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Nglurug Awig-Awig: Deviation Against Catur Brata Penyepian by Younger Generation on Nyepi Day Hindu Balinese in Lampung

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Abstract

This study examines deviations from Catur Brata Penyepian during the Nyepi holiday among the Balinese Hindu community in Dharma Agung Mataram Village, Central Lampung, commonly referred to as nglurug awig awig. Catur Brata are the four main rules for observing Nyepi that should not be violated. However, in some cases, the younger generation still commits deviations. The Balinese community in Dharma Agung Mataram Village, Seputih Mataram District, Central Lampung, is Hindu and transmigrated to Lampung around 1963, bringing their religion and strong traditional customs with them. However, deviations against Catur Brata Penyepian still frequently occur. The theories used in this study are Hirschi's (1969) theory of social control and Lemert's (1951) theory of deviance. This study uses a qualitative research method, employing data collection techniques such as in-depth interviews, participant observation, and documentation. Data analysis is carried out through data reduction, data display, and data verification. The results of the study indicate two categories of violations committed by the younger generation: minor and serious. The causes of violations include a lack of religious understanding, economic pressures, the influence of modernity, weak socialization of the Catur Brata Penyepian, and lax supervision (lack of social control) in a relatively heterogeneous society. None of this can be categorized as social deviation or social pathology, but rather as a violation. The response from the community, traditional leaders, and Pecalang was generally disappointment, concern, and annoyance, with appropriate sanctions being imposed.

Keywords: Catur Brata Penyepian, Hinduism, Bali, Social Control, Deviation

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Introduction

Nyepi is a day of purification to achieve balance or harmony between *Bhuwana Agung* and *Bhuwana Alit* in welcoming the new Saka year, which falls on the *Apisan Sasih Kedasa* calendar, one day after *Tilem Kesanga* (*Panca Dasi Kresna Paksa Sasih Chaitra*). Etymologically, the word "Nyepi" means "silent", so the celebration of Nyepi is celebrated with silence. Hindus in Indonesia celebrate Nyepi, which usually falls in March, on the date of *Apisan, Sasih Kedasa*. (Aisiyah & Fauzi, 2026). Nyepi is celebrated through a series of ceremonies, including *Melasti*, *Nyejer*, *Ngerupuk*, *Tawu*, *Sipeng*, *Ngembak Geni*, and *Dharma Santi*. Nyepi is not only well known among Balinese people but also among those who have visited Bali, especially since it coincides with Nyepi celebrations. (Kadyanan et al., 2025).

Clifford Geertz's cultural interpretation of the Balinese is one of the most famous examples in anthropology. Geertz, an American anthropologist, conducted fieldwork in Bali, Indonesia, in the 1950s and 1960s. In his book "The Interpretation of Cultures" (1973), Geertz explains that Balinese people have a unique and complex cultural system, which he calls "social dramaturgy." According to Geertz, Balinese people tend to view life as a theatrical performance, in which each individual plays a role predetermined by society. Geertz explains that Balinese people have the concept of "*lek*", which means "appearance" or "performance". Balinese people are very concerned with their appearance and how others perceive them. They strive to create a good impression and avoid losing face. (Geertz, 2009).

Geertz also explained that Balinese people have a complex status system, in which each individual has a social position determined by caste, family, and social role. Balinese people are very concerned with social status and seek to enhance their status through rituals, ceremonies, and donations. Geertz's cultural interpretation of Balinese people has become a classic in anthropology and has influenced much research on culture and society. (Geertz, 2009).

In the context of Hindu communities, particularly Balinese, in diaspora regions such as Lampung Province, the implementation of *Catur Brata Penyepeian* often does not always follow established rules. Lampung, as a province with a high degree of heterogeneity, comprising various ethnicities, cultures, and religions, creates a dynamic social interaction space but is also fraught with challenges for religious minorities, including Hindus. In this situation, Hindus people practices are potentially subject to adjustments or even deviations, whether due to social pressure, limited worship space, local cultural influences, or economic needs (Kurnianingsih, 2026). Various observations and informal reports indicate that in some Hindu communities in Lampung, some devotees no longer fully practice the four aspects of *Catur Brata*. For example, some continue to travel on Nyepi Day, use electronic

media for entertainment, and even continue to carry out routine activities such as trading. This phenomenon cannot be seen solely as a violation but needs to be understood within the framework of social and cultural change (Pitana, 2010). This demonstrates that religious teachings do not exist in a vacuum but actively interact with the broader social context.

Penyepian during Nyepi Day focuses on revealing the four main prohibitions of *Amati Geni* (not lighting fires), *Amati Karya* (not working), *Amati Lelungan* (not traveling), and *Amati Lelanguan* (not having fun), consistently practiced by local Hindus, as well as how deviations or relaxations in implementation reflect modernization, technology, tourism, and contemporary life values. (Listiyandini et al., 2023).

In the context of the Balinese community in Lampung, although the Balinese are a minority in Lampung, the Nyepi ritual is still carried out, as in the Saka New Year 1944 (2022). It involves the entire Hindu community in Bandar Lampung. However, there are not many studies examining deviations and violations of *Catur Brata Penyepian* committed by the younger generation. In the digital and global era, the younger generation may view Nyepi only as a holiday or social moment, rather than a deeply spiritual moment. The importance of this research lies in its contribution to understanding religiosity among the Balinese Hindus minority in Lampung. (Sugita et al., 2021). This research can also strengthen the understanding of how religious rituals respond to modernization, especially among the younger generation, while providing insight for religious leaders and local governments to maintain the essential values of Hindu culture and interfaith tolerance, as suggested in the Lampung Governor's Instruction that Nyepi is also a means of succeeding the value of diversity and maintaining social harmony.

Balinese Hindu community in Lampung is certainly different from the Balinese community in Bali, which tends to be homogeneous and has strong social control. (Adjeketa et al., 2026). During Nyepi, all elements cooperate under strong regulations, with field-based *pecalang* overseeing Nyepi's observance. This contrasts with the Balinese Hindu community in Lampung, which is a minority religion and ethnically diverse. With their heterogeneous background, the rules are certainly not as strict as on the island of Bali.

Social Control Theory argues that individuals tend to commit deviance, but they are prevented by social control (Hirschi, 1971). This social control can be internal (from within oneself) or external (from outside oneself). Hirschi identified four elements of social control that influence individual behavior, namely (1) Attachment/Emotional Bond; (2) Commitment; (3) Involvement; and (4) Belief/Conviction (Hirschi, 1969). Hirschi argues that individuals who possess these four elements of social control are more likely to adhere to social norms and avoid deviance. Whether violations of

the *Catur Brata* constitute deviance is questionable, but they certainly can if they are repeated without conscious effort to correct them or become a pattern.

A violation can become a deviation or social pathology if it becomes patterned, is labeled, or is internalized. (Alexander & Seidman, 2008). According to Lemert, social pathology is closely related to the concepts of primary deviance and secondary deviance, where an individual commits an initial (primary) violation, which then leads society to label him/her negatively, forcing him/her to internalize the label and fall further into deviant (secondary) behavior. His famous work, "Social Pathology", laid the foundation for labeling theory, which explains how labels, according to Edwin M. Lemert, a sociologist who focuses on social deviance.

Based on secondary data research, no research on Hindus in Lampung has yet focused on deviation from Catur Brata Penyepeian. Several previous studies, for example by (Karang et al., 2021), examined the religious practices of Hindus at Pasir Putih Beach, Katibung District, South Lampung Regency, specifically the implementation of the *Melasti* ritual as part of Nyepi Day celebrations. The main discussion of this research is directed at two aspects: the process of implementing the Melasti ritual and the symbolic and religious meanings contained therein. The results show that the implementation of the *Melasti* ritual at Pasir Putih Beach is generally not different from Melasti practice carried out in Bali. This study found that the meaning of *the Melasti ritual for the* Lampung Hindu community is not only ritualistic, but also has strong spiritual and social dimensions. *Melasti* ritual becomes a social space that brings together Hindus from various regions in Lampung, thereby strengthening religious identity and the continuity of Balinese Hindus traditions in diaspora areas. (Okura et al., 2022).

Another study by (Mukil et al., 2025) explored the meaning of Nyepi Day among Hindus in Angkona District, Solo Village, Luwu. The results showed that the implementation of Nyepi in Angkona District, Solo Village, is interpreted as a spiritual initiation ceremony before the Saka New Year. Nyepi is understood as a means of self-control, increasing inner awareness, and an effort to get closer to *Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa* through the practices of meditation, fasting, and concentration. Research conducted by (Mihardja et al., 2023) on Hindu ritual practices shows that religious rituals are not only understood as a religious obligation, but also as a means of developing spiritual awareness and strengthening the religious identity of Hindus. Traditional institutions and religious figures play an important role in regulating and acting as social control.

Research conducted by Pickel-Chevalier & Yanthy on the meaning of Nyepi Day among the Hindu community in Balinuraga Village, Way Panji District, South Lampung. According to his research, Nyepi not only functions as a religious ritual, but also as a means of developing self-

discipline, controlling lust, and spiritual reflection for Hindus. Deviations from religious norms can occur when there is a mismatch between the values taught and the social realities faced by society. Factors such as technological developments, changes in social interaction patterns, and shifts in values among the younger generation are mentioned as variables that have the potential to influence compliance with the implementation of *Catur Brata Penyepian*.

Research conducted by (Suryanto et al., 2026) is based on the religious life of the Hindu community in Srimenanti Village, Air Hitam District, West Lampung Regency, particularly in the practice of fasting (*upawasa*). The results show that fasting in the Hindu tradition in Srimenanti Village is not interpreted narrowly as refraining from hunger and thirst, but rather as a comprehensive spiritual practice. *Upawasa* is known as a means of self-control, restraining the five senses, and an effort to draw closer to God (*Hyang Widhi*).

Another study conducted by (Ervina & Sadek, 2026) drew on the socio-religious realities of the Hindu community in Pematang Tahalo Village, Jabung District, East Lampung Regency. The study found that the Nyepi Day celebration in Pematang Tahalo Village is not only understood as a religious ritual obligation for Hindus, but also as an important means of building and strengthening social solidarity.

Research conducted by (Osella & Osella, 2008) on the meaning of Kuningan Day for Hindu people at the Khayangan Jagat Kerthi Buana Waylunik Temple in Bandar Lampung City shows that it is not only theological but also shapes the attitudes and social behavior of Hindu people. Values such as gratitude, self-purity, togetherness and harmony, social bonds, and a sense of collective responsibility are important elements internalized by the community through the Kuningan celebration.

Based on a review of various previous studies related to the Nyepi celebration and Hinduism, there has been no study that specifically addresses the theme of deviation from Catur Brata Penyepian in the context of the Hindu community in Lampung. Most previous research focused on the meaning of Catur Brata itself, the practice and implementation of the series of Nyepi Day processions, and forms of violation in general in several Hindu religious processions. Therefore, this study is novel because it specifically examines deviations from Catur Brata Penyepian, which has never been the focus of previous similar studies.

Methods

This research uses a qualitative method. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln state that qualitative research focuses on a variety of methods, including interpretive and naturalistic approaches to the subject of study. This research focuses on deviations against the *Catur Brata*

Penyepian and the socio-cultural changes occurring among Hindu people in religious minority communities. This research also allows researchers to gain in-depth information about social phenomena, forms of deviation, and factors underlying changes in cultural and religious values.

Methodologically, this research was systematically designed through several stages, including the pre-fieldwork stage (determining the research focus, literature review, and instrument development), the fieldwork stage (data collection through interviews, observation, and documentation), and the analysis and report writing stage. These stages ensured a structured approach that maintained the interrelationship between research objectives, data collection, and conclusion drawing. This research took place in Dharma Agung Mataram Village, Seputih Mataram District, Central Lampung Regency (Lampung Tengah). Researchers chose Dharma Agung Mataram Village as the research location because it is a predominantly Hindu village, making it highly suitable for studying the phenomenon under study. Researchers could also easily reach the location without having to adapt because they were already integrated into the local social environment.

Furthermore, one of the researchers had a social connection to the research location as part of its environment. Therefore, in this study, the researcher applied the principle of reflexivity, recognizing that this connection could potentially influence data collection and the interpretation process. To minimize bias, the researcher attempted to maintain objectivity by triangulating sources, comparing various informant perspectives, and conducting reflective notes throughout the research process.

The informants in this study numbered 20, consisting of 10 young people, 5 *pecalang* (traditional leaders), and 5 Balinese traditional/community leaders in the village. These informants were considered the most knowledgeable, understanding, or directly involved in the phenomenon under study, thus facilitating the researcher's access to relevant information. Data collection techniques used were in-depth interviews, observation, and documentation to obtain valid and comprehensive data. (Denzin & Lincoln, 2007).

The data analysis technique used is qualitative analysis with an interactive approach developed by Miles and Huberman. Data analysis is carried out repeatedly and systematically through three main stages, namely data reduction which includes the process of simplifying, selecting, and focusing data relevant to the research objectives, data presentation (data display) which is done by compiling and displaying data in the form of narratives, tables, diagrams, or graphs to make it easier for researchers to understand patterns and relationships between data, and conclusion drawing and verification, which making temporary conclusions based on the data that has been presented and continuing to verify with additional data if necessary to ensure validity and reliability. (Geertz, 2009).

Result and Discussion

Colonization and Transmigration of Balinese People in Lampung

Indonesia is a nation-state, consisting of various ethnic groups or tribes. (Kokou-Kpolou, 2021). Transmigration from one place to another is one of the goals of unifying the nation's culture. Balinese people have been in Lampung since the colonial era, specifically in 1905 when the colonial government brought residents from Java and Bali to Lampung to work on plantations. This period is known as colonization. Population movement from Java and Bali continued throughout the Old Order and then continued into the New Order, known as transmigration. This population movement was certainly driven by the hope of a better life in a new land, for example, obtaining one's own land for family life.

The success of the transmigration program was then followed by other residents who arrived on their own, a process known as spontaneous transmigration. As a result, the population grew, with the Javanese population even outnumbering the Lampung ethnic group itself. Balinese community occupies several areas in Lampung, most of which are in Central Lampung Regency, although they also exist in other regencies. Balinese people in Lampung have created distinctive Balinese villages, with houses characterized by their religious beliefs, distinguishing them from other villages. (Osella & Osella, 2008). In urban areas, Balinese people do not live in groups but are dispersed, but their homes are distinctly Balinese. Most Balinese in Lampung make their living from farming, business, government service, and other activities. They practice their religious life in accordance with their ancestral heritage, adhering to Hinduism with the same traditions found on the island of Bali.

This population migration is certainly not merely a migration but also has socio-cultural impacts on the community. Research conducted by (Fakhriati et al., 2023) explains the dynamics of economic and cultural adaptation of Balinese people in Lampung Province between 1956 and 1997 in the context of migration and transmigration. This research shows that economic pressures and limited land in Bali were the main driving factors for population migration, as they believed there was no future on the island. Meanwhile, Lampung Province was chosen as a new space to build sustainable livelihoods. Using a critical history method, this research confirms that the success of economic adaptation, especially in the rice fields and plantations, is directly correlated with the strengthening and actualization of Balinese culture in the land of exile. The construction of irrigation in 1975, the granary system, and business diversification formed the foundation of economic progress, which then enabled the implementation of rituals, the construction of temples, and the development of Balinese arts. Thus, this research shows that economic adaptation is not only material but also a crucial prerequisite for the sustainability of the identity and cultural practices of the Balinese community in Lampung.

Research conducted by (Karin et al., 2020) examines the social life of the Balinese transmigrant community in Restu Rahayu Traditional Village, North Raman District, East Lampung Regency. The results show that social relations among Balinese transmigrants are closely interwoven, based on a sense of togetherness, kinship, and shared background from the transmigration area. The clustered settlement pattern results in a relatively high level of social interaction among residents and strengthens social solidarity in daily life.

Traditional villages play a crucial role in regulating and maintaining order in community life. This role is evident in customary norms and regulations, the organization of various traditional and religious activities, and the performance of Hindu ceremonies. Communities actively participate in traditional village activities, such as cooperation (*gotong-royong*), *ngayah* (gathering) at temples, and participation in ceremonies and celebrations of major religious holidays such as Galungan and Nyepi. These activities serve as a means of strengthening social ties and fostering a sense of togetherness among residents. (A. Fauzi et al., 2018). Furthermore, they demonstrate the social ties between Balinese transmigrants and non-Balinese communities surrounding the village, forged through economic activities and community life. The social life of Balinese transmigrants is strongly influenced by the role of traditional villages as the primary link between social, traditional, and religious ties.

Research by (Nurdin et al., 2026) Based on the phenomenon of transmigration among Balinese Hindus in Seputih Raman Village, Central Lampung Regency, this research aims to explain the transmigration process and the development of the social, cultural, and economic life of the Balinese Hindu community since their initial arrival in the region. This research is motivated by transmigration, the adaptation process of the Balinese Hindu community, and their success in building a new life in the transmigration destination area. Research results show that Lampung Province, specifically in the Seputih Raman area, is one of the transmigration destinations that has successfully accommodated immigrants from Bali. Since they arrived in 1956, the Balinese Hindu community has faced natural conditions that remain largely wilderness.

However, through hard work and collective spirit, they were able to clear agricultural land, build settlements, and develop a sustainable agricultural-based economic system. The success of the Balinese Hindu transmigration community is inseparable from the strong cultural values and teachings of Hinduism they uphold (Djelantik et al., 2021). Hindu concepts such as the Catur Asrama and Catur Purusa Artha serve as guidelines for household life, work, and economic prosperity. The application of Dharma values in economic activities is seen as a primary foundation for achieving balance between material and spiritual needs. Furthermore, temples serve not only as centers of religious activity but also as centers of social, cultural, and even the community's economic activity.

Beyond economic aspects, the Balinese Hindu community in Seputih Raman has maintained its ancestral customs and culture amidst a multicultural environment. This is evident in the continued viability of religious activities, customs, and Balinese cultural symbols, blended with Lampung's local elements. The social life of Balinese transmigrants is harmonious, both within the community and with the surrounding non-Balinese community, creating a distinctive local wisdom.

Catur Brata Penyepian and Dharma Agung Village Mataram Lampung Tengah

Dharma Agung Mataram Village, located in Seputih Mataram District, Central Lampung Regency (Lampung Tengah), Lampung Province, has a diverse community composition, including a Hindu community that is quite active in carrying out religious activities, especially the celebration of Nyepi Day. This village was chosen as a research location because it has unique social and cultural dynamics, especially related to the practice of implementing *Catur Brata Penyepian* and the variety of community behavior in complying with and violating Nyepi rules. Geographically, Dharma Agung Mataram Village is located in a relatively accessible rural area and has a social environment that still upholds traditional values. Community activities in this village are mostly centered on agricultural activities, local trade, and religious activities. This village also has a traditional institutional structure such as banjar, traditional leaders, pecalang, and *prajuru adat* who play an active role in regulating and supervising the implementation of Nyepi every year.

Dharma Agung Mataram Village is known as a transmigration area where Balinese people have settled since the government's transmigration program from the 1960s to the 1980s. The arrival of Balinese people in Lampung, including Dharma Agung Mataram Village, is inseparable from the Indonesian government's policy of population equality and economic development outside Java and Bali. Initially, the Balinese who arrived in this region were participants in a transmigration program from various regencies in Bali, such as Karangasem, Bangli, and Buleleng. They were placed in groups to facilitate adaptation and preserve their culture and social systems. After settling in, the Balinese people in Dharma Agung Mataram began clearing agricultural land, building settlements, and establishing places of worship such as *Pura Desa*, *Pura Puseh*, and *Pura Dalem* as symbols of their spiritual existence and identity.

Throughout its development, the Balinese community in Dharma Agung Mataram Village demonstrated strong social adaptation skills to the new environment. They brought with them strong Hindu value systems, customs, and religious traditions, such as the Galungan, Kuningan, and Nyepi ceremonies, which remain an integral part of community life to this day. The values of cooperation (*Menyama Braya*) and strong work discipline have made the Balinese community in Dharma Agung known as an orderly, harmonious, and religious society. Socio-economically, the majority of Balinese

people in Dharma Agung Mataram Village work as farmers, livestock breeders, and small-to-medium business owners. The agricultural system implemented largely follows traditional Balinese patterns based on the principle of natural balance (*Tri Hita Karana*), namely maintaining harmony between humans and God, humans with each other, and humans with nature (Djelantik et al., 2021). In a socio-cultural context, the Balinese community in Dharma Agung Mataram maintains their cultural identity amidst the plurality of Lampung's multi-ethnic society. They live harmoniously alongside indigenous Lampung residents and immigrants from Java and other regions. Various socio-religious activities are conducted openly and tolerantly, exemplifying interfaith and intercultural harmony in Central Lampung.

In addition, traditional institutions such as the Pakraman Village and socio-religious organizations such as the Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia (PHDI) at the village level play a crucial role in maintaining social order and upholding customary norms within Balinese society. This social structure helps maintain the value system, customary law, and adherence to religious ceremonies, including the *Catur Brata Penyepian* rituals, which are the focus of this research. (Adogame & Shankar, 2013). To this day, Dharma Agung Mataram Village is known as one of the largest Hindu villages in Seputih Mataram District. Balinese traditions and culture are well-preserved through religious activities at temples, Hindu religious education in schools, and the transmission of cultural values to the younger generation. Balinese community in this village plays a vital role not only in cultural preservation but also in contributing to the social and economic development of Central Lampung in general.

Catur Brata Penyepian's Prohibitions and Forms of Deviation

Based on the results of in-depth interviews with informants, it was found that the implementation of *Catur Brata Penyepian* in Dharma Agung Mataram Village, Seputih Mataram District, Central Lampung Regency still experiences various forms of deviation. *Catur Brata Penyepian* has four main prohibitions: *Amati Lelungan* (not traveling), *Amati Lelanguan* (not enjoying entertainment), *Amati Karya* (not working), and *Amati Geni* (not lighting fires or lights). These four prohibitions contain deep spiritual meanings, namely as a means of self-introspection, inner cleansing, and restoring balance between humans, nature, and *Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa*. However, these four taboos have not been fully implemented consistently by Hindus in Dharma Agung Mataram Village (A. M. Fauzi et al., 2025).

The most common deviation during Nyepi Day in Dharma Agung Mataram Village is against *Amati Lelanguan* and *Amati Geni*. According to several informants, some people still turn on the television, use cell phones, and keep the lights on during Nyepi. One informant, NA, revealed that he

continued watching television during Nyepi because he was bored at home without entertainment, "... *I still watch television during Nyepi, because I am just bored at home*" (Interview, September 5, 2025). Another informant, KS, expressed a similar sentiment, admitting to keeping the bedroom lights on at night because he was afraid of the dark, "*I get scared when it is too dark, so I keep the lights on even though they are dim*" (Interview, September 6, 2025). This suggests that some people still view Nyepi as merely a holiday, rather than a spiritual moment for Nyepi and self-reflection.

The research results show that deviations from Amati Lelungan and Amati Lelanguan during Nyepi also often occur in Dharma Agung Mataram Village. One of the informants, MS, stated that he left the house to buy cigarettes, "*I only went out for a moment, because my mouth felt sour and bitter. That is why I bought cigarettes.*" (Interview, September 6, 2025). Even though buying cigarettes alone and smoking does not make you feel full, this action is still considered a violation because it does not align with the meaning of Nyepi, which is to refrain from all worldly activities, including social interactions outside the home. Furthermore, based on observations by *pecalang* (traditional religious leaders), some people still leave their homes without a valid reason during Nyepi. Some residents were seen walking to their neighbors' houses, and some even went to the market to buy household necessities. One *pecalang* explained that some people excused themselves to see the atmosphere or visit sick relatives, and some even went to social gatherings.

Furthermore, the *Pecalang* and traditional leaders explained that some people still watch television, listen to music, play on their phones, or use social media during Nyepi. They explained that the influence of friends or neighbors who also watch television creates a behavioral contagion effect. "*There are still people who watch television, play on their phones, or listen to music during Nyepi. Usually, it is because they are following the crowd*" (Interview, September 7, 2026). This demonstrates weak social control and religious solidarity within the community, where permissive social ties toward deviation are more dominant than adherence to dharmic values. However, these forms of entertainment contradict the spirit of Amati Lelanguan, which emphasizes self-control from worldly pleasures so that humans can focus on self-reflection and inner peace. Another deviation from that is also common and considered trivial by the people of Dharma Agung Mataram Village: talking, even with family members at home. The context of "not talking" here is intended as a form of inner calm and self-control by prohibiting Hindus from speaking or discussing unnecessary matters. Therefore, the prohibition on speaking does not mean not being allowed to speak at all, but rather only speaking when it is truly necessary.

One of the Hindu religious figures in the area stated that the recreational activities on Nyepi Day demonstrate a lack of understanding of the spiritual purpose of the holy day: "*Nyepi means silence. So if someone is having fun during that day, it means they do not understand the meaning of Nyepi*

itself" (Interview, September 7, 2025). The development of technology and internet access in rural areas also poses challenges. The younger generation, in particular, tends to have difficulty breaking free from the habit of using gadgets. This situation is a serious concern for religious and traditional leaders, because if not fostered from an early age, the noble values embodied in the *Catur Brata Penyepeian* can be further eroded by the currents of modernization. These behaviors demonstrate that some members of the community lack strong spiritual discipline. Weaknesses in the supervision of *Pecalang* in rural areas also exacerbate the situation, as not all violations can be directly prosecuted (Hani et al., 2026).

Other forms of deviation could also be seen in deviations from *Amati Karya* principles. Based on interviews with village officials and *Pecalang*, some Hindu residents in Dharma Agung Mataram Village still perform light household chores such as cleaning yards, excessive cooking, and even selling food at stalls. (Myers et al., 2023). One interviewee admitted to maintaining a small business at home for economic reasons, considering that Nyepi in Lampung is less strict than in Bali. This indicates a shift in the meaning of the *Catur Brata Penyepeian*, where some devotees prioritize worldly needs over spiritual values. Traditional leaders believe this reflects the challenges of modernization and the economic pressures experienced by Hindus in transmigration areas like Central Lampung. Nevertheless, these practices are considered deviations that need to be addressed so that devotees can re-understand the true meaning of Nyepi as a day of purification, not a day off from work.

Several other informants also admitted to turning on lights due to fear of the dark or because they have small children. Furthermore, some residents use candles or small lamps at night, even though the *Amati Geni* principle emphasizes the cessation of all forms of artificial lighting to create a quiet and dark atmosphere, symbolizing the absence of lust. Eating or not fasting on Nyepi Day is also considered a deviation from *Amati Geni* because it violates the prohibition of abstaining from worldly pleasures, including overeating or seeking physical pleasure. Several informants explained that some people still do not fast fully, citing hunger, health conditions, or simply a lack of understanding of the symbolic meaning of the prohibition. "Yes, I do not fast during Nyepi because I suffer from a stomach ailment" (Interview, September 5, 2025).

In addition to deviations from the four main prohibitions, this study also found deviations from social and customary norms accompanying Nyepi. For example, some devotees still do not participate in the *Melasti* (self-purification) and *Ngerupuk* (the banishing of *Buta Kala*) ceremonies leading up to Nyepi. Several informants stated that some devotees are reluctant to participate due to being busy with work or a lack of awareness of the value of togetherness. However, these activities have a symbolic meaning in cleansing oneself of negative elements before entering the holy day of Nyepi. The absence of devotees from these activities is considered to reflect a weakening of social ties and a sense of

responsibility for collective religious life.

These various deviations indicate that some devotees do not yet understand the symbolic meaning of the four *Catur Brata* prohibitions. Some even consider Nyepi merely a "holiday" rather than a moment of self-purification, leading them to neglect the four prohibitions that should be avoided. According to local religious leaders, these deviations can diminish the spiritual solemnity and disrupt the sacred atmosphere that should be created during Nyepi. This demonstrates that technological developments and economic demands often make it difficult for devotees to comply with the prohibition on work during Nyepi fully. Local religious leaders also emphasized the need to raise awareness through religious education so that people understand that silence and stillness are forms of social meditation that must be carried out together.

Several informants also believe that these deviations are not only caused by individual factors, but also by weakening spiritual awareness and the influence of an increasingly heterogeneous social environment. According to them, the younger generation of Hindus in Dharma Agung Village, Mataram, tends to lack a deep understanding of the philosophy of the Catur Brata Penyepian, resulting in many performing the rituals formally without appreciating their true meaning, *"Usually, the ones who violate it are the younger generation. They do not truly understand the meaning of Nyepi. They just follow along"* (Interview 7 September, 2025). This situation is exacerbated by the influence of modern culture that emphasizes comfort and entertainment. Village officials who also served as informants added that in some areas with minority Hindu communities, Nyepi cannot be observed solemnly because non-Hindu activities in the surrounding area continue. This often tempts Hindus to violate Nyepi prohibitions, such as leaving the house or turning on lights at night to maintain interaction with the outside world.

These behaviors are not committed out of rejection of religious teachings, but rather out of convenience, ignorance, or everyday practical habits. Most perpetrators are also aware that their actions do not fully comply with Nyepi regulations, but they do so unintentionally and infrequently. (Kurniawan et al., 2026). This form of deviation is tolerated by the surrounding community and considered minor because it is considered normal and does not have a broad impact on the order of Nyepi celebrations. In contrast, serious deviations are repeated and persistent, even leading to the perpetrator being socially labeled as someone who disobeys prevailing norms or values.

In the context of the *Catur Brata Penyepian*, a small number of people consciously and repeatedly fail to perform all Nyepi rituals, even openly violating fundamental prohibitions, such as traveling outside the home or working on Nyepi Day. Interviews with informants indicate that some people reason that they cannot leave their jobs, or they feel bored from being at home all day.

Therefore, deviations from the implementation of the *Catur Brata Penyepian* in Dharma Agung Mataram Village are caused by various factors, both internal (from within the congregation itself) and external (from the social environment and developments of the times). Internal factors such as low religious understanding and spiritual awareness are the primary triggers. In contrast, external factors such as social influence, technological advancements, and weak guidance from traditional institutions exacerbate the violations.

Meanwhile, socio-cultural factors indicate that changes in community lifestyles and interactions with a heterogeneous environment have weakened the Hindu community's commitment to upholding the sacred values of Nyepi. (Sutisna et al., 2019). Therefore, the active role of religious leaders, traditional leaders, and village institutions is needed to provide guidance and supervision to ensure that the spiritual meaning of the *Catur Brata Penyepian* remains intact amid the modernization and plurality of Lampung society. Sanctions typically include verbal warnings from *Pecalang*, warnings from traditional leaders or the Banjar, educational guidance, fines, social sanctions, and the implementation of social activities. The approach used emphasizes understanding, guidance, and awareness, rather than coercion or severe punishment. However, these sanctions are not strictly enforced, as heterogeneous communities tend to have more lax oversight.

The phenomenon of deviation from the *Catur Brata Penyepian* in Dharma Agung Mataram Village is not isolated but is part of a global dynamic that demonstrates the complex relationship between religion, modernity, and social change. Recent studies have shown that religiosity is no longer static but is undergoing transformation due to globalization, digitalization, and changes in social structure. Research by Hardianta et al. shows that the Nyepi tradition is not only understood as a religious ritual but also as a form of adaptation to global crises and modernity, including through the integration of digital technology and changes in patterns of religious practice. (Hardianta, 2024). A similar pattern is also seen in the research of (Myers et al., 2023), where the younger generation expresses religion more flexibly and personally, including through social media and virtual spaces, which ultimately influences the level of adherence to traditional rituals.

In international comparative studies, similar patterns have been found in various parts of the world, with different characteristics but a common thread: the negotiation between traditional values and the demands of modern life. In the United States, research on the Amish community (a Traditionalist Anabaptist Christian denomination) shows a tension between strict religious traditions and the influence of modernity, especially among the younger generation. The Rumspringa phase (the transition to adolescence) becomes a social space where Amish youth are allowed to explore the outside world before deciding on their religious commitment. Studies conducted by Fisher show that during this phase, some young people violate community norms, such as using technology and modern

lifestyles as a form of identity search. This phenomenon is evident among the younger generation in Dharma Agung Mataram Village, who interpret Nyepi more flexibly, especially in the use of technology and entertainment media.

Meanwhile, in Africa, particularly Nigeria, research by (Osella & Osella, 2008) and (Adogame & Shankar, 2013) shows that urbanization and globalization are pushing young Muslims there to renegotiate their religious practices. In a dynamic urban context, religious practices are often adapted to modern economic and lifestyle needs. This is in line with the conditions of the Hindu community in Dharma Agung Mataram Village, where economic demands and a heterogeneous social environment have led to a relaxation in the implementation of *Catur Brata Penyepian*. Therefore, deviations from *Catur Brata Penyepian* by the younger generation cannot be reduced to a mere individual moral issue, but rather are part of a global religious transformation marked by a shift from a collective religiosity based on social control to a more individual, reflective, and contextual religiosity.

This global religious transformation is even more significant as it appears to affect many countries and a wide range of religions. In Europe, for example, and more specifically in France, the context of secularism also helps to explain the shift in religious practices. (Ruastiti et al., 2026). By prioritizing institutional neutrality and regulating religious practices in public spaces, secularism tends to confine religious practices more to the private or family sphere, which can sometimes weaken the collective mechanisms of social control mentioned. Just as in the case study of Balinese Hindus in Lampung, where population heterogeneity and weak community control encourage certain deviations from ritual customs, the French context can also contribute to a more flexible reinterpretation of religious prescriptions, particularly among younger generations. (Alexander & Seidman, 2008). A good example for French Catholic practitioners is the observance of Lent, which is now rarely practiced. These changes do not always reflect a rejection of religion but can also be seen as forms of adaptation of religious norms within a constantly changing social and political context.

Travis Hirschi's social control theory explains how individuals are bound by social norms and how they choose to comply with or violate those norms. Hirschi argues that individuals tend to deviate, but they are restrained by social control. This social control can be internal (from within oneself) or external (from outside oneself) (Hirschi, 1971).

Hirschi identified four elements of social control that influence individual behavior: (1) Attachment: Emotional bonds with others, such as family, friends, or community, can make individuals more likely to comply with social norms. (2) Commitment: Commitment to social norms, such as education, career, or reputation, can make individuals more likely to comply with social norms.

(3) Involvement: Involvement in social activities, such as sports, clubs, or organizations, can make individuals more likely to comply with social norms. 4) Belief: Belief in social norms, such as moral or religious values, can make individuals more likely to comply with social norms. Hirschi argued that individuals who possess these four elements of social control will be more likely to comply with social norms and not engage in deviant behavior.

The application of Hirschi's social control theory in this study can be explained by linking these four elements of social control to the context of deviation against *Catur Brata Penyepian*. Attachment (emotional bonds) can be seen in the relationship between the younger generation and traditional leaders, family, and the Pecalang, which tends to weaken, thus reducing adherence to the *Catur Brata Penyepian* (Setini et al., 2020). For example, several informants admitted to continuing to violate the *Catur Brata Penyepian* due to the lack of direct reprimands from traditional leaders or due to following the example of their surroundings, which are permissive of such deviations. Furthermore, commitment is related to an individual's orientation toward social and religious values. In this context, commitment to the sacred values of Nyepi has shifted due to economic pressures and the demands of modern life. For example, informants who continue to trade or work on Nyepi Day demonstrate that commitment to economic sustainability often outweighs commitment to religious norms.

Involvement can be linked to participation in traditional and religious activities such as *Melasti*, *Ngerupuk*, and *Banjar* activities. Research (Alfarisi & Affandi, 2026) shows that individuals who are less involved in traditional collective activities tend to be more susceptible to violations, as they lack the attachment to activities that keep them busy and internalize collective values. Furthermore, belief refers to the level of internalization of dharmic values and the spiritual meaning of Nyepi. A weak philosophical understanding of the *Catur Brata Penyepian* has led some people, especially the younger generation, to interpret Nyepi as merely a holiday. This is evident in research findings that state that they continue using their phones or watching television because they are "bored," indicating a low internalization of Nyepi's sacred values.

Based on the explanation above, it can be concluded that individuals with strong social control are more likely to comply with social norms and refrain from deviant behavior. Conversely, individuals with weak social control are more likely to deviate (Denzi & Lincoln, 2007). Therefore, the difference in levels of compliance between older and younger generations indicates a change in values due to changing times. This is a challenge for families, traditional leaders, and religious leaders to provide an easier and more relevant understanding to the younger generation so that the values of Nyepi are maintained.

Meanwhile, Lemert's theory of deviance is used to differentiate between "violation" and "social deviance analytically." Based on research findings, the deviant behavior that occurs is more appropriately categorized as primary deviance, namely sporadic, unorganized violations that have not yet formed a self-identity as a deviant. This can be seen from the fact that deviations against *Catur Brata Penyepian* are committed situationally (e.g., due to boredom, fear of the dark, or economic needs), are not repeated consistently by the same individual, and are not accompanied by a strong social labeling process from society. This behavior cannot yet be categorized as secondary deviance because there has not been a labeling process that leads to the formation of tolerance through mild sanctions such as reprimands or fines without permanent social stigma. In addition, deviation or social pathology is patterned and permanent, while this violation is not patterned and permanent in a particular person, but rather random and not always committed by a single individual (Ariyanti et al., 2026).

Conclusion

In the Balinese community of Lampung, deviations from *Catur Brata Penyepian* are generally committed by the younger generation. This occurs because the strictness of Nyepi during Nyepi is not as strict as in Bali, resulting in lax social control over the practice of Nyepi. These deviations can be classified as minor violations, temporary and not repeated, and are tolerated by society. The most common violations include lighting small lamps or candles at night, using cell phones for short communications, talking to family members indoors, and watching television, even briefly, to avoid boredom. These actions are not committed out of a rejection of religious teachings, but rather stem from daily habits and a lack of a deep understanding of the meaning of Nyepi. People still consider these actions normal and not significantly disruptive to the overall Nyepi celebration.

In the era of digitalization and rapid technological development, the way people interpret Nyepi is beginning to change. The younger generation lives in a modern era filled with technology, social media, and a fast-paced lifestyle. This situation makes it difficult for some to observe the Catur Brata Penyepian fully. Some young people view religious rules, particularly in the context of the *Catur Brata Penyepian* (Nyepi) rituals, as less relevant to modern life. Nyepi is sometimes perceived as a tradition that restricts freedom, particularly in the use of mobile phones, the internet, and digital entertainment. As a result, violations of Nyepi, such as using electronic devices, leaving the house, or engaging in recreational activities, have become more common.

Young people are more likely to violate Nyepi for several reasons. First, the influence of technology, which has become part of daily life, makes it difficult to stop activities during Nyepi truly. Second, there is a diminished understanding of the meaning of Nyepi, with some young people observing Nyepi merely as a habit, rather than as a spiritually meaningful form of worship. Third, there

is a shift in mindset, where personal freedom is prioritized over adherence to customary and religious rules.

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