REINTERPRETATION OF MASS NGABEN IN BALI

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ABSTRACT

The essence of the implementation of the “Ngaben Massal” ceremony, is a deconstruction of hegemonic discourse in society, a deconstruction of the hegemonic tradition in the Ngaben discourse, starting from the rise of philosophical public awareness starting from the clearer understanding of society in religious literature. From this understanding, other reinterpretations emerge, such as reinterpretation of the meaning of economy, social solidarity and education. This reinterpretation of the meaning of the Ngaben ceremony is a very important basis for appreciation so that mass Ngaben can be widely accepted in most community groups. The implementation of the above is very important that can be grown in the implementation of the Mass Ngaben Ceremony, as a medium of education, is the emergence of public awareness of the essential values of a yajña ceremony such as the Ngaben Ceremony itself. So that the essential value of a yajña ceremony (Ngaben) is no longer buried by the routine of a tradition, which is nothing more than a traditional obligation which can give the impression that a yajña ceremony like Ngaben with the hegemonic tradition is just a burden of tradition that is independent of its essence and meaning.

Keywords: Mass Ngaben, deconstruction, discourse, cultural hegomony

INTRODUCTION

Ngaben ceremony as one religious ceremonies, require a very large cost to the Hindu community in particular. In carrying out the Ngaben ceremony, very large funds are needed, ranging from one hundred and fifty million to two hundred million rupiah. With the large cost of such ceremonies, most people think that to be able to Ngaben they must have Ngabehin funds (in excess). With that understanding, Ngaben becomes a "label" or "stamp" for wealthy people. With such a stamp or label, of course people who are economically underprivileged, will never be able to carry out the Ngaben obligations for their ancestors, because it requires a very large private Ngaben ceremony.
Even if the community can do this, for example, they must make sacrifices by selling their property such as inherited land. The way to do yadnya in this way, especially for people who are not well off economically, by selling inherited land only for the benefit of the yadnya (ngaben), what else to impoverish the people who do it is actually not in accordance with the teachings of Hinduism literature which teaches *ambeg parama artha* and *Ahara legawa* that is to use finance in accordance with the priority scale and the principle of simplicity. To overcome this problem so that people who are less economically able to carry out their obligations to carry out the Ngaben ceremony, to ease the burden of the very large costs of the Ngaben Ceremony is through mass Ngaben.

The mass Ngaben Ceremony has undergone a shift that began in the 2000s, where initially the Ngaben ceremony was carried out with planning and preparation carried out by those who have sawa (family members who will be aben), as in making the completeness of the ceremony facilities related to the Ngaben ceremony carried out in mutual cooperation, thus unconsciously that there is an education for the younger generation so that they know and understand in making the completeness of the ceremony (bebantenan) because making offerings is part of the culture, which we must preserve and inheritance to our children and grandchildren. This shift is caused by the people's lifestyle and the condition of the people's economy is getting better, which impacts everything measured in money.

Recently, development has not only occurred in the city, because the limited time for Balinese Hindus in preparing the ceremonial facilities has led most of the Hindus to buy offerings from banten craftsmen, the term is "nunas puput". The younger generation are starting to wonder why implementing Hinduism in Bali in the form of rituals / ceremonies is so difficult and expensive. The "model" of Hindu-Balinese people in urban areas to carry out the yadnya ceremony now looks commonplace, such as: rental tents, rental of corsies, catering
messages, and nunas ayaban in Geria complete with a complete Sulinggih. All practical and economical even though the aspects of the adat-dresta of mutual assistance were lost, and the sacred aspect made the offering to the Yajamana lost.

Based on the description above, it is a dilemma for the sustainability of Balinese cultural life in the future, this is a phenomenon for Hindus because the Ngaben ceremony for Hindus is a form of Yadnya and is also an obligation to do so, and is associated with the phenomenon. Spirituality from Schreurs (2002) which provides an understanding of spirituality as a personal relationship with a transcendent figure. Spirituality includes an individual's inner life, idealism, attitudes, thoughts, feelings and expectations of the Almighty.

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Spirituality is an innate human need to relate to something bigger than the human being. The term "something that is greater than a human being" is something that is external to the human being and draws a feeling to that person, in line with Schreurs' (2002) understanding of spirituality, which implies spirituality as a personal relationship to a transcendent figure. Spirituality includes an individual's inner life, idealism, attitudes, thoughts, feelings and expectations of the Most Kusa. Spirituality includes how the individual expresses his relationship with the transcendent figure in everyday life.

In addition, it is in line with the opinion of Elkins (1988) which defines spirituality as a way of being and experiencing something that comes through awareness of the transcendent dimension and has the characteristics of several values that can be identified with oneself, life, and anything that a person considers as Powerful. Meanwhile, the notion of spirituality from Fernando (2006) states that spirituality can also be about feelings of purpose, meaning, and feelings of connection with others. This opinion does not include religion in defining spirituality and spirituality.

Spirituality can be expressed in everyday life including in the workplace. Ashmos (2000) defines spirituality in the workplace as an introduction that employees have a "life in" which is nurtured and nurtured by meaningful work that takes place in a community context. Ashmos' definition of spirituality in the workplace has three components, namely inner life, meaningful work, and community. Ashmos wanted to emphasize that spirituality in the workplace is not about religion, even though people sometimes express their religious beliefs at work. Spirituality which refers to the definition of Tischler (2002), namely spirituality as
something related to certain behavior or attitudes of an individual, being a spiritual person means being open, giving, and loving. After describing several definitions of spirituality and spirituality in the workplace, we will further describe the components of spirituality.

Components of Spirituality obey Elkins (1988) has nine components, namely the transcendent dimension, meaning and purpose in life, life mission, life sacredness, material values, altruism, idealism, awareness of tragic events and the fruit of spirituality. It is further explained that the components of spirituality include the relationship of an individual with a power that exceeds himself and also with the people around him. A person with a developed spirituality will have the above components. Next, we will describe the aspects of spirituality. According to Schreurs (2002) spirituality consists of three aspects, namely existential aspects, cognitive aspects, and relational aspects. Next, we will describe what competencies are obtained from developing spirituality.

Humans are in principle both religious and spiritual (homo religious and homo spirituality). This is marked by its ability to understand and reach out to the transcendent, that is, that which is outside and beyond itself. This ability causes him to be able to experience ecstasy, (both natural and supra-natural), when he encounters something completely different and does not originate from the ordinary sphere of the world and experience. Experience of something completely different and not originating from the realm of the world and ordinary human experience is called religious experience (Hardjana, 2005: 28-29). This is the content and essence of religious experience, appreciation of God which causes people to have the ability, ability, and sensitivity to know and understand the existence of the Divine (Maman, et al., 2006: 1).

Thus, religious experience is man's knowledge of "Something" that is outside of himself, which transcends and transcends himself, the Transcendent, the Divine, which is obtained directly through the conscious relationship between himself and the "Something" beyond himself. Another "something", the Transcendent, the Divine in the language of religion is called God.

This religiosity is the core and source of religion, namely the feeling and awareness of the relationship and re-bond between humans and God because humans have known and experienced again about God and believe in Him (Hardjana, 2005: 51). This is the reason for Kahmad (2000: 63) to state that religion is a sacred shelter that protects humans from situations of chaos (chaos). For adherents, religion contains teachings about the highest and
absolute truth about human existence as well as instructions for safe life in the world and the hereafter, namely as humans who are devout to their God, civilized, and human. That is, religion is something that is cultural because religion is a symbolic universe that gives meaning to human life and the most holistic and comprehensive explanation of all reality. Given that in addition to dogma or doctrine, religion also provides moral guidelines for living life in the social world to bring about goodness, safety and welfare for all.

Likewise Hardjana (2005: 51) asserts that from the appreciation of awareness of the relationship and return to God, religion emerges with its four main elements, namely dogma, doctrine or teaching; worship or cult; morals or ethics; and institutions or organizations. This means that religion has four main elements, namely existential, the aspect which concerns the whole of life; intellectual, aspects related to understanding; ethical, the aspect of manifestation in behavior; and institutional, the aspect related to the institution.

Although the two views are different, in practice, religion and religiosity must and must be combined into a unified whole. According to Hardjana (2005: 63) through such practices, dogma is returned to the nature and will of God; worship finds its meaning as a means of relating to God; religious morals are met with God's will; and religious institutions return to their true nature as a means of maintaining and developing understanding, relationships, and the performance of God's will. Instead, it was emphasized that in order to make the appreciation of religion authentic, deep, and have a positive impact on life, religion needs to be brought to spirituality.

Spirituality means living based on spirit. In relation to the Transcendent, that spirit is the Spirit of God. Spirituality is life based on the influence and guidance of God's Spirit. With spirituality, humans intend to make themselves and their lives shaped in accordance with the spirit and ideals of God. It is this spirit and ideals of God that are used as guidelines in life, both in individual and social dimensions. Given that spirituality feels so abstract, so that its appreciation is more concrete so that in practice it is manifested by following the lives of religious figures, both founders and followers who can be emulated (Hardjana, 2005: 64). A spiritual person is aware that in this life he has two main tasks from God, namely first, to develop into a human with the qualities expected by God; and second, carrying out a life mission to bring good, safety and welfare to society. For spiritual people, religious dogma is used as a starting point and a means to explore the nature and will of God and understand His mysteries. Worship is used to convey accountability to God regarding all actions in
accordance with its two main duties. Religious morals are activities to take part in God's attributes and work together with God to bring good, salvation and prosperity to the world. Then, religious institutions are only a means of maintaining and developing the faith of the people. The most important thing in religious institutions is the maintenance and development of the religiosity and spirituality of the people to achieve goodness, safety and welfare (Hardjana, 2005: 65--73). carry out the mission of life to bring good, safety and welfare to society. For spiritual people, religious dogma is used as a starting point and a means to explore the nature and will of God and understand His mystery. Worship is used to convey accountability to God regarding all actions in accordance with its two main duties. Religious morals are activities to take part in God's attributes and work together with God to bring good, salvation and prosperity to the world. Then, religious institutions are only a means of maintaining and developing the faith of the people. The most important thing in religious institutions is the maintenance and development of the religiosity and spirituality of the people to achieve goodness, safety and welfare (Hardjana, 2005: 65--73). carry out life's mission to bring good, safety and welfare to society. For spiritual people, religious dogma is used as a starting point and a means to explore the nature and will of God and understand His mysteries. Worship is used to convey accountability to God regarding all actions in accordance with its two main duties. Religious morals are activities to take part in God's attributes and work together with God to bring good, salvation and prosperity to the world. Then, religious institutions are only a means of maintaining and developing the faith of the people. The most important thing in religious institutions is the maintenance and development of the religiosity and spirituality of the people to achieve goodness, safety and welfare (Hardjana, 2005: 65--73).

**DISCUSSION**

Understanding Hinduism can be done through three approaches, namely understanding the tatwa or philosophy of religion, morals or ethics, and ceremonies or ceremonies. Meanwhile, economic activities or activities, according to the theory, consist of three activities, namely the activities of creating / producing, distributing and consuming or consuming. Religious understanding through the implementation of the ceremony is a consumption activity on the other hand in the realm of economic activity. When approached using the Venn diagram, it turns out that the two activities overlap.
This means that understanding religion through the implementation of ceremonies is an expenditure of ritual consumption when viewed from the economic realm. Does this also mean that performing ceremonies is an economic activity? From the other side upakara is a yadnya or human offering to the five elements of life, namely to God, holy people (rsi), humans, the underworld, and animals. The five yadnya are known as 'panca yadnya’ or the five types of offerings, namely the yadnya, rsi yadnya, manusa yadnya, pitra yadnya, pitra yadnya and butha yadnya.

The frequency of ritual events for the yadnya, namely offerings to God Almighty and all of its manifestations in one Isaca year (420 days) consists of 108 days. This activity is a holiday that is routinely carried out such as the full moon (full moon), tilem (dead moon), coma ribek (kliwon Monday), tumpek (kliwon Saturday), Saraswati holiday, Galungan holiday, Kuningan and others. The five yadnya for deva, saints (rsi), humans, the underworld, and animals are known as 'panca yadnya’ or the five types of offerings.

There are still more ritual activities outside the routine, such as building temples, inaugurating temples, and religious observances (objections) or odalan. The ritual activities of the manusa yadnya consist of 11 activities ranging from newborns, breaking the umbilical cord to marriage and finally cleaning the body and soul (pewintenan). If all the five yadnya are carried out properly, almost a third of the time owned by Hindu families in Bali is used for ritual activities (Sukarsa, 2005c).

The implementation of ceremonies in Bali includes the Ngaben ceremony, seen from the time allocation for female and male workers, the number of needs for certain items for the needs of Dewa Yadnya, the amount of expenditure for per-family and per-capita ceremonies per year and research on how income and understanding of religion affect towards the expenditure of ceremonies. The Ngaben ceremony in Bali is a religious activity that will definitely be carried out by the family for the deceased. There are several levels of the size of the ceremony depending on the type and variety of completeness of the ceremony, namely the large (main), medium (middle) and small (kanista) levels. Even though the ceremonies are held at different levels, the goals achieved are the same, namely wanting to unite with the Almighty and for the welfare of the world. (Sukarsa, 2005b). In human efforts to achieve the goal of life, namely physical and spiritual well-being (like tan pawali dukha), the community (Hinduism in Bali) maintains good relations with nature and the environment. Likewise they maintain a good relationship with God who created the world and everything in it as well as
with fellow humans. These three good relationships are known as Tri Hita Karana. To maintain the three good relations between humans and one another requires an activity that has consequences for expenses in the form of ceremonies. These three good relationships are known as Tri Hita Karana. To maintain the three good relations between humans and one another requires an activity that has consequences in the form of a ceremony. These three good relationships are known as Tri Hita Karana. To maintain the three good relations between humans and one another requires an activity that has consequences in the form of a ceremony.

At the moment, our economy is on the way to recovery from its downturn due to several national and international incidents. On the other hand, several suggestions were received to prepare this nation from the flow of globalization. Take part in competition on an international scale. In the midst of this global competition, the struggle to apply economic theory as a solution is still very exciting. Pull and pull between one stream with another. Since the Middle Ages, when the ethical principles that colored economics began to be abandoned, secular economic values had a place in the hearts of the people and were very popular (Spiegel, 2000). Like day after night, Adam Smith's The Moral Sentiment, published in 1759, gave a high spiritual enthusiasm to economics. These messages are such as: self-love, morality, justice, equality, equity, humanity, religious values, social welfare, public needs, public interests, solidarity etc. These definitions can be used as capital to give spiritual enthusiasm in economics.

Nineteen years later (a time that is so short compared to the times of the development of economics), Adam Smith's second book was published and its content is as contrasted as day with night. The book is entitled An Inquiry into the Nature of the Wealth of Nations. What is surprising is that people are more interested in the contents of this second book. Economic jargons echoed by Adam Smith in his book include: Homoeconomicus, free entry free exit, least cost combination, profit maximization, economic animal, free competition, invisible hand. The key word to all this jargon is efficiency. Who works efficiently can stay in the market and live. The inefficient leave the market and die.

The economic point of view is regulated through the market mechanism, the price is regulated by the 'invisible hand'. The government must refrain from regulating economic activities. Let wages, rent, salaries, income, welfare, interest and profits be regulated by the market. Many experts at that time were very optimistic about this flow. Jean Baptiste Say
even said that with this idea there would be no overproduction, no idle sources or factors of production. The bid itself will create the bid, he said. 'Supply creates its own demand since the aggregate cost of production is spent for the aggregate product' is written in his book 'Treatise on Political Economy (1821). Apart from the optimism of these thinkers, on the other hand, there were also those who felt pessimistic about the economic conditions at that time. If analyzed using Practice Theory according to Bourdieau, it can be argued that the implementation of Ngaben Massal is a practice that is reproduced from the habitus. Habitus, in Bourdieau's mind is a Latin word which refers to a condition, appearance or situation or habitual (Jenkins in Nurhadi, 2004: 107). A praxis which is a product of habitus in it contains an understanding of an adjustment to objective conditions, and there is a reciprocal or dialectical relationship between them. 107). A praxis which is a product of habitus in it contains an understanding of an adjustment to objective conditions, and there is a reciprocal or dialectical relationship between them.

The Ngaben ritual praxis which is carried out collectively, in the context of the interaction between the habitus and its disposition, on the one hand, and the constraints, demands and opportunities of the social or market arenas which are adjusted to the habitus or place of movement of actors on the other, so that the economic habitus will reproduce an the praxis of the Ngaben Massal ceremony with a simpler and more practical order, as a product of the interaction of social, economic and theological habitus.

Reproduction of action in the form of Mass Ngaben is a form of adjustment or adaptation to the current socio-economic conditions of society which are increasingly differentiated towards the needs of life which are increasingly competitive in their fulfillment. So that this can also be understood from the "logic of action" according to Michel Lallement, whose general idea is to present the reasons for individual action by taking into account the diversity of drivers and rationality including the economic rationality of an action (Giddens, in translation of Ninik Rochani Sjams, 2004: 283), things like this are economic considerations in the implementation of mass Ngaben, and this is a spirit that can inspire and mobilize community cooperation to carry out the Ngaben Masal Ceremony.

In previous times, the community carried out the Ngaben Ceremony always on a large scale, this can be understood because the condition or economic condition of the community
at that time was still possible, seen from the distribution of the occupation which was still small with the amount of land that was still very large so that the community had no difficulty in conducting large ceremonies. Unlike the situation as it is now, where the population is very dense, and is also increasingly pressed by other socio-economic needs. So that here the community needs to make changes to the tradition regarding the way the ceremony is held towards a more economical one without reducing the meaning of the ceremony.

Life Purpose: Maximizing Satisfaction / Profits, by means of natural factors, capital, labor and skills. Life Purpose: attaining Moksha (union with God), through: Dharma, Artha and Kama. Motto: Work is a tool to achieve maximum satisfaction (homoeconomicus) Motto: Work is an obligation and dharma to achieve moksha (homotatwamasi) to control nature tends to destroy, adjust to nature tends to preserve. To maximize the benefits of choosing the path of "seizing from competitors or losing opportunities" {(free fight, free entry and free exit) / (Death to compassion for life)} The principle of coexistence, acting for fellow living beings (Tat twam asi). The end of the hunt for economic activity leaves behind 'pollution, trash and destruction'.

All resources must be owned, because the concept of 'private ownership' Life is also for the welfare of others. We are born naked, we die naked too, don't be too greedy. Rich size, fulfillment of needs as much as possible because of the location of satisfaction in the maximum consumption (maximum utility). If you want to feel less poor, reduce your needs, don't increase your supply or try to make ends meet. This means restraint of lust. Focus on oneself. Focus on togetherness and others. Society is encouraged to take / get a free society to give (working with two hands, with a thousand hands). Legalizing all means to achieve success (including competition, crime, corruption and greed), prioritizing cooperation and eliminating ways that are not heavenly. Often loses responsibility and self-respect when it comes to accumulating wealth. Respect for oneself is very important through giving to others, because having a principle is better to give than to receive.

Toil for the sake of accumulating wealth to limit a lifestyle of glamor-simplicity, tends to torture oneself. Thinking that money can solve all problems, problems can be solved by "spiritual" behavior. Everyone tries to manipulate the economic system for personal gain and gain. Often results in unqualified leaders. Avoid manipulation and uphold the rules honestly, preventing the imposition of 'external-costs' (negative externalities) on others. Due to the importance of economic growth, the distribution of income is very unequal. Some people get
more than they need, while others cannot get what they need. The distribution of income is maintained very evenly.

The tradition of the Ngaben ceremony which is carried out by highlighting the majestic and festive ceremonial aspects, is actually in the development of this situation, it is no longer suitable to be carried out, let alone carried out by expressing oneself just for an impression that someone can or is able to follow the existing traditions so that they can gives a special pride to a prestige socially for those who do. For example, the community tries to follow the tradition of utterances in larger doses, this is because there is a concern about gossip or public judgment through "social labels" such as stingy, stingy (demit) and other expressions that are considered to disturb the image or social value towards the implementation of the Ngaben Ceremony.

The occurrence of community concerns like that is also caused by the fact that in the local community there is a hegemonic cultural discourse, regarding the way of carrying out smaller (simpler) ceremonies. Such hegemonic cultural discourse seems to represent a strong legitimacy for the way the ceremony is carried out on a large scale, so that it can subordinate the simple or small way of carrying out Ngaben. Hegemonic cultural discourse in a linguistic structure, which is alive and often spoken by the local community, is for example in the phrase "yen ngelah gae sing dadi demit" which means that if people have a ceremony (yajña) they should not be stingy or stingy, as is a phrase that is often used by the community that is : "Sing dadi demit" which refers to a person who performs a yajña is to become a traditional shackle, who hegemony in the people who wish to carry out the ceremony more simply so that the people here will feel ashamed (lek) if they do so. Shame (lek) for the community has become a tendency for people to always carry out large-scale ceremonies even though they force themselves only to survive the community's gossip.

In the context of such thoughts, according to Wiana (2002: 171), it is necessary to have a reform of thought and action. The concept of Hindu reform is used as the basis for performing general yajña ceremonies including the Ngaben Ceremony. The concept of Hindu reformation is Utpati, Stithi and Pralina. Utpati means that you must always be able to develop good and correct ways of working for the yajña in accordance with Hindu religious literature in order to keep up with the times. Stithi means that you must consistently maintain the most substantive values of the yajna ceremony.
Things that are still in accordance with the times must be properly maintained. Meanwhile, Pralina, which means obsolete traditions, let alone contradicting Hindu literature, should be grudgingly abandoned, by means of such a ceremony it will be able to shift the meaning itself to the level of meaning with the veiled intention of upholding the status of symbols in social position in society rather than meaning. The philosophical and theosophical ceremony itself Peodal thoughts in the way of carrying out the Ngaben ceremony as mentioned above, have been reformed, by reinterpreting the meaning of Ngaben Massal as a deconstruction of the hegemonic tradition in the Ngaben discourse, through the rise of public awareness in understanding the meaning of Ngaben according to religious literature. There is a change in the mindset of society like that, it is very reasonable, because at this time, people have wide access to growth centers due to the increasingly smooth means of communication and communication with the outside environment which results in intensifying contacts with elements of modernization. Such changes in thinking are also supported by the increasing level of public education, and also the expansion of socio-religious institutions that have carried out religious enlightenment missions to the community.

Thus, the deconstruction that occurs is in the direction of community thought by placing the meaning of Ngaben not as a Ngabehin which means that it exceeds the cost aspect. But the public realizes that Ngaben is a moral obligation that must be carried out to the ancestors as a debt payment (rnam). From the awareness of that obligation comes the public's thinking, so that Ngaben can be carried out as lightly as possible, by no longer oriented to large ritual customs -great in terms of organizing the Ngaben Ceremony. In order to carry out their obligations as lightly as possible, a public mindset emerges to carry them out together, namely with Ngaben Massal.

The impact of the implementation of Ngaben Massal, in addition to being a medium to foster family solidarity internally, but also to foster a sense of solidarity in the wider community among clan (soroh) groups of Ngaben Massal participants themselves. In the Ngaben ceremony, each group of members of the Ngaben Massal participant felt that they were in the same social category as a poor community, namely by having a relatively similar socio-economic background (equality) so that here a common feeling (sense of belonging) with great sympathy and enthusiasm for the success of the implementation of the Mass Ngaben.

Ngaben massal is done by the Balinese, especially those who are Hindu, has an educational meaning for the community, because here the community does it together in
mutual cooperation. In this joint activity, structurally it involves the various skills and abilities of the people involved in the Ngaben Massal, to prepare the equipment for the Ngaben Ceremony, to the procession of the ceremony. Through interactions in this joint activity, people exchange experiences and knowledge (social experience).

In this joint activity, there can also be a process of transferring experiences and skills from people who have understood well the Ngaben Ceremony order, to people who are still unfamiliar with their knowledge of the Ngaben Ceremony in particular and other ceremonies that involve making offerings. In every ceremony (Ngaben), in the process of transforming various skills to the next generation, for example the knowledge and skills of making offerings or offerings, bhoga systems, and also other ceremonial equipment. All these skills can be transformed from generation to generation or conveyed to people who are still unfamiliar with ceremonial facilities and infrastructure.

CONCLUSION

The essence of the implementation of the Ngaben Massal ceremony, is a deconstruction of hegemonic discourse in society, a deconstruction of the hegemonic tradition in the Ngaben discourse, starting from the rise of philosophical public awareness starting from the clearer understanding of the community in religious literature. From this understanding, other reinterpretations emerge. such as a reinterpretation of the meaning of economy, social solidarity and education. This reinterpretation of the meaning of the Ngaben ceremony is a very important basis for appreciation so that mass Ngaben can be widely accepted in most community groups.

The implementation of the above is very important that can be grown in the implementation of the Ngaben Massal Ceremony, as an educational medium, is the emergence of public awareness of the essential values of a yajña ceremony such as the Ngaben Ceremony itself. So that the essential value of a yajña ceremony (Ngaben) is no longer buried by the routine of a tradition, which is nothing more than a traditional obligation which can give the impression that a yajñas ceremony like Ngaben with the hegemonic tradition is just a burden of tradition that is independent of its essence and meaning.
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