

The Adaptation and Persistence of Cultural Practices in a Tourism Destination The case of Metruna Nyoman Ceremony



Thesis Report

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This thesis is dedicated to my late father who introduced me to *English*

which then opened doors to many higher dreams

“Just look over your shoulder, I’ll be there always” – Phil Collins

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Disclaimer

I would like to make a disclaimer about the use of pictures, figures, and non-English words in this thesis. Not all images and figures used were taken by me during the fieldwork. These figures are marked in the caption with the symbol of copyright ©. They may not be reproduced without the consent of the author, Rio Wedayana. The fieldwork area map (figure 3) was downloaded from Google. The non-English words I used in this thesis are local terms that are used in Tenganan Pegringsingan, which are all in italics. Moreover, the interview quotations do not provide the identity of the interviewees to avoid unforeseen conflicts.

Abstract

Debates on the impact of globalization on tourism and culture have immensely focused on the negative sides. While some scholars argue that culture is endangered by globalization, others view culture as more fluid and having the capacity to persist over time. The aim of this research was to investigate cultural practices that are practiced, maintained, and negotiated in a tourism destination. Tenganan Pegrisingan village was chosen as an epitome of this, a place where traditional culture and tourism co-exist. In this case, Metruna Nyoman is analyzed as a traditional ceremony using Social Practice Theory. This research discusses how cultural practice is maintained as globalization and tourism change the local environment. The study utilizes a qualitative approach and methods such as observations, semi-structured interviews, and participant-generated data. Findings show that Metruna Nyoman persists when the elements are circulated and passed down through the generations, in this case, in Tenganan Pegrisingan. However, cultural practice has undergone changes and adaptation due to the social situation and circumstances. The use of modern technology, as the implication of globalization, was seen to influence the course of cultural practice. As a result, local people have adapted the processes of appropriation and normalization, based on their favor and needs. Having said that, this study shifts the focus from the dominant globalization debate to a more nuanced understanding of how the interaction between globalization and culture is a complex matter and can be seen at even a local level.

Keywords: Social Practice Theory, Cultural Practice, Cultural Change, Tourism, Adaptation

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1. Introduction

During the final period of this study, the Covid-19 pandemic had emerged across the globe. It disturbed any form of physical mobility as many countries locked-down to limit the spread of the virus. With this regulation, the narratives of how nature and wildlife are blooming beautifully as well as lower carbon emissions due to the absence of tourists, have reappeared on the news. These narratives once again highlight the view of tourism as a destroyer of nature and culture (Gibbens, 2020; Japantimes, 2020; Stone, 2020;). Similar concerns have been expressed in the old debates on globalization, tourism, and culture: tourism is assumed to destroy the natural environment and erode cultural values. In this thesis, I focus on the relationship between (global) tourism and local cultures and the impacts of this on the local culture. I also try to study whether or not the negative assumption that tourism is destructive by its very nature holds true.

Tourism has often been criticized because it is assumed by many to lead to the commodification and undermining of local communities and their cultures, identities, and their environment (King, 2017; Piccard, 2010; Shepherd, 2002). There have been many discussions among scholars, highlighting the unavoidable consequences of tourism on local cultures as local culture is commodified (Lussetyowati, 2015; Ursache, 2015; Reinfeld, 2003). Some argue that local cultures are degraded due to homogenization as a result of tourism (Medina, 2003; Wang, 2007; Ampuja 2012); others showed how cultural practices were desacralized to attract tourists (Shepherd, 2002; Piccard, 2010). Lurking behind these perspectives is the idea that culture is something fixed, an ideal that has an authentic essence (Beck, 2000). Other researchers have shown that culture is more flexible, fluid, and adaptive (Meethan, 2003). While indeed, the impact of tourism on local culture is seen to be inevitable, the relationship between tourism-globalization and culture is more complex and nuanced. Besides, there is also a limited amount of literature focusing on how cultural practices are exercised and maintained concerning tourism and globalization.

This study aims to find out how local communities exercise cultural practices in a tourist destination, to deepen our understanding of the relationship between culture and globalization. Therefore, I studied the Metruna Nyoman ceremony as one of the cultural practices conducted in a customary village in Bali, namely Tenganan Pegringsingan. The local people are considered the indigenous people of the island, which are often called Bali Aga or Bali Mula. They highly adhere to and practice their customary law, which is called *awig-awig* in the language they use.

Their unique culture has resulted in the village becoming a tourist destination, and with the development of the tourism industry, the livelihood of the locals has changed (Maria et al., 2007; Suryadarma, 2008). Tourism, along with broader access to and development of technology, has allowed westernized ideas and lifestyles to make their way into the village (Wang, 2007; Barban, 2008; Ampuja, 2012). Yet it is found that cultural, traditional ceremonies are still integrated and practiced obediently in this village. The Metruna Nyoman ceremony, which marks the transition of a teenage boy to a man (adult), exemplifies how local people maintain the cultural practice and adapt to their changing situation and life nowadays.

To analyze the data obtained for this case study, Social Practice Theory was employed. According to Shove et al. (2012), SPT provides a framework to understand how cultural practice emerges, persists, and is adapted by analyzing the elements (competence, materiality, and meanings) as well as their dynamics in a given practice. Based on this, Metruna Nyoman, as a cultural practice is analyzed by looking at each element, the connection between elements, and its implications concerning the current situation of Tenganan Pegrisingan. Having done that, SPT facilitates to observe how Metruna Nyoman has changed over time. Moreover, SPT allows the research to view a social phenomenon in two interchangeable lenses: 'zooming in' and 'zooming out' (Lamers et al., 2017). It means that this study incorporates the situational context of Tenganan Pegrisingan as a cultural tourism destination as an explanation for the changes and persistence of the practice of Metruna Nyoman.

Generally, the objective of this research is to address how cultural practice is performed and maintained in the setting of a tourist destination where culture is also seen and used as a commodity. The research is centered on the concept of cultural practices and highlights the Metruna Nyoman as a meaningful hereditary ceremony in Tenganan Pegrisingan village. Based on this, the study develops a theoretical and analytical framework to examine traditional practices that are grounded in local customs and knowledge because of their customary law. In so doing, it is also to bring up the discussion of the results of globalization from the grass-root perspective. Moreover, the study also questions whether cultural practice serves as a favorable advantage to their community. In doing so, the paper seeks to answer the primary question below, while the sub-questions are more specific in the context of the Tenganan Village in Bali:

Main Question: How is culture of the local Balinese community exercised through traditional practices in a tourism destination?

Sub-questions:

- a. What is the competence in a ceremony of Metruna Nyoman in Tenganan Pegringsingan village?
- b. What is the role of materiality in a ceremony of Metruna Nyoman in Tenganan Pegringsingan village?
- c. How are the meanings constituted within the interplay of materials and competence of Metruna Nyoman in Tenganan Pegringsingan village?

This study consists of seven main chapters following this introduction; firstly, a literature review was done to introduce the context of tourism as part of the globalization process and the various debates to view the impact of globalization. Furthermore, the implication of globalization and tourism towards culture is studied further. In this topic, it includes the overarching concepts of cultural tourism and how culture is employed within tourism. This sets up the context where the social phenomenon, Metruna Nyoman, happens. The idea of cultural preservation is also defined as it intersects with the employment of culture in the tourism industry. Secondly, Social Practice Theory is discussed concerning its utilization for the theory in this research. The third chapter discusses the research methodology. This section informs the methods of data collection and analysis.

Moreover, reflection, including positionality, limitations, and issues, and the ethics applied during the fieldwork will conclude the chapter. In the next chapter, the context of location and the case of Metruna Nyoman are illustrated in detail. The information on this was gathered during fieldwork and taken from existing literature. Following this context, the findings and analysis are presented according to the conceptual framework of the study. Lastly, the concluding chapter delves deeper into the discussions about the results and the existing literature. Moreover, suggestions are given for further possible research on this topic and limitations within this research.

2. Tourism, Globalization, and Cultural Change: A Literature Review

This chapter consists of a literature review that helps us to position this study in the broader debates on culture, tourism, and globalization. Firstly, it outlines the existing debates on tourism and globalization. Two different, amongst many perspectives on tourism and globalization: an essentialist and a transformative perspective, are introduced. It then continues to the literature review concerning cultural tourism and cultural change. After that, I briefly explore the related discussion on cultural preservation and relate this to the perspectives of the essentialists and transformationalists.

2.1 Tourism and Globalization

Meethan (2003, p.12) highlights two lenses through which to view globalization, among other approaches to this concept. Firstly, hyper-globalists believe that economic growth and political power are changing positively, which shapes the emergence of a homogenous global culture. In doing so, local culture is being eroded primarily because of the expansion of international capitalism. On the other hand, transformationalists believe that globalization is a complex process of interconnected relationships that change over time as a way to adapt to new conditions. The process transforms social and cultural norms, as well as economic and political actions, which are mediated by nation-states, regions, and localities in a more sophisticated way. The debates among scholars about globalization and its relation to tourism have been laid based on those perspectives. While one approach can be seen as critical of the other, both views are salient to conceive the implication of globalization (Meethan, 2003).

As an economic industry, tourism is deeply integrated into the processes of globalization. It acts as a driver of this process while at the same being influenced by it significantly. To satisfy the global demand for travel, the development of technology in transportation prompted the creation of a global transportation system, extending global networks, and intensifying the interconnectedness. In this sense, transportation allows people to consume less time when traveling and enables them to reach the most remote corners of the world (Cohen, 2012). At the same time, governments started simplifying formal processing procedures to facilitate the growing demand for tourism experiences (Song et al., 2018). While more people gained access to the travel market, more recent inventions such as the Information & Communication Technology

(ICT) revolution provided access to verbal and visual information on possible destinations, and the different parts of the tourism value chain within them. This reduces uncertainty and allows consumers to compare multiple options. In so doing, tourism can be seen as a global process of commodification and consumption involving flows of people, capital, images, and culture.

Song et al. (2018) note that, *“For the tourism sector, information and transport technologies are its lifelines, since it sells products on faith and its service providers are geographically dispersed”* (p. 1000). Along with such inventions, the neo-liberal economic philosophy of open markets, privatization, and free trade, is closely interlinked to globalization and has had significant effects on the tourism industry. This happens through, for example, the increasing transnational ownership of diverse enterprises (i.e.hotels) (Song et al., 2018). In their study, Kozhokulov et al. (2019) argue, these processes in the tourism industry have a positive impact on unemployment due to the nature of the tourism industry as labor-intensive, which correlates to economic development. Additionally, Cohen (2012) states that it also encourages the spread of the western consumerist ethos across the globe.

Nonetheless, driven by private capital and local governments’ willingness to improve economic viability, neo-liberal philosophy has helped tourism grow to become a globally relevant industry (Suartika, 2018). As with most processes of globalization, however, the tourism industry is characterized by uneven development, both on global scales as well as on local levels. It relates to the linkage and interdependence of “nodes” in the worldwide network. For example, Africa and the Middle East, together, only received a 9% share of international tourist arrivals in 2017, while Europe received 51% (UNWTO, 2018). On a local level, transnationalization of ownership structures, for example, can cause single destinations to experience fragmentation and unequal development (Song et al., 2018). It is due to that the profits of these transnational organizations often only go to a few individuals. It goes out of the local area, while local people mainly benefit through lower-paying jobs in the tourism sector, like working at hotels, restaurants, and so forth.

Many scholars claim that the process of globalization creates a pathway to penetrate local culture and impose a consumerist and individualistic lifestyle in tourist destinations. A lot of this is influenced by the West, which can be seen as detrimental to local culture and identity (Mustapha et al., 2011). For example, brands like Coca-cola and Mcdonalds as global products can be found almost everywhere and are instantly recognizable. In accordance with other scholars, it is argued

that such products are not only materially commodities but also a tool that communicates lifestyles and propagated ideas through media technology (Wang, 2007; Barban, 2008; Ampuja, 2012). This process is also synonymously referred to as cultural standardization, which forms uniformity across global culture (Barban, 2008). In so doing, the diversity of local cultural attributes is diminished.

In conclusion, some scholars argue that the process of globalization works in the various processes from the development of economy, forms of spatial and physical mobilities. It is highly influenced by, but not limited to, material considerations such as technology. Indeed, it is debated whether the process of globalization in the tourism industry brings advantages to destinations and local communities in terms of economic development, through new sources of economic income, or whether it fosters other negative implications such as uneven development and cultural deterioration. Among various approaches to analyzing these two views, it can be done by analyzing cultural dynamics. In doing so, this research will continue to discuss specifically on the subject of tourism and culture, and the process of how changes are occurring and allowing the social world to adapt and reconfigure at every level, such as local, regional, even national levels, globalization can be elucidated.

2.2 Tourism, Culture and Cultural Change

It has become clear from the above that globalization can bring both positive and negative changes to local communities in tourist destinations. This section will now focus specifically on the relation between culture, tourism, and globalization. Initially, it is necessary to conceptualize what is called culture since it has a broad definition and refers to some different and overlapping characteristics (Meethan, 2003). According to Oatey (2012), culture manifests in observable artifacts, values, and basic underlying assumptions that represent behavior. It means that culture, as an abstract concept, is also an inherited mental program that exists on an individual and social level (Oatey, 2012). Almost everyone belongs to several different categories of groups, such as nationality, ethnicity, gender, or social class. In this sense, culture can be seen as a fuzzy concept that also may share a resemblance to its features among groups (Oatey & Franklin, 2012). Culture can also be defined as the outcome of the set of practical actions, which are employed based on guiding principles of the actions and material circumstances (Meethan, 2003, p.16). In so doing, it creates consensus in social reality in order to decide the way of how it is employed. The know-

how as forms of knowledge is learned and socialized according to a single factor or combined factors such as geographical, socioeconomic, gender, religious, and such (Meethan, 2003, p.17).

Meethan (2003) argues that culture can be seen as an instrumental strategy by using the components of culture, mainly for economic purposes in the tourism industry. Also, Shepherd (2002) views in a similar idea that culture is a potential commodity in the tourism industry. In so doing, cultural tourism can be defined as a process of how globalization through commodification works for mainly economic purposes (Lussetyowati, 2015; Ursache, 2015; Reinfeld, 2003). According to Piccard (1997), the commodified culture in developing regions usually depends on their exotic characteristics and ethnic difference. Here culture is then conceptualized in its ideal and authentic attributes bounded on its local territory (Beck, 2000). This form of cultural tourism generally becomes popular and shapes the regional development in the various regions of the world which are presented in different forms such as cultural sites (traditional villages, museums), and cultural performances or practices (visual arts, ceremonies, rituals, dances) (Flutur & Nadelea 2018; Smith, 2015; Butcher, 2006). In this sense, these spaces are marked as unique with a distinct culture and history that are sealable as an object bounded to its territory (Gotham, 2005).

However, in the same line of thought, some scholars also highlight culture, at the receiving end of the impact of tourism. As it has been mentioned in the previous sub-chapter that homogenization or uniformity has an impact on culture, which is also imposed on people by market forces (capital and commodity) dominating cultures (Medina, 2003; Wang, 2007; Ampuja 2012). Ritzer states that the example of global production in the tourism industry can be seen in the existence of Disneyland or McDonalds (cited in Gotham, 2005). King (2017) also includes that material culture in the tourism market is usually simplified and miniaturized; for example, the ritual cloth has (re)produced to be souvenirs. As a result of this process, local features and identity are slowly delocalized with this existence of global power. Finally, Gotham (2005) adds that this process also makes it challenging to develop meaningful cultural interactions between individuals and communal identities.

Another common critique also states that tourism increases the demand for cheap copies of authentic arts or cultural materiality. Piccard (2008) gives an example in the process of commodification, cultural tourism destinations in Bali. As Bali has marketed themselves based on their local values and identity, using (re)production of cultural material and cultural performances

or practices (Piccard, 2008). To attract tourists, the (re)production of cultural practice and materiality are being exploited and, to some extent, also manipulated for commercial purposes (Hannah, in Piccard, 2008). For example, *Legong* performance is intended to please tourists rather than Gods, lessens the values and meanings, thus makes it to a desacralization (Shepherd, 2002; Piccard, 2010). Thus, the authenticity of the culture is being compromised. Nevertheless, it also works paradoxically that without something inauthentic, the notion of being authentic does not value anything. Shepherd (2002) emphasizes this condition when the notion of being authentic is defined. He further explains that

“if commodified touristic productions cheapen what is viewed as an authentic, local culture, this tourist demand also increases the material (and, by extension, the aesthetic) value of those objects or practices classified as authentic and thus as somehow more ‘real’” (2002, p. 194)

Moreover, it is argued by Wang (2007), that the existence of inauthenticity can strengthen the core values that define culture as authentic. This can happen because it creates awareness among people to defend their culture since it is the way they exercise their identity. Thus, tourism can arguably enhance cultural identity if it is viewed from this perspective.

Meethan (2003) argues that people are exposed to the flows of images and ideas daily, and they negotiate their position, meanings, and values continually depending on the contextual circumstances. This notion challenges the idea of culture bounded to a specific territory and, instead, views culture in a dynamic perspective. In this sense, culture is being maintained or transformed through the creation of knowledge and meanings. Additionally, Gotham (2005) and Wang (2007) also share the view that people or locals whose culture is impacted by the process of homogenization and commodification, are not merely passive recipients of the impact of global tourism. Instead, they are actively involved in the production; people have choices in the way they engage with meanings and cultural commodities such as places, symbolic and cultural values. Therefore, from a dynamic perspective, it can be concluded that culture is always a work in progress that takes place in various spatial and institutional levels. It is not only in globalized institutions but also in people’s everyday life.

Following on the previous paragraph, culture can be seen as something fluid, adaptable, flexible, and evolving over time. In this sense, culture is subject to change that highlights the dynamics of culture as a result of its interaction locally and globally. Meethan (2003) concludes that the nature of this process involves the interplay of global with local forces that may form assimilation of

resistance. In the interaction between culture and tourism, the notion of hybridity is common to use. Nederveen Pieterse states that it is formed as a result of the emergence of the fixed local culture, which is salient despite all the forms of mobility and flow defined by territory and trans-local mobility (cited in Meethan, 2003). Creolization, for example, can be seen as “the creation of traditions and other forms of cultural innovation that are the result of recontextualization of mixing different identities and merger of symbols” (Gotham, 2005, p. 312). In this sense, it highlights the view that culture is produced and maintained as people interact, produce, and reproduce meanings and understandings.

2.3 Cultural Preservation

Some essentialist authors claim that the globalization process of economic development and modernization has led to a global culture of homogenization towards people’s lives and culture. In this sense, the traditional ways of life and cultural expressions such as performance arts and craftsmanship are being abandoned for a more modern way of living (U.S Ambassador Fund for Cultural Preservation, 2010). As a result, some scholars highlight the importance of culture to be preserved, considering the economic value of culture (Promayuk & Chairattananon, 2016; Kalamarova et al., 2015; Logan, 2007). Additionally, UNESCO (n.d) also argues that maintaining cultural diversity is essential to face the fast-growing globalization, especially the homogenization of culture.

The notion of cultural preservation is generally introduced by western cultural constructs. Kreps (2013) explains that the practice of collecting, storing, caring, and preserving value, meaningful materials, like museums, is a western phenomenon of preservation. Moreover, an international organization such as UNESCO also has developed a preservationist framework to protect the world’s cultural diversity and the rights of indigenous communities as the bearers of their local tradition. In this sense, UNESCO refers to the notion of intangible cultures such as local knowledge and skills, represented in oral traditions, craftsmanship, and traditional practices (n.d.). However, Alivizatou (2011) argues that these formalized, top-down approaches of preservation have some problematic issues, such as the requirement of technical knowledge and renegotiation of cultural practices to meet the criteria of the organization. It also means that there is a homogenous vision of cultural authenticity (Alivizatou, 2011) that may limit ideas, creativity, or vitality due to this top-down approach (Cowen, cited in Bauer, 2009).

On the other hand, cultural preservation can also be seen from a grassroots approach, which is also referred to as a bottom-up approach with the involvement of locals, local's knowledge, skills, and resources (Muzaini & Minca, 2018, Nilson & Thorell, 2018). As an example, Mokuau & Browne (1994) identify that oral history, as a source, contributes to the cultural preservation of native Hawaiian in the United States. Meanwhile, Xu et al. (2005) highlight the importance of indigenous knowledge, based on the local belief system, in maintaining the local landscape and culture. Silver (2007, p.78) illustrates in the case of Bali cultural tourism that presents their traditional heritage as a unique character for the island from the rest of the nation. To some extent, it also reflects the transformative power of a democratic country as it allows cultural preservation performed locally. By illustrating the case in Bali cultural tourism, Silver (2007) argues this approach implies the local's right to adapt and maintain their culture within their context and terms

Despite the difference between the two approaches, Hufford states that generally, the center of cultural conservation role is to understand how people use a variety of resources (such as objects, traditional practices, beliefs, and sites) to construct and sustain their cultures (cited in Kreps, 2013). Handler (2003) also claims that it is impossible to preserve culture, since *"the terms 'preservation' and 'culture' are taken together to imply that cultural life can be captured and frozen in objects that we think of as 'property.'"* It means that culture is preserved by freezing the essence of culture as a property, that can be problematic to intangible culture. In other words, it highlights the importance of cultural objects or material in preservation.

Moreover, related to cultural change and preservation, Bauer (2009) uses the concept of *terroir*, which refers to intersectionality within practices, places, and things that affect the cultural continuity and change. He further states that while *"change is happening, and culture is on the move,"* globalization effects are negotiated and manifested in the most local way as *"one that grows out of the continuing traditions of a place"* (2009, p.97). In accordance with the view of transformationalists, Bauer highlights the focus on how culture has a capacity to persist in this era of globalization. Hence, the concept of preservation as a way to save endangered cultures can be contested. Additionally, Holtorf (2018) also points out this matter in slightly different words, *"protecting cultural heritage in the name of cultural resilience and peace are directly linked to a distinctive 'threats-based.'"* In other words, to have a concept of preservation, there has to be a pre-existing concept of threats that endanger the local culture.

3. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Previous chapters have captured various globalization debates regarding tourism and culture to set off the research background. Meanwhile, this chapter will delineate how this study is conceptualized to analyze how culture is exercised in a tourism destination. Firstly, a brief introduction to Social Practice Theory (SPT) is described. Then, the elements of SPT by Shove et al. (2012) are discussed. Finally, the employment of Social Practice Theory (SPT) as the conceptual framework of the research is outlined.

3.1 Introduction to Social Practice Theory

In many works of literature, Anthony Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu have been mentioned as prominent theorists in the creation of practice (Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011; Spaartgaren, 2011; Lamers et al., 2017). In Giddens's practice theory, agency and social structure influence each other in reciprocal ways (Lamers et al., 2017; Shove et al., 2012). To Giddens, practices can be seen as a collective action, governed by rules and resources, which shape a system over time (Schatzki, 2016). Meanwhile, Bourdieu's practice theory introduces the concept of habitus as the theory's focus, along with field and capital (Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011, p. 22), which is arguably a part of practices themselves (Spaartgaren, 2011; Shove, 2012). According to Kraus, habitus is a combination of perception, thinking, feeling, speaking, and acting that format all the expression in verbal and practical manifestation (in Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011). That is created by society regarding social norms and has a vital role in the choices people make (Bourdieu, 1979). Thus, while habitus seems to appear natural, it is, in fact, processed through the embodiment of social construction (Sweetman, 2009). In other words, following the two notions from Bourdieu and Giddens, social life is seen as a construction of series of habitus, performed by a human agency who are knowledgeable about the rules. In this sense, practices cannot be understood adequately by considering human agency and social structure separately (Lamers et al., 2017; Shove et al., 2012).

While this concept has been debated, Spaartgaren (2011) claims that both of their work left an understanding of the creation of social life. Reckwitz (2002) also argues that the concept shapes a family of practice theories, but there is still a lack of systematical theories presented (p. 244). He then introduces practice theory under an overarching umbrella of cultural theories that provide a specific form of explaining and understanding action by "looking at symbolic structures

of knowledge which enable and constrain the agents to interpret the world according to certain forms” (p. 245, 2002). Here, social practice is positioned by acknowledging practices as ‘smallest unit’ that embody elements and their interdependencies (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 249). Reckwitz then presents a definition of practice as follows:

“A ‘practice’ (*Praktik*) is a routinized type of behavior which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, ‘things’ and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge.” (2002, p.254)

Additionally, to Schatzki, practice theories are also known in the manner of flat ontology, which means practice theories have no level of social reality (Lamers et al. 2017). He further explains that in a social phenomenon, there usually are two levels; a lower level, which consists of the individual entity and their action (2016, p.), whereas the higher-level covers institution, system, or social structure. These levels are sometimes referred to as micro and macro levels (Schatzki, 2016; Lamers et al., 2017). By saying that practice theories have a flat ontology, it recognizes practices happen in the same ‘plenum’ and that the two levels; micro and macro, are instead forms of a spectrum from smaller to larger (more spatially temporally extensive) (Schatzki, 2016; Lamers et al., 2017). In this sense, practice theories provide a methodological framework, zooming in on a particular process of practice reproduction and zooming out on complexes of practice management bundles (Lamers et al., 2017).

Schatzki’s (2016) concept of practices can be defined as interrelated ‘saying and doing’ and material arrangements that hang together through a range of connections among them. As such creates various, complex, multiple bundles of practices and arrangements over time and space, which relates to the zooming out lens from the previous paragraph (Schatzki, 2016, p.32). Shove, Panzar, and Watson (2012) also refer to this concept as bundles and complexes. Bundles can be referred to multiple practices that shape each other within a specific spatial arrangement and shared material elements. These practices may work in a dynamic of synchronization, proximity, and co-existence that form complexes (Shove et al., 2012, p. 87). Therefore, social phenomena should be analyzed by reference to actions and the relations among other practices (Schatzki, 2016).

Furthermore, Nicolini (2012) also sees practice as a tradition that conveys the process of “*handing down ways of doing and being from generation to generation*” (p.78). In this case, he seeks the

explanation by employing the theory of learning and the habituation process. While it has been mentioned before that human agency and social structure are inseparable when analyzing a practice, Nicolini's concept, adds other nuances to practice theory. It suggests how a practice develops and persists over time, as well as why human agency continues to perform it. This process of how a practice is persisted, stabilized is also shared by Shove et al. (2012), which is further explained in the next section.

3.2 The Elements and Dynamics of Practices

According to Maller (2012), the mean of practice theory is to serve the understanding of why people do what they do with the focus on human action rather than behavioral understanding. This is derived from the ontological grounding of practice theory that human activity is always in the world (Shove et al., 2017). In so doing, the foreground of practice theories located in the importance of activity and performances in all aspects of social life, yet the implications are more than just describing what people do (Nicolini, 2012).

In Giddens and Bourdieu's practice theory, the aspects of human agency and structure play an essential role in the enactment of a practice. Human agency and agents as carriers of practices are recruited in the process of practice enactments (Shove et al., 2012), who simultaneously embody initiatives, ideas, creativity as they perform a practice (Nicolini, 2012). These are required to go on and adapt practices to new circumstances (Nicolini, 2012), that according to Giddens are guided by rules and resources as structural features of social systems (in Shove et al., 2012, p. 3). In doing so, a practice is shaped and enabled by the structures which at the same time, reproduced in human action flow. This means that an analysis of practices cannot be appropriately understood by considering human agency and social structure separately (Lamers et al., 2017; Shove et al., 2012).

While the concept of material is not highlighted in Bourdieu and Giddens' concept of practice theories, many argue its importance in the enactment of practices (Lamers et al., 2017). Nicolini (2012) adds that the practice theory approach brings "the critical role of the body and material things" when analyzing social phenomena (p. 4). Material objects can be defined as technologies, infrastructures, things, objects, tools, or hardware that are mobilized in practices (Schatzki, 2010; Shove et al., 2012). Additionally, Shove et al. (2012) conceptualize material as one of the working aspects with competences, a practical knowledge of how these materials are enacted, and the

skills to execute the practice. Meanings are also included that can be defined, such as symbolic meanings, ideas, and aspirations explaining the cognitive, emotional, and motivational aspects of the practice (Reckwitz, 2002; Shove et al., 2012). However, Nicolini (2012) also adds the element of discourse in the form of texts, signs, and communication as constituent elements of practices.

Furthermore, Shove et al. (2012) explain that the relation among elements can be determined whether certain practices emerge, persist, or even disappear. As it is mentioned before, practices consist of interdependencies between “bodily activities, forms of mental activities, things and their use of background knowledge” (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 249), which underlines linkage. Thus, it implies that the practice’s stability or routine will remain if the defining elements are sustained. This notion can also be seen in the concept of practice as tradition (Nicolini, 2012), which is mentioned in the previous section. The use of the theory of learning in this concept, explains that there is a prominent role of socialization and apprenticeship (Nicolini, 2012). According to Durkheim, a Sociologist, socialization exists at the same time as a social phenomenon, while apprenticeship suggests a capacity to carry out skill from one individual to another (cited in Nicolini, p.79).

Moreover, apprenticeship is also explained by Shove et al., (2012, p.73), it is stated that “*a practice’ consists of a composite patchwork of variously skilled, variously committed performances enacted and reproduced by beginners and by old-hands alike.*”. It suggests human agency as a practitioner is undergone a transformative process, which also shapes the future of the practice. Various practices coexist in the same location, which highlights the importance of connections between practices. In describing this relation, Shove et al. uses the concept of bundles of practices (co-location and co-existence) and complexes (co-dependent forms of sequence and synchronization) (2012, p.81).

Additionally, Schatzki (2016, p. 33) explains that bundles are formed on a scale from small to a larger phenomenon, and when the scale moves, it will include “*more network of relation (among practices, arrangements, and bundles).*” It suggests that a practice can be identified as a bundle (a large phenomenon) which constitute of (smaller) various practices (Lamers et al., 2017). Shove et al. (2012) address the concept of practice-arrangement bundles and its implication by illustrating the practice of driving in the USA in the 1900s – 1910s (2012, p. 29), which can be seen on Figure 1.

This figure presents the practice of driving, shaped by the link of all three elements. Driving as a new practice is created by the previous practice, such as carriage riding. The practice of driving is not sufficient only for the existence of a car, but a driving skill is also needed. The know-how is required to keep a car in motion in a structured manner that has relations between the vehicle and the infrastructures (road and traffic). Furthermore, the meaning of driving constitutes different means; driving becomes an exhibition of wealth, by the existence of the car itself.

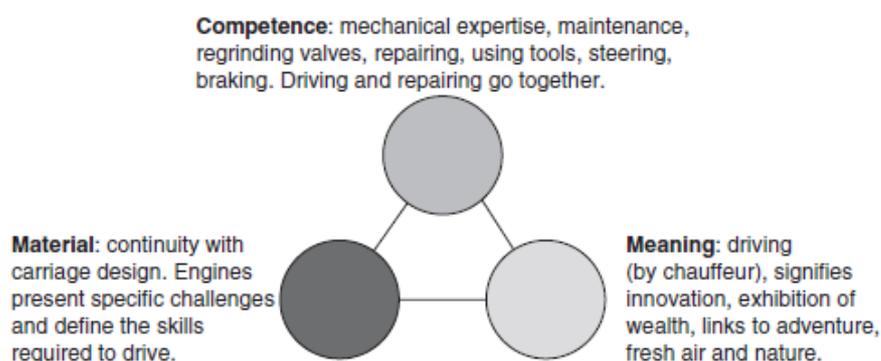


Figure 1. Elements of Driving by Shove et al. (2012, p. 29)

However, it can also be as leisure where driving becomes outings (2012, p.31). In this sense, meaning and materiality simultaneously promote each other. Moreover, Lamers et al. (2017) point out that the historical trajectory is crucial for analyzing the changes in practices that are embedded in broader practice-arrangement bundles. Using this approach in practice will reveal a chronological sequence that revealing the character involved at different moments. For example, reviewing the history of car culture implies westernization, masculinity, and social class in the element of meaning (Shove et al., 2012, p. 35). Meanwhile, the history of motor and technology describes the changes in material aspects of car design and production, which relates to the negligence of unique clothing when driving is performed (Shove et al., 2012, p.35). Thus, the concept of practice-arrangement bundles implies the complexities of a single practice or as part of a more extensive social phenomenon (Lamers et al., 2017).

3.2 Conceptual Model

The conceptual model illustrates how I approach the main ideas that are explained and discussed in the previous sub-chapters. In this research, I investigate the role of cultural practice as local action in exercising the effects of tourism and maintain the strength of tradition, eventually culture. Thus, by taking a grass-roots view of how it shapes, I focus on the role of local influences,

resists, reflects, or absorbs the outside forces. The theory of social practice is applied to allow the local action or cultural practice presented as the center of the research. At the same time, Lamers et al. (2017) argue that Schatzki provides a more elaborate framework, Shove et al. (2012) claim that their concept becomes helpful in organizing empirical research.

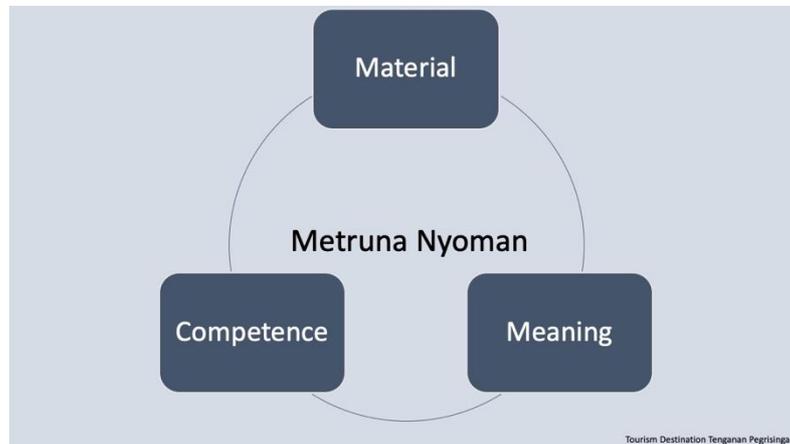


Figure 2. Conceptual Model of The Research

Therefore, this research has taken an approach grounded in Shove's practice theory (2012), which uses the interplay of materials, meanings, and competence that are elements within the cultural practice being analyzed. Firstly, the proposed framework aims to analyze the elements of cultural practice, particularly the Metruna Nyoman ceremony. Secondly, by particularizing the elements of Metruna Nyoman, it provides a tool to identify changes by looking at the dynamics among the elements. This also facilitates a new perspective of understanding the cultural dynamics, how people navigate changes caused by tourism in order to maintain the culture where tourism takes place. In so doing, the discussion presented in this research will move away from critics of tourism impacts.

4. Methodology

In this chapter, the methodology of the research is outlined. The choice of the methodology framework interconnects with the researcher's worldview of postmodernism that acknowledges the complexity of multiple realities, where meanings are negotiated and shaped by personal experiences, culture, and historical experiences (Cresswell and Poth 2018). Firstly, the research design is rationalized, which is followed by the methods used to gather the data. Secondly, the choice of data collection and analysis will be laid out. Afterward, the reflection during the fieldwork defines positionality, limitations, and issues encountered. Finally, the topic of ethical consideration is also addressed.

4.1 Research Design

According to Creswell (2013), qualitative approaches are diverse and categorized into various classifications based on disciplines or fields. This research adopts a case study, which is included a qualitative method, to inquiry about the characteristic of a particular social system and its key attributes in which focuses on the in-depth description of a phenomenon in its natural setting (Cresswell, 2013; Cresswell, 2009; Njie and Asimiran, 2014). It is due to the necessity of understanding the process and its meaning. This statement is particularly relevant to Social Practice Theory that through participant observation and interviews, it allows the researcher to capture the elements and gain the understanding of nature of the practice (Lamers et al., 2017) It is also inline because the human agency is seen, depending on the context as they are reciprocally interacting and evolving dynamically over time (Shaws et al., 2017), while case studies allow capturing the process and its flow of activity on a particular context (Noor, 2008). Moreover, by using an ethnography approach, this case study can capture the details of social phenomena in which practices are enacted as Lamers et al., (2017) call the 'zooming in' lens in practice theory.

Additionally, Njie and Asimiran (2014) declare that the focus of the case study is on the experiential knowledge and attention to its social-political and other contexts that influence intending to answer the "how" and "why." In so doing, a case study is considered as the most suitable approach for this research. Furthermore, the participants of this research have a prominent role in data resources. By using purposive and snowballing sampling techniques, the data was collected, which highlights the depth and quality of information obtained, considering as a salient element in qualitative research (Njie and Asimiran, 2014).

4.2 Methods

There are two classic qualitative methods used to answer the research questions, namely semi-structured interviews and participant observations. These two methods, which are a part of qualitative research characteristics, are used to gather multiple forms of information in order to carry the inductive data analysis (Creswell, 2018; Creswell, 2009). However, another method, namely participant-generated data, was also carried out due to some unexpected factors in the field. From October 10th to November 23rd, the fieldwork was conducted, which was started by initial observations in the area of the research for the first week. It was to establish an initial relationship with the participants as well as give a familiar feeling both to the people and the researcher. Furthermore, the two methods were being employed simultaneously. Thus, it allowed the researcher to verify information obtained during observation in interviews or vice versa.

Semi-structure Interviews

The interviews were firstly conducted using a purposive sample with the leaders of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village. The governance system is unique in the village that there is more than one leader but six leaders in *Krama Desa*¹, called *Keliang Desa*, with four *Luanan* as their advisors. These interviews seemed fundamental at first since the leaders are seen as the primary informants for traditional values and knowledge of rituals. However, the information collected from the first three interviews appeared to be less satisfying. In this case, the snowball technique was taken in order to get precise information, especially with those who have direct involvement in the ceremony. From this technique, in total, there are 15 interviews conducted with various participants. However, one interview is not included as it lacks the information needed for this research due to the condition of the interview participant. Interviews were carried out at the residences of the participants to ensure their convenience during interviews. The variety of the participants facilitated the richness of the data, thus could represent all kinds of perspectives and knowledge of this ceremony. The participants are varied and categorized according to their role in the village, namely; local public figures, *Keliang Desa*, members of *Krama Desa*, *Luanan*, *Pemangku Adat*, and *Teruna* (young male generation). Semi-structure was chosen because it served an opportunity to probe and ask clarifying questions, which is sanction to the research analysis. All of the interviews are lasted between 45 minutes to two hours and were recorded.

Participant Observation

Firstly, an initial observation was conducted in order to explore and understand the research setting. This process is also prominent in a case study, to put a focus on identifying the practices

¹ the highest (customary) institution in the village

and interaction within the practices (Njie and Asimiran, 2014). The process allowed the researcher to familiarize sense with the place, to engage with the people, and also daily norms and behavior. This was useful to assess the ethical consideration during the daily contact and primarily when a ritual is being held. Furthermore, it also provided a chance to connect with the head chiefs of the village before the interviews and get informed of rituals or ceremonies held during the fieldwork. In this village, rituals and ceremonies usually held according to the local or indigenous calendar, which is different from the usual calendar system, and only a few people possess the knowledge of the indigenous calendar system. It means only the community is informed if any ceremony or rituals will be held.

Hereafter, there were two main rituals as a part of the Metruna Nyoman series of ceremonies observed, namely *Ngintaran*, in two different locations. However, since observation was done every day during the fieldwork period, there were also rituals, ceremonies, routines encountered, which helped to link the engagement of Metruna Nyoman and other practices. In the observation notes, everyday conversation with locals was also included. In this matter, the use of perception is inevitable to make sense of how every individual is linked to the ceremony through every aspect, such as the relationship with participant, perception, and personal meaning of the ceremony.

As an outsider, throughout the fieldwork, a passive observant role was mostly carried out mainly during ceremonies but also a participant observant during the engagement of daily mundane activities. Thus, there was an invisible line drawn to which the role had to be switched. In that case, it was found the use of material, in this case, clothing to be the indicator when the role was switched. To be present in ceremonies or a temple, the sarong has to be worn as a 'uniform' for locals while for the researcher, and it indicated that a passive observant was being enacted. Wearing a sarong was also an embodiment of ethical consideration since it was perceived as a polite gesture, a form of respect towards the rituals, and finally, the culture.

Participant-Generated Visual Data

This method was employed because there were three other main rituals that were missed since the topic of the research was built during the initial observation. These rituals were *Pedewasan*, *Metyamyang*, and *Melegar*. Moreover, there was also a matter of the sacredness of the rituals, which made it restricted for visitors to watch. There were 51 photos and three videos generated in total. Additionally, an interview was also conducted, while watching the videos, with the photographer and an elder who were involved actors during the ceremonies. Thompson & Oelker

(2013) state that photos can help to reduce misunderstanding and allow the researcher to probe important information.

Additionally, Sweetman (2009) claims that visual methods may be particularly helpful in areas difficult to verbalize. In doing so, this method was to capture to reveal and help to understand the meanings of the activity performed. Furthermore, these data can be a visual representation of the research narrative. Finally, an ethical consideration was also needed in acquiring and using the visual data such as informed consent and the reference of the authorship.

4.3 Data Analysis

During the fieldwork, some interviews had been transcribed at the same time, collecting the data. It helped to identify and alienate the data until it reached saturation. After the fieldwork is done, left interviews result from a voice recorder, and fieldwork notes were transcribed in the same language, Bahasa Indonesia. This was done manually by listening to the recordings one by one. Only later, quotations that are important and are included in the discussion will be translated into English.

It is known that in qualitative research, the analysis process involves breaking down, disassembling, and segmenting the data, which is prominent to construct the data into a more coherent, meaningful paragraph in the qualitative approach (Boeije, 2010). Furthermore, the process of data analysis began by compiling the data and followed by coding. Color-coded is used, and this approach of deductive code based on the three elements of social practice; Material, Competence, and Meaning. Additionally, to know if there are any emerging topics from the data, inductive codes are also used. The process is similar to the previous data segmenting, that the transcription was coded. Next, these codes were grouped and organized into relevant topics. In this process, only prominent and relevant findings will be attached for supporting arguments or even as new findings. Finally, the report was assembled in an attempt to counter the research question by dividing findings, analysis, and discussion separately. It is presented through conceptual groundwork from kinds of literature I have reviewed and experiences I encountered during fieldwork, particularly critical experience.

4.4 Reflection on the Fieldwork

During the fieldwork, conducted for six weeks between October to November 2019, I encountered many meaningful experiences. These experiences were not necessarily always good but often very insightful. In this part, as an attempt to think about my own 'critical experiences,' I will point out personal aspects of my fieldwork, which I was confronted with during and after

the research. On the whole level, this fieldwork had challenged me personally in facing the complexities of social reality. At some point, I was overwhelmed by the sheer numbers of complexities and details that, unfortunately, are too many to all be presented in this research.

To begin with, the topic of the research was made by adjusting the theoretical framework to the interesting phenomenon that I ran into. In other words, the research problem inductively emerged during an initial observation of the study area. Moreover, a motivation for the research also came from the effort of exploring the realm of mass tourism rather than dwelling on the popular opinion of it. This means that there is a necessity to look at the topic from the critical lens.

In the preparation phase of the fieldwork, I acknowledged that there would be a certain degree of the strangeness of the culture. In so doing, familiarizing and comprehending the universal Balinese values and life was needed. Moreover, as a person who comes from Islamic Java, I have had preconceived ideas towards Bali and its people, which could restrict in capturing the whole essence of the phenomenon. Thus, I had decided to follow a few steps to encounter this problem. Firstly, I decided to stay in a local's house, that was in a neighboring village, namely Pasedahan, since I was unable to stay in Tenganan Pegringsing. In my view, this became profitable later on, considering that being an alien to this new culture (Balinese culture in general) conditioned me to be constantly to make sense of surroundings and, at some point, was exhausting. Additionally, it simultaneously gave insights into the cultural resemblance and deviation of Tenganan Pegringsingan to another village.

In the first week into the fieldwork, there was a wedding in Tenganan that benefited me to make contact with the people. The village has a strong bond, which may be the result of endogamy marriage within the community (Arta, n.d). Therefore, an event such as a wedding can facilitate as an opportunity to gather the whole neighbors in the village, as they are expected to come and help the preparation. Early in the morning, they began to start preparing *Banten*² for a ceremony and was followed by an extensive cooking section for the whole village's lunch. I conducted a small interview with random people to make sense of their culture and the leaders of the village. Based on this, I can also say that it is crucial to building trust and familiarity among the community.

The process of perceptivity was achieved throughout dialogues and immersing oneself in local's daily activities, which also a part of participant observation. My daily activities consist of helping

² An offering consists of what usually food; fruits, snacks, and flowers.

the host-lady around the house, playing with children of Tenganan, making friends with the youths through sharing and laughing, and so forth. Daily conversation as a form of engagement served to acknowledge local people at a humane level, dissimulating the boundaries between me, researcher, and people of Tenganan as participants. Since there is always a certain degree of distinction, that when the researcher enacted the role of observer, consequently, the locals acted as a participant or/and subject of the study. However, to understand more about religious symbols, values, and meanings, I engaged myself in informal discussions with a local public figure. Throughout this process, I was accepted at all times, even though I was still considered an outsider. The process helped to recognize the differences in culture and ethics. Moreover, to acknowledge that within the society, there is an (innate) general understanding, either unspoken and spoken, which highlights the value of tolerance and sensitivity among cross-culture in Bali.

During the time in Tenganan Pegringsingan, at *Keliang's* request, I was mostly wearing a sarong and *bulan pasang*³, and some people usually wear such attributes daily. Women need to wear them with *kemben*⁴; meanwhile, men will only need those attributes, in ceremonies or rituals. This appropriation certainly created a personal conflict in the beginning. However, after a few discussions, I noticed that there was a feeling of proudness among the community that their attribute is acknowledged. Moreover, it also presented a gesture of politeness by wearing a traditional attribute upon visiting the village. In ceremony or ritual, this attribute became an ethical consideration, primarily when it was being held in a temple.

Finally, there were several technical difficulties I encountered during the fieldwork. Making an appointment with some interview participants was a bit challenging. This is due to the roles, and the responsibility of the individual has. Almost every week, the village has an activity (ceremony or others) that demands a certain degree of involvement. Therefore, depending on the individual's roles and responsibilities, it drew up one's time to engage with another activity. Secondly, to acquire the history of Tenganan Pegringsingan was also tricky. In 1841, the village was burnt down and left no historical proof, such as documents or records (Maria et al., 2007). In so doing, the community reckons their history orally from their elderly, which is a character of oral tradition. Thus, it creates various ways of how the narrative is told even though it is the same narrative. Finally, the diction of the interview question needed to be adjusted in order to make it less complicated and easily understood. However, when it was done on the spot, and some explanation needed to be given to the interviewees, avoid bias was challenging.

³ A piece of cloth which is tied around the waist, usually is for women.

⁴ A female torso wraps

4.5 Ethical Consideration

The village has seemed to be a popular research place based on the information I had received. This means that the community has an open attitude towards visitors. However, there are still some sensitive aspects to be considered mainly when the topic of the research grazes upon culture; ethical consideration is essential. Hereafter, the following ethical considerations were taken into account.

Before the interview began, the participants were always informed of the aim of the research and the option of whether they wanted to take part and allowed to be recorded. They also were informed about how the information they gave would be handled. This is also related to confidentiality, which ensures anonymity through the use of their function in this village. Throughout the interviews, any forms of discrimination and questions that were over-personal to the participants were avoided. These steps are to avoid the risk of harming the participants and respecting the distinctive cultural characteristics.

Meanwhile, in observations, it was necessary to ask permission of one appearance, especially before traditional ceremonies or rituals. These activities usually took place in the village area, yet certain areas would be restricted to visitors for some reason. Moreover, consent also was given before taking a picture of the activity. As it is mentioned before, clothing was also considered. Generally, sacred places in Bali require the visitor to dress appropriately, in this case, sarong and *Bulan pasang*. However, this matter can be consulted before to give an idea of what proper dress means.

Finally, during the analysis of the data, judgments or assumptions are avoided on an individual level. In so doing, maintaining the level of objectivity is essential. It is to ensure the validity of the research but also to do justice for the participants. This practice also means to protect the work of other authors. In some cases, used pictures that were not taken by oneself must have a reference of authorship in the report. Furthermore, some participants might ask to have the complete report, which means that information needs to be correct. This matter links to the previous paragraph to avoid any form of harm.

5. The Case of Metruna Nyoman

This section provides an in-depth description of the context of the research, Tenganan Pegringsingan, and Metruna Nyoman ceremony. Firstly, the village is introduced to illustrate the social aspects such as structures, beliefs, and values in society. Afterward, Metruna Nyoman, as the focus of this research is described in the sequence manner. Having done that, I highlight the importance of context when analyzing the Metruna Nyoman ceremony and emphasizes the ceremony as one of the constituents that shape the community.

5.1 Tenganan Pegringsingan, a Village in Bali, Indonesia.

“It is important not to be mistaken which Tenganan you are going to. Here is Tenganan Pegringsingan.” Said a man that I met during the initial observation. Indeed, there are two villages of Tenganan; Tenganan Dauh Tukad and Tenganan Pegringsingan. They are closely located yet have different cultural practices.

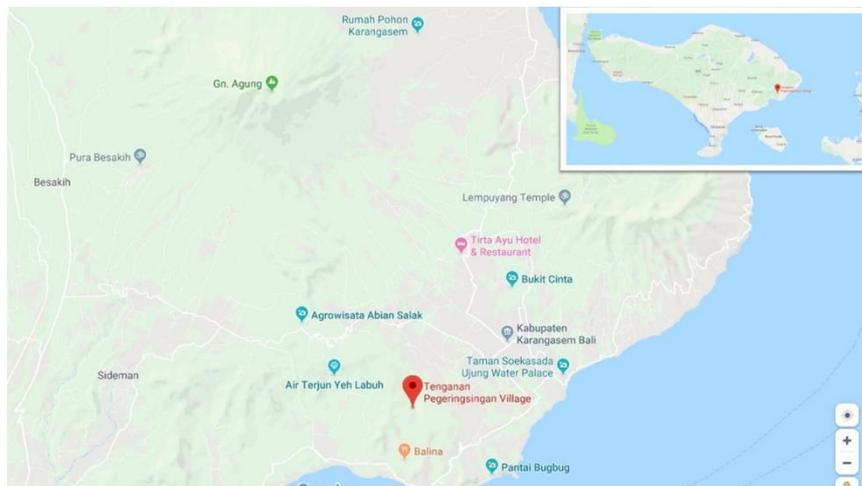


Figure 3. Map of Tenganan Pegringsingan Bali

For local Balinese, people of Tenganan are called by the term *Bali Aga* has a connotation of an isolated or marginal tribe who live by mountain and hills (Purnawati, 2015; Reuter, 2002). However, they are also called *Bali Mula* or *Bali Kuna*. *Mula* means origination in English, and *Kuna* means ancient. Therefore, it refers to a (sub)ethnic minority of mountain people and inhabited Bali before the arrival of Hindu from Java (Reuter, 2002; Sardiana & Purnawan, 2015). According to Sumunar et al. (2017), three customary villages embody *Bali Aga*, and Tenganan Pegringsingan is one of those preserved primitive communities, which is located in Manggis District, Karangasem regency.

The Village and Its Governance

Geographically, this customary village area is divided into three areas; a settlement complex, plantation area, and rice fields (Maria et al., 2007). From generation to generation, the fundamental principle of life in the village has been based on *awig-awig*, made, and agreed

collectively by the residents (Utami, 2014). As customary law, *awig-awig* is derived from two words; *a* for no and *wig* means damaged and contains the rules about traditional village areas (*Sukerta Tata Pelemahan*), the residents (*Sukerta Tata Pawongan*), the religions (*Sukerta Tata Agama*), and finally the customary sanctions (*Pamindanda*) (Joniarta et al., 2019). In so doing, the law governs the interaction between humans to humans, the environment, and the divine power (god). Additionally, the structure of the settlement consists of *Banjar Kauh* (west), *Banjar Tengah* (central), and *Banjar Kangin* (east) or also called *Banjar Pande* (Maria et al., 2007). However, people who reside in *Banjar Pande* do not have full rights in the village nor perform certain traditional practices either, as (one of) consequences of customary law or policy violation that their decent or even themselves had done.



Figure 4. Settlement of Tenganan Pegringsingan Village

Krama Desa, as the highest (customary) institution, governs the village apart from the administrative village of the state, which means that the village has a right to manage their household according to their customs (Suryadarma, 2008). The members of *Krama Desa* are required in the process of seniority based on the order of marriage, which acknowledges both spouses and their role carried out in this institution. Hereafter the members will earn their promotion if any members are ineligible to carry out the duties. For example, in any case of rules violation, a marriage of their children as they will automatically become members of *Krama Desa* and death will cause a member to step down from the position. In so doing, the following member will take place and move to the higher hierarchy.



Figure 5. Main Entrance of Tenganan Pegriingsingan Village

The members of *Krama Desa*, based on their positions, have the different responsibility of supporting and assisting all forms of activities in the village that are guided by *awig-awig*. Knowledge and competence in any aspects of the customs and village are essential. Thus, to enter *Krama Desa*, only the marriage between people of Tenganan (who live in Banjar *Kauh* and *Kangin*) is qualified. It concludes that the community adopts endogamy marriage, ensuring the continuous flow of knowledge through the generations.

Hereafter, this knowledge is mostly obtained by an individual's involvement in the customary organizations called *Petemu* during their young adult stage until marriage happens. To determine which *Petemu* one belongs to, it can be traced from the bloodline of the parents; the father's bloodline can determine or *truna*⁵, either *Kaje*, *Tengah*, and *Kelod*. On the other hand, the bloodline for mothers assigns *daha*⁶ to *Petemu* they belong, namely *Wayah*, *Nyoman*, and *Nengah*. Within these organizations, the young adults are carried out duties and responsibilities which are limited to the benefit of the organizations. Participation is expected from each individual, yet, there is a space of understanding if duties cannot be performed. It usually happens when *truna* or *daha* have other obligations such as schools. Having 80% of the area being a physically forest and rice fields makes sense that people of Tenganan depend on their livelihood on what is called, agroforestry (Maria et al., 2007; Suryadarma, 2008). The natural resource from this area supports locals' primary needs, such as food, materials for houses, (herbal) medicine, and other necessity for the traditional ceremonies. This reflects the fundamental function of the

⁵ Young male

⁶ Young female

area as a socio-economy asset for the people, which is managed by *Krama Desa* and regulated according to *awig-awig*.

Cultural Tourism

Additionally, while natural resources have become primary support in the livelihood, it is not to be forgotten that tourism also has a role contributing to life in the village. Tenganan Pegringsingan is only ten minute-drive using a motorbike or a car from Candi Dasa, where some tourist accommodation and services exist, such as restaurants, bus shuttle, shops, tourist information center, offering their service mainly for water activity like diving. Meanwhile, Tenganan Pegringsingan has been a destination that is offering the preserved culture as their attraction.

Most visitors come with a tour guide who then will start explaining the culture and life in Tenganan while walking around the village. In some cases, local people will offer such a service when there are independent travelers. Others seem to have a more established connection to various travel agencies. Even though the government does not manage the village as a tourism destination, *Krama Desa* is aware of its potentials. Using their resource and contribution of the provincial government, they began improving facilities in the village, such as building a large parking lot for visitors and small kiosks that locals can rent. As such, local people have chances to gain benefits from tourism.

In *Banjar Tengah*, people have turned their house to a semi-shop by hanging *gringsing* on the door and putting an information sign in front of their door, especially the ones on the main street. Mostly, they provide the demonstration of weaving *gringsing* and also sell souvenirs, including *gringsing*. In this sense, *gringsing* as material culture is treated as souvenirs. Tenun *gringsing* or *wastra gringsing* has philosophical meaning to their belief *Tri Hita Karana* in Hindu and a prominent function in local's customary life, (Sumunar et al., 2017), as a 'uniform' worn on important traditional ceremonies and represents the whole fundamental values held by people of Tenganan (Utami, 2014).



Figure 6. Gringsing Cloth

Belief System and Traditional Ceremonies

At this point, what makes Tenganan Pegringsingan more interesting, that is, its distinctive religious practices compare to the rest of Bali, such as the system of caste in Hindu, is not acknowledged by this community or the fact that funerals are done without incinerating the remains. It is due to the local belief system that is derived from *Indra* sect as one of the sects in Bali. *Indra*, the god of war, is believed to be the ancestor of the village's pioneers. Therefore, *Indra* becomes the character of the belief system in the village.

The daily life of people of Tenganan revolves in three key points; religion, norms, and rituals. Generally, people of Tenganan share the same religion as other Balinese; Hinduism. *Tri Hita Karana*, as a religious-philosophical concept, explains the three causes of wellbeing resulted from a harmonious relationship between a person to God, nature, and among other human beings. This concept implies ethics and norms of social interaction and the natural environment, as well as highlights the necessity of rituals. Thus, as an embodiment of a religious community, people of Tenganan has been enacting ceremonies and rituals on behalf of the village, that is complex and frequently performed high (Kaler, 2018; Maria et al., 2007).

Apart from the religious values, ceremonies, and rituals can also be defined as a tradition that is inherited from generation to generation have to adhere. It is carried out from a person to the community level and has to be adhered to, that also means one ritual or ceremony may intersect one another. As the descendants of God of Indra, indeed, there is a distinctive difference in the course of rituals and ceremonies compared to other Balinese communities. On the individual level, ceremonies are performed throughout the phases in life. It is started as an infant, with a ceremony of *kepus pungsed*, which is followed by other ceremonies such as *Ngekehin*⁷ and *Maketus Jambot*⁸ to becoming an adult (Maria et al., 2007). Having said that, traditional ceremonies mark the stages of the human life cycle in Tenganan Pegringsingan.

5.2 The Metruna Nyoman Ceremony

Metruna Nyoman is seen to be a special ceremony. It is compulsory for the young generation of the male population. The ceremony can also be considered as rare since it is held collectively once in five or seven years in the area of Tenganan Pegringsingan. It is due to the birthrate of male infants and the cost of having the ceremony. The duration of the ceremony lasts for a year and is started in the eighth month of the local calendar. During the period, *Truna Nyoman*, as the participants have to stay over *subak*, which can be described as a temporary dormitory during the

⁷ A ceremony that marks the age of 42 days of an infant

⁸ A ceremony that marks the stage of childhood

ceremony. At *subak*, they will engage with a series of activities and traditional ceremonies in order to transform their status to a young adult of Tenganan Pegrisingan. The ceremony also means to declare the readiness to embrace adulthood, specifically to copulate in a marriage. In other words, the ceremony indicates the status of young male pubescence, which will be announced by performing the ceremony of *Ketingal* at the end of the year.

Such a big and elaborate ceremony requires many actors involved during its preparation and occurrence of *Metrana Nyoman*, besides the participants. *Truna Pengawin* (generations who have done *Metrana Nyoman*) and *Truna Bani* (generations who have done *Metrana Nyoman* and become *Truna Pengawin*) are the most prominent actors. They participate and organize the means of the ceremony, alongside the parents of participants. *Mekel*, as the leader of the ceremony, usually direct the whole group in every ceremony with the help of *Penegenan Basih* as his assistants. Moreover, *Krama Desa* also has responsibility in facilitating and providing proper support.

The first two months are crucial, which consists of the initial ceremony from the *Metrana Nyoman* series; there were *Pedewasan*, *Kegedong*, *Metamyang*, *Ngintaran*. However, prior to the first ceremony, *meajak-ajakan* has to be done. It is the ritual of enrollment to one's *truna* organization (*petemu*) by visiting *petemu*, which depends on their father's descent. By performing *Meajak – ajakan*, it means that the parents give permission and blessings to their children to participate in the ceremony. In this stage, some participants may wait for other young males to enroll and fills up a "quota" to conduct the ceremony jointly. After this, the participants may proceed to the next phase leading up to the ceremony by performing meditation called *Melali*. It is done by consecutively visiting each temple in the village area, including the ones in the plantation area, every three days during the nighttime. The sense of this ritual is to ask blessing to God, praying that the whole process of *Metrana Nyoman* could be carried out well. In total, this ritual lasts for six to eight months before the first ritual of *Metrana Nyoman*.

Usaba Sasih Kolu – The Rituals in 8th Month

Derived from the word *dewasa* or (being) adult, *Pedewasaan* as the first official ritual initiates *Metrana Nyoman*. It begins by changing the appearance of the participants. As it is shown in Figure 6, the participants are required to bald their heads with the help of the wives of *Krama Desa*, leaving about a one-centimeter strand of hair. Having done that, the participants will proceed to change their clothing as a way to announce the status of themselves as a participant of the *Metrana Nyoman* ceremony. The apparel consists of *sabuk tubuan*, *saput gotya*, and *sabuk gedogan*, which are usually worn by grown-ups and elders (as seen in Figure 9). The participants

are expected to arrive at *subak* wearing the new clothing with *keris*⁹ incorporated as extra apparel that completes the whole appearance. In doing the whole alteration, an individual is renounced his childhood and embarks on the first journey of adulthood.



Figure 7. Grooming by Balding Hair ©

Next, participants also need to undergo a tooth shaving using, namely *Metatah*, that is performed once in a lifetime. However, this act was merely done symbolically, which means there was no actual doing of shaving but only gentle knocking the canines. From this phase, all the activities are considered as sacred, and it is only meant for the participants and the actors; *Truna Bani*, *Truna Pengawin*, and *Tunggenah* (ceremony helper) who have a direct role in the performances are allowed. This process was followed up with the ritual of cleansing, *Sisih Gambuh*, such as the act of face and mouth rinsing, which is presented in Figure 8. It is done before worshipping to *Batara Kala* by presenting the offerings. Such a sacred part in this ceremony is usually led by *Pemangku Adat*, and it is done where the participants' temporary home, *subak*.



Figure 8. Mebersih ©

⁹ Traditional iron dagger in an asymmetrical shape

Once it finishes, it is followed by the ritual of *kegedong*. It is when the participants are escorted inside partition walls made from bamboo. Thus, participants cannot be seen by people and vice versa. This bamboo box is carried by *Truna Pengawin* and *Truna Bani* to the destination of *daha's subak* in chronological order from *Daha Wayah*, *Daha Nengah*, and finally, *Daha Nyoman*. Once reach the destination, *Median* is enacted by reciting an incantation, led by *Mekel*. During *Median*, the participants are required to be silent and carefully pay attention. Meanwhile at the same time and place, *Daha* and other *Trunas* carry out the ritual of *Metimpugan*. It is the performance of casting mixture of clay by *Truna* to *Daha*. This ritual will be performed again in the next three days for three consecutive times.



Figure 9. Praying in front of Batara Kala in Pedewasan ©

The second and third ceremonies are performed in the remaining days of the month. *Metamyang* happens after the last *Kegedong* is carried out. Meanwhile, *Melegar* is further carried out three days after *Metamyang*. Both are started with *Sisih Gambuh* with the assistance of *Tunggenah* and continued with the same performance of *Median* without the performance of *Metimpugan*. Nevertheless, in these phases, during the walk to *Daha's Subak*, participants are not confined by the bamboo partition. During *Metamyang*, participants are required to carry a rattan wield, leaving their torso area covered. On the other hand, in *Melegar*, participants are not required to carry any instruments and are fully visible.

“All of that is the series in one month. Mostly, people in the village say that this ceremony is a parable of (the life of) butterfly. *Kegedong* that symbolizes the stage of chrysalis, in *metamyang*, you can see the head (of the butterfly) just emerges, and *melegar* is when (the butterfly) fully coming out (from the cocoon).”

The sequence of *Kegedong*, *Metamyang*, and *Melegar* can be seen as a parable of a butterfly metamorphosis that people of Tenganan use in illustrating some parts of the human life cycle. It reflects the phase from the chrysalis to the emergence of an adult butterfly. Once the butterfly just hatched, it is time to wander the outside world. In other words, the participants begin the

exploration of their village environment. By the end of *sasih kawolu*, the last ritual of *Melegar* has finished.



Figure 10. Metamyang ©

Usaba Sasih Kasanga – The Ritual in 9th Month

Coming into a new month, the participants are getting ready for another ritual, namely *Ngintaran*. It can be described as an introduction to the area of Tenganan, which includes its forest in the hills. *Ngintaran* is organized once in every three days and attended by, not only *Truna Nyoman* but also *Truna Bani*, *Truna Pengawin* and *Dahas*. The ritual can be divided into two chapters with different routes depending on the distance, which the participants need to attend.



Figure 11. Participants are Headed for Ngintaran

Early in the morning, *Mekel* and *Penegenan Basih* come to *subak* where they can find the participants ready. *Truna Nyoman* will put on the same attribute; however, they also need to bring a weapon of *tulup* on this occasion. Following, *Daha* and other *Trunas* join them along the

way as they head to the west gate of the village. Starting from here, all the attendant hike to the hill where the first temple outside the settlement, namely Kubu Langlang.



Figure 12. Participants are Praying at First Destination during Ngintaran

There are several following stops to be made along the journey, such as *Pura Besakeh*, *Pengulap-Ulap*, *Bada Budu*. These places are believed to be the original borders that form the whole area of Tenganan according to the historical antecedents and also considered as sacred places for people of Tenganan. Consequently, the momentum is also used to perform the act of worship while also take some time to rest. The journey ends when the attendants reach the north gate of the village from the last stop of *Penimbalan*. Hereafter, *Truna Nyoman* is expected to be back at *subak* to follow the next activities if there is any. Finally, by the end of the month, the ritual of *Ngintaran* is completed.

6. Findings and Analysis

The findings are organized in five main sections and are reflected based on the conceptual framework of the research. The first three chapters describe more in-depth the perspectives of the competence, materiality, and meanings of the ceremony. Afterward, it delineates the interplay of the elements and the dynamics of the ceremony. Finally, the relation of Metruna Nyoman to tourism as a globalization process is discussed.

6.1 Competence

The competency of Metruna Nyoman can be described as the basic guidelines, knowledge, and skills required to perform this traditional ceremony. These are generally derived from *awig-awig*. In other words, Metruna Nyoman uses local competence to perform the practices. Additionally, collective memories and experiences from the elderly are also considered as a source of expertise since *awig-awig* does not present the details of the ceremony. Finally, in order to comply with these guidelines, participants and other actors involved are seen to exhibit social competence. It contributes to form and maintain the relationship between them and responds to the social situation in an adaptive way. In this section, competence is divided into how, when, and where this ceremony is carried out.

Know-How to Perform

To perform Metruna Nyoman, diverse competences are employed throughout the course of the ceremony. The forms of competence, such as skills and knowledge, co-exist with material objects used. In every ceremony, offerings are to be in place, which is varied in patterns and sizes. As ceremonial instruments, offerings allow the ceremony as a practice to develop and generally require handcrafting skills to create the palm-leave dish. According to one of the local people I interviewed, the skill is taught in local schools as a part of the learning curriculum.

This example can be seen in figure 13 shows palm leaves that are woven into a big dish. Good handcrafting skills are needed to create the dish. By integrating this dish and the arrangement of fruits as well as various breeds of chicken, it constitutes an offering. Additionally, offerings also bear religious meanings, which are imposed in the pattern of the arrangement. In so doing, religious competence is also needed in the production of the offerings. Such knowledge, unfortunately, is not explicitly written on *awig-awig*, nor there is any record. In this case, one will rely on elders who usually embody the knowledge and experiences from previous ceremonies and pass this knowledge down the generations.



Figure 13. Offering for Pedewasan ©

The production of a bamboo box for the ritual of *Kegedong* also requires handcrafting skills. It also requires the knowledge and understanding of tools such as the utilization of saws and measurement expertise to cut the bamboo into the desired sections. Then, these sections are attached using ropes that are made from the same material. Figure 14 shows that members of *krama desa* are involved in the making process of the box. Their involvement can also be traced to the early stage of the production process: obtaining the resource. Bamboo, among other plants, can be found in the plantation area. To obtain the resource, there is a procedural guideline to be followed. Interviews suggest that one should not cut any trees without the permission of *Krama Desa*. To get bamboos, *Krama Desa* will need to assess and order its members based on the guidelines in *awig-awig*.



Figure 14. The Making of Bamboo Box for Kegedong©

Following the ideas from the previous paragraphs, guidelines, competence, and knowledge are closely related to the actors, materiality, and the physical environment where the ceremony takes place. Eventually, they are interconnected, mediated, and influenced by each other throughout the ceremony. In doing so, the ceremony can develop and move from one episode to another.

Know-When and Where to Perform

Performing *Metruna Nyoman* begins with the know-when the ceremony is performed. As mentioned before, it is always held in the eighth month, *sasih kolu*, of the local year. The local calendar is calculated differently from the conventional calendar and the Balinese calendar. Thus, only an individual who possesses the knowledge of local calendar enumeration will be able to establish the timetable, not only for this ceremony but also for other customary activities. As it is said in an interview that

“Here, ceremonies are regulated by the custom, when we have ceremonies for children, for adults, for the ones who died, each has its own time. Marriage is also the same. We will look for the good (suitable) date.”

It is related to the belief that time is essential: when a particular ceremony is performed will depend on whether or not the time is considered right and suitable. If this is the case, the day and date of the ceremony can be established. The following rituals and ceremonies can be arranged accordingly. According to the interviews, it is an important step, considering the complications that can arise during the preparation for each phase of the ceremony. Moreover, since the rate of domestic migration increases, some participants who reside in the city intentionally come back to the village for the ceremony. Consequently, the participants who are mostly still studying need to enroll in another school in the area. Such a condition requires time for the *participants* to organize the transfer.

Indeed, the ceremony takes place in the environment of *Tenganan Pegringsingan*. In this sense, the environment can be referred to as a physical location or a place which also includes its infrastructures. In this case, the *subak* is an essential environment for the participants throughout the ceremony. There are guidelines on how this particular place is selected. The establishment of a *subak* is decided by examining the competence of the *subak's* owner. Religions as an essential aspect of daily life among the people of *Tenganan*, emphasizes the essential role of *Pemangku Adat* in ceremonies and rituals. Thus, *Pemangku Adat's* house is considered to be the most acceptable place for the boarding house of the participants. In this sense, they hope that the participant can learn, study, and be affected by the embodiment of his role daily. In the current situation, the participants' *subak* belongs to the house of the former *Pemangku Adat*. Since he has passed away, only his wife lives in the house. This decision was made after discussions between all of the involved actors, considering she still has the capability and wisdom to provide this learning experience.

In the ritual of *Ngintaran*, the element of the environment is also essential. This ritual allows participants to discover and identify the physical area of Tenganan Pegringsingan. According to an interview, the ritual supposedly facilitates a familiarization of the geographical boundaries of the area and its environment for the participants. Thus, ideally, actors such as *mekel* and *penegenan basih* are required to possess such knowledge. There is also an expectation that this ritual is able to start educating the participants of botanical knowledge, which is related to the use of plants for medicine and other use. This knowledge is usually derived from *awig-awig*. Considering this area is vital as a resource to support their customary activities, this type of local knowledge is essential for people of Tenganan.

6.2 Materiality

Material is designed as potentially crucial to the ceremony, which at the same time imposes meanings or values when the ceremony is being enacted. Indeed, materiality is bounded to the competence of how this materiality is produced and arranged, which also affects the underlying meanings. Concerning Metruna Nyoman, materiality that is used to facilitate the ceremony can be divided into two sections, namely infrastructural settings and material objects.

Infrastructural Setting

An infrastructural setting can be described as the location and its environment. The ceremony of the Metruna Nyoman series takes place in various locations within the area of Tenganan Pegringsingan, as it was mentioned before that this area includes the settlement area and plantation area. The start of Metruna Nyoman begins in a settlement area. It is built from different infrastructures such as roads, houses, temples, and *bale*¹⁰. These objects of infrastructure are intentionally made with the help of tools and technologies. One example is the establishment of *subak*, which is physically the same as typical houses in Tenganan Pegringsingan. It is built from cemented walls of bricks as well as rocks, and roofs made from rumbia leaves. The houses have standard features such as living rooms, bedrooms, kitchen, and bathroom. Daily practices such as sleeping, eating, meeting with family or friends are carried out within this site. In the Tenganan, houses consist of several buildings that are arranged and divided into few parts. The front part of the house is usually used to carry out the main activities, such as religious practices and gathering activities for the family members. Consequently, the people of Tenganan build *Sanggah Batara Guru* in this part of the house to facilitate the act of praying to the ancestors. Besides, they also arrange a space which is referred to as *Natah* or a small yard in the center of the house, to prepare their religious activities such as making the offerings.

¹⁰ An open assembly hall for gathering events in the village

Concerning Metruna Nyoman, the house for the participants is called *subak*. There is no physical changing of a house to be a *subak*, and some house features may be used the same. It can be seen as a place to engage with activities related to the ceremony, such as practicing the duty of a watch or studying a spell for a ritual among the participants. In other words, it is not perceived as a commonplace to live. Indeed, the participants sleep at *subak*, yet they go to their original houses to shower and prepare themselves for school during weekdays. Later, once they come back from school, they spend time to rest and socialize with their family before finally going to *subak*. However, the routine changes in the weekend where they spend their time engaging with customary activities as a part of daily tasks in the ceremony.



Figure 15. Gathering in Subak



Figure 16. Participants Sitting at The Entrance of Subak

The competency of Metruna Nyoman can be described as the basic guidelines, knowledge, and skill required to perform the ceremony. It is built from local knowledge such as from *awig-awig*, belief system, and cultural hierarchy in the society. There are guidelines according to who performs the ceremony, when, where that is shaped, the how this ceremony is carried out. In this case, the competence of the *subak* as well as its features, and the meaning of ceremony influence each other. For example; figure 15 shows the participants gather together on what it seems to



Figure 18. Participants Praying during Ngintaran in Penimbalan



Figure 17. Participants Praying during Ngintaran in Bada Budu

be, a wooden bench in the front part of the *subak*. On this occasion, the participants are fulfilling their duties watchkeeping the house as a part of daily routine in the ceremony.

This activity shows how the participants practice a sense of responsibility, which is one of the local values in the village.

Secondly, the plantation area can be seen as a natural landscape with arrangements of rivers, tresses, and unpaved paths. This environment arguably cannot be controlled by humans. In other words, there is a natural physical composition of organisms (e.g., trees or insects) affected by physical events such as landslide, wind, or earthquake, which produced unique terrains in the area. Consequently, the competence of the ceremony is impacted by this physical composition. For instance, the participant's readiness is taken into consideration considering the physical condition of the plantation area can hinder the course of the ceremony, whether it is physically impossible, physically easier or harder for the participants.



Figure 19. A Participant and his Parent during Ngintaran

Additionally, there are also few constructions which considered meaningful even sacred to People of Tenganan, apart from some temples. During the ritual of *Ngintaran*, the act of praying is performed at these places (figure 17 and 18). For example, an area called Bada Budu (figure 18) is marked by the construction of rocks that are slightly hindered by surrounding plants, which can be easily differentiated from an ordinary temple. It means that this construction can be human-made using specific tools. Meanwhile, in figure 17, it seems that natural power has had created the site. As soon as the participants arrive at these places, they begin to sit and pray, facing up to this construction. According to interviews, these places are tied to the history of the village that also represents the physical boundaries of the Tenganan Pegringsingan area. The employment of these constructions, in the ritual of *Ngintaran*, serves the goal of area familiarization for the new generation. In this sense, these constructions can be argued as an intervention of humans to nature that is used to convey meanings.

Material Objects

Material objects that are utilized in the ceremony are very diverse. However, there are three primary materials that arguably have essential roles in the course of the ceremony, namely

offerings, clothing, and accessories (*keris*, *tamyang*¹¹, and a traditional blowgun). By employing these materials, it means that there is an interplay of material competence of its values and significance. Thus, it contributes to the whole meaning of the ceremony.

Offerings are considered as essential aspects of the ceremony, especially when the act of worship is enacted. Offerings and its compositions can be varying, which are made according to fixed patterns of the rituals. Each of the elements of the offerings embodies meanings that as a whole, it represents the relationship between human, nature, and God based on their belief. In the ritual of *Pedewasan*, offerings are laid out before *Batara Guru*¹² and *Hyang Widhi*¹³ as an embodiment of a sacred intention, specifically to purify the participants.



Figure 20. Three Kinds of Offering in Pedewasan ©

As a material object, the offering is created by arranging natural resources such as banana, flowers, chickens, rice, and so forth. These resources may have undergone a preparatory process in advance; for example, figure 19 shows a roast chicken that is produced from a cooking process. However, this resource serves a different meaning other than for the usual meaning for consumption. Once the process is done, then it is assembled with banana, coconut leaf, and flowers on a round bamboo dish in a specific manner. To do so, one is required a ritual competence such as the goal of the ritual and whom this arrangement is aimed to. Hence, the offering as a tool in a ceremony holds meaning as a result of integration between the know-how of materiality arrangement.

Additionally, another material can be referred to as cultural artifacts. These materials are the inheritance from the ancestors or/and have roles to display history, cultural values identity, thus signifying the meaning of the ceremony. Firstly, clothing as materials worn on the body is also

¹¹ A traditional shield made from rattan

¹² Creator of earth and first ancestor of human beings.

¹³ The One Almighty God

another essential element of the ceremony. In this sense, clothing signifies the enactment of the practice and also construct the whole meaning of it. For instance, *sabuk tubuan* is only worn if there is a ritual to be carried out. It is shown in figure 21, a white piece of fabric that is hanged around the neck. Putting on *sabuk tubuan* can be seen as a sign that someone is performing a ritual. This also means that it is a differentiator from traditional clothing for daily activities; in this case, daily activities are related to customary activities such as gatherings of *Petemu* or *Krama Desa*. As a consequence, it legitimizes the enactment of the ceremony.

Keris, as a part of the participants' apparel, also contributes to the meaning by attaching it to entities (participants). *Keris* is solely a sharp piece of flat, wavy metal in various sizes, which was arguably used as a weapon and a protection tool. According to the historical beliefs of people of Tenganan, blacksmiths produced *keris* exclusively from selected materials through various methods. Depending on the maker's skill to produce, *keris* were believed to possess some magical power. Thus, the use of this artifact back in the days required specific knowledge as well as ability, and it was only meant to be carried mostly by powerful grown-ups.



Figure 21. A Participant during Mebersih ©

Nowadays, according to one interview, there is only one time when *keris* is functionally used to lacerate an offering. Even so, there is a special *keris* for this exact ceremony and is not used as a weapon but a merely ceremonial instrument. The material of *keris* nowadays does not change or may slightly change, but the production of *keris* certainly is not limited to a skillful individual. The use of this artifact is an assertion that symbolizes the pride of power and adulthood derived from the users. It is personal and related to the status of the participants embarking their journey to pubescent and adulthood. Considering these matters, *Keris* is seen to be essential to carry, especially in traditional ceremonies and rituals. Having said that, when *keris* is carried out by the participants, it produces different meanings and functions than its mere function.

“Indeed, they (the participants) wear and carry much equipment, especially *keris*. Since they will enter adulthood, then the clothing is changed like *kemben*, *saput*, and *sabuk tubuan*. All of those are adult clothing, also, with the blowgun and also *tamyang* or a shield. It is because the people of Tenganan were warriors according to the history... *Keris* is compulsory to carry in a ceremony. However, it has changed now (the use of *keris*), *keris* was solely a weapon which means it had to be attached (to our

body), whatever it is, *keris* or the blowgun, (has to be taken) during a ceremony. We rarely use them as their real function in combat.”

The third artifact in the ceremony is called *tamyang*¹⁴, which is used in the ritual of *Metamyang*. It is made from a natural material, mainly a rattan that is woven into a circle bamboo frame. The exertion of this artifact is to deliver the message of human transformation by using the imagery of butterfly metamorphosis. *Tamyang* is symbolized as a hard-protective shell that guards the participants as the larvae from their surroundings. In different rituals, *tamyang* has another function, which can be considered as essential equipment, used to defend oneself during combat and fights. During the ritual of Pandan War, for instance, *tamyang* is used according to this function. It is held to worship and honor their descendant, Indra, the god of war. Thus, *tamyang* in Metruna Ceremony can also be associated with representing the participant’s identity as a descendant of god of war. This identity is also projected in the use of the traditional blowgun as another artifact, which is also referred to as *tulup*. Each participant takes along a wooden blowgun as a weapon and protection during the ritual of *Ngintaran*. Arguably, this equipment might have needed in the past, particularly considering that the area where the ritual takes place was a forest area. It means that nowadays, the blowgun does not serve its function but as a symbol of identity.

6.3 Meanings

Throughout the Metruna Nyoman ceremony, it is observed that meanings are created the interplay of material and competence. Each ritual in the course of Metruna Nyoman has values that contribute to the whole meaning of the practice. For the people of Tenganan, the participation in Metruna Nyoman embodies prominent meaning and values such as identity-making and local education. These meanings can be seen as the symbolic significance and motivational belief that represent the essence of life in Tenganan Pegringsingan for the locals.

Identity Making

The process of performing Metruna Nyomanceremony can be seen as a process of identity-making. Firstly, the identity explains the process of entering the era of pubescent (sexual maturity and reproductive capability) and adolescent (psychosocial growth and development). Secondly, for the participants, the enactment of the ceremony also legitimizes their identity as *Bali Aga*, who holds a belief of Hindu from *Indra* sect. It is explained as an embodiment that defines the ethnicity and religion of the participants.

¹⁴ A traditional shield made from rattan

Metruna Nyoman marks the period where the participants are about to enter a new stage of life. For example, the act of shaving bald their natural hair, meaning that the hair which has not undergone any alteration since they were born, expresses their set off to a new status. Besides that, applying new clothes that are for adults presents the state that they are about to enter (pubescent and adolescent). In so doing, two altercations have set the meaning of the ceremony from the beginning that is to leave their childhood and evolve to adulthood. This process can be seen during the ritual of *Kegedong*, *Metamyang*, and *Melegar* that collectively demonstrate a butterfly metamorphosis. This metaphor depicts the life stages of the participants from an egg to become an adult butterfly that finally able to roam within their environment.

“(*Metruna Nyoman*) is a ceremonial process as (social) phases in the customary village of Tenganan. It is then to create a recognition from the head of customary (village) to the people of adulthood.

Metruna Nyoman also legitimizes the status of an individual as a young adult customarily. When participants have finished the ceremony, they are recognized as a part of society and expected to have a societal function. It means that being an adult in Tenganan Pegringsingan is able to contribute to the village. This also implies that there is a pre-existed concept of role and function in society. By ruling the consequences of the absence in performing the ceremony, participants are not entitled to have any societal function as adults in general. The function is arguably based on the sexual and intellectual maturity. Consequently, they are considered to be unable to carry practices, such as marriage.

“It seems to be okay (if one does not carry out *Metruna Nyoman*), but as a consequence, they will not be considered as an adult according to the customary law. If they want to marry, then yes (they have to carry out the ceremony). The requirement to get married to people of Tenganan is that one must be an adult. Furthermore, being an adult in the village, meaning they have carried out *Metruna Nyoman*.”

“When are talking about gender, teenage boys and girls it tends to go to the direction of matrimony. However, when marriage happens before the completion of the ceremony, it will not be recognized customarily.”

Marriage, in Tenganan Pegringsingan, implies the ability of sexual ability to reproduce yet, it mostly highlights the intellectual maturity. Marriage means that the couples automatically become a member of *Krama Desa*. Even though it only applies to endogamy marriage, there still seems to be a social expectation that one will marry another member of the village. Intellectual maturity is needed as an ability to respond to external or internal conflicts that can be challenging during their period as a member of *Krama Desa*. It is gained by becoming a member of *Petemu* after the completion of the ceremony. *Petemu*, as an organization for the male youth in the village, engages them with activities related to the village. For instance, each *Petemu* is responsible for the rice field given by *Krama Desa*. In this case, the *truna* has the freedom to

manage it, according to how they would see fit, which also can be taken as a learning process before; eventually, they will join *Krama Desa*.

“*Metruna* is a ceremony to enter the process to be an official member of the youth (organization) in the village. *Metruna Nyoman* is a pubescent phase or a phase that is experienced by all the male youth in Tenganan, which is held for a year for an encampment.”

Metruna Nyoman is also seen as an initial departure place for the young generation to get into the next hierarchy, which is to be a member of *Petemu* before eventually get married and join *Krama Desa*. In so doing, it becomes the foundation that implies an existing power relation is creating hierarchy and its condition. While *Awig-awig* states that every individual has the right to be a member of *Krama Desa*, the conditions such as endogamy marriage leads to the practice of *Metruna Nyoman*; consequently, it asserts the importance of performing the ceremony which is understood by every individual in the village.

“It is like a vein. Because, without performing *Metruna Nyoman*, one will not know what he is doing here (in the village). It is like what I told before; it is the cornerstone for the next stages. So, if the ceremony does not happen, meaning they cannot go to the next stage, will not know how it is in *Petemu*.”

“Everybody in the village from children, babies, toddlers, until they are in marriage (life) and they become parents, has duties and responsibility. Moreover, even their duties cannot be replaced by one another. That is why I can say that among people of (customary village) Tenganan, every person has their duties. Consequently, there are ceremonies for each component in the society, including those who have a disability. They have a specific place, duties, and responsibility.”

Additionally, the participants' identity is emphasized throughout the ceremony as descendants of God of war by the association to material, for instance, the use of *keris* as a part of their attributes or *tamyang* as a ceremonial instrument. These materials also imply the local values that one should embody. Historically, *keris* as a traditional weapon was used to protect and defend oneself in a battle and a war. However, it could also be used to gain an advantage and to injure one another. It is derived from a local legend that the use of *keris* could do more harm than good. Accordingly, the use of *keris* required particular ability, knowledge, and a good sense of judgment, which implies power, as the interviewed revealed. Currently, *keris* is exclusively a part of an adult's apparel, which represents the sense of responsibility that comes from the notion of “power.” Related to adolescence, a sense of responsibility is considered necessary that is a part of intellectual maturity.

Meanwhile, it is unclear that *tamyang* as personal armor was used alongside with *keris* in the past. However, it is functioned physically to protect one's body in a dance battle, of another ceremony called Pandan War or *Mekare-kare*. The aim of the ceremony itself is to worship *Indra*,

God of war. Finally, the identity as people of Tenganan and their ethnicity of *Bali Aga* is closely related to the infrastructural setting of the ceremony. By establishing Tenganan Pegringsingan as the location of the ceremony, it asserts the local identity, which is bounded by geographical location. In so doing, it validates one's origin and where they belong. To some extent, also it represents the cultural hierarchy since people of Tenganan belong to the ethnicity of *Bali Aga*, who is considered as the indigenous Balinese.

Local Education

From several interviews, the *Metruna Nyoman* ceremony is examined to give a momentum of “*an educational process of ethics (and) character.*” Norms, values, and local competence are also delivered throughout the ceremony, which is also stated in the quotation below, it is derived from their customary law. Furthermore, the educational process also implies the movement of local competence from one generation to the younger generation, the participants. In other words, there is a transfer of skill and knowledge. However, there is a difference when it is compared to the conventional education method, “*there are no classrooms, there are no books to read but by performing the practices daily*”. Thus, participants are expected to comprehend skills, knowledge, and values by allowing them to recognize the relevant competence through its practical application.

“There is no specific chapter of *awig-awig* is being taught (to the participants), but what is allowed and what not. It means that only the substantial aspect of *awig-awig* (is informed to them). Furthermore, the teaching process is not done formally.”

“In Tenganan, there is nothing completed. Since after *Metruna Nyoman* (the participants will) get into *petemu*, they will learn again how to be *Nyoman*, *Keliang*, and everything (in between). Thus automatically, they have to learn. After (they get) married, they will join *Krama Desa*. At that point, they will still learn how to be in *Krama Desa*, what the duties and responsibilities as the positions getting more specific compared to *truna* because the members are limited. Their positions are particular until they would become old; they (always) learn.”

This practice-based method can be seen as an unending process of transmission of habituation that seemingly starts from the *Metruna Nyoman* ceremony. The quotation above implies that skills, knowledge, and values are perpetually acquired throughout a lifetime. Related to social hierarchy, *Metruna Nyoman* as the gate to reach the next social status, as well as a qualification to prepare the young generation for their future role in the village. It is then to teach the participants about values, stimulate the intellect, dig out opportunities to question what exists, understand tolerance, and finally contribute to personal growth in the society. Nevertheless, there is no evaluation process in which explains that the ceremony reflects the educational

process. Thus, it implies that there is a motivational belief towards the practice that perceived to function as it does genuinely.

Participants of Metruna Nyoman are encouraged to practice their local skills in the duration of the ceremony. The skill of playing *gamelan*,¹⁵ as shown in figure 24, implies knowledge of traditional music as well as the utilization of each instrument. Since each instrument in gamelan has a specific orchestral function that produces certain tempos and dynamics. This traditional instrument is played in certain rituals and ceremonies as a medium to communicate with spirits. Conclusively, it is considered essential to have the young generation possess the ability. During daily conversations with the participants, it is found that most of the participants were not able to play the instruments at first, yet some have grown interested in it.



Figure 22. Participants are Practicing Gamelan

Furthermore, ethics and manners are considered as fundamental in daily life interaction. People of Tenganan have a strong sense of community that means social interaction is considered to be high. During the interactions among participants and other actors, certain attitudes or behavior are expected to be performed. One should remain polite when interacting with an older individual; for example, offering food when someone has a company shows politeness towards others. Politeness represents respect and expresses friendliness to others which depends on the specific social situation.

To some extent, it also implies a skill that determines the appropriateness of the social interaction among members in the village. In doing so, people of Tenganan are expected to work well as a community and be able to form and maintain relationships. To encourage it, participants, along with *mekel* or *penegenan basih*, establish rules of social interaction among them that have to be

¹⁵ Balinese traditional ensemble music

obeyed. These rules include the avoidance of cursing or lying as well as any actions that are considered taboo or inappropriate.

“... then we have watchkeeping. Besides that, we are introduced the procedures of ceremonies... So, everything that we learn is referred to as instructions to live. (It is) to prepare us to be more grown-up than before.”

“Ethics (manner) is certainly being taught; they (the participants) cannot say something rude in a year. In Bali, cursing is not acceptable. They will get fined as they have a specific rule about it. There are also many things they cannot do (since) currently, they are still in a sacred period ... (they are not allowed) jumping over the fence ... This is (none) ethical.”

Moreover, the rules also regulate participants' activities such as curfew and duties of cleaning as well as watchkeeping *subak*. In this sense, *subak*, as a boarding house for the participants, serves the mean as an educational environment where mostly manners and local values are taught. The example of curfew presents an assertion of discipline towards participants. Meanwhile, by complying with the household duties such as cleaning and watchkeeping, the participants exercise the sense of responsibility towards the place where they “live.” Thus, these local values are also emphasized alongside behavioral skills and seen to be the core of daily social interaction in the village, which supports the identity-making from the previous section.

Finally, local competence consists of local knowledge and skills that arguably are derived from local culture, environment, and belief. It is easily observed during rituals and ceremonies. The illustration of *Ngintaran* provides an example of how this ceremony serves local knowledge. It is done by providing direct experience of the participants towards the geographical area, its boundaries, and natural resources. Essentially, this knowledge is based on *awig-awig*. For instance, the rules of logging will depend on the type and the condition of the tree. Thus, it implies traditional botanical knowledge, which includes its advantages and uses, especially when it comes to medicinal plants. However, one may argue that this knowledge is derived initially from the experience of their ancestor that was based on the accumulation of empirical observation and interaction with the environment. Thus, this knowledge and its uses can be seen as contextual.

6.4 Persistence of Metruna Nyoman

The persistence of the ceremony can also be identified from how the elements are circulated and passed down through generations. When interviewed, people of Tenganan claim that Metruna Nyoman is set in their life, and it is something that they do generation to generation as tradition. It also implies that the persistence of Metruna Nyoman lies in the high commitment from the people of Tenganan. This commitment can be seen from the local norms and value obedience. Metruna Nyoman is a command in *awig-awig*, and abiding it, is one of the norms that is widely agreed upon as well as upheld high by every individual in the village. In so doing, this norm

facilitates the persistence to perform the ceremony as *awig-awig* acts as a “recruiter “of the ceremony practitioners (participants). Simultaneously, it validates the ceremony by attaching the value of local identity. When one is not participating in the ceremony, he will be illegitimate to entitle the identity and benefits as ordained by *awig-awig*.

Awig-awig, specifically regulation concerning traditional village areas (*Sukerta Tata Pelemahan*), guarantees the accessibility of materiality (infrastructure and material objects) as the center of *Metrana Nyoman*. Materiality is closely related to competence and used to convey the meanings of the ceremony. For example, the offerings are ensembled by harvesting natural resources in the plantation area as material objects in the *Pedewasan* ritual. The use of natural resources represents the symbolic value of a universe. Moreover, in a religious view, offerings are fundamental to reflect gratitude to *Hyang Widhi*, which in this case, the gratitude to enter a new phase of the life cycle.

Collective memories and experience from the elderly as expertise are also important, which includes a procedural, sequence (timing), and local knowledge (skills). According to interviews, *awig-awig* does not present the details of the ceremony. Thus, relying on past experiences and memories, people in Tenganan can (re)create the course of the ceremony. From the perspective of practice theory, the human agency facilitates a handover of competence through social engagement and relationships. For example, dialogues and discussion will take place throughout the *Metrana Nyoman* between parents of participants, elders, *Truna* (act as *Mekel* as well as *Penegenan Basih*), and *Krama Desa* in the village. In so doing, there is a process of sending and receiving knowledge and skill from one generation to the other generation.

The ceremony itself can also be seen as an embodiment of this process of knowledge transfer. *Metrana Nyoman* is arranged by people who have experienced the ceremony in the past, for example, *Mekel*, *Penegenan Basih*, and *Krama Desa*. In other words, they were practitioners of this ceremony in the past and currently embody the knowledge as expertise. Meanwhile, the participants can be argued as the novices and the practitioners of the ceremony. Moreover, throughout the course of the ceremony, participants are being defined by the competence that they learn from the experts.

In this process of knowledge transfer, it is associated using the concept of pubescent and adolescent to render the meaning of *Metrana Nyoman*. It is not only limited to this knowledge transferring practice but also other practices such as balding the hair at the beginning of *Mebersih*. The meaning of the ceremony is also shaped and enabled by the pre-existed condition

of the participants who are considered as a child with their aptitude. Using materiality such as *Keris*, the concept of adulthood is imposed by associating the concept of power, pride, and being competent (skillful). Thus, it disassociates the pre-existed concept of child-like that the participants carried and creates intended meanings of identity.

6.5 Adaptation of Metruna Nyoman

Following on the ideas from the previous sub-chapter, this section will describe the relation of Metruna Nyoman to tourism and the globalization process. It is also found that there are some practices related to Metruna Nyoman, which have changed over time and even some that are not even conducted anymore. These changes are caused by other practices that are not related to customary activities, such as a formal form of education (school) and the use of technology. Before going deeper into this matter, I will firstly explain the relation between Metruna Nyoman and tourism in Tenganan Pegrisingan. Afterward, the process of how Metruna Nyoman adapts to the current circumstances caused by globalization is illustrated further.

Cultural Tourism

From fieldwork and interviews, it was observed that the relation between Metruna Nyoman and tourism (activities) does not show a correlation. Besides, the participants and involved actors do not exhibit any concerns about tourism affecting their way of life and traditions, nor that this ceremony has become a tourist attraction. It means that ceremonies are not performed merely for the sake of tourism and to entertain tourists. Nevertheless, the ceremonial activities, which are not limited to Metruna Nyoman, may become attractive to tourists already present in the area. Figure 24 depicts an image of how a customary activity happens in the presence of tourists.



Figure 23. Customary and Tourism Activities

On the left-hand side, it can be seen *Krama Desa* is gathering on *Bale Agung*, and meanwhile, on the right-hand side, tourists are exploring the village.

These two separate but simultaneous activities illustrate how *Metrana Nyoman* related practices and tourism activities happen without the tourists interfering with the ceremony, despite their co-existence. Another example, during observations of the weekly *gamelan* practice, tourists were staying and watching the participants playing the instruments. However, it was not meant as a tourist attraction but merely to engage with *Metrana Nyoman* related activities. These activities will take place whether or not there are tourists around, and the presence of tourists has not been seen to affect the way the ceremony is practiced.

The existence of *Metrana Nyoman* as a traditional ceremony remains detached concerning tourism activities. There are some remarks from interviews that argue the implication of *Metrana Nyoman* is able to sustain, strengthen the attractiveness and competitiveness of the local cultural tourism. The quote below gives us some insights into how local people think about this:

“We cannot really identify it (the relation between *Metrana Nyoman* and tourism activities). However, at least it can function to filtrate an acceptable culture. Acculturation, which one is considered good (culture) or not. For example, when there are no ceremonies, the children wear this kind of clothing (general clothing) while in ceremonies, they must wear customary apparel.”

It addresses the implications of the ceremony as a means to educate the young generation. This happens through their participation and the process of handing down this ritual, as a tradition, from one generation to the next generation. Through social engagement, it gives the community pride in their heritage, increases awareness of the significance of their area’s significance, group membership, and solidarity. Having said that, we must also acknowledge that tourism does play a part in the lives of the people of the village. It provides a means of income for some people in the village, and there are often tourists to be seen in the area. However, there was not any significant found between tourism and the practice of *Metrana Nyoman*.

Adaptation process

There was no direct relation found between tourism activities in the village and the practice of *Metrana Nyoman*. However, according to the interviews conducted during fieldwork, it is found that the practice of *Metrana Nyoman* has changed and adapted over time due to the need for formal education and the rise of technology in the society. These two factors have shaped “new” practices such as going to school, driving motorbikes, and activities using mobile phones, which are discussed in the literature review as the implications of globalization. Consequently, the

adoption of these practices by people of Tenganan co-exists and intersect with customary practices. Based on the interviews and observations, these “new” practices are mediated to the favor of the People of Tenganan.

In Bali, customary villages have a right to conduct customary activities. *Metrana Nyoman* can be seen as a “normal” activity that is known, not only in the village but also people outside the community. However, it frequently occurs that customary activities are overlapping with other activities from outside the village. As an example, the participants’ school agenda may be seen as an obstacle. In response to this, *Krama Desa* established an official letter that can be used to excuse oneself from the school’s learning activity if there is a local ceremony the participant needs to attend to. There are some cases when this becomes complicated, for example, when the participants have a national exam. An interviewee explained that there was a rule that restricted the participant's mobility and travel in the past. He later stated that he needed to cancel his national exam since the location where it took place was in an area under travel restrictions at that time. Such restrictions are not in force anymore recently. With the development of transportation, participants are also able to much faster, making it easier to switch between different locations.

However, other events are considered important, for example, a final exam. If there is a clash, the participants, along with their parents, will assess the situation and choose between the ceremony or the final exam. Since *awig-awig* does not regulate this matter, it is then an open space for the involved actors to have a constructive discussion until they reach a consensus. It also means that the sense of communality in the village is very high, not to mention that *Metrana Nyoman* is performed collectively. Thus, it also creates a social obligation or an expectation to consider others. Nevertheless, it is observed that the decision making is done in the interest of the person involved. It means that participants have the final decision, whichever suits them and their condition. This case also relates to the social competence that is embodied in the ceremony participation to be able to take other’s perspectives.

“For us, we respect the formal education system. That is why the village still accepts those kinds of things. It means that if my son has a ritual, then he will join and excuses himself from his school. However, when there is something more important like examination, they can leave (from the ritual).”

With the development of technology, a certain methodology in the ceremony has changed. For instance, meditation before the ritual of *Pedewasan* (the process of *Melali*) to *Kubu Langlang*, in the plantation area. Since it is performed during the night-time, it can be challenging for the participants to go on foot. Thus, riding a motorbike to get to the destination is considered

convenient. Even though it is unclear if the guidelines in *awig-awig* firmly state to go on foot, the practice had been to do so in the past. In an interview, it was also mentioned that for the current practice, the participants' condition is taken into consideration. It is argued that "*now the participants are considered younger than the ones in the past. Back then, they were around 15 years old, but now, the youngest one is around seven years old.*" It means that the change of practice is affected by the change of participants' competency related to their maturity level. Moreover, the use of motorbikes is seen as usual, and many people have been familiar with its qualities and practical use. In doing so, this competence justifies the practice of riding a motorbike.

Metruna Nyoman is argued to build and strengthen existing social ties among participants and other actors. However, the development of technology also creates problems in the course of the ceremony. According to most of the interviews, the use of mobile phones, for example, has lessened human interaction and engagement, which can be seen from these quotations below.

"Now we have had a phone, in the future, there will be others (technology). In the past, every Saturday at four, we take a broom, then we would go to pura, we cleaned then we sat for while then we would be given a talk (lecture) by *Pemangku*."

"Every afternoon, we were invited to help (something), especially at the weekends. Going to temples and cleaning them. Afterward, we were given a lecture about Tenganan then we went to play. The main thing was the comprehension (from the lecture), but now it is not like that. It is more individualistic. Yesterday I went there (to *Subak*) to see them (participants). In the past, prior to going to sleep, we used to discuss things. We rarely go to sleep together, so it would be nice to have time for discussion or to play (together), but now they mostly use gadgets. All of them use their gadget. Thus, it makes it more individualistic."

Mobile phones are seen as one of the embodiments of modernization that is inevitable to avoid in the village. It is used daily to facilitate communication, especially in arranging any customary activities. As a communal society, people of Tenganan tend to have a high amount of social contact. Thus mobile phones as communication devices have become beneficial and prominent. However, mobile phones also work as a form of entertainment for these young *truna* in the form of social media and games. On some occasions, they also take pictures, videos as well as listen to music, ranging from pop to more traditional music.

Mobile phone usage can sometimes be seen to disrupt the engagement of the participants in traditional practices. Even though it has not directly affected the course of the ceremony as it is observed, it is claimed that some participants are not able to fully experience and comprehend their participation in the ceremony according to expertise.

However, this issue is mediated by considering at which times it is appropriate to use mobile phones. For example, mobile phones are forbidden during the performance of the ritual and the act of praying.

Additionally, the use of mobile phones was also observed to gain benefits for the participants. Besides its prominent feature as an easy tool for communication amongst each other, they also use it as a tool to distribute, store and listen to the traditional music of *gamelan*. This, of course, enhances their familiarization with their own culture and identity. Those experiences mentioned above also imply that there is a change in

how this ceremony is approached, understood, and experienced by the practitioners over time. It is concluded from the interviews that the changes are dependent on other practices than tourism. It affects the practitioners of the ceremony, but for them, Metruna Nyoman essentially has not been transformed by these changes.



Figure 24. Truna Nyoman and Their Phones

7. Discussion

In this chapter, the previous literature, as well as the conceptual framework, are discussed concerning the findings of the research. Firstly, I address the previous literature and research regarding tourism, culture change, and globalization. Then it is followed by a reflection on literature about culture preservation. Afterward, I reflect on the use of SPT in this research in relation to the perspectives of culture and globalization. In doing so, it aims to affirm and also contest the notions from previous literature and research.

7.1 Tourism, Culture Change, and Globalization

While local values, identity, and shared knowledge are considered to be consistent, reflecting Metrana Nyoman, the experiences are arguably varied and subjective through times and across generations. According to Goonasekera et al. (2003), the essence of the local culture concept is based on the shared knowledge and experiences associated with a place. Following this idea, local culture in Tenganan can be translated to be diverse within the culture itself across generations. It also implies that the culture can be conceived as something that is being produced and always in the process rather than an accomplished fact.

Moreover, these subjective experiences are observed to be related to exposure to the flows of ideas and technologies in their daily life as (Meethan, 2003). The example of the use of modern transportation such as cars and motorbikes, mobile phones and the importance of formal education have formed their approaches on (customary) cultural activities. Having said that, as a tourist destination, Tenganan Pegringsingan may have undergone a process of cultural change in the form of assimilation while also shows resistance, which results in a stable culture. In this sense, it can be seen that practices produced in (various) places usually condition each other in varied ways resulting in various consequences (Shove et al., 2012).

The use of mobile phones and motorbikes, in particular, can be seen as the assimilation process from the possible influence of tourism and globalization to this society. The existence of technology, as a result of globalization, creates some alterations in some activities that assumedly, it deteriorates the authenticity of participants' subjective experience that lessens the values and meanings (Shepherd, 2002; Piccard, 2010; Tomlinson, 1999). It means that these "new" objects or technologies entering the practice are seen to be a misfit by the older generation in the village and may potentially deteriorate the practice. Spaargaren (2011) argues that the level of misfit is perceived based on the existing situation and possible figuration in future practice. Inglehart and Baker (2000) add that while values and meanings change, they also continue to

reflect a society's cultural heritage. People of Tenganan have shown how they engage with the use of motorbikes, mobile phones, and formal education can be beneficial, that is based on their needs, time, and place. Thus, it can be referred back to the findings that these objects are justified to be appropriate to use, as Spaargaren (2001) says, "*the reproduction of the practice enables and constrain specific forms of appropriation, normalization, cultivation, and naturalization of new objects and technologies.*" Additionally, these changes are not necessarily indicating "westernization" or changes in the habit (Pi-Sunyer & De Gregori, 1964) but a more adaptive behavior to the circumstances.

Nevertheless, the ceremony of Metruna Nyoman demonstrates persistence in practice, thus facilitates social structure (*Petemu* and *Krama Desa*) and local belief to be persisted and passed down from generation to generation as tradition. On top of that, the knowledge of Metruna Nyoman is mostly transmitted orally and practice-based. In so doing, there is an interaction among participants and actors (expertise), which creates engagement and interdependencies among generations. It shows how the dynamic in the practice produces the persistence from generation to carry local knowledge, religious view, norms, and value. Hence, it can be concluded that traditional practices, including Metruna Nyoman, can be identified as the construction of how local culture is sustained, as Hufford claimed, by the use of various resources such as objects, beliefs, sites (cited in Kreps, 2013).

Additionally, as Yin (2020) explains that to produce one's own culture is in itself, a resistance to the dominant culture. Considering the people of Tenganan are *Bali Aga*, as one of the sub-ethnic minorities in Bali, the practice of Metruna Nyoman reflects a subtle form of resistance by facilitating solidarity and group membership (Spaargaren, 2011). Solidarity is shown by the interplay of social competence, in the case of Metruna Nyoman, which explains how the participants and actors (expertise) maintain their relationship in adaptive ways. Nevertheless, the ceremony is not only for the mean of cultural reproduction as a means to justify the marginal existence but also for the inner self-identity (Huang, 2009).

In the transformationalists view, the acknowledgment of changes is linked to the inevitable impacts and argues that there is scope for every level of agencies (such as national and local) (Servaes, 2007). While Metruna Nyoman represents local agencies, perhaps, it has to be highlighted the role of government policy. It allows customary villages to have their local administration and power to perform customary activities as an indigenous democratic system. Silver (2007) claims that the central government does not disregard traditional practices; by contrast, acknowledges that local values and identity are intrinsic to Indonesia's pluralism.

Considering that Balinese Hindu culture may have seen as an essential part of Indonesian identity, according to Verheijen & Putra (2019). Hence, in relation to resistance of cultural change, this policy legitimizes the rights and choices that people of Tenganan have, in the way they exercise, engage, protect the culture (Gotham, 2005; Silver, 2007; Wang, 2007).

7.2 Culture Preservation

Previous paragraphs have explained the duality of how a cultural practice sustains and changes, imply culture assimilation and persistence. While the changes are not perceived as threats concerning culture preservation, they create an awareness within the people. It is then to reflect back to the pattern of participation in Social Practice to reevaluate the engagement process of human agency and the practice elements. Referring to the idea that practice exists if the relevant elements are integrated, implies when the integration of elements is discontinued, it will disintegrate the practice (Shove et al., 2012). In other words, as long as the elements are linked, it ensures the continuation of cultural practices. The concept of culture preservation may be argued to be embedded and cohesive into the concept of a traditional/cultural practice, in this case, Metrana Nyoman. It is by actively participating in the cultural activities which interwoven into daily life, simultaneously constructing their ethnic identity and strengthen cultural connectedness (Kim et al., 2002). In other words, they are actively involved in the (re)production of culture. This view of participation in traditional rituals as a means of cultural (re)production process, is also shared by Huang (2009). Having said that, the persistence of cultural practices may fit with the idea of preservation in a more adaptive way to changing social conditions and circumstances. It is in accord with Bauer's concept of *terroir*, which acknowledges the fluidity of culture (2009).

7.3 Novelty and Limits of Practice Theory

This study shows that the use of practice theory can provide an empirical framework. How cultural practice is performed and adapted in a tourism destination provides insights to understand and add more nuances in the debate of culture and globalization. Firstly, it gives insight into what constitutes a cultural practice. Metrana Nyoman, as a practice, is formed by the connections of competence, materials, and meanings. Accordingly, human agency and social structure are observed to be important in the practice enactment as many of the Social Practice theorists claim. In this case, the practitioner (participants) of the ceremony, but also other actors involved, such as *mekel*, *penegenan basih*, are identified as the human agency (Shove et al., 2012; Lamers et al., 2017). Meanwhile, customary law governs the social system and structure that are followed by human agency to proceed with the ceremony (Reckwitz, 2002; Spaargaren, 2011; Schatzki, 2016).

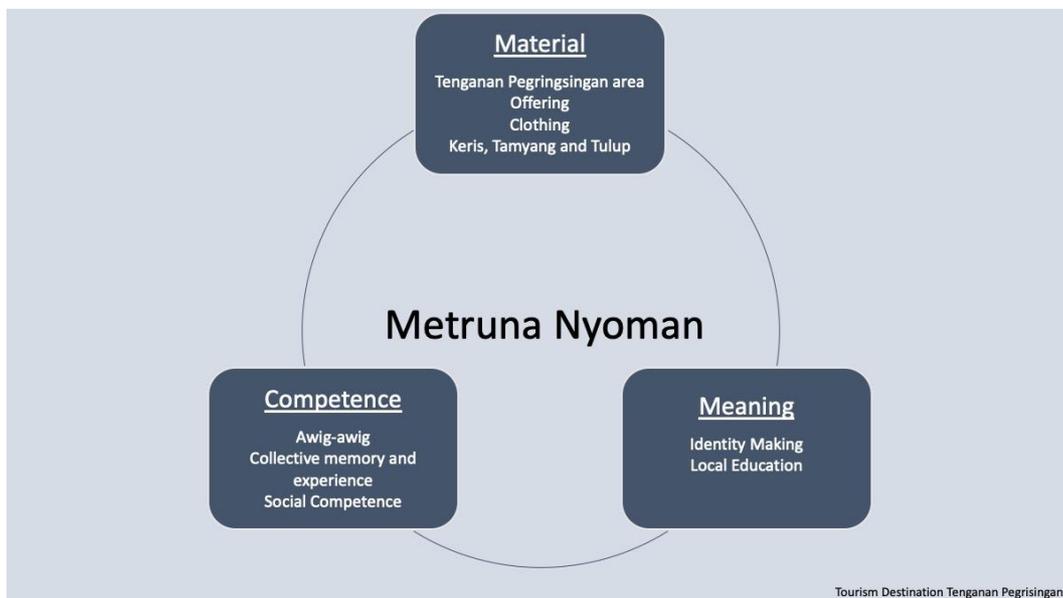


Figure 25. The practice of Metruna Nyoman based on Shove Model

Secondly, it describes how cultural practice persists over generations. People of Tenganan also see the ceremony as inherited tradition, is performed through generation to generation, which is in line with the view of Nicolini (2012). As a traditional practice, Metruna Nyoman is obediently maintained by recruiting practitioners to continue performance. In the concept of apprenticeship, the participants can be understood as “beginners.” At the same time, other human agencies such as *Mekel*, *Penegenan Basih*, *Krama Desa*, and *Pemangku Adat* are identified as the “old hands,” referencing Shove et al. (2012, p. 73). The local competence is seen to be derived not only from customary law but also from local collective memory and experience, as a narrative to retelling and maintaining the practice (Olick & Robins, 1998). These forms of competence also provide access to materiality and knowledge to its arrangements.

Additionally, materiality is used to associate and convey meaning (Shoeve et al., 2012). As many practice theorists agree that material is considered a fundamental aspect of a practice, embodies values and meanings by association and attachment at a more abstract level (Shove et al., 2012; Nicolini, 2012). For example, *keris* is associated with the quality of adulthood, such as skillful, contributing to the meaning of identity. The significance of materiality in a ceremony is also identified by Lesser (1933) that without this instrument, the performance of ritual becomes meaningless.

Furthermore, the theory places the importance of materiality as the center of practice. Concerning Metruna Nyoman, the adaptation of the practice, which is induced by the globalization process in the form of technologies, provides an example of materiality to provide practice consistency (Shoeve et al., 2012). The use of motorbike, mobile phone, and school, for

example, have changed *Metruna Nyoman*, yet it is exercised adaptively according to the community's concept of appropriateness.

Besides, SPT allows us to understand and examine the dynamics of people's actions in everyday life (Shoeve et al., 2012). The persistence and adaptation of *Metruna Nyoman* can be seen as a result of local interaction with globalization in the most local way. In contrast with the studies based on a top-down approach that ignores and undervalues the actions of the local community towards globalization. However, these actions would not have been possible if local communities are not allowed to perform. In this case, it can be related to the autonomy of customary village is recognized just as crucial as an administrative village, and gives a full authority to manage internal, customary-related activities according to Bali Local Government Regulation No.3/2011 (Hidayat et al., 2011; Davidson et al., 2010). In addition, Hidayat et al. (2011) also state that this regulation reflects the concern from the Balinese of globalization towards their culture. In relation to the previous paragraph, the regulation also contributes to the persistence of the ceremony.

However, the use of SPT is very contextual, which limits and prevents generalizations based on one study case. In this research, *Metruna Nyoman* only includes the rituals of the first and second months. Thus, how to investigate the connection and relationship and association between practices in one bundle is a complex issue. As Schatzki (2016, p. 33), explains that bundles are formed on a scale from a small to a broader phenomenon, and when the scale moves, it will include "*more network of relation (among practices, arrangements, and bundles).*" This statement raises the question of what implications of changing the scale of understanding the practice.

8. Conclusion and Recommendation

Finally, this last chapter contains the conclusion and recommendation of the study. The first section aims to solve the main research question by answering sub-research questions. Having done that, it concludes the important findings and discussions of this research. Finally, reflecting back on the whole process of this research, recommendations are given for possible future research and those who are interested in the topics of this research.

8.1 Conclusion

The base of this thesis to address how local culture is exercised in a tourism destination by looking at traditional practices. Based on that, the analysis presents a different perspective towards globalization debates and their impact on local culture. By utilizing Social Practice Theory, it contributes to the understanding of how a cultural practice, in this case, *Metrana Nyoman*, is exercised and maintained accordingly to the social change and circumstances of Tenganan Pegringsingan.

- a. What is **the competence** in a ceremony of *Metrana Nyoman* in Tenganan Pegringsingan village?

Competence is defined as basic guidelines, knowledge, and skill required in order to perform a practice (Shove et al., 2012). In Tenganan Pegringsingan, the competence of most traditional practices is based on *awig-awig*. It is mentioned before that *awig-awig*, as customary rules in Tenganan Pegringsingan, governs this village, its people, religion, as well the customary sanctions. It means that *awig-awig* also regulates *Metrana Nyoman*, as a traditional and religious ceremony to be practiced for every male generation of the village. Additionally, collective memories, experience, and expertise from elders are also considered to be part of the knowledge and skills of how the details of *Metrana Nyoman* are practically executed. The various knowledge and skills are local calendar enumeration, knowledge about (medicinal) plants, playing of traditional instruments, and handicraft, including the know-how of offering production, which is the most fundamental ceremony instrument. It also means that it is bounded in materiality used to perform the ceremony. Findings have also shown social competence as a way to maintain relationships among participants to be adaptive in a social situation, as well as actors (expertise) in the process of knowledge transfer between generations that is done mostly verbally. All in all, the competence of this ceremony is locally derived, adapted to the local environment and situation. To perform this ceremony, it involves the acquirement of how to act, what to do, and what it means.

- b. What is **the role of materiality** in a ceremony of *Metruna Nyoman* in Tenganan Pegringsingan village?

Metruna Nyoman is never without the interplay of an object, as it is the embodiment of the mental image of what it is about. Materiality is highly involved, described as the settings that situate the practice and as the production of competence and representation of the meaning of the practice. In this ceremony, materiality can be divided into two kinds; infrastructural settings and material objects. However, the existence of the materiality does not mean that it is sufficient to practice the ceremony. Since materiality is constructed with the help of tools (technology) or the natural physical composition of organisms (e.g., trees or insects) affected by physical events, thus practical methods or competence is just as prominent. For example, the production of offerings in the ritual of *Pedewasan* requires handicraft skills to create a palm-woven dish, as well as knowledge to arrange fruits and other ingredients. Moreover, the material is also designed to impose meanings of the ceremony. Such as the interplay of cultural artifacts (traditional clothes, *keris*, *tamyang*, and *tulup*) symbolize that *Metruna Nyoman* is a ceremony of welcoming pubescent and adolescence of the male generation of Tenganan in a given time. These material entities are then integrated into the practices which mutually shape the competence and meaning of the practice. Thus, they ensure their consistency and persistence.

- c. How are **the meanings** constituted within the interplay of materials and competence of *Metruna Nyoman* in Tenganan Pegringsingan village?

The prominent meaning of *Metruna Nyoman* can be elucidated as an identity shaping process of the participants entering adulthood and officially becoming people of Tenganan. Specific configurations of materiality and competences create this meaning through the concept of association of ideas, motivation, and emotion in a more (mental) abstract level. For example, *keris*, as a cultural object, is always used to convey the concept of adulthood. It is given that this concept is attached to the idea of power and responsibility, which are derived from historical beliefs. To some extent, the idea of entering adulthood is also associated with its characteristic of maturity and development.

Meanings also are constructed in the pre-existed condition of human agency involved in the practice. The meaning of *Metruna Nyoman* can be related to the prior identities of the participants, who are considered to be in the stage of childhood in their life. The current profile of the participants and the concept of adulthood, imply the projects and ends of this ceremony, creating motivation and belief to carry out the ceremony. Thus, the rituals and activities throughout the ceremony are characterized by these associations that simultaneously convey another meaning as a local education process for the participants.

Main question: How is the local culture of the Balinese community exercised through traditional practices in tourism destination?

To summarize, the traditional practice of Metruna Nyoman is formed by specific integration of competence, material, and meanings; that it creates a path of dependency. Simultaneously, the enactment of traditional practices also shapes local identity construction and brings a sense of solidarity and engagement between the participants. Local knowledge, including values and norms, are also transferred from generation to generation. The effect of tourism and globalization, such as the integration of technologies (mobile phones, motorbikes), however, allows these technologies to enter the practice. In the case of Metruna Nyoman, these objects are seen to create a dissonance. As the findings show, it is perceived to deteriorate from the whole experience of the participants, which leads to lessen the meaning of the ceremony. However, this dissonance creates awareness among the community to question the participation pattern of the human agency of the practice.

Ultimately, the integration of new technologies is formed through **appropriation and normalization** that favors the needs of the community. For example, in the case of Metruna Nyoman, motorbikes are used and are appropriated based on the conditions of participants and situations. To reflect on the concept of culture change, this process can be considered as **assimilation, by adapting** the use of these technologies based on their favor (time and needs). To some extent, a traditional ceremony also exhibits **a form of persistence** as it is practiced from generation to generation. The persistence lies in the commitment from the people of Tenganan to obey and respect local norms, values, and beliefs. It is also found that the dynamic of the ceremony supports this process of persistence. For example, collective memory and experience as the competence of Metruna Nyoman are transferred through social engagement and relationships.

8.2 Recommendation

By looking at the whole research process of this thesis, there are two recommendations. One regarding methodological, practical aspects, and the other regarding further academic research. First of all, there is important to find local expertise such as historians and academia, with knowledge about the historical information of the ethnic minority. Considering the subjectivity and complexity of oral history, this can be very diverse and lead to difficulties in finding reliable background information and interpreting this. Moreover, when it is related to traditional ceremonies, there are complexities in meanings, symbolism and hidden values that may be taken granted for local people yet may have implications that outsiders do not know or understand.

The practical implication of the study reveals that technology is very well integrated into daily life in the village, especially for the younger generation. Thus, involved actors may plan more creative activities, integrating local knowledge and these technologies, to better the interaction among participants. In other words, the participants need to be encouraged and facilitated in order to have a positive experience of their own culture.

Finally, this study also offers some further research topics for academia. Tenganan Pegrisingan has been a tourism destination since the beginning of Bali's tourism development in the 1970s. In my personal experience, the village has been a popular destination for conducting research, done mainly on their local governance (*awig-awig*), *mekare-kare* (the most famous traditional ceremony), and its *gringsing*. The topic of tourism and its implication has not yet been highlighted very much. Thus, it might also be interesting to look at economic development related to (shifting) norms, values, and cultural attitudes that make this society so seemingly tolerant of tourism and its impact.

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Glossary

Awig-awig	: Customary law in Tenganan Pegrisingan
Bale	: An open assembly hall for gathering events in the village
Banjar Kauh	: A settlement located in the west side of the village
Banjar Pande (Kangin)	: A settlement located in the east side of the village
Banjar Tengah	: A settlement located in the center of the village
Batara Guru	: Creator of earth and first ancestor of human beings.
Batara Kala	: The god of underworld
Brahma	: Related to the stages of life in Hindu, it is when an individual is on a period of learning.
Bulan Pasang	: A piece of cloth, which is tied around the waist, usually is for women.
Daha	: Young Female.
Gamelan	: Balinese traditional ensemble music.
Grahasta	: The second stage of life when an individual is creating a family.
Gringsing	: A textile created by the double ikat method in Tenganan Pegrisingan in Bali.
Hyang Widhi	: The One Almighty God.
Keliang Desa	: Leaders of Krama Desa.
Kemben	: A female torso wraps.
Keris	: Traditional iron dagger in an asymmetrical shape.
Krama Desa	: The highest (customary) institution in the village.
Luanan	: Advisors in Krama Desa.
Maketus Jambot	: A ceremony that marks the stage of childhood.
Mekare- kare	: A ceremony of Pandan War.
Melali	: A ritual of meditation prior to the ritual of Pedewasan at every temple in the village.
Metamyang	: A ritual to introduce Tenganan Pegrisingan area.
Natah	: The central courtyard in traditional Balinese house.
Ngekehin	: A ceremony that marks the age of 42 days of an infant.
Ngintaran	: A ritual to introduce the area of Tenganan Pegrisingan.
Pamindanda	: The customary sanctions.
Pedewasan	: The first ritual of Metruna Nyoman.
Sanggah Batara Guru	: The shrine of Batara Guru.
Sanyasi	: The stage of life when an individual is completely detached from the mortal life and its affair.
Subak	: A temporary dormitory during the ceremony.
Sukerta Tata Agama	: The rules about the religions in awig-awig.
Sukerta Tata Pelemahan	: The rules about the traditional village areas in awig-awig.
Sukerta Tata Pawongan	: The rules about the residents in awig-awig.
Tamyang	: A traditional shield made from rattan.
Tri Hita Karana	: As a religious philosophical concept of harmonious relation between a person to God, nature and among other human beings.
Truna	: Young male.
Truna Bani	: Generations after Truna Pengawin .
Truna Nyoman	: Generations who have done Metruna Nyoman.
Truna Pengawin	: Generations who have done Metruna Nyoman and become Pengawin.
Truna	
Tulupan	: Traditional blowgun made from wood.
Wanaprastha	: The third stage of life when an individual begins the spiritual journey.

Appendices

Appendix 1. List of Interview Participant

No	Name	Function in the village
1.	Wayan Sadra	Public Figure
2.	Nengah Timur	Public Figure
3.	Putu Sujarna	Member of village council
4.	Putu Yudiayana	Member of village council
5.	Putu Gerimbing	Member of village council
6.	Rio Wedayana	Head of youngster council <i>Petemu Kaje</i>
7.	Komang Satya	Head of youngster council <i>Petemu Kaje</i>
8.	Wayan Arsana	The Second Head of village
9.	Ketut Pancawa	The Fifth Head of village
10.	Widiyasa	The Third Head of village
11.	Nengah Muder	The First Head of village
12.	Putu Yadnyana	The Fourth Head of village
13.	Ketut Sudiatika	Advisor of the village
14.	Pemangku Adat Gede Wiratnyana	Customary Priest

Appendix 2. Interview Guide

Instruction

1. Greet the interview, appropriately can use "Om Swastiatu".
2. Introduce oneself "my name is Annisa, a student from Wageningen University." Is sufficient. Moreover, the information about the major can also be provided.
3. State the purpose, what kind of research is being conducted and a simple explanation about it so that the interviewee knows what to expect from the topic. Use as simplest as words and explanation.
4. Ask permission to record and inform that the interview will take about 60 minutes.
5. Inform that the confidential matter of the interview data.

Opening Question

1. Could you please introduce yourself?
Occupation and the role in the village

Main Question

Topic 1. Metruna Nyoman

- Could you please explain about Metruna Nyoman?
Keywords: participation, participants, actors, duration and time, preparation, cost
- What are the rituals in Metruna Nyoman?
Keywords: sequence of the rituals

Topic 2. Competence of Metruna Nyoman

- What are the guidelines to perform the ceremony?
Keywords: regulations, requirement, actors in charge, consequences, skills to make materiality, awig-awig

Topic 3. Materiality of Metruna Nyoman

- What are the things that need to be used or prepared?

Keywords: clothing, offerings of each rituals, instruction of the materiality production/access, meaning of objects

Topic 4. Meaning of Metruna Nyoman

- What is the meaning of the whole process of this ceremony?

Keywords: goal, activities after the ceremony, achievements, meaning of each ritual

Topic 5. Participation of Metruna Nyoman (for non-participants)

- What are the roles of in Metruna Nyoman?

Keywords: parents, Krama Desa, Petemu, Daha, Pemangku Adat or customary priest, aiwg-awig

Topic 6. Personal Experience of Metruna Nyoman?

- Could you please tell your experience of the ceremony?

Keywords: the most important memory, changes in the ceremony related to current ceremony, the current challenges of the ceremony

Topic 7. Metruna Nyoman, culture change and Tourism,

- What do you think of Tourism in the village?

Keywords: usage, benefits,

- How is Metruna Nyoman related to tourism in this village?

Keywords: "outsider" participation, effects