



## RAMBU SOLO' IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF TORAJA YOUNG GENERATION

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### ABSTRACT

**Objective:** The purpose of this study is to determine the views of the younger generation in Toraja towards the rambu solo' funeral ceremony.

**Theoretical Framework:** This research uses a theoretical framework that includes cultural anthropology, symbolic interactionism, generational theory, postcolonial theory, performance theory, identity theory, and globalization theory.

**Method:** This study used a qualitative method with a phenomenological approach. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with 9 informants as well as direct observation of the rambu solo' funeral ceremony.

**Results and Discussion:** The results of the study found that basically the younger generation in Toraja hopes that the rambu solo' ceremony will continue to be carried out in accordance with the values contained therein so that the rambu solo' ceremony can survive and be preserved. The younger generation believes that Rambu Solo' is a cultural characteristic and identity, because this activity only exists in Toraja.

**Research Implications:** This research is expected to provide understanding and contribution in terms of preserving the rambu solo' culture in Toraja in the future and open new space for future research from different perspectives, especially in terms of the sustainability of the rambu solo' ceremony.

**Originality/Value:** Technological, socio-economic developments are eroding the collective culture of the Toraja people and the shifting meanings that occur can cause this ritual to disappear. Therefore, research on rambu solo from the perspective of the younger generation of Toraja is important in the future to be reviewed from various perspectives so as to provide additional contributions and understanding for future research.

**Keywords:** Toraja Culture, Rambu Solo', Toraja Young Generation, Death Ceremony.

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## RAMBU SOLO' NA PERSPECTIVA DA GERAÇÃO JOVEM TORAJA

### RESUMO

**Objetivo:** O objetivo deste estudo é determinar as opiniões da geração mais jovem de Toraja em relação à cerimônia fúnebre do rambu solo.

**Estrutura Teórica:** Esta pesquisa usa uma estrutura teórica que inclui antropologia cultural, interacionismo simbólico, teoria geracional, teoria pós-colonial, teoria do desempenho, teoria da identidade e teoria da globalização.

**Método:** Este estudo usou um método qualitativo com uma abordagem fenomenológica. Os dados foram coletados por meio de entrevistas aprofundadas com 9 informantes, bem como pela observação direta da cerimônia fúnebre do rambu solo.

**Resultados e Discussão:** Os resultados do estudo revelaram que, basicamente, a geração mais jovem de Toraja espera que a cerimônia de “rambu solo” continue a ser realizada de acordo com os valores nela contidos para que a cerimônia de “rambu solo” possa sobreviver e ser preservada. A geração mais jovem acredita que o “Rambu Solo” é uma característica e identidade cultural, pois essa atividade só existe em Toraja.

**Implicações da Pesquisa:** Espera-se que esta pesquisa ofereça compreensão e contribuição em termos de preservação da cultura do “rambu solo” em Toraja no futuro e abra um novo espaço para pesquisas futuras de diferentes perspectivas, especialmente em termos de sustentabilidade da cerimônia do “rambu solo”.

**Originalidade/Valor:** Os desenvolvimentos tecnológicos e socioeconômicos estão corroendo a cultura coletiva do povo Toraja e a mudança de significados que ocorre pode fazer com que esse ritual desapareça. Portanto, a pesquisa sobre o rambu solo sob a perspectiva da geração mais jovem de Toraja é importante no futuro para ser analisada sob várias perspectivas, de modo a fornecer contribuições adicionais e compreensão para pesquisas futuras.

**Palavras-chave:** Cultura Toraja, Rambu Solo', Geração Jovem Toraja, Cerimônia de Morte.

## RAMBU SOLO' EN LA PERSPECTIVA DE LA JOVEN GENERACIÓN TORAJA

### RESUMEN

**Objetivo:** El objetivo de este estudio es determinar las opiniones de la generación más joven de Toraja sobre la ceremonia funeraria «rambu solo».

**Marco Teórico:** Esta investigación utiliza un marco teórico que incluye la antropología cultural, el interaccionismo simbólico, la teoría generacional, la teoría postcolonial, la teoría de la actuación, la teoría de la identidad y la teoría de la globalización.

**Método:** Este estudio utilizó un método cualitativo con un enfoque fenomenológico. Los datos se recogieron mediante entrevistas en profundidad con 9 informantes, así como mediante la observación directa de la ceremonia funeraria de los rambu solo.

**Resultados y Discusión:** Los resultados del estudio revelaron que, básicamente, la generación más joven de Toraja espera que la ceremonia del rambu solo' se siga llevando a cabo de acuerdo con los valores que contiene, de modo que la ceremonia del rambu solo' pueda sobrevivir y preservarse. La generación más joven cree que el rambu solo' es una característica e identidad cultural, porque esta actividad sólo existe en Toraja.

**Implicaciones de la Investigación:** Se espera que esta investigación proporcione comprensión y contribución en términos de preservación de la cultura rambu solo' en Toraja en el futuro y abra un nuevo espacio para futuras investigaciones desde diferentes perspectivas, especialmente en términos de sostenibilidad de la ceremonia rambu solo'.

**Originalidad/Valor:** Los avances tecnológicos y socioeconómicos están erosionando la cultura colectiva del pueblo toraja y los cambios de significado que se producen pueden provocar la desaparición de este ritual. Por lo tanto, la investigación sobre el rambu solo desde la perspectiva de la generación más joven de Toraja es importante en el futuro para ser revisada desde varias perspectivas con el fin de proporcionar contribuciones adicionales y comprensión para futuras investigaciones.



**Palabras clave:** Cultura Toraja, Rambu Solo', Generación Joven Toraja, Ceremonia de la Muerte.

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

Culture as the Strongest Social Capital Without the need for quantitative measurement, it is clear through qualitative findings, that culture is a stronger social capital (Waston et al., 2024). The Toraja tribe is one of the tribes in South Sulawesi that still maintains its traditions and culture. They are domiciled and settled in the northern mountains of South Sulawesi and its surrounding areas, namely in the plains of Luwu and West Sulawesi. The Toraja tribe that settled in this mountainous area still maintains the preservation of its traditions and culture inherited from ancestors for generations. According to Said (2004) the rambu solo ceremony has been carried out starting around the 9th century AD and is carried out from generation to generation until now. Although they have undergone a process of cultural assimilation, during which Protestant Christianity, Catholicism, and Islam have become prevalent, rituals rooted in old beliefs (aluk todolo) continue to dominate every rambu solo' funeral ceremony in their lives.

Toraja, popularly known as Tondok Lepongan Bulan Tana Matari' Allo, which means 'The Land That is Round Like the Moon and the Sun,' is known worldwide for its unique traditions and culture. One of the traditions and cultures that continues to be maintained by the Toraja people until now is the implementation of the rambu solo' funeral ceremony. This funeral ceremony is carried out by looking at the social class of the deceased. In the implementation of the rambu solo' funeral ceremony for the middle and upper social classes, it is usually held with great fanfare. One element that becomes a measure of the excitement and greatness of a rambu solo' funeral ceremony can be seen from the number of buffaloes and pigs slaughtered during the implementation of activities. Although the rambu solo' funeral ceremony requires a large amount of money, in the Torajan understanding, the amount of material spent during the ceremony is not comparable to the services and kindness of the loved ones during their lifetime. This ceremony is a completion, because the person who died is only considered truly dead after the entire procession of this ceremony is fulfilled (Wahyuningsih, 2018).

In Toraja culture, four kinds of social levels or strata are known, among others: Tana' bulaan or upper noble class; Tana' bassi or middle class; Tana' karurung or common people (free people); Tana' kua- kua or the lowest class (Pasulu et al., 2009). This social group is an



order that regulates the behavior of its group members, including giving distinctive characteristics in carrying out the rambu solo' ceremony. The level or social strata in Toraja tradition and culture determines that the funeral ceremony for each deceased person may vary, influenced by factors such as social status and economic ability. In addition to the social strata factor, the difference is also caused and influenced by the economic ability of the family of the deceased. The highest funeral ceremony has a symbolic meaning, which is interpreted as the provision of abundant buffalo sacrifice offerings which amount to at least 24 Tails, known as the Sapu Randanan Funeral Ceremony (Sitonda, 2007).

The rambu solo' funeral ceremony is actually a ritual that cannot be separated from the old belief (aluk Todolo) (Embon & Saputra, 2018). In addition to being interpreted as the last time to honor the loved ones who have died, it is also inseparable from the meaning of symbols in the process and stages of the implementation of the rambu solo' ceremony. The ceremony is considered a consummation for the deceased (Kristiani & Gulo, 2020). The symbols can be in the form of prayers uttered by To Minaa which means exaltation, worship and supplication. Other symbols can also be in the form of ceremonial equipment which means an offering to the ancestors and is the last tribute to the deceased from all families, relatives and to ma'rapu (extended family community). In its implementation, the rambu solo' funeral ceremony is bound by a rule called aluk, (Aditjondro, 2010). The Toraja people believe that aluk, their old belief system, was created in the sky. Therefore, aluk is divine and all creatures are subject to aluk.

Marwing (2011) argues that the decision to implement Rambu Solo' exposes actors to the direct and indirect impacts of the financial burden of Rambu Solo'. This ceremony requires a large amount of money which is sometimes done for prestige and to maintain social status in the community. The rambu solo' death ceremony teaches many things, including the values of sharing, caring, cooperation, love for family, and sincerity in sacrifice. In addition to being a means of returning the favor to parents and ancestors or family members who died, it is also understood in the belief of the ancestors that the rambu Solo' death ceremony is one of the ways that can save the soul of the family who died and the animals sacrificed in the ceremony will take their spirit to another world called Puya (Wahyunis, 2022).

However, organizing a rambu solo' funeral ceremony requires a lot of money, despite the belief in Aluk Todolo that the ceremony can be conducted according to the financial capacity of the deceased's family. However, the ceremony is still carried out regardless of the cost required because the cost sacrifice has its own meaning for the Toraja people (Sariubang et al., 2014). In fact, the Rambu Solo' funeral ceremony in Toraja is growing rapidly, especially for middle and upper class families, where large numbers of buffaloes and pigs are sacrificed.



This puts a huge burden on the children, grandchildren and extended family of the deceased, as most of the costs incurred are borrowed from banks or other financial institutions. Tumirin and Abdurahim (2015) showed that the Rambu Solo' ceremony has very sacred values so that for the Toraja people, sacrifice in the form of large expenditures is something that is worth doing. In addition to the financial burden, a Rambu Solo' funeral ceremony requires help from relatives and other people, requires a lot of time and energy, especially for children and grandchildren and extended family and relatives who have migrated far from Toraja, because when the Rambu Solo' funeral ceremony is held they must return from overseas, return to Toraja to join the extended family to discuss, organize and carry out the Rambu Solo' funeral ceremony in accordance with the traditions and customs that apply for generations. The implementation of traditions and customs in accordance with the provisions that apply for generations is organized by community leaders who are quite familiar with and understand the implementation of this ceremony more deeply and completely. The implementation of Rambu Solo' requires a large amount of money so that children and grandchildren and extended family need to prepare early before the funeral ceremony is held because of the many things they have to do including bringing the body to Toraja if the deceased person is outside Toraja or in another province in Indonesia and maybe even abroad, building lantang (bamboo huts) as a place to receive and rest for guests, buying buffaloes and pigs that will be sacrificed and preparing homecoming funds for family members who will go home to Toraja to be with the extended family following the implementation of the Rambu Solo' funeral ceremony. Then there are other factors outside of tradition and custom that influence the attitude of the Toraja people in the implementation of the Rambu Solo' funeral ceremony, namely that the ability to organize a large Rambu Solo' funeral ceremony is a symbol of the success of children and grandchildren and extended family so that it can further strengthen and improve social status in society, and if the corpse is stored for years and then performed, it gives the impression to the community that the implementation of the Rambu Solo' ceremony, from the person who died will be held massively and festively.

Torajans are known for their solidarity and hard work. This is reflected in the activities of this tradition. Another value found in this Rambu Solo' tradition is the value of togetherness (Sampe, 2011). In general, Toraja people cannot be separated from the culture of collectivity. All activities related to customs always involve a large number of people. Collectivist culture (collectivism) is a set of values that prioritizes interdependent relationships between members in the group (family, tribe, nation, and the like), gives priority to group goals, forms behavior based on group norms, and behaves communally (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005; Triandis, 1999). In the development of cultural theory, collective culture can also be seen as part of an adaptive



system that allows humans to form and develop unique and distinct cultures. Collectivist culture refers to a broader view that prioritizes the needs of the group or society over the needs of the individual. This cultural orientation emphasizes the importance of social harmony, respect, and group needs over individual needs. In collectivist cultures, individuals view themselves primarily as part of a larger whole (e.g., family) and are motivated primarily by the norms and obligations imposed by the collective entity (Suh & Lee, 2020). One of the essentials of collective culture is the definition of the self as interdependent in relation to others, rather than an abstract trait of an individual (Markus & Kitayama, 1991b; Reykowski & Smolenska, 1993).

Collective culture can serve as a general guideline for human behavior, as well as help individuals in various ways in their lives. Communities characterize the culture of Toraja people everywhere. If there is a Toraja community in an area, then they form a Toraja group or fellowship. It is used as a means of togetherness as a preparation to help each other in bearing together the difficulties between families (Panggara, 2014). The existence of these traditional values can support the implementation of universal values and vice versa universal values can support the maintenance of traditional culture (Rusman et al., 2024).

Several previous studies have discussed Rambu Solo in various perspectives, including the meaning of debt in rambu Solo (Tangdialla et al., 2021); the meaning of costs in rambu solo (Tumirin & Abdurahim, 2015); the meaning of the rambu solo ceremony (Anggraeni & Putri, 2021); the perception of the Toraja people at the rambu solo ceremony (Rima, 2019). Specifically, studies on the Rambu Solo ritual have also been conducted with various focuses. Scarduelli (2000), for example, sees the Rambu Solo ritual from the aspect of historical and cultural preservation discourse to strengthen the capitalist economic system so that customs and ritual practices are not only separated from their original meaning, but have undergone reinterpretation through a commodification process involving objects that become objects of aesthetic consumption. Meanwhile, Buijs (2006) studied the Rambu Solo ritual by examining the structure and transformation of religion in Toraja society. He succeeded in describing matters related to the prevailing traditions and rituals as well as their relationship with the cosmology of the Toraja people but his weakness is that he focused too much on the rituals of the nobility while the role of the non-aristocrats who also perform this ritual is not well described. The Rambu Solo ritual has also been studied with a socio-cultural paradigm (Adams, 1998; Bigalke, 2005). Adams revealed several things; first, traditions, customs, and ritual practices have not only been separated from their original cultural meanings, but have been interpreted and negotiated; second, Rambu Solo as a symbolic marker of royal status has turned into a marker of ethnic identity as Toraja people. While Bigalke explained that the Rambu Solo





ritual has placed the Toraja as an important element in the national context and impacted on changes in their bargaining power in South Sulawesi.

Based on previous research, it can be understood that rambu solo is very possible to be reviewed from various perspectives. Especially in this study, the researcher tries to look from a different perspective, namely on the basis of the question of how the younger generation in Toraja sees rambu solo. of course, this is interesting to study considering that the younger generation is the inheritor of culture in the future. Traditions and culture are a heritage that must be maintained and preserved. The younger generation plays an important role in maintaining and preserving these customs and cultures. The younger generation is the successor to the traditions and cultural values that have existed since ancient times. They have a responsibility to ensure that these traditions are not lost or forgotten. This involves active participation in traditional ceremonies, cultural celebrations and traditional practices that may be in decline. Through active involvement in traditional activities, Torajan youth are expected to be effective agents of change in preserving and advancing their own culture, thus passing it on with rich meaning to the next generation.

In this research, the author will present the meaning of Rambu Solo' in the perspective of the younger generation in Toraja.

## **2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

Understanding the perspective of Toraja's young generation on cultural phenomena such as "Rambu Solo" necessitates a multifaceted theoretical framework that encompasses cultural anthropology, symbolic interactionism, generational theory, postcolonial theory, performance theory, identity theory, and globalization theory. Through the lens of cultural anthropology, we delve into how these rituals are constructed, transmitted, and interpreted within Toraja society, especially considering the impact of modernization and globalization. Symbolic interactionism offers insight into how individuals assign meaning to these rituals, while generational theory helps us understand the evolving values and behaviors of Toraja's youth in relation to historical and social contexts. Postcolonial theory sheds light on power dynamics and resistance within these cultural practices, while performance theory emphasizes the active engagement and reinterpretation of rituals by Toraja's young generation. Identity theory examines how participation in "Rambu Solo" shapes individuals' cultural and personal identities, and globalization theory contextualizes these rituals within broader global influences. Through this comprehensive theoretical framework, we can unravel the complex dynamics underlying the



Toraja youth's relationship with their cultural heritage, including the significance of rituals like "Rambu Solo" in their lives.

### 3 METHODOLOGY

This research aims to reveal and understand the meaning of Rambu Solo' from the perspective of the younger generation of Toraja. To achieve this objective, a qualitative method with a phenomenological approach is employed, utilizing observation and interviews. Qualitative research method with a phenomenological approach is a research that seeks to reveal and describe a phenomenon about the experience from the point of view of the research subject or informant (Moeryadi, 2009; Mulyana, 2013). One of the advantages of phenomenological studies is their ability to reveal experiences hidden in the philosophical and psychological informants through descriptive narratives so that readers and researchers can understand the life experiences experienced by research subjects (Pambudi & Suhanti, 2017). Observations and interviews with informants were conducted at the place where the rambu solo' ceremony was being held. Informants in this study were randomly selected both from the families carrying out the activities and from the invited guests who attended. The specific age criteria were determined between 25 and 45 years.

Research using qualitative methods with a phenomenological approach seeks to reveal the personal experiences of informants into the commonality of universal meanings of a phenomenon experienced by a group of individuals (Endraswara, 2012). Phenomena are consciousness and presented in consciousness, not just what is visible to the naked eye. Phenomenology describes human experiences related to objects (Kuswarno, 2009). In this study, the personal experiences of each informant will be collected to find the same meaning. According to Moleong (2010), qualitative research aims to understand phenomena such as perception, behavior, motivation, and actions holistically, utilizing descriptions in the form of words and language within a specific natural context, and employing various scientific methods. The phenomenological approach suspends all judgments about natural attitudes until some basis is found (Creswell, 1998). Thus, the use of qualitative methods with a phenomenological approach is expected to explain the views of the younger generation of Toraja, especially in terms of the sustainability of rambu solo' in the future.

The stages of data analysis that will be used to answer this research question are; the first stage, the researcher compiles and categorizes initial conjectures about the phenomenon to understand what the respondents say; the second stage is phenomenological reduction based on





the results of in-depth interviews to identify important themes and determine them based on the level of importance not based on the frequency of occurrence; the third stage is correlate interpretation, this is the basis for being able to find a synthesis of the meaning of the phenomenon or the experience of each group of individuals, in this case the perspective of the younger generation of Toraja towards rambu solo' and the last stage is the synthesis of meaning and essence. At this stage intuitively all the synthesis of meanings that are still different are summarized into one to reveal the essence or overall meaning so as to describe the essence of the overall meaning of the phenomenon.

#### 4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The informants in this study are the Toraja Young Generation aged 30 to 45 years. Based on the results of interviews with several informants, it can be seen that all respondents have participated in the Rambu Solo' ceremony. The length of the Rambu Solo' ceremony varied from 3 to 7 days. The Rambu Solo' ceremony with 7 days of implementation is usually a rapasan.

According to Anggraeni and Putri (2020) the Rapasan Ceremony is a ceremony that is held twice. This Rapasan ceremony is intended for the high noble strata (Tana' Bulaan). This Rapasan ceremony has three types in it, such as: (1) Diongan Rapasan Ceremony or Didandan Tana' which means below, or according to minimum requirements. Slaughtering at least nine buffaloes and as many pigs as needed / as much as possible. The Rapasan Diongan ceremony is held for three days in the courtyard of Tongkonan (Toraja traditional house), this first ceremony is called Aluk Pia or Aluk Banua. Then the second ceremony is held in Rante (field), this second ceremony is called Aluk Palao or Aluk Rante, (2) Rapasan Sundun or Doan Ceremony which means perfect / top ceremony. The slaughter of buffaloes is at least twenty-four heads and an unlimited number of pigs for two parties. This ceremony is reserved for wealthy high nobles, or traditional leaders. The implementation of this ceremony is the same as the Rapasan Diongan ceremony, and (3) Rapasan Sapu Randanan Ceremony which means equal to the riverbank. The number of buffaloes slaughtered in this ceremony is very abundant, as some say the number of buffaloes is more than twenty-four, more than thirty, and even more than one hundred. At this ceremony, the community prepares a Duba-Duba (a place to carry a corpse, similar to a Tongkonan) and also a Tau-Tau (statue of the deceased, which is then paraded along with the body of the person when Aluk Rante will be held. The seven-day activity has the stages of ma'parokko alang, ma'pasonglo', ma'pasilaga tedong, mantarima tamu, mantunu, and ma'kaburu'. This is as expressed by Lorency Asmy Parura:



The implementation of the event lasts 7 days. Day 1 Worship, day 2 Ma'pasonglo', day 3 ma'pasilaga (Buffalo fighting), day 4 rampo pa'rapuan / Pa'tondokan (this activity is who come to visit or mourn usually family or people in the area), day 5 Rampo Tobuda (this activity is commonly called receiving guests where those who come to mourn are people outside the family), day 6 Mantunu (animal slaughter) day 7 burial service.

The same thing was also conveyed by Dian:

The implementation is for 7 days. The stages of Rapasan sundun start from the procession of ma'parokko alang (the corpse is removed from the house and placed in the barn), ma' pasonglo' (parading the corpse to the lakkian), mantarima tamu (receiving guests), mantunu (the process of slaughtering buffaloes), and the last day ma'kaburu'.

Ceremonies with three or four days of implementation involve a shortened version of the ceremony. Usually what is carried out is the core ceremony stages, namely mantarima tamu, mantunu, and ma'kaburu'. The interview results show that the younger generation generally knows about the stages in traditional ceremonies, but it depends on the customary area. Some traditional areas in Toraja have different stages or just use different terms.

The Rambu Solo' ceremony is attended by close and extended family of the deceased, community leaders, traditional leaders, TNI / Polri, government, people around the area and people from various regions. It is also usually attended by tourists who wish to observe the Rambu Solo' traditional ceremony in progress. All informants have the same understanding and experience of this, one of which is Dian who stated:

In attendance were relatives of the deceased, children, grandchildren, relatives, coworkers of the children of the deceased, community leaders, traditional leaders, TNI / Polri, government, people around the area and people from various regions. Tourists from home and abroad, and many more.

Guests attending the rambu solo'ceremony are well received by the family. This shows that Torajans are friendly to guests even to unknown travelers.

We usually receive guests at the reception area, lantang karampuan, and then we entertain them in private, and that's where we as a family go back to entertaining our guests in private. (Thomas, 45 years old, private employee).  
Very friendly, guests who come are very well entertained, served warm drinks such as coffee and tea and various traditional cakes to be fed and when they go home they still bring meat. (Dian, 30 years old, housewife).



At the Rambu Solo' ceremony, informants stated that they felt grief for being abandoned by their family or felt grief with the family of the person who died at the Rambu Solo' ceremony. But on the other hand, they also felt grateful to be able to meet and gather with relatives and to feel strengthened and comforted by the families and relatives present.

"What we feel is joy and sorrow, the joy is that we are a grateful family because many families came to help us in preparing for our parents' funeral. And the sorrow is the loss of a very dear person in our extended family." (Isak, 40 years old, Farmer). Similarly, Monalisa, 30, Pastor, stated: "I am grateful to be able to meet my family, as well as many people in the spirit of kinship". In addition, Indriani, 30, Teacher also stated "sadness for sure because of the loss of our loved ones".

Another perspective was expressed by Thomas, 45, a private employee who stated: "the feeling after following the Rambu Solo' is both happy and sad. The sad thing is to think of all the goods we received, be it pigs, buffaloes, envelopes, it becomes a burden at least we think when we can return it."

In Akbar et al., (2023) research stated that the implementation of the rambu solo' ceremony in the Tana Toraja community begins with the ma'paben tradition which means giving donations to the bereaved family who will hold the rambu solo' ceremony in the form of animals such as buffaloes and pigs. The gift of animals is received by the bereaved family. In the ma'paben tradition, although it is not recorded as a promise, the family that receives the animal donation recognizes the animal gift it has received as a debt that must be paid to the party who made the donation. Payment of the debt in the form of the animal will be made if the owed family will hold a rambu solo' ceremony in the future. The decision to return or pay debts for ma'paben transactions that have occurred in the past is called ma'pasule. This cycle of ma'paben and ma'pasule transactions will continue as long as the Toraja people still perform the rambu solo' ceremony. The payment of debts in the implementation of funeral ceremonies shows the reciprocal relationship in the Tana Toraja customary system (Priyanto & Suradisastra, 2010).

This has given rise to a new perspective in some of the younger generation who consider this a "burden" because one day, sooner or later, the donations given by relatives will be returned if the relatives concerned also hold a ceremony. Whereas this custom actually reflects the presence of the value of love to give and receive (Akbar et al., 2023). The donation has a deep intrinsic motive. The motive is to return the favor (debt of gratitude) because the family organizing the party has donated buffaloes or pigs in advance to the family that made the donation at the previous traditional celebration (Andilolo, 2007).



The younger generation's understanding of rambu solo' is that it is a ritual, a series of customs and a culture of final respect for the people we love (Thomas, 45 years old, Private Employee; Idriani, 30 years old, Teacher; Rosida Palittin, 37 years old, Civil Servant; Isak, 40 years old, Farmer; Monalisa, 30 years old, Pastor). In addition, Dian also added that rambu solo' is a form of final respect for loved ones by sacrificing various hawan such as pigs and buffaloes as provisions for Puya (the eternal destination after death believed by the Toraja people)

Rambu solo' is a grief event for the Toraja Community, where this event is a form of final respect for loved ones towards the spirit world (Puya), in this event the family will usually hold a funeral party for the deceased which will be accompanied by sacrificing many animals such as buffaloes, pigs, and various other animals according to the level of the Rambu solo' event being carried out, these offerings are as provisions for the deceased in Puya. These offerings will also be enjoyed with the people present (tongkon) and the people involved during the Rambu solo' procession from start to finish. Informants view Rambu Solo' as a cultural identity, as this series of Rambu Solo' only exists in Toraja. Although there are similar activities in other places, there are still differences in them that make this activity known as synonymous with Toraja cultural customs (Lorency, 30 years old, Secretary of Lembang). Another opinion was conveyed by Thomas who stated "but over time rambu solo' has changed its meaning, it is no longer a ritual to honor our loved ones, and respect for the ancestors but has begun to shift to make a name and pursue prestige.

According to one informant, Monalisa, rambu solo' has experienced a cultural shift, another informant, Albert, also added that the cultural shift has led to a group of people who hold gambling activities but in the name of custom.

Dian stated that "Hopefully this culture will still be preserved, even though the era has developed, don't let this culture only become history in the future, because it will eliminate the image of Toraja as an area that upholds high social values, namely togetherness". Hopefully, this inherent tradition will not be changed by the times and people will not see this activity as a burden but as a pride for the Toraja people." In addition, Rosida also hopes that the value of rambu solo' is really implemented to strengthen relationships between families as a cultural identity not just as a place to get recognition, even shifting to gambling (Indriani).

Based on the previous explanation, it can be understood that the Toraja community in carrying out rambu solo' activities emphasizes on collective culture. Collectivism, as contained in the four dimensions of culture according to Hofstede (1991) indicates the state of society where each member is integrated in strong and unified group ties throughout their life span to protect each other, including the Toraja people. Collectivism is identified with primitive and traditional societies (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998). Urban and industrialized



societies with rich and prosperous lives are individualistic, while poor, rural and traditional societies are collective (Hofstede, 1991). In this case, Toraja people are faced with technological development, globalization, urbanization and socio-economic changes that certainly put pressure on the culture of collectivity. In addition to this, it was found in this study that there are differences that are debated in the implementation of the rambu solo' ritual. This makes the implementation of rambu solo' in each customary area different even though the differences are not too many. Of course, the complexity of differences in each customary area makes the stages of this ritual quite difficult to standardize so that it is difficult to understand plus. Moreover, the meaning of this ritual has shifted from honoring ancestors to seeking prestige and recognition in the community. Despite the trend towards individualism, the younger generation of Toraja still considers rambu solo culture worth preserving. Aside from being a characteristic of the Toraja tribe, rambu solo' is considered an honor for those who are able to carry out the ritual.

Several previous studies have discussed rambu Solo in various perspectives, including the meaning of debt in rambu Solo (Tangdialla et al., 2021); the meaning of costs in rambu solo (Tumirin & Abdurahim, 2015); the meaning of the rambu solo ceremony (Anggraeni & Putri, 2021); the perception of the Toraja people on the rambu solo ceremony (Rima, 2019); the tradition of rambu solo funerals in Toraja (Hidayah, 2018). In contrast to previous studies, the results of this study can be used as a reference to see the future of the continuity of the rambu solo ritual in Toraja. Given that technological, socio-economic developments are increasingly eroding the collective culture of the Toraja people plus the shifting meanings that occur can cause this ritual to disappear. Therefore, research on rambu solo from the perspective of the younger generation of Toraja is very important in the future to be reviewed from various perspectives so as to provide additional contributions and understanding for future research.

## 5 CONCLUSION

Rambu Solo' is one of the many Toraja cultures that are still maintained and preserved. Contextually, the rambu solo ceremony shows the belief in life after death which also shows the religiosity of the community. This religiosity has existed for a long time. This funeral ceremony is full of meaning and has its own rules of implementation. The absence of written rules regarding the implementation of Rambu Solo' causes differences in the procession and understanding of the implementation of Rambu Solo' in each region of Toraja. In addition, another view that occurs at this time is the shifting meaning of the Rambu Solo' Ceremony.



Torajans argue that Rambu Solo' is no longer considered a ritual that honors ancestors but has begun to shift to seeking recognition and pursuing prestige.

Basically, the younger generation in Toraja hopes that the rambu solo' ceremony will still be carried out in accordance with the values contained therein so that the rambu solo' ceremony can survive and be preserved. The younger generation in Toraja hopes that rambu solo' can be preserved by socializing the correct culture to the younger generation and instilling the values contained in the rambu solo' tradition to future generations.

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