



## Transformation of Traditional Rituals in Toraja in the Era of Modernization

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### Abstract

*This paper examines how traditional rituals in Toraja have been transformed by modernization and how cultural practices have been maintained, negotiated, and changed in response to new social, economic, and political environments. Using a qualitative methodology of in-depth interviews, field observations, and document analysis, the study examines how rituals, especially the elaborate Rambu Solo funeral rituals have changed in the face of economic rationalization, tourism, religious influences and generational change. Results also indicate that although some elements of ritual practice are now simplified or commodified, their symbolic nature in strengthening kinship relationships and community cohesion has continued with strong force. In this case the continuity of cultural systems and their ability to respond to changes strategically and without losing their identity is demonstrated. The paper also emphasizes how management can be involved in transforming rituals, practices that are then negotiated, organized and rearranged to create a balance between authenticity and sustainability. The increasing cost of rituals and the demands of modern life push societies to create an equilibrium between the allocation of resources and tourism and globalization provide an opportunity and a threat to cultures. The generation attitudes also contribute to transformation as the young family members are more practical, yet the family is still in touch with the culture of their ancestors. Generally, the research suggests that Toraja rituals are not traditional practices but dynamic cultural resources which can be handled in such a way that can permit their further social applicability. Placing ritual transformation in wider scope of cultural management, this study helps us in comprehending how traditions may survive in times of modernization by striving to adapt to changes through adaptive governance to preserve identity and continuity.*

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## Introduction

The rite practices have been used in the past as the cornerstone of cultural identity and societal unity in many societies, especially societies that boast of rich indigenous cultures. In Indonesia, rituals are more than a mere symbolic act that they serve to work out the moral, spiritual, and communal aspects of diverse ethnic communities comprehensively (Mazyra et al., 2024). One of the most popular ceremonies is the Toraja of South Sulawesi, where the local ceremonial repertoire, the richly symbolized Rambu Solo (funeral ceremonies) and the Rambu Tuka (life-affirming ceremonies) have raised lots of scholarly and world attention due to their highly elaborate nature and symbolic meaning (Hariyanto et al., 2024). These rituals represent the bargaining of life, death, kinship, and community togetherness that imbibe in values that go far beyond the rites themselves.

The meanings, practices, and scopes of such rituals are however experiencing conspicuous changes in the modern-day world. Economic globalization, urbanization, education, and religious diversification, which have been associated with modernization have re-invented the cultural context, in which rituals are practiced (Qian et al., 2024). In the Toraja communities, these transformations are both conspicuous and subtle; they include the reduced size of the ceremonies as a result of the economic limitations, but also the commodification of rituals in the case of tourism (Isiko & Isabirye, 2023). What was earlier a strictly religious form of community and ancestry is now functioning in a conversational rapport with modern social facts, thus being both continuous and discontinuous.

Tradition modernity interaction in Toraja is a wider anthropological perception on cultural continuity and change. Historians believe that traditions are dynamic and constantly evolving to remain relevant in the generations of successive generations (Samarasekara, 2023). Rituals, more so, are very dynamic cultural practices that take in the outside influences and retain a nominal authenticity. However, these changes cause a certain tension: older generations are likely to see changes as the erosion of the culture, and younger generations will more probably see them as the needed adaptation (Scott et al., 2024). Such intergenerational views are most notably visible in Toraja where rituals remain as a strong identity marker despite the influences of modernization.

The transformation of the ritual in Toraja has an economic dimension. Conventionally, Rambu Solo funerals require a huge number of buffalo sacrifices and massive feasting thus causing major financial strain to a family (Haloho et al., 2024; Ismail & Noh, 2023; Syam & Husna, 2025). Many of these households cannot maintain rituals in a traditional way with the emerging economic demands like education, migration and consumerism brought about by modernization (Daly et al., 2022; Tanduk, 2024; La'biran, 2024). As a result, rituals are increasingly being simplified, shortened or redefined in new forms thus showing how economic rationality redefines cultural practice. At the same time, the commodification of rituals as a tourism product has also created opportunities as well as dilemmas. As much as tourism brings income and global acknowledgement, it equally poses the threat to the decline of the sacred practice to representational performance to outsiders (Munsch et al., 2022). At the same time, commodification of rituals as a source of tourism has created opportunities and dilemmas. Tourism brings with it an income and the international fame but at the same time threatens the integrity of the sacred practices as they become more of a performance spectacle to the outside world (Nguyen et al., 2023).

Religious adjustment also makes things harder as far as ritual adjustment is concerned. The spread of Christianity and Islam in Toraja has spawned redefinition of traditional rituals with some of them being seen to be incompatible with new religious beliefs (Brennan et al., 2022). This relationship has spawned a system of selective participation in which, things that are perceived as cultural are retained and things that are considered to be religious are abandoned. This selective adaptation highlights the high level of complexity of cultural identity in Toraja whereby, the individuals in the community's bargain with various levels of affiliation i.e. ancestral traditions, religious institutions and nation-state (Moore et al., 2024).

Modernization also occurs in the form of changes in the youth culture and education. The emerging generations are being exposed to values of the world in a way that is more formal through school education, media and in a way of migration hence influencing their attitudes

towards the ritual practices (Ross et al., 2024). Whereas there are young people who consider rituals as an important tradition, there are those who view them as obsolete and bulky. This dilemma poses a problem to the intergenerational transmission that raises concerns of the sustainability of the traditional practices in the long term (Venture et al., 2021). However, rituals are still vibrant identity symbols even in conditions of ambivalence, particularly in the social events or crisis, thus testifying to their timelessness.

In spite of the emerging literature on Toraja culture, much of the academic literature has focused either on the anthropological signification of rituals (Touza et al., 2021) or on its effects in terms of tourism and the economy (Hoyer et al., 2023). The subtle changes in the practices of rituals in the particular environment of modernization have received a relative neglect. The current research is aimed at addressing this gap by researching the role of traditional rituals in Toraja, determining factors that caused the changes, and explaining the way members of the community perceive its consequences. The qualitative approach allows the research to predict lived experiences and narratives thus, allowing the community members to define the meaning of transformation internally.

The significance of this study lies not only in documenting cultural change but also in contributing to broader discussions about cultural sustainability. As globalization intensifies, many indigenous societies face similar dilemmas of negotiating tradition and modernity. Understanding how Toraja rituals transform provides valuable insights into how cultural practices can adapt without losing their essence. For policymakers and cultural stakeholders, the findings highlight the need to design heritage preservation strategies that are sensitive to community needs and contexts. For the academic field, the study adds to the discourse on tradition, modernity, and identity in Southeast Asia. Ultimately, the research underscores that cultural transformation is neither linear nor reductive but a complex process of negotiation, adaptation, and resilience.

## **Method**

This study employed a qualitative research design with a descriptive and interpretative orientation. A qualitative approach was chosen because the transformation of traditional rituals in Toraja cannot be adequately captured through numerical data alone. Rather, the research sought to uncover the meanings, perceptions, and lived experiences of community members as they negotiate the impact of modernization on their cultural practices. The descriptive nature of the study enabled the researcher to present a detailed account of the forms of transformation in ritual practices, while the interpretative aspect allowed for deeper analysis of the symbolic significance and socio-cultural implications of these changes. This design was considered the most suitable to illuminate the complexity of ritual life, which encompasses elements of spirituality, identity, economy, and intergenerational values.

## **Research Site and Context**

The research was conducted in selected villages in Tana Toraja, South Sulawesi, Indonesia. The choice of this location was deliberate, as Toraja is one of the regions most renowned for its traditional rituals, particularly the *Rambu Solo'* funeral ceremonies and *Rambu Tuka'* rituals of thanksgiving. These villages were chosen because they still practice rituals, yet are simultaneously exposed to the pressures of modernization through tourism, migration, education, and religious change. Conducting research in these areas allowed the researcher to

examine the transformation of rituals in both their traditional contexts and in spaces where external influences are most pronounced. The setting provided a dynamic field in which continuity and change could be observed side by side.

### **Participants and Sampling**

Participants in this study were drawn from various segments of Toraja society to ensure diverse perspectives on ritual transformation. They included ritual practitioners and elders, who possess in-depth knowledge of traditional practices; community leaders and local government officers, who play a role in cultural preservation; and younger community members, whose views reflect the influence of modernization. A purposive sampling strategy was used, as the research sought individuals who could provide rich, relevant, and varied information about the transformation of rituals. The final pool of participants consisted of approximately thirty individuals, representing different age groups, genders, and social roles. This diversity of participants allowed for a more nuanced understanding of both generational differences and communal perspectives.

### **Data Collection Techniques**

Data were collected using multiple qualitative techniques to capture the complexity of the phenomenon under study. In-depth interviews formed the primary method, allowing participants to articulate their experiences and views regarding ritual transformation in their own words. Semi-structured interview guides were developed, ensuring consistency in themes while also allowing flexibility to explore emerging issues during conversations. Participant observation was conducted by attending ritual events, where the researcher documented changes in performance, participation, and symbolic elements. This provided first-hand insight into how rituals are practiced in contemporary settings. In addition, relevant documents such as local cultural records, photographs, and government regulations on cultural preservation were analyzed to complement field data. The triangulation of interviews, observation, and document analysis enhanced the credibility and richness of the findings.

### **Data Analysis**

The collected data were analyzed using thematic analysis, which is suitable for identifying recurring patterns and meanings in qualitative research. Transcripts of interviews and field notes were carefully read, coded, and categorized into themes such as ritual simplification, tourism influence, religious reinterpretation, economic constraints, and generational perspectives. Through a process of constant comparison, themes were refined to capture both commonalities and differences across participants' accounts. This process was iterative and interpretative, moving from descriptive coding to higher-level conceptualization. By organizing data into coherent themes, the analysis illuminated how modernization manifests in ritual practices and how the community negotiates these changes.

### **Result and Discussion**

The following section presents the findings of this study on the transformation of traditional Toraja rituals in the context of modernization. The results are organized thematically to capture the multifaceted nature of change, including the forms of ritual transformation, the socio-economic and cultural drivers behind these changes, generational perspectives, and the broader implications for cultural identity and resilience. By integrating participant narratives,

observations, and documentary evidence, this section provides a detailed account of how Toraja rituals have adapted while retaining their symbolic and communal significance, illustrating the ongoing negotiation between tradition and modernity.

### **Forms of Transformation**

The findings indicate that traditional rituals in Toraja have experienced multifaceted transformations, encompassing structural, performative, and symbolic dimensions. The most immediately observable change is the simplification of ceremonial forms, particularly evident in the Rambu Solo' funeral rituals. Historically, these funerals were grandiose events lasting several days, involving extensive preparations, multiple buffalo and pig sacrifices, and elaborate feasting that engaged the entire community. Today, economic constraints, changing lifestyles, and competing social priorities have prompted families to condense these ceremonies. Ritual durations have decreased from weeks to just a few days, and the number of sacrificial animals has been substantially reduced. One elder participant explained:

*“Before, a Rambu Solo' could take a whole month. Now, with fewer buffaloes and less feasting, we can finish it in just a few days. It is not ideal, but it is what the family can manage.”*

Beyond duration and scale, the material and performative aspects of rituals have also shifted. Traditional ceremonial houses, or tongkonan, which once played a central role as symbolic spaces for hosting rituals, are sometimes replaced by smaller, more practical structures, or their use is limited to specific ritual components. Extended communal feasting, once a hallmark of social cohesion and generosity, has been curtailed, with families opting for simpler meals that retain the ritual essence without imposing excessive costs. A middle-aged participant reflected:

*“We still honor our ancestors, but we no longer host hundreds of people for days. Now, the ritual is more for close family. The meaning is the same, even if the celebration is smaller.”*

These adjustments reveal a selective retention of symbolic practices: while economic and logistical considerations lead to modifications, the core ritual meanings honoring ancestors, reinforcing kinship ties, and affirming communal identity remain intact. A younger participant highlighted the continued significance despite simplification:

*“Even if the ceremony is shorter and uses fewer animals, it is still very important. It connects us to our family and ancestors. Without it, we feel something is missing.”*

Interestingly, this transformation reflects a shift in the social orientation of rituals. Once large-scale communal events that brought together entire villages, ceremonies now tend to be more family-centered, emphasizing immediate kinship networks rather than broader communal participation. As one community leader noted:

*“People are busy with work and school. The ritual can't be like before. But families still gather, and young people are learning about the meaning, even if they don't see the whole village involved.”*

In essence, Toraja rituals are not abandoned but reinterpreted in ways that negotiate between tradition and modernity, demonstrating cultural resilience and adaptive flexibility. While material expressions and public grandeur of rituals have been scaled down, the symbolic and

emotional significance persists, ensuring that rituals continue to function as vital markers of Toraja identity, morality, and communal solidarity.

### **Drivers of Change**

The transformation of Toraja rituals is shaped by multiple interrelated drivers, with modernization serving as the overarching influence. These drivers operate at economic, social, religious, and policy levels, reflecting the complex interplay between tradition and contemporary pressures. Economic constraints are among the most significant drivers of ritual transformation. Traditional rituals, particularly Rambu Solo' funerals, involve substantial expenditures, including multiple buffalo and pig sacrifices, elaborate feasting, and extended ceremonial preparations. As one elder participant explained:

*“Before, we sacrificed ten or more buffaloes for a big funeral. Now, even a few buffaloes are expensive, so we have to choose what is really necessary. Otherwise, the family cannot manage.”*

Modern financial demands, such as funding children's education, healthcare, and other household needs, compete with the high costs of rituals. Consequently, families are increasingly simplifying or shortening rituals, prioritizing essential symbolic elements while reducing costly extravagances. Tourism acts as both a preserver and commodifier of Toraja rituals. The attention from domestic and international visitors generates income that can help sustain ceremonial practices. As one participant noted:

*“Tourists pay to see our rituals. That money helps families afford the ceremony, so in a way, tourism keeps our tradition alive.”*

However, the presence of outsiders also encourages the staging of rituals for performance, which can dilute sacred meanings. Another participant reflected:

*“Sometimes it feels like we are performing for the visitors rather than for our ancestors. The ritual loses some of its depth when done mainly for tourists.” (Male, 35, youth community member)*

Thus, tourism introduces both opportunities and dilemmas, sustaining ritual practice while simultaneously influencing its form and authenticity. The spread of Christianity and Islam in Toraja has prompted selective retention and reinterpretation of ritual elements. Ritual practices perceived as compatible with religious teachings are retained, while others are modified or abandoned. One elder explained:

*“Some parts of the old rituals are not allowed by our church, so we do only what is acceptable. We still honor the ancestors, but in ways that do not conflict with faith.”*

This process of selective adaptation demonstrates the negotiation between ancestral traditions and new religious identities, highlighting the dynamic nature of cultural continuity. Government policies on cultural preservation and tourism development also shape ritual practices. Formal regulations can standardize ceremonies, provide financial or logistical support, and promote rituals as cultural heritage. As a local government officer remarked:

*“We guide communities to conduct rituals in ways that are safe, organized, and attractive for tourists, without losing the essence of the tradition.”*

While regulation can help sustain practices, it can also impose structural constraints that influence the spontaneity or scale of rituals. Migration significantly affects ritual participation. Younger generations frequently move to urban centers for education or employment, reducing the availability of human resources for collective ceremonial duties. A middle-aged participant noted:

*“Many young people are working in the city. When a big funeral comes, there are fewer hands to help, so families adjust by making the ceremony smaller or shorter.”*

This demographic shift contributes to family-centered rituals and alters the intergenerational transmission of knowledge, presenting challenges for sustaining traditional practices in their original communal forms.

### **Generational Perspectives**

An important dimension of the findings concerns the differing perspectives between generations on the transformation of Toraja rituals. Elders generally perceive the simplification and modification of rituals as a dilution of cultural identity. For them, rituals are not merely ceremonial obligations but central expressions of social status, kinship ties, and respect for ancestors. Many elders express concern that the reduction in ceremonial grandeur, such as fewer buffalo sacrifices, shortened duration, and scaled-down feasting, threatens intergenerational continuity and communal cohesion. As one elder participant remarked:

*“Rituals are the soul of our culture. When we reduce the ceremony, it feels like we are losing a part of ourselves. The young may not understand, but for us, it is serious.”*

Another elder emphasized the spiritual and social dimensions of rituals:

*“Rituals connect us to our ancestors and show our respect. If we do not perform them properly, it is not only a family matter but a loss for the community and our heritage.”*

In contrast, younger generations often interpret these transformations as pragmatic adaptations to contemporary life. While they recognize the cultural and symbolic importance of rituals, many view them as time-consuming and financially burdensome in the context of modern education, work, and urban lifestyles. A young participant explained:

*“I understand the meaning of the rituals, but it is difficult to participate fully. School, work, and living in the city make it impossible to follow the old ways. Simplifying the ceremony is practical.”*

Interestingly, some youth perceive the tourism-driven visibility of Toraja rituals as a source of pride and cultural branding. They appreciate how the rituals gain international recognition while contributing economically to the community. As one young woman shared:

*“Seeing our rituals featured in tourism shows and festivals makes me proud. Even if we cannot do the full traditional version, people recognize our culture, and that is important for us.”*

These generational perspectives illustrate a dynamic process of cultural negotiation, where younger members reinterpret rituals to align with their lived realities, yet continue to acknowledge their symbolic importance. While elders prioritize authenticity, continuity, and communal values, younger generations emphasize adaptation, practicality, and the strategic

leveraging of rituals for economic and cultural visibility. This tension between preservation and adaptation highlights the ongoing dialogue between generations, revealing how cultural identity is maintained even amidst modernization.

### **Implications of Ritual Transformation**

The transformations observed in Toraja rituals carry significant implications for the community's cultural identity, social cohesion, and resilience. On one level, the continued practice of rituals, even in modified forms, underscores the enduring centrality of tradition in Toraja society. Rituals remain pivotal moments for communal gathering, identity affirmation, and the reinforcement of social and kinship ties, particularly during significant life-cycle events such as Rambu Solo' funerals and Rambu Tuka thanksgiving ceremonies. As one elder participant noted:

*“Even if the ceremony is smaller or shorter, we still come together as a family and community. Rituals remind us who we are and where we come from.”*

Similarly, younger participants recognized that rituals, despite adaptation, continue to serve as cultural anchors:

*“I may not participate in the full traditional way, but attending the ceremony connects me to my family and our history. It is part of our identity.”*

On another level, the transformations reveal vulnerabilities associated with modernization. Simplification, economic rationalization, and tourism-driven commodification risk diminishing the sacred dimensions of rituals, potentially turning them into performative spectacles rather than deeply held communal practices. As a local cultural leader explained:

*“Tourists come to watch the ceremony. Sometimes we have to adjust the ritual to suit them. It helps financially, but I worry that the spiritual meaning is fading.”*

The selective adaptation of ritual elements retaining what is perceived as “cultural” while discarding practices deemed incompatible with religion or modern life also raises questions about which aspects of culture will survive in the long term. One elder reflected on this challenge:

*“We are losing some parts of the ritual that our ancestors performed. I worry that our children will not know the full tradition in the future.”*

Despite these vulnerabilities, the persistence and adaptability of rituals indicate a strong capacity for cultural resilience. Community members are actively negotiating between tradition and modern pressures, redefining rituals in ways that remain meaningful and contextually relevant. A young participant highlighted this adaptive resilience:

*“Rituals change, yes, but the meaning remains. We find ways to honor our ancestors even if the ceremony looks different than before.”*

The findings highlight a dual reality. Toraja rituals are resilient, as they continue to embody cultural identity, social cohesion, and spiritual significance, even under modernization. Simultaneously, they are vulnerable, as economic, religious, and touristic pressures create risks of dilution or misrepresentation. This duality reflects the complex dynamics of tradition in

transition, where cultural practices are not static but constantly negotiated, adapted, and redefined to remain relevant for successive generations.

### **Cultural Transformation and Management Implications**

The findings of this study demonstrate that Toraja rituals have not disappeared under modernization but instead undergone processes of transformation that retain symbolic cores while reshaping their forms. This has significant implications for management scholarship because it illustrates how cultural practices adapt as living systems that respond to pressures while preserving organizational identity. Rituals in this context operate not simply as cultural artifacts but as social management mechanisms, orchestrating cooperation, allocating resources, and reproducing legitimacy in ways parallel to organizational behavior. Similar to what Jepperson & Meyer (2021) describe in institutional theory, rituals function as legitimizing structures that persist even as their practices are decoupled or altered to suit new conditions. This highlights that cultural transformation in Toraja should be read as a dynamic negotiation of institutional logics rather than as a straightforward loss of tradition.

At the core of this negotiation lies the economics of ritual performance. The high costs of traditional Toraja ceremonies foreground questions of resource allocation and prioritization, similar to how modern organizations weigh tradition against efficiency. Families must decide whether to invest in elaborate rituals, education, or modern consumption, paralleling corporate decisions between maintaining heritage practices and innovating for competitiveness. This economic balancing act shows that ritual management is not irrational extravagance but a rational negotiation of symbolic capital and social obligations Yolusever (2024). In this sense, modernization has not merely eroded rituals but reconfigured the way they are managed, echoing management theories on adaptive change under resource constraints (Coleman, 2022).

The role of tourism in ritual transformation also demands attention from a management perspective. Tourism reframes rituals as cultural assets, placing them into circuits of commodification where authenticity becomes a managed performance (Coşkun, 2021). This shift aligns with discussions in cultural resource management, where heritage must be packaged for consumption without undermining its core identity. The Toraja case illustrates how communities act as managers of their own cultural brands, deciding which elements to foreground and which to downplay. This mirrors corporate branding strategies where symbolic resources are curated to maximize value (Kayacan, 2023; George & George, 2023). Over-commercialization risks alienating community members by hollowing out intrinsic meanings. Thus, the managerial implication is the need for balanced stewardship where rituals are leveraged for economic benefit but governed by principles that safeguard their role in sustaining social cohesion.

Intergenerational tensions further reveal the managerial dimension of cultural sustainability. Elders prioritize fidelity to tradition, while youth emphasize adaptation, echoing organizational conflicts between legacy practices and innovation (Mohyeddin, 2024). These tensions illustrate the challenge of intergenerational knowledge transfer, a theme widely recognized in knowledge management literature (Tang & Martins, 2021; Ouma, 2022). The younger generation's ambivalence reflects a partial disengagement from rituals but also a search for ways to make them relevant in modern contexts. This aligns with Alvesson & Sveningsson (2024) argument that organizational culture survives when it is continuously interpreted by newcomers in ways that resonate with their lived realities. Therefore, rather than framing generational differences

as decline, they should be seen as opportunities for reconfiguration, where ritual continuity depends on adaptive learning processes similar to those in successful organizations (Viterouli et al., 2024; Rudolph et al., 2021). Religious reinterpretation also highlights how multiple institutional logics compete and co-exist, a phenomenon recognized in institutional pluralism literature. The selective retention of ritual elements considered cultural rather than religious demonstrates how communities manage conflicting demands by hybridizing practices. This process resembles corporate hybridity, where organizations integrate seemingly contradictory logics to maintain legitimacy across stakeholder groups. For managers and policymakers, the implication is that cultural preservation strategies cannot be designed as rigid protection of a static “authentic” form but must account for the hybrid realities negotiated by communities themselves.

From a policy and governance standpoint, these findings align with broader debates on cultural resource management. Governments often approach heritage as something to be preserved in fixed forms, but as Andersen & Prokkola (2021) argue, heritage is always a process of negotiation, not an object frozen in time. The Toraja case underscores that effective management of cultural resources requires policies that recognize communities as active agents rather than passive custodians. This supports calls for participatory governance models in cultural preservation (Zwegers, 2022). In practical terms, local leaders and policymakers must craft strategies that not only showcase rituals for tourism but also invest in education and community programs that transmit their symbolic meanings across generations.

The implications extend to how we theorize modernization itself. Rather than a linear process of replacing tradition with modernity, the Toraja experience reveals modernization as a dialogic process where traditions are selectively reconfigured. This resonates with Hamamura et al. (2021) “multiple modernities” framework and Yang (2023) work on value change, which show that modernity unfolds differently depending on cultural context. For management studies, this insight challenges universalist models of change and emphasizes the importance of contextual adaptation.

## **Conclusion**

This paper shows that the modernization of the traditional rituals in the Toraja is not just a cultural phenomenon but a controlled process that was formed as a result of the association of the economic rationalization, religious values, the state regulation, and generational negotiation. Even though the outer form of rites like Rambu Solo has been altered; it has been simplified, commodified, or even retained, but the symbolic core of the ancestor worship and the strengthening of communal cohesion remain the stabilizing component of such rituals. Ritual transformation is therefore not seen as an eroding process and more of a strategic adjustment, where the cultural traditions can still be allowed to maintain value in the face of modern pressures. In management terms, the results highlight the rationale of the need to conceptualize rituals as socio-cultural systems which require balancing of resources and a need to negotiate with stakeholders. The high ritual performance prices, the possibilities, and risks of tourism, the selective integration of religious views, all point to the necessity to implement the strategies of cultural governance that would avoid foreign elements and yet allow practical adjustment. The generational gap also underscores the difficulty: the younger Toraja are re-determining the definition of rituals in global and modern living which requires the kind of management strategies that would be continuity and innovation at the same time.

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