *Upacara Ngaben*. Pustaka Larasan.
- Pfotenhauer, S., Laurent, B., Papageorgiou, K., & Stilgoe, J. (2022). The Politics of Scaling. *Social Studies of Science*, 52(1), 3–34. <https://doi.org/10.1177/03063127211048945>
- Pinzur, D. (2021). Infrastructure, Ontology and Meaning: The Endogenous Development of Economic Ideas. *Social Studies of Science*, 51(6), 914–937. <https://doi.org/10.1177/03063127211011524>
- Podschuweit, N. (2021). How Ethical Challenges of Covert Observations Can be Met in Practice. *Research Ethics*, 17(3), 309–327. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17470161211008218>
- Prabowo, G. (2017). Positivisme dan Strukturalisme: Sebuah Perbandingan Epistemologi dalam Ilmu Sosial. *JSW (Jurnal Sosiologi Walisongo)*, 1(1), 33–64. <https://doi.org/10.21580/jsw.2017.1.1.1936>
- Pribadi, M. (2017). Tahapan Pemikiran Masyarakat Dalam Pandangan Ibn Khaldun. *Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif*, 11(2), 29–50. <https://doi.org/10.14421/jsr.v11i2.1346>
- Rekker, R. (2021). The Nature and Origins of Political Polarization Over Science. *Public Understanding of Science*, 30(4), 352–368. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963662521989193>
- Renawati, P. W. (2019). Implementasi Upacara Manusa Yadnya Dalam Naskah Dharma Kahuripan (Perspektif Teologi Hindu). *Mudra Jurnal Seni Budaya*, 34(3), 372–384. <https://doi.org/10.31091/mudra.v34i3.796>
- Rey, J., Bolay, M., & Gez, Y. N. (2021). Cosmopolitan Enclaves: An Introduction. *Critique of Anthropology*, 41(4), 331–344. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308275X211059659>
- Robet, R. (2013). Altruisme, Solidaritas dan Kebijakan Sosial. *Masyarakat: Jurnal Sosiologi*, 18(1), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.7454/mjs.v18i1.4692>
- Sari, I. A. P., & Dewi, N. K. A. I. (2020). Nilai Pendidikan Agama Hindu dalam Geguritan Dukuh Kawi. *Dharmasmrti: Jurnal Ilmu Agama dan Kebudayaan*, 20(2), 55–68. <https://doi.org/10.32795/ds.v20i2.1022>
- Segara, I. N. Y. (2020). “Bade Beroda”: Transformasi dan Komodifikasi Budaya dalam Upacara Ngaben di Bali. *Mudra Jurnal Seni Budaya*, 35(1), 94–102. <https://doi.org/10.31091/mudra.v35i1.810>
- Segre, S. (2019). Bauman and Contemporary Sociology: A Critical Analysis. *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews*, 48(1), 88–90. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0094306118815500ee>
- Seriasih, N. W. (2021). Lontar Yama Purwana Tattwa. *Jurnal Widya Sastra: Pendidikan Agama Hindu*, 4(1), 60–70. <https://doi.org/10.36663/wspah.v4i1.241>
- Shapiro, R. (2019). Artification as Process. *Cultural Sociology*, 13(3), 265–275. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1749975519854955>
- Shilling, C. (2022). Body Pedagogics, Transactionalism and Vélo Identities: Becoming a Cyclist in Motorised Societies. *Sociological Review*, 70(1), 3–20. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00380261211049037>
- Simon, Z. B. (2021). Domesticating the Future Through History. *Time and Society*, 30(4), 494–516. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0961463X211014804>
- Smith, P. B., Easterbrook, M. J., Koc, Y., Lun, V. M. C., Papastylianou, D., Grigoryan, L., Torres, C., Efremova, M., Hassan, B., Abbas, A., Ahmad, A. H., al-Bayati, A., Selim, H. A., Anderson, J., Cross, S. E., Delfino, G. I., Gamsakhurdia, V., Gavreliuc, A., Gavreliuc, D., ... Chobthamkit, P. (2021). Is an Emphasis on Dignity, Honor and Face more an Attribute of Individuals or of Cultural Groups? *Cross-Cultural Research*, 55(2–3), 95–126. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1069397120979571>
- Smyth, L. (2021). Rethinking Social Roles: Conflict and Modern Life. *Sociology*, 55(6), 1211–1227. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00380385211007753>
- Soehadha, M. (2018). Distingsi Keilmuan Sosiologi Agama (Sejarah Perkembangan, Epistemologi, dan Kontribusi Praksis). *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama*, 12(1), 31–46. <https://doi.org/10.14421/jsa.2018.121-02>
- Souza, D. E. De. (2022). A Critical Realist Approach to Systems Thinking in Evaluation. *Evaluation*, 28(1), 72–90. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13563890211064639>
- Stokes, A. (2019). The Invention of Creativity: Modern Society and The Culture of the New. *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews*, 48(1), 90–91. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0094306118815500ff>
- Sudarsana, I. K. (2017). Interpretation Meaning of Ngaben for Krama Dadia Arya Kubontubuh Tirtha Sari Ulakan Village Karangasem District (Hindu Religious Education Perspective). *Vidyottama Sanatana: International Journal of Hindu Science and Religious Studies*, 1(1), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.25078/ijhsrs.v1i1.148>
- Sukarma, I. W. (2020). Disiplin Keilmuan Hindu: Telaah Filsafat Ilmu. *Dharmasmrti: Jurnal Ilmu Agama dan Kebudayaan*, 20(1), 29–36. <https://doi.org/10.32795/ds.v20i1.638>
- Sukrawati, N. M. (2020). Nilai Karakter dan Tujuan Pendidikan Hindu. *Dharmasmrti: Jurnal Ilmu Agama dan Kebudayaan*, 20(1), 53–60. <https://doi.org/10.32795/ds.v20i1.641>
- Sukrawati, N. M., & Putri, N. K. A. K. (2021). Mendidik Kesadaran Individu Berdasarkan Wariga Belog (Membangun Relasi Harmonis Manusia Dengan Alam). *Dharmasmrti: Jurnal Ilmu Agama dan Kebudayaan*, 21(2), 87–94. <https://doi.org/10.32795/ds.v21i2.2134>

- Sukrayasa, I. W. (2021). Konstruksi Sosio-Religius Umat Hindu Di Bali Pada Masa Covid-19. *Jurnal Pangkaja*, 24(2), 212–220. <http://dx.doi.org/10.25078/pkj.v24i2.2628>
- Supraja, M. (2015). Alfred Schutz : Rekonstruksi Teori Tindakan Max Weber. *Jurnal Pemikiran Sosiologi*, 1(2), 81–90. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jps.v1i2.23447>
- Sutana, I. G. (2020). Aktualisasi VarnĀsrama Dharma Dalam Kesadaran Sosial Umat Hindu Bali (Analisis Strukturalisme Genetik Pierre Bourdieu). *Dharmasmrti: Jurnal Ilmu Agama dan Kebudayaan*, 20(1), 43–52. <https://doi.org/10.32795/ds.v20i1.640>
- Sutrisno, B. (2017). Resensi Buku : Liquid Surveillance: A Conversation. *Sosioglobal : Jurnal Pemikiran dan Penelitian Sosiologi*, 1(2), 175–1178. <https://doi.org/10.24198/jsg.v1i2.13312>
- Suyoga, I. P. G. (2020). Ngubeng: Praksis Pemanfaatan Ruang Sosio-Religius Hindu Dikala Pandemi Covid-19. *Dharmasmrti: Jurnal Ilmu Agama dan Kebudayaan*, 20(1), 77–84. <https://doi.org/10.32795/ds.v20i1.644>
- Turner, J. H. (2019). Approaches to the Study of Social Structure. *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews*, 48(1), 27–29. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0094306118815499>
- Vassenden, A., & Jonvik, M. (2019). Cultural Capital as a Hidden Asset: Culture, Egalitarianism and Inter-Class Social Encounters in Stavanger, Norway. *Cultural Sociology*, 13(1), 37–56. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1749975518782244>
- Walby, S. (2021). Developing The Concept of Society: Institutional Domains, Regimes of Inequalities and Complex Systems in a Global Era. *Current Sociology*, 69(3), 315–332. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392120932940>
- Weib, A. (2021). Re-thinking Society: How Can Sociological Theories Help Us Understand Global and Cross-Border Social Contexts? *Current Sociology*, 69(3), 333–351. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392120936314>
- Welch, D., Halkier, B., & Keller, M. (2020). Introduction to the Special Issue: Renewing Theories of Practice and Reappraising the Cultural. *Cultural Sociology*, 14(4), 325–339. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1749975520954146>
- Welch, D., Mandich, G., & Keller, M. (2020). Futures in Practice: Regimes of Engagement and Teleoaffectivity. *Cultural Sociology*, 14(4), 438–457. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1749975520943167>
- Woodward, S. (2021). Clutter in Domestic Spaces: Material Vibrancy, and Competing Moralities. *Sociological Review*, 69(6), 1214–1228. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038026121998218>
- Wu, C. (2021). Education and Social Trust in Global Perspective. *Sociological Perspectives*, 64(6), 1166–1186. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0731121421990045>
- Zhang, C., Lu, Y., & Sheng, H. (2021). Exploring Chinese Folk Religion: Popularity, Diffuseness, and Diversities. *Chinese Journal of Sociology*, 7(4), 575–592. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2057150X211042687>