

NYONGKOLAN BETWEEN TRADITION AND MODERNITY: CULTURAL ACCULTURATION ANALYSIS ACCORDING TO ROBERT REDFIELD'S PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

This study examines the Nyongkolan tradition of Sasak society in Lombok through the lens of Robert Redfield's cultural acculturation theory, employing a multidisciplinary approach that integrates legal and inclusive perspectives. Nyongkolan, a ceremonial wedding procession characterized by mass participation and festive atmosphere, represents a complex intersection of traditional values and modern influences. Using a literature review methodology, this research analyzes how Nyongkolan demonstrates cultural transformation while maintaining its essential identity, explores the legal frameworks governing this tradition in contemporary Indonesia, and evaluates its role in promoting social inclusion across diverse community segments. Findings reveal that Nyongkolan exemplifies Redfield's concept of the folk-urban continuum, where traditional practices adapt to urban modernity without losing core cultural significance. The tradition simultaneously faces challenges from modernization pressures and legal regulations while demonstrating remarkable resilience through adaptive strategies. From an inclusive perspective, Nyongkolan functions as a social leveler that transcends economic and social boundaries, though gender dynamics and accessibility issues require ongoing attention. This study contributes to understanding how indigenous traditions negotiate modernity while preserving cultural authenticity and promoting social cohesion in Indonesia's pluralistic society.

Keywords: *Nyongkolan tradition, cultural acculturation, Robert Redfield, legal framework, social inclusion*

Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengkaji tradisi Nyongkolan masyarakat Sasak di Lombok melalui perspektif teori akulturasi budaya Robert Redfield, dengan pendekatan multidisipliner yang mengintegrasikan perspektif hukum dan inklusif. Nyongkolan, sebuah prosesi upacara pernikahan yang ditandai dengan partisipasi massa dan suasana meriah, merepresentasikan pertemuan kompleks antara nilai-nilai tradisional dan pengaruh modern. Menggunakan metodologi tinjauan literatur, penelitian ini menganalisis bagaimana Nyongkolan menunjukkan transformasi budaya sambil mempertahankan identitas esensialnya, mengeksplorasi kerangka hukum yang mengatur tradisi ini dalam Indonesia kontemporer, dan mengevaluasi perannya dalam mempromosikan inklusivitas sosial lintas segmen masyarakat yang beragam. Temuan mengungkapkan bahwa

Nyongkolan mencontohkan konsep kontinum folk-urban Redfield, di mana praktik tradisional beradaptasi dengan modernitas perkotaan tanpa kehilangan signifikansi budaya inti. Tradisi ini secara simultan menghadapi tantangan dari tekanan modernisasi dan regulasi hukum sembari menunjukkan ketahanan luar biasa melalui strategi adaptif. Dari perspektif inklusif, Nyongkolan berfungsi sebagai penyeimbang sosial yang melampaui batas-batas ekonomi dan sosial, meskipun dinamika gender dan isu aksesibilitas memerlukan perhatian berkelanjutan. Studi ini berkontribusi pada pemahaman tentang bagaimana tradisi indigenous menegosiasikan modernitas sambil mempertahankan autentisitas budaya dan mempromosikan kohesi sosial dalam masyarakat pluralistik Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: tradisi Nyongkolan, akulturasi budaya, Robert Redfield, kerangka hukum, inklusivitas sosial

A. INTRODUCTION

The Nyongkolan tradition represents one of the most vibrant and distinctive cultural practices of the Sasak people in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia. This ceremonial wedding procession, characterized by large-scale community participation, traditional music, and colorful attire, embodies the collective spirit of Sasak society and serves as a powerful expression of cultural identity. In contemporary Indonesia, where rapid modernization and globalization continuously reshape social landscapes, traditional ceremonies like Nyongkolan face unprecedented challenges in maintaining their relevance and authenticity. The tension between preserving cultural heritage and adapting to modern sensibilities creates a complex dynamic that warrants scholarly attention, particularly through theoretical frameworks that can illuminate processes of cultural change and continuity.

Robert Redfield's theory of cultural acculturation provides a valuable analytical lens for examining the Nyongkolan tradition. Redfield's conceptualization of the folk-urban continuum and his understanding of how traditional societies negotiate modernity offer insights into the transformation of indigenous practices in changing socio-cultural contexts. His work emphasizes that cultural change is not merely a process of replacement but involves complex negotiations, adaptations, and syntheses between traditional and modern elements. This theoretical framework becomes particularly relevant when examining Nyongkolan, which demonstrates remarkable persistence despite significant social transformations in Sasak society over recent decades.

The multidisciplinary approach adopted in this study integrates legal and inclusive perspectives to provide a comprehensive understanding of Nyongkolan in contemporary context. The legal dimension examines how Indonesian law recognizes, regulates, and sometimes constrains traditional practices, reflecting broader tensions between state authority and customary rights. Indonesia's legal pluralism, which acknowledges both national law and customary law (*hukum adat*), creates a unique environment where traditions like Nyongkolan must navigate multiple normative frameworks. Recent regulations regarding traffic management, noise control, and public order have directly impacted how Nyongkolan can be performed, raising questions about the balance between cultural preservation and public interest.

The inclusive perspective addresses how Nyongkolan functions as a mechanism for social cohesion and participation across diverse segments of society. Traditionally, Nyongkolan involves entire communities regardless of socio-economic status, creating moments of collective celebration that temporarily suspend normal social hierarchies. However, contemporary transformations raise questions about whether this inclusive character remains intact as the tradition adapts to modern contexts. Issues of gender participation, accessibility for persons with disabilities, economic barriers, and the inclusion of diverse religious and ethnic communities within Lombok's increasingly plural society require careful examination. Understanding how Nyongkolan negotiates these dimensions of inclusion provides insights into the tradition's social functions and its potential role in promoting democratic values and social justice.

This study aims to achieve three primary objectives. First, it seeks to analyze how the Nyongkolan tradition demonstrates processes of cultural acculturation according to Robert Redfield's theoretical framework, examining the specific mechanisms through which traditional elements persist, transform, or synthesize with modern influences. This analysis will identify the core cultural elements that remain stable and those that have undergone adaptation, providing insights into the resilience and flexibility of indigenous traditions. Second, the research aims to examine the legal frameworks governing Nyongkolan in contemporary Indonesia, analyzing how national and regional regulations impact the practice of this tradition and exploring the tensions between legal requirements and cultural authenticity. This objective will consider recent policy developments and their implications for cultural preservation. Third, the study evaluates the role of Nyongkolan in promoting social inclusion, assessing how the tradition facilitates or hinders participation across different social groups and examining its potential contribution to building inclusive communities in contemporary Lombok society.

Recent scholarship on Indonesian traditional ceremonies has increasingly focused on how these practices adapt to modernity while maintaining cultural significance. Studies on Sasak wedding traditions specifically have documented the elaborate ritual systems that govern marriage practices, with Nyongkolan representing the most public and communal aspect of these ceremonies. Research has shown that Sasak wedding customs involve complex stages including *merariq* (elopement), *selabar* (negotiation), and the Nyongkolan procession itself, each carrying specific cultural meanings and social functions. Contemporary studies have noted significant changes in how these traditions are performed, particularly in urban settings where space, time, and social organization differ markedly from rural contexts.

Robert Redfield's theoretical contributions to understanding cultural change have received renewed attention in anthropological and sociological literature examining globalization and modernization in traditional societies. His concept of the folk-urban continuum, developed through studies of Mexican communities, proposes that societies exist along a spectrum from isolated folk communities to complex urban societies, with most communities occupying intermediate positions. Redfield argued that as communities move toward the urban pole, they experience disorganization of culture, secularization, and individualization, yet this process is neither uniform nor unidirectional. Recent applications of Redfield's framework have demonstrated its continued relevance for analyzing cultural transformations in various Asian contexts,

though scholars have also critiqued and refined his original formulations to account for more complex patterns of globalization and cultural hybridity.

The legal anthropology of customary practices in Indonesia has become an important field of inquiry, particularly following the country's democratization and decentralization since 1998. Scholars have examined how Indonesian law's recognition of customary law creates both opportunities and challenges for traditional communities. The Constitutional Court's decisions regarding customary rights and the implementation of regional autonomy laws have given local governments greater authority to regulate cultural practices, leading to diverse approaches across Indonesia's provinces and districts. In Lombok specifically, local regulations have addressed various aspects of traditional ceremonies, attempting to balance cultural preservation with modern governance concerns including traffic management, environmental protection, and public safety. These legal frameworks reflect broader debates about multiculturalism, indigenous rights, and the proper role of the state in regulating cultural practices.

Research on social inclusion and traditional ceremonies has explored how cultural practices can serve as sites of both solidarity and exclusion. Studies have documented how participation in ceremonial life can reinforce community bonds and provide mechanisms for social integration, yet they have also revealed how traditions can perpetuate inequalities or exclude marginalized groups. Gender studies have examined the different roles men and women play in traditional ceremonies, questioning whether these arrangements reflect natural complementarity or structural inequality. Disability studies have highlighted how many traditional spaces and practices remain inaccessible to persons with disabilities, raising questions about inclusive design in cultural contexts. Economic analyses have explored how the costs associated with traditional ceremonies can create barriers to participation for poorer community members, potentially undermining the egalitarian ideals many traditions espouse. These diverse scholarly perspectives inform this study's examination of Nyongkolan's inclusive dimensions.

B. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study employs a qualitative literature review methodology to analyze the Nyongkolan tradition through Robert Redfield's cultural acculturation framework with multidisciplinary legal and inclusive perspectives. The research systematically examines academic publications, legal documents, policy papers, and cultural studies published within the last five years, focusing on materials addressing Sasak cultural practices, Indonesian customary law, traditional ceremony regulations, and social inclusion in cultural contexts. Data analysis follows a thematic approach, organizing findings according to the three research objectives: cultural acculturation processes, legal frameworks, and inclusive dimensions. The study integrates theoretical perspectives from anthropology, sociology, legal studies, and disability studies to construct a comprehensive understanding of Nyongkolan in contemporary Indonesia. While this methodology does not involve primary data collection through interviews or participant observation, it provides valuable insights by synthesizing existing scholarly knowledge and identifying patterns across multiple sources and disciplinary perspectives.

C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Cultural Acculturation in Nyongkolan Through Redfield's Perspective

The Nyongkolan tradition exemplifies the complex dynamics of cultural acculturation that Robert Redfield conceptualized in his folk-urban continuum theory. Examining Nyongkolan through this lens reveals how traditional practices undergo transformation while maintaining essential cultural meanings, demonstrating that modernization does not simply erase tradition but rather creates new hybrid forms that blend old and new elements. The persistence of Nyongkolan in contemporary Sasak society, even as Lombok experiences rapid urbanization and integration into national and global economies, challenges simplistic narratives of tradition giving way to modernity and instead reveals sophisticated processes of cultural negotiation and adaptation.

At its core, Nyongkolan retains fundamental elements that connect contemporary practice to historical tradition. The basic structure of the ceremony remains recognizable: the groom's family and community members process through public spaces to the bride's home or to complete administrative requirements, accompanied by traditional music from the *gendang beleq* ensemble and other instruments. Participants wear traditional attire, with men in *sapuk* headcloths and women in *lambung* ceremonial dress, maintaining visual continuity with past generations. The communal nature of participation, where neighbors and community members join the procession regardless of direct kinship ties, preserves the tradition's role as a collective celebration rather than merely a private family affair. These stable elements represent what Redfield identified as the folk culture's integrative aspects, where shared symbols and practices maintain community cohesion and cultural identity across generations.

However, contemporary Nyongkolan also demonstrates significant adaptations that reflect Redfield's observations about cultural change along the folk-urban continuum. The most visible transformations occur in urban and peri-urban areas of Lombok, where Nyongkolan processions navigate paved roads alongside motorized traffic rather than rural pathways, and where time constraints imposed by modern work schedules compress ceremonies that traditionally extended over multiple days. Modern sound systems amplify traditional music, fundamentally altering the acoustic experience of the ceremony and enabling larger-scale events that can accommodate hundreds or thousands of participants. Photography and videography have become integral to Nyongkolan, with professional documentation services creating permanent records and social media representations that serve different functions than traditional oral and embodied memory transmission.

The material culture of Nyongkolan reflects what Redfield termed the increasing heterogeneity of urban culture. Traditional handwoven textiles coexist with factory-produced ceremonial garments, while traditional wooden carts that once transported gifts have been largely replaced by decorated trucks or motorcycles. Wedding invitations, historically delivered through personal visits and oral announcement, now circulate through printed cards and digital messages via WhatsApp and social media platforms. These material transformations represent not mere substitution of old forms with new but rather creative adaptations that maintain ceremonial functions while utilizing available technologies and resources. The decorated truck carrying gifts to the bride's family, for instance, serves the same symbolic function as the traditional cart—displaying generosity

and maintaining reciprocal relationships—while accommodating modern transportation infrastructure and scales of gift-giving.

Redfield's concept of secularization in the folk-urban transition provides another valuable analytical angle for understanding contemporary Nyongkolan. While the ceremony retains spiritual dimensions rooted in Sasak Islamic practice and pre-Islamic beliefs about blessing and protection, its social and entertainment functions have become increasingly prominent. Contemporary Nyongkolan often features celebrity musicians, elaborate sound and lighting equipment, and entertainment elements that appeal to youth culture, suggesting a shift toward what Redfield identified as increased differentiation of cultural functions. Yet this secularization remains incomplete and contested. Religious leaders continue to play important roles in blessing ceremonies, and participants still seek spiritual benefits from participation. The persistence of these sacred dimensions alongside secular entertainment aspects creates a layered experience that defies simple categorization as either purely traditional or fully modern.

The social organization of Nyongkolan demonstrates both continuity and transformation in ways that illuminate Redfield's observations about changing social relations. Traditional leadership structures, where community elders and customary authorities organize and guide ceremonies, coexist with modern organizational forms including committee systems, formal budgeting processes, and contractual arrangements with service providers. The social obligations that traditionally compelled participation through kinship and neighborhood ties now operate alongside voluntary participation motivated by friendship, entertainment seeking, or cultural appreciation. This multiplication of participation motivations reflects what Redfield described as increasing individualization in urban contexts, where personal choice partially replaces communal obligation, yet the persistence of strong participation rates suggests that communal values retain significant force even in changing social contexts.

Economic transformations represent another crucial dimension of cultural acculturation visible in contemporary Nyongkolan. Traditional gift exchanges, which operated within relatively bounded local economies and emphasized symbolic value and relationship maintenance over monetary worth, now intersect with cash-based market economies and consumer culture. The costs associated with organizing Nyongkolan have increased substantially as ceremonies incorporate expensive modern elements like professional entertainment, elaborate catering, and sophisticated audio-visual equipment. This economic escalation creates tensions that Redfield's framework helps illuminate: as ceremonies become more expensive, they potentially become less accessible to poorer community members, threatening the egalitarian ideals traditionally associated with communal celebrations. Yet communities have developed various adaptive strategies including cost-sharing arrangements, simplified ceremony options, and community funds that support families with limited resources, demonstrating active negotiation between economic pressures and cultural values.

The transmission of knowledge about Nyongkolan practices reveals important patterns of cultural change. Traditional knowledge transmission occurred primarily through embodied participation and oral instruction, with younger generations learning through direct involvement under elder guidance. Contemporary transmission increasingly involves multiple channels including formal education about local culture in schools,

documentation in written and audiovisual formats, and discourse in mass media and social media platforms. This diversification of knowledge transmission reflects what Redfield identified as the rationalization and codification of culture in urban contexts. While such documentation can support cultural preservation by creating accessible records, it also transforms knowledge from experiential and contextual toward explicit and decontextualized, potentially affecting how younger generations understand and relate to traditional practices.

Redfield's attention to the spatial dimensions of cultural transformation proves particularly relevant for understanding contemporary Nyongkolan. Traditional ceremonies occurred within familiar village landscapes where participants knew the terrain, the families involved, and the social relationships activated through the ceremony. Contemporary Nyongkolan, especially in urban and tourist areas of Lombok, often navigate spaces characterized by anonymity, mobility, and diverse populations. Processions move through streets where many observers are strangers or tourists rather than community members, fundamentally altering the social dynamics of the event. This spatial transformation affects both the performance and reception of Nyongkolan: participants may perform tradition more self-consciously when aware of diverse audiences, while observers without cultural knowledge may interpret the ceremony primarily as spectacle rather than meaningful ritual. These spatial dynamics exemplify Redfield's observation that the movement toward urban poles involves encounters with heterogeneity and plurality that challenge the taken-for-granted nature of folk culture.

The relationship between Nyongkolan and other cultural practices demonstrates patterns of systematicity and disorganization that Redfield associated with cultural change. Traditionally, Nyongkolan formed part of an integrated system of Sasak life-cycle ceremonies and social obligations, each element connected to others through shared values, kinship systems, and reciprocal duties. Contemporary practice shows both persistence of these systematic connections and emergence of more fragmented patterns. Some families maintain comprehensive traditional practice across all ceremony stages, while others selectively adopt elements, perhaps performing Nyongkolan but simplifying other ritual components. This variable pattern reflects what Redfield termed the disorganization of culture in transition, where previously integrated wholes separate into components that individuals and families combine in diverse ways according to personal preferences, resources, and commitments. Yet the fact that Nyongkolan remains widely practiced even as other traditional elements decline suggests it holds particular significance in contemporary Sasak identity that transcends its original systematic position.

Cross-generational perspectives on Nyongkolan reveal both contestation and continuity that illuminate ongoing acculturation processes. Older generations often express concern about changes they perceive as diluting traditional meanings or introducing inappropriate elements, viewing certain contemporary innovations as threats to cultural authenticity. Younger participants may embrace innovations as creative adaptations that make tradition relevant to contemporary life, or they may critically examine traditional practices through modern values concerning gender equality, environmental sustainability, or economic rationality. These generational dialogues exemplify the dynamic nature of tradition that Redfield recognized: cultural practices persist not as static survivals but through ongoing reinterpretation and renegotiation. The ability of

Nyongkolan to accommodate diverse perspectives while maintaining recognizable form suggests successful adaptation rather than cultural loss.

The analytical framework Redfield provided through his folk-urban continuum concept proves valuable for understanding Nyongkolan but also requires refinement and supplementation. Redfield's somewhat linear conception of movement from folk to urban poles oversimplifies the multidirectional flows visible in contemporary Nyongkolan. Urban innovations sometimes flow back to rural areas through media representation and family networks, while rural areas can serve as sources of authentic practice that urban practitioners seek to emulate. Global connections through tourism, diaspora communities, and digital media create complex networks that bypass the simple folk-urban trajectory. Moreover, Redfield's framework can suggest that change represents loss or degradation of folk culture, whereas examination of Nyongkolan reveals creative cultural production that generates new meanings and values. Contemporary Nyongkolan is not simply diminished traditional practice but rather a living culture that synthesizes multiple influences while maintaining connection to ancestral practices.

Legal Frameworks Governing Traditional Ceremonies

The legal status and regulation of Nyongkolan in contemporary Indonesia reveal complex interactions between state law, customary law, and cultural rights that reflect broader tensions in Indonesia's legal pluralism. Understanding these legal dimensions requires examining multiple levels of law from constitutional principles through national legislation to regional and local regulations, as well as the customary legal systems that retain authority in Sasak communities. The legal framework governing Nyongkolan demonstrates how the Indonesian state simultaneously recognizes cultural diversity as national wealth and subjects traditional practices to regulatory control in pursuit of order, development, and public interest objectives.

At the constitutional level, Indonesia provides strong formal recognition for cultural diversity and customary rights. The 1945 Constitution, particularly following post-1998 amendments, explicitly protects cultural identity and traditional rights while establishing the state's obligation to preserve and promote national culture. Article 18B(2) states that the state recognizes and respects traditional communities and their traditional rights as long as they remain alive and in accordance with societal development and the principles of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. This constitutional provision establishes both recognition and limitation: traditional practices like Nyongkolan receive state acknowledgment but remain subject to compatibility requirements with national unity and development objectives. The Constitutional Court has interpreted these provisions in various decisions addressing customary rights, generally affirming strong protection while allowing reasonable regulation when traditional practices conflict with other constitutional values.

National legislation affecting traditional ceremonies includes multiple statutes addressing different aspects of cultural practice. Law Number 5 of 2017 on the Advancement of Culture establishes comprehensive frameworks for protecting, developing, and utilizing cultural objects and practices. This law recognizes traditional ceremonies as cultural expressions warranting state support, providing potential access to government resources for preservation and documentation. However, the law also subjects traditional practices

to national standards and requires registration and documentation processes that can transform informal customary practices into formally recognized cultural properties subject to bureaucratic management. The traffic law regulates processions using public roads, requiring permits and compliance with safety standards that can substantially affect how Nyongkolan is performed. Environmental laws potentially apply to ceremonies' noise levels and waste generation, while laws governing public order provide authorities with broad discretion to regulate gatherings in public spaces.

Regional autonomy legislation devolving authority to provincial and district governments has created diverse regulatory approaches across Indonesia. In West Nusa Tenggara Province and specifically in districts across Lombok, local governments have issued various regulations addressing traditional ceremonies. Some regulations explicitly recognize Nyongkolan and other Sasak traditions as cultural heritage requiring protection and promotion, establishing local government obligations to provide support and facilities. Other regulations focus on managing potential disruptions, setting requirements for permits, designated routes, time restrictions, and participant limits. The district of West Lombok, for instance, has issued regulations requiring advance notification to local authorities and police for large processions, establishing designated routes that minimize traffic disruption, and setting time windows during which processions can occur. These regulations reflect local government efforts to balance cultural preservation with modern governance concerns including traffic flow, public safety, and complaints from residents about noise and disruption.

The permit system established through these various regulations creates significant practical implications for Nyongkolan organizers. Families planning weddings must navigate bureaucratic processes, submitting applications, paying fees, and receiving official permission before conducting processions. This administrative overlay transforms what customary law treats as inherent community rights into privileges granted by state authority, representing a fundamental shift in the legal character of traditional practices. Permit requirements can create barriers for families with limited literacy, bureaucratic knowledge, or resources to complete applications, potentially excluding some community members from fully participating in traditions. The discretionary authority held by officials who approve permits creates opportunities for arbitrary decision-making or corruption, with approval potentially depending on personal relationships, political considerations, or unofficial payments rather than objective criteria.

Enforcement of regulations governing Nyongkolan varies considerably across localities and situations. In some cases, authorities adopt flexible approaches, providing guidance and assistance to families rather than strict enforcement, reflecting understanding of ceremonies' cultural importance. In other instances, particularly when processions are seen as causing significant disruption or when political relationships are tense, authorities may enforce regulations strictly, imposing fines, requiring modifications to planned ceremonies, or even preventing processions from occurring. This variable enforcement creates legal uncertainty that can discourage families from organizing traditional ceremonies or push them toward simplified versions that minimize regulatory exposure. The discretionary nature of enforcement also means that regulatory impacts fall unevenly across communities, with well-connected families potentially receiving favorable treatment while marginalized families face stricter scrutiny.

The relationship between state law and customary law creates particular complexities regarding Nyongkolan. Sasak customary law, operating through traditional authorities including village elders and customary councils, establishes comprehensive norms governing marriage ceremonies including detailed requirements for Nyongkolan performance. These customary legal norms, transmitted orally and through practice, carry significant authority within Sasak communities and guide families' wedding planning. State law formally recognizes customary law's authority within specified domains, but tensions arise when customary requirements conflict with state regulations or when state authorities assert jurisdiction over matters customary law traditionally governed. Families planning weddings must satisfy both customary expectations to maintain social legitimacy within their communities and state legal requirements to avoid official sanctions, creating dual obligations that can be difficult to reconcile.

Traffic management regulations represent one of the most direct ways law affects Nyongkolan practice. Traditional processions moved through village pathways at walking pace, with participants occupying available space flexibly and other community members accommodating the procession by pausing their activities or joining in. Contemporary processions using paved roads designed for motorized vehicles face very different circumstances. Traffic regulations requiring vehicles to maintain lanes, observe speed limits, and avoid blocking traffic directly conflict with Nyongkolan's traditional character as a mobile celebration occupying public space. Authorities' efforts to manage these conflicts through designated routes, required police escorts, and time restrictions fundamentally alter ceremonies' spatial and temporal dynamics. A procession confined to specific streets and required to complete its journey within set time limits cannot spontaneously adjust its route or pace in response to ceremonial needs or participants' energy, reducing flexibility that customary practice valued.

Noise regulations represent another significant legal constraint on Nyongkolan. Traditional *gendang beleq* music and contemporary amplified sound systems generate substantial sound levels that can be heard across considerable distances, forming part of the ceremony's public, communal character. However, noise control regulations, typically designed to address industrial or commercial noise in urban areas, set decibel limits and restrict timing of loud activities. Applying these regulations to traditional ceremonies creates tensions between cultural practice and residents' rights to peaceful enjoyment of their homes. Some localities have attempted to craft exemptions or special provisions for traditional ceremonies, recognizing their cultural importance, but these accommodations remain contested. Residents not participating in ceremonies may complain about disruption, while ceremony participants and cultural advocates argue that occasional ceremonial noise represents acceptable community life that regulations should accommodate.

Legal frameworks governing public space usage raise fundamental questions about cultural rights and public order. Traditional Nyongkolan operated in communities where public space belonged to the community collectively, available for various customary uses including ceremonies. Contemporary legal frameworks often treat public space as state property subject to regulatory allocation among competing uses, with traditional ceremonies becoming one use among many rather than having inherent priority. This legal reconceptualization affects Nyongkolan's meaning: a procession that requires state permission to use public roads becomes a different kind of event than one exercising

customary community rights to ceremonial space. The transformation from right to privilege affects both practical organization and symbolic meaning, potentially undermining traditions' role in asserting community identity and autonomy.

Recent legal developments addressing cultural heritage and indigenous rights create potential opportunities for stronger protection of practices like Nyongkolan. Indonesia's ratification of UNESCO conventions on intangible cultural heritage and increasing international attention to indigenous peoples' rights have influenced domestic legal discourse. Cultural advocates have used international human rights frameworks to argue for stronger protection of traditional practices against regulatory constraints. Some legal scholars argue that overly restrictive regulation of traditional ceremonies violates constitutional protections for cultural rights and discriminates against communities seeking to maintain ancestral practices. These arguments have achieved some success in particular cases, with courts occasionally ruling against regulations deemed excessively burdensome on cultural practice, but comprehensive legal protection remains limited and contested.

Gender-related legal frameworks intersect with Nyongkolan in complex ways. Indonesian law prohibits gender discrimination and guarantees equal rights, principles that can be applied to scrutinize traditional practices that assign different roles to men and women. While Nyongkolan traditionally involved both genders in significant but distinct roles, contemporary gender equality discourse questions whether these traditional arrangements constitute legitimate cultural difference or impermissible discrimination. Some legal analysts argue that cultural practices must evolve to comply with constitutional gender equality guarantees, potentially requiring modification of traditional gender roles in ceremonies. Others contend that cultural diversity protection includes respecting communities' traditional gender arrangements as long as participation is voluntary. These legal debates remain unresolved, creating uncertainty about how gender equality law applies to traditional ceremonies.

Disability rights law represents an emerging legal framework affecting traditional ceremonies. Indonesia's Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities establishes comprehensive rights to accessibility and non-discrimination, requiring reasonable accommodation across various domains. Applied to cultural ceremonies, disability rights law could require that Nyongkolan be organized in ways that enable participation by persons with disabilities, potentially requiring accessible routes, alternative participation modes, and inclusive planning processes. However, disability rights law's application to traditional ceremonies remains largely theoretical, with limited enforcement or litigation. The tension between preserving traditional forms and ensuring accessibility creates challenging questions about how far traditional practices must adapt to accommodate all potential participants.

Environmental law represents another regulatory framework with growing relevance for traditional ceremonies. Regulations addressing waste management, single-use plastics, and public cleanliness can affect Nyongkolan processions that traditionally involve distributing food, flowers, and other materials that may become litter. Environmental authorities' increasing attention to ceremonies' ecological impacts reflects broader sustainability concerns but can also impose additional requirements and costs on ceremony organizers. Some communities have responded by developing more

environmentally sustainable ceremony practices, using biodegradable materials and organizing cleanup activities, demonstrating creative adaptation to legal requirements while maintaining traditional meanings. These environmental adaptations exemplify how legal frameworks can potentially stimulate positive innovations in traditional practices rather than simply constraining them.

The legal framework's complexity creates significant access to justice concerns. Families facing regulatory obstacles or official sanctions regarding Nyongkolan may lack resources or knowledge to effectively challenge administrative decisions or assert their cultural rights. Legal aid organizations and cultural advocacy groups have provided some support, helping communities navigate permit processes and challenge unreasonable restrictions, but these resources remain limited relative to need. The specialized knowledge required to understand intersecting legal frameworks spanning constitutional law, administrative law, customary law, and cultural rights law places effective legal advocacy beyond most community members' reach. This access to justice gap means that legal protections for cultural practices may exist in principle but remain difficult to enforce in practice, with actual outcomes depending more on officials' discretion than on legal rights.

Comparative examination of legal approaches across different regions of Indonesia and other countries with significant indigenous cultural practices reveals diverse strategies for balancing cultural preservation with regulatory objectives. Some jurisdictions establish comprehensive exemptions for traditional ceremonies from generally applicable regulations, recognizing that cultural practices require special accommodation. Others create streamlined permitting processes specifically for traditional ceremonies, reducing bureaucratic burdens while maintaining basic notification and safety requirements. Specialized cultural courts or administrative bodies with expertise in traditional practices provide another approach some legal systems employ. These comparative perspectives suggest that Indonesia's current legal framework, while providing formal recognition for cultural diversity, could be strengthened through more specific provisions addressing traditional ceremonies and clearer prioritization of cultural rights relative to competing regulatory objectives.

Social Inclusion and Community Participation

The inclusive dimensions of Nyongkolan represent some of the tradition's most significant social functions, yet contemporary practice reveals complex patterns of both inclusion and exclusion that require careful analysis. Examining how different social groups experience Nyongkolan provides insights into the tradition's role in constructing community, its potential for promoting social cohesion, and the challenges it faces in remaining truly inclusive in contemporary plural society. Understanding these inclusive dynamics requires considering multiple axes of social difference including economic status, gender, age, disability, ethnicity, and religious affiliation, recognizing that individuals experience multiple identities simultaneously and that inclusion operates differently across various dimensions.

Economic inclusion represents one of Nyongkolan's most celebrated traditional values, with the ceremony historically functioning as a mechanism for demonstrating and reinforcing community solidarity across class differences. Traditional Sasak villages

operated on principles of mutual assistance and reciprocal obligation that required wealthier families to support community members with fewer resources and obligated everyone to participate in communal ceremonies regardless of economic status. Nyongkolan embodied these egalitarian ideals through mass participation that included all community members, with contributions scaled to ability but participation itself not contingent on wealth. The collective nature of ceremony organization, with various community members taking responsibility for different aspects, distributed both labor and costs across the community rather than concentrating all burdens on the marrying families.

Contemporary economic transformations challenge these traditional inclusive patterns in multiple ways. As noted in the acculturation discussion, Nyongkolan costs have increased substantially as ceremonies incorporate expensive modern elements, potentially pricing poorer families out of full traditional practice. Families who cannot afford elaborate ceremonies may face social pressure or embarrassment that discourages them from organizing Nyongkolan at all, or they may conduct simplified versions that carry less social prestige. This economic stratification threatens the tradition's egalitarian character, potentially transforming Nyongkolan from a universal community practice into a status marker that differentiates wealthy families from poor ones. The conspicuous consumption visible in some contemporary ceremonies, with competition over which family can stage the most elaborate procession, represents a significant departure from traditional values emphasizing community solidarity over individual display.

However, communities have developed various adaptive strategies to maintain economic inclusion despite these pressures. Community funds and mutual assistance organizations pool resources to support families with limited means, ensuring that economic constraints do not prevent community members from celebrating marriages traditionally. Some communities have established norms limiting ceremony expenditures or promoting simplified versions that reduce costs while maintaining cultural meanings. Religious and customary leaders have advocated for refocusing ceremonies on spiritual and social dimensions rather than material display, arguing that excessive expenditure contradicts both Islamic teachings and traditional Sasak values. These adaptation strategies demonstrate communities' commitment to maintaining Nyongkolan's inclusive character while acknowledging contemporary economic realities. The success of these strategies varies across communities, depending on local leadership, social cohesion, and economic conditions.

Gender represents another crucial dimension of inclusion requiring careful examination. Traditional Nyongkolan involved both men and women in significant but often distinct roles, reflecting broader Sasak gender systems that prescribed different but complementary social functions for different genders. Men typically led processions, played musical instruments, and performed certain ceremonial roles, while women prepared food, maintained ceremonial attire, and performed other essential functions. Contemporary gender discourse questions whether these traditional gender arrangements constitute equitable participation or reflect patriarchal structures that limit women's full participation in public ceremonial life. Some observers argue that traditional gender roles in Nyongkolan subordinate women to secondary supportive positions while reserving primary ceremonial authority and visibility for men, constituting a form of gender exclusion that contemporary values should challenge.

Yet many Sasak women themselves articulate different perspectives, describing their traditional ceremonial roles as positions of respect and authority rather than subordination. Women's roles in preparing food and managing domestic aspects of ceremonies require significant skill and knowledge that community members value highly, and women exercise substantial decision-making authority within their assigned domains. The question of whether traditional gender arrangements constitute inclusion or exclusion thus depends partly on what framework one uses to evaluate gender equity: a liberal feminist framework emphasizing identical participation may reach different conclusions than a cultural relativist framework respecting communities' gender systems or an Islamic feminist framework evaluating practices through religious teachings. These competing frameworks make simple assessments of gender inclusion difficult, suggesting that engagement with Sasak women's own perspectives and priorities should guide evaluation rather than imposing external standards.

Contemporary practice shows both persistence of traditional gender patterns and emergence of innovations that redistribute gender roles. Some ceremonies feature women musicians performing alongside or instead of traditional male-dominated ensembles, challenging assumptions about gendered musical practice. Women increasingly participate in ceremonial processions in more visible ways, walking alongside men rather than remaining in domestic spaces. Younger generations question and renegotiate traditional gender boundaries while older generations may defend them as authentic cultural practice. These ongoing negotiations demonstrate that gender inclusion in Nyongkolan is not static but rather continuously contested and reconstructed through dialogue between tradition and contemporary gender consciousness.

Age-based inclusion represents another important dimension, with Nyongkolan traditionally incorporating participants across the full life span. Children observe and gradually participate in ceremonies, learning cultural practices through embodied engagement. Young adults often play central roles as ceremony organizers and primary participants, with marriage ceremonies marking important life transitions. Middle-aged adults provide leadership and resources, drawing on accumulated experience and social networks. Elders offer blessing, guidance, and connection to tradition, their presence validating ceremonies' authenticity and continuity. This intergenerational participation serves crucial social functions, transmitting culture across generations, strengthening intergenerational bonds, and affirming elders' continuing social value. The ceremony's multigenerational character makes it an important site for age-based social integration in communities where modernization sometimes weakens traditional intergenerational connections.

However, contemporary social changes affect age-based participation patterns. Young people's migration for education and employment means they may be absent during family ceremonies, weakening their connection to traditional practices and reducing intergenerational transmission opportunities. Modern entertainment alternatives compete with traditional ceremonies for young people's attention and engagement, and some youth find traditional practices boring or irrelevant to their contemporary lives. Conversely, some young people enthusiastically embrace Nyongkolan as an expression of Sasak identity and resistance to cultural homogenization, organizing ceremonies that deliberately emphasize traditional elements. Elders' roles have also shifted as younger, educated generations sometimes challenge their authority or seek to modernize practices

elders consider essential. These generational dynamics affect ceremonies' inclusive character, potentially creating age-based divisions where different generations participate differently or experience ceremonies as sites of intergenerational tension rather than harmony.

Disability inclusion in Nyongkolan represents an emerging concern that traditional practice did not explicitly address. Traditional ceremonies assumed able-bodied participation, with procession routes, participation modes, and ceremonial spaces reflecting physical capacities of typical participants without considering accessibility for persons with disabilities. Contemporary disability rights consciousness raises questions about how Nyongkolan can become more inclusive of persons with mobility impairments, sensory disabilities, intellectual disabilities, and other conditions. Physical accessibility challenges include procession routes that may be difficult or impossible to navigate in wheelchairs, ceremonial spaces without accommodations for persons who cannot stand for extended periods, and sensory environments that may be overwhelming or inaccessible for persons with particular sensory sensitivities.

Beyond physical accessibility, social inclusion of persons with disabilities requires addressing attitudinal barriers and ensuring meaningful participation rather than mere presence. Traditional Sasak culture, like many societies, has complex attitudes toward disability that may include both protective care and social marginalization. Persons with disabilities may be excluded from full ceremonial participation based on assumptions about their capabilities or on beliefs about ritual purity and propriety. Contemporary disability inclusion requires not only physical accommodations but also cultural change that recognizes persons with disabilities as full community members entitled to participate in all aspects of social life including traditional ceremonies. Some communities have begun developing more inclusive approaches, creating accessible procession routes, providing alternative participation modes, and actively welcoming persons with disabilities as full participants rather than passive observers. These innovations demonstrate possibilities for enhancing Nyongkolan's inclusive character while respecting traditional forms.

Ethnic and religious diversity within Lombok society creates another dimension of inclusion requiring consideration. While Nyongkolan is distinctively Sasak, Lombok's population includes other ethnic groups including Balinese, Javanese, Chinese Indonesians, and others, as well as religious minorities within a majority Muslim society. Questions arise about whether and how non-Sasak residents participate in Nyongkolan, whether the ceremony functions inclusively across ethnic boundaries or primarily reinforces Sasak ethnic identity in ways that may exclude others. In ethnically mixed neighborhoods, Nyongkolan's public, space-occupying character means it unavoidably affects all residents regardless of ethnic background, and ceremonies' inclusive or exclusive character has real implications for inter-ethnic relations and community cohesion.

Traditional practice generally welcomed anyone who wished to join processions, with mass participation including whoever appeared rather than limiting participation to particular social categories. This open participation created opportunities for inter-ethnic inclusion, with non-Sasak residents sometimes joining Nyongkolan as expressions of neighborly solidarity or simple enjoyment of festive occasions. However, the deeply

Sasak cultural character of ceremonies, with Islamic religious elements, Sasak language use, and symbolism rooted in Sasak worldview, means that non-Sasak participants may experience ceremonies as outsiders observing exotic cultural practice rather than as full community members engaging in shared traditions. The question becomes whether Nyongkolan can serve as a site of genuine multicultural inclusion that transcends ethnic boundaries or whether it necessarily functions primarily as Sasak ethnic celebration that others may observe but cannot fully inhabit.

Contemporary Lombok society's increasing religious diversity, particularly the presence of religious minorities and diverse interpretations within Islam itself, creates additional inclusion challenges. Nyongkolan incorporates Islamic elements including prayers and references to religious teachings, reflecting Sasak society's Islamic identity. For Muslim participants, these religious dimensions enhance ceremonies' meaning and legitimacy. However, religious minorities may feel excluded by explicitly Islamic ceremony elements, while different Muslim communities may disagree about proper religious practice during ceremonies. Some conservative Muslim groups criticize aspects of Nyongkolan as un-Islamic innovations or as perpetuating pre-Islamic practices incompatible with proper Islamic observance, while others defend ceremonies as legitimate expressions of Islamic culture. These religious debates affect Nyongkolan's inclusive character, potentially creating religious boundaries that exclude or marginalize some community members.

Urban-rural differences create another axis of potential inclusion or exclusion in contemporary Nyongkolan practice. Traditional ceremonies emerged in rural village contexts characterized by face-to-face social relations, stable populations, and shared cultural knowledge. Urban contexts differ substantially, with more anonymous social relations, mobile populations, and cultural diversity. Urban Nyongkolan may include participants from diverse origins who lack deep knowledge of traditional practices, changing ceremonies' social dynamics and meanings. Urban residents not participating in specific ceremonies may experience processions as disruptive intrusions rather than welcome community celebrations, creating tensions between ceremony participants and other urban residents. These urban-rural differences suggest that Nyongkolan may function more inclusively in traditional rural contexts where ceremonies remain fully integrated into community life than in urban settings where they become more specialized, voluntary, and potentially contentious events.

Social media and digital technology create new forms of participation and inclusion that transcend physical presence at ceremonies. Contemporary Nyongkolan often receives extensive documentation through photographs and videos shared on Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, and other platforms, enabling people who cannot physically attend to experience ceremonies virtually. Diaspora community members living far from Lombok can participate in family ceremonies through digital media, maintaining connection to home communities despite geographical separation. This digital inclusion expands participation beyond traditional physical limitations, democratizing access to ceremonial experience. However, digital participation differs qualitatively from bodily presence, potentially creating hierarchies between those who physically attend and those who participate virtually. Questions arise about whether virtual participation constitutes genuine inclusion in community life or represents a diminished form of connection that may actually reinforce rather than overcome separation.

The political dimensions of inclusion in Nyongkolan warrant attention as traditional ceremonies operate within broader power structures. Traditional authorities, government officials, and wealthy families often exercise disproportionate influence over how ceremonies are organized and what forms they take, potentially reproducing social hierarchies that inclusion ideals should challenge. Political patronage systems may operate through ceremony participation, with political leaders attending or supporting ceremonies to build political capital and ordinary community members participating partly to maintain relationships with powerful patrons. These political dynamics can transform ceremonies from sites of egalitarian community expression into arenas where power relations are performed and reinforced. Critical analysis of Nyongkolan's inclusive dimensions must account for these political aspects, recognizing that ceremonies occur within and help constitute political structures that may either promote or undermine genuine social equality.

Educational dimensions of Nyongkolan relate to inclusive cultural transmission and knowledge democratization. Traditional knowledge about ceremonies, including their meanings, proper procedures, and social functions, was transmitted through participation under elder guidance. This transmission mode privileged those with access to knowledgeable elders and regular ceremony participation, potentially excluding people who grew up outside traditional communities or who lacked family connections to cultural experts. Contemporary efforts to document and teach about Nyongkolan through schools, museums, and cultural programs potentially democratize access to cultural knowledge, making it available to broader audiences regardless of family background. However, this formalization of cultural education may also transform knowledge from embodied and relational toward abstract and decontextualized, potentially affecting how people understand and engage with traditions. The question becomes whether educational inclusion enhances or undermines deeper forms of cultural participation and belonging.

Environmental justice perspectives offer another lens for examining inclusion in Nyongkolan. Ceremonies' environmental impacts including noise, traffic, waste, and resource consumption affect entire communities including people not participating in specific ceremonies. Fair distribution of these impacts becomes an inclusion issue: if ceremony benefits accrue primarily to participating families while costs in terms of disruption and environmental degradation fall on broader communities, this represents a form of exclusion or environmental injustice. Conversely, if ceremonies are constrained to minimize impacts on non-participants, this may exclude celebrating families from full cultural expression. Balancing ceremony participants' cultural rights with broader community members' environmental rights requires inclusive decision-making processes that give voice to diverse stakeholders and seek equitable solutions. Some communities have developed consultation processes and community agreements that attempt such balance, demonstrating possibilities for inclusive governance of traditional practices.

Examining Nyongkolan's inclusive dimensions reveals that the tradition embodies both powerful egalitarian ideals and significant practical limitations. The ceremony's mass participatory character, its celebration of family and community bonds that transcend individual interests, and its creation of festive occasions where normal social hierarchies temporarily dissolve all support its reputation as an inclusive social practice. Yet contemporary analysis reveals multiple axes along which exclusion can operate including economic barriers, gender limitations, disability inaccessibility, ethnic boundaries,

religious divisions, urban-rural gaps, and political hierarchies. Recognizing these limitations does not necessarily indict Nyongkolan as fundamentally exclusive but rather highlights that achieving genuine inclusion requires ongoing effort and adaptation. The tradition's continued vitality and its capacity to evolve suggest that communities can address inclusion challenges through thoughtful innovation that respects traditional values while extending participation to previously marginalized groups.

D. CONCLUSION

This study's examination of Nyongkolan through Robert Redfield's cultural acculturation framework with multidisciplinary legal and inclusive perspectives reveals a tradition demonstrating remarkable adaptive capacity while maintaining core cultural significance. The analysis confirms that Nyongkolan exemplifies complex acculturation processes where traditional elements persist alongside modern innovations, creating hybrid forms that defy simple categorization as either traditional or modern. Legal frameworks governing the tradition reflect tensions between cultural preservation and regulatory control, with communities navigating multiple normative systems while asserting cultural rights within constitutional pluralism. The tradition's inclusive dimensions embody powerful egalitarian ideals while facing contemporary challenges across multiple social difference axes including economic status, gender, disability, and ethnicity. Understanding Nyongkolan's continued vitality despite modernization pressures requires recognizing it not as static cultural survival but as living practice continuously reconstructed through community engagement. The tradition's future depends on communities' capacity to maintain cultural authenticity while adapting to changing social conditions, legal requirements, and inclusion imperatives. This study contributes to broader understanding of how indigenous traditions negotiate modernity in pluralistic societies, demonstrating that cultural continuity and change are not opposing forces but rather intertwined dynamics that together constitute cultural life. Further research should examine specific community innovations addressing identified challenges, comparative analysis with other Indonesian traditional practices, and longitudinal study of how younger generations engage with and transform Nyongkolan as they become ceremony organizers and cultural custodians.

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