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**Toraja as Dark Tourism Destination:
Perspectives Comparison of Danes and Indonesian
Potential Tourists**

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ABSTRACT

This research dives into the realm of dark tourism and aimed to explore the perspectives of potential local/domestic tourists from Indonesia and Danish (potential international) tourists regarding dark tourism in Tana Toraja, Indonesia, with varieties of different levels of 'darkness'. Through a qualitative approach and semi-structured interviews, the research explores interplay between cultural backgrounds, historical interests, and personal perceptions that shapes individuals' attitudes and interests towards dark tourism, specifically in Tana Toraja, Indonesia. The findings reveal a strong correlation between interests in dark tourism and fascination with history, with most participants demonstrating curiosity for historical and cultural aspects of Toraja. Additionally, the research methodology is grounded in constructivist paradigm which allows participants to construct their own interpretations of dark tourism. Overall, this research contributes values insights into the complexities of dark tourism, cultural differences, and historical interests, while also offers deeper understanding of how individuals from diverse cultural backgrounds engage with and perceive dark tourism in Tana Toraja.

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INTRODUCTION

"Death is not the opposite of life, but a part of it"

Haruki Murakami (from the book *Norwegian Wood*)

As mortal beings, one of the things that we have in common is death. No one can escape death and therefore it might be the reason why we always held a curious fascination with death, whether it is/will be our own or others (John Lennon in Botterill and Jones, 2010; Stone, 2006). Despite the long history of this curious fascinations with death, the increasing number of travel sites or attractions that can be associated with death now suggested that there is a increase of interests within this type of tourism (Stone, 2006). Within the last decades, academic attention has been focusing upon this phenomenon, which is now collectively referred to as 'dark tourism' (Stone, 2006), although also known under various names such as thanatourism (John Lennon in Botterill and Jones, 2010, death tourism, and dark heritage (Ivanova and Light, 2017).

There are different spectrums of dark tourism such as visits to death sites and disaster scenes, visits to sites of mass or individual death, visits to sites of incarceration, visits to representations or simulations associated with deaths, and visits to re-enactments and human interpretation of death (Lennon, 2017). These spectrums explained activities of dark tourism but didn't classify the intensity of the activities. Stone (2006) then explained that the term 'dark' is too broad and does not exactly explain and expose the multilayers of dark tourism products. During research, Stone (2006) established a scale to assess the level of 'darkness' in dark tourism, with ranges from least to most politically and ideologically charged. The 'lightest' dark tourism has minimal political influence and ideology, while the 'darkest' tourism is highly politically and ideologically driven.

As interest in dark tourism increases, some destinations start to explore different options of dark tourism, along with other cultural aspects, to attract tourists. An example can be taken from Indonesia, a country with many tourism potential (Prodan, 2021). Indonesia is a country that is diverse of cultural practices and products (Legge, et al, 2024). This means that Indonesia is unique within different cities where they have different traditions, religions, art, and furthermore, different languages, though united by Indonesian language or also known as Bahasa (Legge, et al, 2024). Because of this diversity, Indonesia is never really associated with one ethnic group but many (Legge, et al, 2024) and Indonesia as a country that is considered to be superstitious and have long history with superstitious beliefs and practices created many dark tourism opportunities (Wailmi, et al, 2024).

Differently, although experiencing increase in tourism (OECD iLibrary, 2020), Denmark is not known for their similar tourists' attractions as Indonesia. Although Denmark is considered to be a small country, Danes have contributed much to the growth of world civilization, especially within humanities focus area (Folke, et al, 2024). This includes literatures, designs, architectures, to scientific knowledge (Folke, et al, 2024). 'Hygge' lifestyle also contributes to Danish tourism (Stainton, 2024). Being known for their *hygge* lifestyle does not stop Denmark to display some dark chapters in the country's history

(Hohenhaus), yet most of the dark tourism attractions in Denmark seems to be around the 'lighter' shade of dark tourism.

This highlighted the unique differences between cultural aspects and attractions that define Indonesia and Denmark tourism experiences. Cultural differences may affect tourists' destination choices. Although some might prefer destinations that are culturally similar to their home, some prefer destinations with different cultures, especially those who are interested in cultural knowledge and seeking novelty (Liu, 2014). These differences raise an intriguing question whether Danish citizens are interested in attractions that differ significantly from their own. **This research aim to explore the perspectives of potential local/domestic tourists from Indonesia and Danish (potential international) tourists regarding dark tourism in Tana Toraja, Indonesia, with varieties of different levels of 'darkness'.** To explore these perspectives further, this research will focus on three different examples of dark tourism with different 'shades of darkness' in Tana Toraja, Indonesia: 'dark' dark tourism (visiting Torajan graves), 'darker' dark tourism (visiting Ma'nene ritual), and 'darkest' dark tourism (visiting Rambu Solo' ritual). This research will then create a comparison of perspectives between potential local (domestic) tourists from Indonesia and potential Danish tourists. By examining these perspectives, this research seeks to understand how cultural differences influence the appeal and engagement with dark tourism activities, providing insights into the preferences and interests of tourists from different cultural backgrounds.

This research will be separated into several chapters. The first chapter, "Conceptualization of Dark Tourism" will explain several theoretical considerations for this research, along with dark tourism motivation and experiences, followed by "Case Introduction – Death in Indonesia and Denmark" that will explain the case of chosen destinations of Tana Toraja, Indonesia, and Denmark chosen in this research, along with additional experts information regarding Tana Toraja and Denmark. The next chapter, "Methodology", will present choices in regard to research paradigm along with some reasonings behind the methods chosen. The next chapter, "Results", will explain the results found from this research. Afterward, a "Discussion" chapter will present some ideas and thoughts to make sense of the results found. Lastly, a "Conclusion" chapter will summarize the main findings along with reflections on future research and suggestions.

CHAPTER 1:

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF DARK TOURISM

This chapter will dive into the conceptualization of dark tourism, exploring the shades of dark tourism and various motivations and experiences that drive tourists to visit dark tourism sites.

Dark Tourism

Dark tourism (also referred as thanatourism) has become established within the last decades as a niche tourism area (John Lennon in Botterill and Jones, 2010; Stone, 2006; Ivanova and Light, 2017). Although as for recently, attempts to categorize dark tourism have been lacking in theoretical foundations and there was limited attention to explore why tourists may be drawn towards sites or experiences associated with death and suffering (Sharpley and Stone, 2009, p.5).

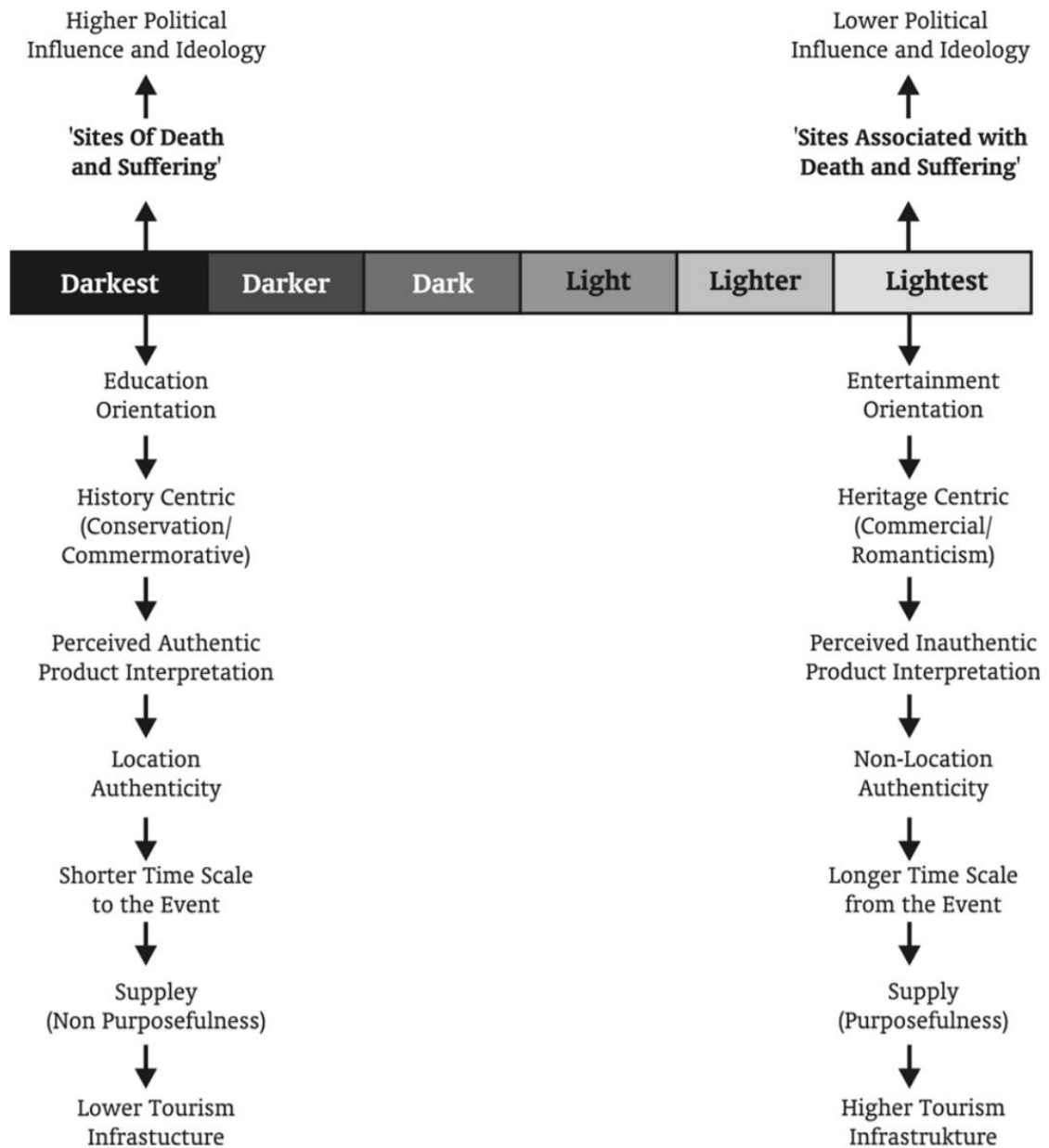
Tourism, suffering, death, and incarceration continue to enjoy a curious relationship within each other (Lennon, 2017). Although the term 'dark tourism' has only been invented these recent years, humans have been attracted to sites and events that can be associated with deaths as long as people have been able to travel (Stone, 2006; Sharpley in Sharpley and Stone, 2009, p.5), disasters, sufferings, violence, and killings (John Lennon in Botterill and Jones, 2010). Dark sites can encourage visitors to appreciate the enormity of death, trauma, and/or suffering in this increasing virtual and post-authentic world (Lennon, 2017). These emotions and feelings may occur at such authentic sites or locations where dark events are memorialized (Lennon, 2017). Some examples can be observed from ancient Rome and gladiatorial combat back then to attractions that still exist now such as Chernobyl and Pamplona Bull Run. Lennon (2017) outlined the spectrum of dark tourism that often comprise:

- Visits to death sites and disaster scenes
- Visits to sites of mass or individual death
- Visits to sites of incarceration
- Visits to representations or simulations associated with deaths
- Visits to re-enactments and human interpretation of death

The spectrum created by Lennon (2017) explained a lot of activities that are considered as dark tourism, however, it does not explain the intensity of the activity itself. According to Stone (2006), dark tourism products are multifaceted, complex in design and purpose, and diverse in nature, which makes the term 'dark' too broad and does not exactly explain and expose the multilayers of dark tourism products. During research, Stone (2006) explained that dark tourism products may lie along a rather 'fluid and dynamic spectrum of intensity', where a particular site may be conceived as 'darker' than some others depending on various defining characteristics, perceptions, and traits. Stone (2006) created a framework to further categorized the 'different shades of dark tourism' as such (see Figure 1):

Figure 1

'Different Shades of Dark Tourism' Spectrum



Source: Stone (2006)

This idea of 'spectrum' takes into account of the possible shades of darkness within dark tourism (Stone, 2006). This range from 'lightest' to 'darkest' products are characterized by dominance of the design features such as whether a product has an educational or commercial ethics or whether a product has spatial affinity with a site, etc (Stone, 2006). Although there is indicator of possible shades of darkness within dark tourism, it can still be challenging to place a destination considering that the framework relies

on perceived level of 'macabreness' within the product itself (Stone, 2006), indicating that it could be different depending on how different people perceived the sites.

While the 'shade of darkness' can be up to interpretation, especially from lighter to darker shade of dark tourism, the lightest spectrum of tourism is associated with activities that tend to be of a more commercial nature (Stainton, 2023). The lightest dark tourism is often something that is romanticized and has intention to be fun enjoyment rather than to educate tourists (Stainton, 2023). An example can be taken from escape room that involves dark theme.

Meanwhile, the darkest spectrum of dark tourism has extreme and/or serious dark tourism activities (Stainton, 2023). These activities often involve educational elements (Shainton, 2023). This darkest spectrum of tourism is often associated with authentic experiences, where tourists will visit actual historical sites and/or speaks with people involved in the activities (Shainton, 2023) which then may influence political beliefs of the tourists. An example can be taken from attending Kokou ceremony in Africa.

Using the same parameters of conceptual framework, Stone (2006) then start to build a typological foundation for dark tourism supply by outlining 'seven dark suppliers':

- Dark Fun Factories
Dark fun factory is an attractions and tours which predominately have a purpose for entertainment and commercial ethics which presents real or fictional death and macabre events.
- Dark Exhibitions
Dark exhibitions are those exhibitions and sites which essentially blend the product design to reflect education and potential learning opportunities.
- Dark Dungeons
Dark dungeons refer to sites and attractions which present bygone penal and justice codes to the present-day customers and often revolve around prisons and courthouses.
- Dark Resting Places
Resting dark places focuses on cemeteries or graves as potential products for dark tourism.
- Dark Shrines
Dark shrines are sites which essentially 'trade' on the act of remembrance and respect for the recently deceased.
- Dark Conflict Sites
Dark conflict sites revolve around war and battlefields and commodification.
- Dark Camps of Genocide
Dark camps of genocide represent those sites and places which have genocide, atrocity, and catastrophe as the main thanatological theme.

Stone's (2006) typological foundation of dark tourism above seemed appear to be in order from the lightest dark tourism to darkest dark tourism, however as mentioned above, the line between each spectrum was not clear and therefore it still up for interpretation. For example, some people may interpret dark resting places is 'darker' than dark shrines considering the resting places involve deceased body,

meanwhile, some other may perceive dark shrines to be 'darker' with the idea that the shrines are sacred and/or mystic.

This lack of indicators and clear difference of shades of dark tourism indicates that this spectrum were possibly created as a guide to categorize dark tourism and not hierarchy. This allows other researchers to create adaptations of the shades of dark tourism spectrum. Raine (2013) created an adaptation of the shades of dark tourism spectrum by Stone (2006) and added more indicators within the spectrum.

Figure 2

Perceived Typology of Visitors in Dark Resting Places

Devotion		Experience		Discover		Incidental		
Darkest	Darker	Dark	Darkish	Dark/Light	Lightish	Light	Lighter	Lightest
Mourners	Pilgrims	Morbidly Curious	Thrill Seekers	Information Seekers	Hobbyists	Sightseers	Retreaters	Passive Recreationists
Pre-planned visit						Visitation often more spontaneous		
Deep engagement with the site as a burial ground						Little or no engagement with the site as a burial ground		
More spiritual experience						Detached experience		
Interest in a specific aspect of the site						No specific interest in the site		
Visits one specific site for one reason						May visit several burial sites for the same reason		

Source: Raine (2013)

Typology presented by Raine (2013) attempted to create more indicators of dark resting places visitors and 'grading' them according to the level of engagement with visitor experiences. The typology by Raine (2013) categorized these visitors into four different themes:

- Devotion: mourners and pilgrims, which refer to those with personal and spiritual connections that visitors have with a site
- Experience: morbidly curious and thrill seekers, which refer to those who are interested to confront and 'experience' death
- Discover: information seekers and hobbyists, which refer to those who explore and investigate burial sites to make various discoveries
- Incidental: sightseers, retreaters, and passive recreationists, which refer to those who do not engage deeply with burial sites as places associated with death

This further highlighted multifaceted phenomenon and the complexity of dark tourism. Although appears to present a hierarchy from lightest to darkest, it is important to recognized that the spectrum and typology were not meant to be a strict hierarchy but serves a guidance to categorize and understands the diverse and complex aspects of dark tourism. Interpretations made by individuals may vary depending

on personal experiences, cultural backgrounds, and ethical considerations. Additionally, Raine's (2013) typology serves as an example that the shades of darkness may also be adapted and applied differently based on different unique contexts of the dark tourism.

Dark Tourism Motivation and Experiences

People are more attracted to destinations that are well known for their beautiful and relaxing ambiance (Prodan, 2021). Even so, some people also show different interests along with new other information that is easily consumed nowadays. This highlighted the importance of tourist motivation research, which can be used to predict travel behavior and destination choice (Prodan, 2021).

Dark tourism has close ties with educational tourism (Stainton, 2023). While dark tourism is not a type of tourism that offer happy and leisure experiences, many dark tourists enjoy the educational aspect that comes with dark tourism or attracted to the possibility to emotionally absorb oneself in a place of tragedy and reflect on history (Stainton, 2023). According to Stainton (2023), it is important to engage and immerse in past history and culture.

According to Sharpley (in Sharpley and Stone, 2009), a wide variety of dark tourism consumption practices may be defined by and/or related to the social world of tourists. Sharpley (in Sharpley and Stone, 2009) suggested that dark tourism experiences may be consumed in order to give some phenomenological meaning to the tourists' own social existence. Pereira, Pereira, and Limberger (2022) found similar result to Sharpley's (Sharpley and Stone, 2009) suggestion in their research to explore relationship between motivations, experiences, and benefits of visitor at a cemetery in Argentina. Pereira, Pereira, and Limberger (2022) found that there were 2 things that mainly motivate tourists to visit the cemetery, which were: learning and sociability. They explained that they have found variables related to *escapism* where the experience in the cemetery were so great that people stopped thinking about their daily lives and immersed themselves in the experience and at the same time promoting tourists' life reflection, where they learned the importance of life, valuing their families, and remembering their ancestors. Similarly, Magano, Fraiz-Brea, and Leite (2022) found that the key motivations for visiting dark sites includes curiosity, desire to witness, need to understand, and pleasure. Magano, Fraiz-Brea, and Leite (2022) research also suggests that contemplation of emotions like sadness, self-hatred, hostility, and psychological vulnerability is linked to engaging in dark tourism activities. Additionally, individuals who frequently visit dark sites values tourism wellbeing, indicating that dark tourism may evoke both negative and positive wellbeing as an outcome, or sometimes even simultaneously (Magano, Fraiz-Brea, and Leite, 2022).

Reine (2013, p.244) explained that there is a particular gap in research into visitor motivations to visit burial sites. The Cemetery Research Group identifies four main motivations for visiting cemeteries such as an interest in local history, nature lovers, educative purposes, and seeking passive recreation by merely walking through the site (Reine, 2013, p.244). However, this motivation seemed to refer to park cemeteries. Additionally, Pereira, Pereira, and Limberger (2022) have found some benefits of visiting cemetery in their research, that are tourists end up with empathic benefits by sharing their pain and

sadness with others and they are able to celebrate feeling of closeness to personalities who were well-known during their lives. In the end, some researchers have found that there are several different motivations and experiences of dark tourism visits with significance related to cultural background (Reine, 2013; Min, Yang, and Asha, 2021). According to Bittner (2011), western civilizations have traditionally been the primary drivers of dark tourism, however the Asian population is becoming increasingly drawn to this tourism segment (in Prodan, 2021). In this research, both perspectives will be put under the light to explore the perspectives of potential local/domestic tourists from Indonesia and Danish (western/international) tourists.

CHAPTER 2:

CASE INTRODUCTION

Death in Tana Toraja, Indonesia and Denmark

Death is a universal human experience that transcends cultural and geographical boundaries. As mentioned in previous chapter, many dark tourists are drawn towards sites or experiences associated with death and suffering (Sharpley and Stone, 2009, p.5). The ways in which different societies approach and make sense of death can vary significantly. This chapter introduces the two cases that will form this research: Tana Toraja, Indonesia, and Denmark, which offer unique insights into the cultural and historical contexts in how death is perceived and experienced.

Indonesia

Indonesia consists of more than seventeen thousand islands with five main islands: Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan (Borneo), Sulawesi, and Papua (Stainton, 2024; Legge, et al, 2024). Long time ago, Indonesia was a destination with many kingdoms with their different languages and cultures (Legge, et al, 2024). This then united to be one, which encourage a national motto of Indonesian, "*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*" which means unity in diversity (Legge, et al, 2024). Indonesia now includes more than three hundred different ethnic groups and more than twice as many distinct languages (Legge, et al, 2024). Indonesia is also considered to be a religious country with most of the major world religions, as well as a wide range of indigenous ones (Legge, et al, 2024). This diversity of cultural practices and products allow Indonesia to be a country with many tourism potentials (Legge, et al, 2024; Prodan, 2021).

Tourism in Indonesia plays a significant role to the country's economy (Stainton, 2024). This makes Indonesia focus on their tourism and offer many different options of tourism, from beaches, culture, adventure, history, culinary to dark tourism, the archipelago promises diverse and unforgettable experiences (Stainton, 2024; Legge, et al, 2024). Because of this, Indonesia generates a total of 1,55 million tourists in 2021, ranking Indonesia in number forty first in the world and number fifth in Southeast Asia (Worlddata.info).

This diversity creates significant potential for Indonesia within any type of tourism, including for the thriving dark tourism industry (Prodan, 2021; Wailmi, et al, 2024). According to Wailmi, et al (2024), many of these dark tourism contributions can be related to Indonesian cultures, which are often oriented from supernatural beliefs. Although there is a growing appetite among both domestic and international travelers to explore Indonesia's macabre sites and death-oriented cultural practices, unfortunately, because of the location of dark tourism sites that are often in a more isolated regions, the Indonesian government then focus more on promoting the country's 'white' tourism offerings, such as beaches and metropolitan areas (Prodan, 2021). Additionally, Wailmi, et al (2024) added that some dark tourism potential in Indonesia is still considered taboo and/or sacred and therefore can't be fully explored.

Some examples of dark tourism in Indonesia includes Aceh Tsunami Museum which hold historical value as a reminder of earthquake and tsunami that had happened in 2004, Lapindo Sidoarjo Mud Tragedy Monument which was made to reflect the Sidoarjo mudflow tragedy in 2006, and Sema Wayah, Trunyan Bali which is the only destination that has Taru Menyan tree, where unique funeral were conducted with deceased body placed under these trees and will not create any sort of smell (Wailmi, et al, 2024). An example can also be found in Netflix 2012 documentary series titled "Dark Tourist" which talked about funeral event in Tana Toraja. This media coverage indicates the future potential of Indonesian dark tourism industry.

Tana Toraja

Because of the many different ethnic cultures and combination of these cultures to religion in Indonesia, there are many different ways of living -or dying- in Indonesia. Tana Toraja is one unique destination with their specific way of living and dying as well. In this Toraja section, researcher will also use information provided by a local source from Toraja. This local Torajan source is considered to be an expert considering his occupation that is Torajan tour guide. This source will be referred to as 'Torajan interview source'.

Tana Toraja is a mountainous region area located in South Sulawesi, Indonesia. This region is often regarded as a tourist destination due to its beautiful natural scenery and cultural uniqueness (Baan, Allo, and Patak, 2022) despite the location that is farther away from bigger cities. According to Budiman (2014), this cultural uniqueness, particularly for Torajan peculiar funeral rites and way of life, were found to be archaic and therefore very attractive to Western travelers.

Tana Toraja, which is also known as Toraja is a home to Torajan ethnic groups. The word Toraja itself is believed to be a combination of three different words: to-ri-aja, which were believed to be made from Bugis (Torajan's neighbor) ethnic group (Budiman, 2014). In Bugis language, the word 'to' means 'man' or 'people', the word 'ri' means 'of', and the word 'aja' which means above (Budiman, 2014). These words combined give a meaning to the name Toraja to be "people from the mountains" (Budiman, 2014). Generally, this ethnic group is associated with some cultural peculiarities such as wood art carving, unique traditional house (*Tongkonan*), and different kinds of traditional dances and music (Baan, Allo, and Patak, 2022).

Torajan is an ethnic group without written tradition, therefore the knowledge of history, genealogy, traditions, ethics, morals, as well as religion was handed down in oral form from one generation to the others through prayers and/or oral poetry during varieties of rituals (Budiman, 2014). Torajan were introduced to writings after the arrival of the Dutch in the beginning of the 20th century (Budiman, 2014). From then on, Torajan tales, genealogy, myths, songs, poems, rhymes, and proverbs began to be published (Budiman, 2014). Although their knowledge was handed down in oral form, Torajan are still rich in culture. According to Putra, et al (2023), perhaps

the reason was because of the isolated location of Torajan which allow them to still exist with their traditional culture and beliefs.

Aluk Todolo or *Alukta* is the foundation of unity of Torajan (Syarif, et al, 2016), which means 'the religion of the ancestors' (Budiman, 2014, p.57; Putra, et al, 2023). *Aluk Todolo* was recognized as a form of Hinduism in 1970 (Budiman, 2014, p.57) and considered to be a sacrificial religion considering all of its religious ritual activities are connected to the blood of sacrificial animals such as chickens, pigs, and buffaloes (Putra, et al, 2023). Although the concrete forms of this belief differ from each region, there are three important elements that are regarded as the main spiritual pillars of this religion which are *Puang Matua* (The Old Lord), *deata* (ruler between heaven and earth), and *To Membali Puang* (the spirits of the ancestors) (Budiman, 2014).

Although *Aluk Todolo* was the foundation of unity in Toraja, Christianity later enters the region and have been accepted by Torajan where around 89% of the population now officially claim the religion (Budiman, 2014, p.57; Torajan interview source, 2024). Even so, the rituals of *Aluk Todolo* are still conducted within the community as a form of tradition and cultural events (Torajan interview source, 2024).

Torajan still see themselves as superstitious and believe that the ground/land of Toraja that they live and step on were cultural ground to conserve (Torajan interview source, 2024). Torajan are also known to be very tolerating and welcoming people who enjoy sharing their culture and knowledge with others (Torajan interview source, 2024).

Torajan Graves

Hundreds of years ago, Torajan started to 'bury' their deceased peers with rituals that were prepared by their families to prepare the deceased for the afterlife or the world beyond this world (Putra, et al, 2023). These rituals still exist now and became very popular and attract many tourists to come to Toraja to witness the ritual (Rismayanti and Nusarastriya, 2020).

Nowadays, the way to distinguish funerals and graves for those with higher status and those considered to be normal citizen are not too different, there are sometimes other ways that often differentiate someone with higher status than people who are considered to be normal citizens. One way to see this difference is from the coffin made for the deceased. Normally, coffins that is made for someone with higher social status are a bit rounder in shape comparing to other citizen and have special carvings along the coffins (Torajan interview source, 2024). Meanwhile, someone who is considered to be a normal citizen who couldn't afford a lot of buffaloes has square coffins without carvings on it (Torajan interview source, 2024).

Although, the way Torajan 'bury' their deceased peers are not the same as the way many think of. Torajan do not actually 'bury' their deceased peers underground but 'place them to rest'. There are three different graves that can be associated with Toraja. At this present, the most used type of grave/tomb is *Patane* which is a brick structure that resembles a little house with a smaller sized replica of *Tongkonan* roof (Budiman, 2014, p.69). A while back, this type of grave is only

made for people with higher economy status, yet nowadays people are willing to spend money on their family grave (Torajan interview source, 2024). This means that nowadays it is no longer distinguishable between someone with higher status or other families who are considered to be a normal citizen. The deceased person will normally go through death ritual and then placed in a coffin and placed in a cave.

A more traditional type of Torajan grave that is still of use to this day is called '*Gua*' by Torajan which means Cave. Budiman (2014, p.68) mentioned the term *Liang* which isn't actually used much by Torajan. This *Gua* or *Liang* is a place that resembles a vault (Budiman, 2014, p.68). Similar to *Patane*, the deceased person will normally go through death ritual and then placed in a coffin and placed in a cave instead of a *Patane*.

There are normally three levels of cave graves. The upper level were only for someone with highest social status, the middle level were for those that were considered to have medium social status, and the bottom level for those that are considered to be a normal citizen (Torajan interview source, 2024). According to Putra, et al (2023), deceased bodies that are placed in a stone vault rot slower than ground burial.

Researcher's source explained that the cave is also an attraction of Torajan where people can see the inside of existing unique grave of the cave. This means that tourists can also enter the cave, with a condition that they must respect the resting deceased (Torajan interview source, 2024). According to the same source (2024), sometimes, tourists must ask for permission from living families before entering the cave and follow family rules, which normally forbid them to touch existing offerings or skulls in the cave. It is believed that entering the cave without permission could lead to bad things -which is one of Torajan supernatural belief- (Torajan interview source, 2024). Outside of the cave graves, there are often small balconies with wooden railings which feature statues made of wood which Torajan refer to as *tau-tau* (Budiman, 2014, p.69). *Tau-tau* resembles the deceased and was craved from sandalwood (Budiman, 2014, p.69). According to Budiman (2014, p.69) and researcher's Torajan source (2024), back then, *tau-tau* were only made if the funeral last for a minimum of seven days or those who has higher social status in the community, but nowadays it depends on living family decision if they feel as if the funeral is large enough and if they have enough funds to procure *tau-tau*.

Another type of Torajan grave that can be visited is the so-called hanging graves (*Erong*). This grave existence dates to around a period of 800 years ago (Budiman, 2014, p.69). *Erong* often resembles the shape of pig, buffalo, or ships that were created for people with higher social status a long time ago (Torajan interview source, 2024). This coffin was only meant to be for bones of deceased ancestors and their families -in one big coffin-, not for their bodies (Torajan interview source, 2024). This coffin will then be hung on a cliff or trees (Torajan interview source, 2024). According to researcher's source (2024), this type of grave is no longer of use, yet still exists and can be visited by tourists.

During this research, Torajan graves are perceived by the researcher to be 'dark' dark tourism for the macabre nature of the graves which align with the 'darker' side of Stone's (2006)

different shades of dark tourism spectrum. These graves reflect Torajan old belief in ancestor worshipping and therefore the graves considered to be sacred. This association with deaths and cultural significance attached to them may attract dark tourists who are seeking morbid aspects of burial practices in a location which is perceived to be authentic. Additionally, these graves were perceived to have higher political influence and cultural aspect of Toraja considering that the graves are actively utilized by the locals.

Rambu Solo'

Rambu Solo' is one of the famous cultural traditions of Torajan (Baan, Allo, and Patak, 2022). *Rambu Solo'* is a ritual about death. *Rambu* means smoke and *solo'* means down, therefore this ritual is conducted when the sun was facing west area, which is around after twelve at noon (Torajan interview source, 2024).

As mentioned above, because of the belief that is no longer there, Torajan often hold two different funerals. One for their faith and another for *Aluk Todolo* tradition for respect to their ancestors (Torajan interview source, 2024). Normally, the specific belief funeral are held after *Aluk Todolo* tradition were conducted and before the deceased were laid to rest in the grave (Torajan interview source, 2024).

This funeral ritual is very complicated and requires a huge amount of money (Syarif, et al, 2016; Embon, 2019). This is why the families of the deceased often need time to raise funds before the funeral itself which often takes months to years after deceased (Syarif, et al, 2016; Embon, 2019, p.4; Torajan interview source, 2024). During the waiting period, although the physical body is no longer alive, the families will treat the deceased as someone who is terminally ill (Syarif, et al, 2016). This condition is known as *Tomakula* (Torajan interview source, 2024).

According to the religion of *Aluk Todolo*, death is a process of status change, from a physical form to a spirit form, which is then celebrated with the ritual *Rambu Solo'* which is believed to be the 'gate' for the deceased to enter this new realm (Syarif, et al, 2016).

This funeral ritual is also considered to be a symbol of family status where pride and/or honor is at stake (Volkman, 1985; Torajan interview source, 2024) thus the ritual celebration varies greatly depending on the level or social status of the families (Baan, Allo, and Patak, 2022). There was also other senses where if a person consume meat that were acquired from *Rambu Solo'*, there seems to be a sense to repay back (If a person consume meat that were acquired from *Rambu Solo'*, there seems to be a sense to repay back (Torajan interview source, 2024). There was also sense of shame that the family will then receive inheritance from the deceased without doing anything for the deceased (Torajan interview source, 2024). This also affects the number of sacrificial animals to be slaughtered in this funeral ritual (Baan, Allo, and Patak, 2022). Much of the funding that was gathered for months are linked to the level of the ceremony and the number of animals that would be sacrificed (Syarif, et al, 2016).

Before *Rambu Solo'* were conducted, the deceased are not seen as dead yet (Torajan interview source, 2024). This means that the deceased often stay at home for long period of time -depending on the family, could be months to even years- and is treated as a very sick person, which is known with the term *Tomakula* (Torajan interview source, 2024). *Tomakula* will always be placed in the south area of the house because of *Aluk Todolo* belief that the south areas are the origin of sickness (Torajan interview source, 2024). Yet, in this south room, the deceased body must face the east, meaning that the head will be placed to the west and legs to the east (Torajan interview source, 2024). This arrangement is made so that *Tomakula* will 'wake up' and face the sunrise (Torajan interview source, 2024). In this state, the deceased will still be given food and drinks, and also all the things that deceased used to do when they are alive, such as cigarettes (Torajan interview source, 2024). The family of *Tomakula* will also still talk to them as someone who was still living with them (Torajan interview source, 2024). Nowadays, the deceased body will be injected with formalin to mummify the body but traditionally people used natural ingredients (Torajan interview source, 2024). Depending on how long it takes for the deceased body to get mummified (stiff), some big *Rambu Solo'* ritual for someone with higher social status will have the deceased sitting down to witness the ceremony instead of laying in the coffin (Torajan interview source, 2024).

The dress code for *Rambu Solo'* is not complicated (Torajan interview source, 2024). People often wear black or white but some younger family members will be seen wearing traditional Torajan clothing in red (Torajan interview source, 2024). These younger family members often have a job to welcome guests (Torajan interview source, 2024). Even so, the color yellow is forbidden for *Rambu Solo'* because yellow is often seen for happiness for Torajan (Torajan interview source, 2024).

Traditionally, for someone with higher social status, *Rambu Solo'* were held around nine days and nine nights long but nowadays, it is said to be held around seven days and seven nights long for someone with higher social status and five days and five nights long for someone who is considered to be a normal citizen (Torajan interview source, 2024). The ritual lasted this long with a purpose to maintain the ancestor's social status within the community (Torajan interview source, 2024).

Tourists who wants to visit the ritual are welcome to visit anytime they feel like (Torajan interview source, 2024). To build up a sense of friendliness, tourists are often asked -by tour guides- to bring some money in an envelope or a few packs of cigarettes or some candies for the family (Torajan interview source, 2024). It is said that Torajan would prefer to receive a few packs of cigarettes from international tourists because, as mentioned before, Torajan often feel as if they owe the person something, yet they won't be able to pay anything back to these tourists (Torajan interview source, 2024). It is also believed that bringing cigarettes are more valuable because many Torajan enjoy to smoke, especially the men, therefore they will easily accept the tourists for being kind and polite and tourists will feel welcomed without tourists needing to spend a lot of money (Torajan interview source, 2024). For a group -around fifteen to twenty- of tourists, they are often asked to gather some money to purchase a pig to sacrifice instead (Torajan interview

source, 2024). Of course, tourists can come over many times with only few offering but it is seen to be more polite to bring something each time if tourists chose to visit more than once (Torajan interview source, 2024). For those who came for other purposes such as research, documentary, etc, it is recommended to bring a sacrificial pig once instead of cigarettes daily (Torajan interview source, 2024).

One part of the ritual that tourists can get involved in is carrying the coffin where the coffin will be taken around town along with the buffalos, people who does *Ma'badong* dance, and flags and other ceremonial fabrics. Some families also bring *Tau-tau* of the deceased (Torajan interview source, 2024). Only men can carry the coffin, while women can hold red long fabric that is known as *Lamba-lamba* that is attached to the coffin (Torajan interview source, 2024). Many men can carry the coffin because a special stretcher, or also known as *Sarigan* are often created for carrying Torajan coffin (Torajan interview source, 2024). Normally, people with higher social status have a grand *Sarigan* with roof that resembles *Tongkonan* roof that is known as *Duba-duba* (Torajan interview source, 2024). Anyone who feels any type of connection with the deceased are welcome to participate, including tourists (Torajan interview source, 2024).

Buffalo is the most important animal in Torajan social life, therefore high-status families often sacrifice hundreds of buffaloes, and the buffaloes needed to be some of the best buffaloes (Idaman, 2012). This activity of slaughtering buffaloes is known as *Ma'pasa' Tedong* in Torajan language (Baan, Allo, and Patak, 2022). This event is seen as entertainment, originally made for the family of the deceased but can also be enjoyed by guests (Torajan interview source, 2024). Normally in Indonesia, gambling is forbidden, yet this event is excluded because of tradition (Torajan interview source, 2024). Therefore, the buffaloes will be sprayed with made up names for them and people will make them fight another buffalo and bet/gamble on one that they think will win the fight (Torajan interview source, 2024). Afterwards, the living buffaloes will be sacrificed, along with some that had died in the fight (Torajan interview source, 2024).

There are some known processes to conduct the funeral. Before the funeral is conducted, family often get themselves ready with a family meeting to plan the funeral. The family from both father and mother will have to be there and the meeting will mention and talk about heritage matters, how big the funeral, and things related to the funeral including the buffaloes (Embion, 2019, p.7). Although the order of *Rambu Solo'* may vary depending on the family, Embion (2019, p.6-9) attempt to explain and decipher the order of each part of thirteen days rituals in their research, along with the items mentioned:

Table 1
Explanation and Meaning of Rambu Solo' Ritual

Activities/Items	Meaning
Ma'Pasulluk	Ma'pasulluk is a form of family meeting with a purpose to conclude and recite family agreement again, considering time might have long passed since their last meeting. The

	meeting will also talk about the readiness from 'vertical' family and 'horizontal' family. In this context, vertical family means children or parents of the deceased, meanwhile horizontal family means siblings and other family members from father and mother of the deceased.
Mangriu' batu- Mesimbuang, Mebala'kaan	This ceremony is a preparatory event that is conducted by many people in the community together as a symbol of togetherness. This event is a means to pull <i>simbuang batu</i> , which is a huge statue that symbolizes family and is correlated with the afterlife. While people are pulling the <i>Simbuang batu</i> , they will also be screaming as a means of support and/or encouragement. In this ceremony, many people will also sacrifice around one to two buffaloes to feed the community (those who helped with the pull). <i>Simbuang batu</i> then will be placed in the middle of the field for the ritual.
Ma'Papengkalao	This ceremony is when the deceased body is moved from the family house to the traditional house, <i>Tongkonan</i> . The deceased will be lay to rest in <i>Lumbung</i> in <i>Tongkonan</i> for three days and three nights until <i>Ma'Pasonglo</i> starts. Activities that can be done during this ceremony include <i>Ma'damanni</i> which means decorating the coffin for the deceased. In this ceremony, a pig will be sacrificed.
Mangisi Lantang	In this part of ceremony, people will start to fill up the tents -with utilities- that are made by family before the ceremony. These tents are made for a group of attendees in the ritual, where they can have some shades. In this ceremony, most people choose to participate and often bring their own chair, plates, glasses, homemade food, etc to help the family. This often takes around two days. In this ceremony, people often pray in the afternoon. This ceremony will sacrifice one buffalo and one pig.
Ma'Palao and Ma'Pasonglo	Ma'Pasonglo means moving the deceased body from <i>Lumbung</i> in <i>Tongkonan</i> to the area where the ritual will be conducted. This part of ceremony includes prayers and eating together with the attendees. Ma'Pasonglo includes Ma'Palao which means the activity of bringing the deceased body which will be done with the community following the deceased who is being carried with different things such as gong or also known as <i>bombongan</i> , flag or also known as <i>tombi</i> , buffaloes, stretcher for living person or also known as

	<p><i>bullean to tuo</i>, and stretcher for statue or also known as <i>bullean</i>. During this ceremony, one buffalo will be sacrificed. A staff that is known as <i>to parengnge</i> will then share the meat one the deceased body arrive at the destination of the ritual. Before this meat sharing, there will be a speech about grief in Torajan language.</p>
Allo Katongkonan	<p><i>Allo Katongkonan</i> is when the family welcome guests that came to the funeral. This is done traditionally. This means that people who came to the funeral must write their name and what they are bringing with them to help with the funeral.</p>
<i>Allo Katorroan</i>	<p><i>Allo Katorroan</i> is the day when the family have some rest from the funeral. This means that the family will not conduct the funeral, yet they will still discuss the funeral plan with other families and people who are helping them to conduct the funeral. This discussion often include talk about the number of sacrificial buffaloes and how the peak of the funeral will be conducted.</p>
<i>Mantaa Padang</i>	<p><i>Mantaa Padang</i> is the peak of this funeral ritual. This is when all the buffaloes are sacrificed and the meat will be distributed to families. Different part pf the meat holds different value depending on the relationship between the family member and the deceased. The meat will also be distributed to those who have helped during the funeral. The meat distribution does not always mean that the buffaloes must be dead. It is also possible to just give the buffaloes for either religion purposes or any other reason to help the community. This is a modern way to symbolize sacrificial buffaloes.</p>
<i>Me Aa</i>	<p><i>Me Aa</i> is the last of the ceremony. The activities during <i>Me Aa</i> are taking deceased body from the resting place during the ceremony, prayers, condolences speeches, speeches to thank the attendances from the family, and last, laying the deceased in one of the graves that have been agreed upon.</p>
Flag/Red Long Fabric/ <i>Tombi</i>	<p><i>Tombi</i> is a red long fabric that families often hold during the transportation of the deceased. The length of the <i>Tombi</i> can vary depending on various things. This red long fabric symbolizes the glory of the funeral. The red fabric is only used by those with higher status in Toraja.</p>

	Although the term used by Embion (2019, p.6) was not the same as researcher's Torajan interview source (2024), it seemed as if it's the same thing although the meaning given were also different. The term given by researcher's Torajan interview source (2024) were <i>Lamba-lamba</i> which can only be held by women. According to researcher's Torajan interview source (2024), this red long fabric is believed to be believed to be a symbol of a bridge between the soul of the deceased to the afterlife. For deceased women, <i>Lamba-lamba</i> will be attached from the bottom of the coffin and will be hold behind the coffin, meanwhile for deceased men, <i>Lamba-lamba</i> will be attached from the front of the coffin and will be hold in the front side of the coffin (Torajan interview source, 2024).
Drum/ <i>Gendang/Gandang</i>	<i>Gendang</i> is a drum that is often used to indicate the start of new part of ceremony. This drum is often used to make the ceremony more lively for the attendees.
Gong/ <i>Bombongan</i>	Once the sound of gong were heard, it indicate sadness and pain that is felt by family of the deceased with higher social status. This sound of gong will always be heard during the ceremony.
<i>Maa</i>	<i>Maa</i> is a specific type of fabric with Torajan design. This fabric is made specifically with design that indicate glory. This fabric can be used for different things such as wrapping buffaloes, to use when transporting the deceased body, to be laid on top of the coffin, or simply for accessories.
Offering/ <i>Sesaji</i>	Offerings in this context was for the period of time before the deceased were believed to be terminally ill instead of deceased, where the body of the deceased were home with the family. This offering is often food.
<i>Kuang-Kuang</i>	<i>Kuang-kuang</i> is seen as a sign that <i>Rambu Solo'</i> ritual is happening in the area. <i>Kuang-kuang</i> is made of bamboo that were arranged and stacked together with some Torajan accessories. Often, some of the accessories were chicken feathers that represent someone with higher status. <i>Kuang-kuang</i> are often laid in front of the entrance before animal sacrificial.
Sacrificial Animal	Long time ago, buffaloes are often used to help Torajan with their farm or even a way of transport. Considering many of Torajan back then were farmers, buffaloes become one of valuable animal in the community which then raises the

	<p>value and price in the market. This means that families with lower economy often aren't able to own a buffalo. The more animal sacrifice that a family have, the more it seems as if the family have money and consider themselves as a family with higher status. Torajan believe that the deceased will ride buffalo that has been sacrificed as a means of transport during their journey to the afterlife. It's similar with pigs, which often believe as a way to thank God.</p> <p>Additionally, researcher's Torajan interview source (2024) explained that <i>Aluk Todolo</i> believes that buffaloes were means of transport for deceased person to reach the afterlife. There was a believe that the buffaloes that needed to be sacrificed were either twelve, twenty four, to thirty six, depending on their family status. Nowadays buffaloes were only seen as means to pay their last respect to their ancestors, especially if the deceased are their close family and as means of tradition, therefore, less amount than what was said is acceptable, yet the deceased will be seen as a normal citizen. Other type of four legged animals can also be seen as sacrificial animals.</p>
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Source: Embion (2019, p.7-9)

During this research, *Rambu Solo'* is perceived by the researcher to be 'darkest' dark tourism for the macabre nature of the funeral which align with the 'darker' side of Stone's (2006) different shades of dark tourism spectrum. This ritual reflects Torajan culture and attitude about death. Similar to the graves, this ritual also reflects the old belief of Torajan for ancestor worshipping. There are a lot of different layers to this ritual where combines both graves and mummified body with additional rituals in between, along with apparent beliefs and 'entertainment' of animal sacrifices. Additionally, also similar to the graves, *Rambu Solo'* also reflects cultures of Torajan and arguably more noticeable than the other rituals in this research considering the length of the ritual and diverse activities exists within the one funeral. Considering that this funeral were not made specifically for the purpose of tourism, this ritual can also be perceived to be authentic and unique to only Torajan. These considerations made *Rambu Solo'* placed to be the 'darkest' dark tourism in this research.

Ma'nene

Ma'nene ritual is a ceremony to commemorate ancestors (Putra, et al, 2023) and to express gratitude for ancestors for their protection against evil, against bad pests for their farm, against misfortune in life, and for allowing them to have overflowing harvest (Rismayanti and Nusantarariya, 2020). *Ma'nene* is said to be a somewhat more private event for the family (Torajan

interview source, 2024). The term *Ma'nene* or often also known as *Ma'putu* means 'wrapping back' (Putra, et al, 2023). This ritual is considered to be a combination of funeral, art, and expression of love (Rismayanti and Nusantarariya, 2020). A while back, this ritual was a part of *Rambu Solo'*, although nowadays, it is no longer considered to be a part *Rambu Solo'* (Rismayanti and Nusantarariya, 2020). Unlike *Rambu Solo'* that is conducted at noon, this ritual is a morning ritual (Torajan interview source, 2024).

According to Rismayanti and Nusantarariya (2020), this ritual is regularly held by Torajan after harvesting period, often around August, but nowadays researcher's Torajan interview source mentioned that there was no social rule of when this ritual supposed to be done. It means that this ritual can be done once a year or once every 5 years, etc (Torajan interview source, 2024). It depends on the family's agreement (Torajan interview source, 2024). There are also other agreements that can be made along with other families to work together and conduct the ritual together at one time (Torajan interview source, 2024). This is often for close families who share the same surname (Torajan interview source, 2024).

During *Ma'nene*, the coffins of the ancestors were removed from the graves which then placed in the ceremony site where relatives and friends were gathered (Putra, et al, 2023). There are different activities that can be done during *Ma'nene* and, similar as the timing of the ritual, also often depend on the family agreement (Torajan interview source, 2024). According to Putra, et al (2023), he representatives of the family will take the body out of the coffin and continue to put on clothes, in the form of cloth, on the body of the deceased which, again, were different than information given by researcher's Torajan interview source (2024). According to researcher's Torajan interview source (2024), often the deceased's clothing and coffin are changed to something new. This is backed up by quick image search on search engines about *Ma'nene*. Additionally, family can also decide to do other things such as cleaning the body, 'sunbathing' the deceased, taking the deceased on a walk, and/or changing the *Tau-tau* (Torajan interview source, 2024).

Although the ritual seemed to be somewhat private, anyone could still attend the ritual, including tourists (Torajan interview source, 2024). As mentioned above, Torajan were seen to be very welcoming and generally enjoy sharing with others, therefore they never really think twice about tourists joining them during different kinds of rituals (Torajan interview source, 2024). Everyone was welcomed, from neighbors, local tourists, and/or international tourists (Torajan interview source, 2024). Taking pictures was also welcomed (Torajan interview source, 2024). However, it is said that tourists must be respectful, meaning that they should not shun the culture, at least in front of Torajan (Torajan interview source, 2024).

In their research, Putra, et al (2023) attempted to explain and decipher the meaning of certain symbolic items that are commonly found in *Ma'nene* ritual:

Table 2

Explanations and Meaning of Symbolic Items in *Ma'nene* Ritual

Items	Meaning
Cloth	Cloth is one of the most important component in Ma'nene ritual. This cloth meant to wrap or re-cover the deceased body without reopening the cloth that was previously wrapped around the deceased body. The type or color of the cloth never really matter for the locals. The cloth is a form of gratitude and appreciation for every kindness of the ancestors and this is the way to show that the locals care and respect the bodies of the ancestors. Additionally the cloth also useful item to make sure that the bones are not scattered around the grave.
Mat	The mat is used to dry the deceased body after removal from the grave. Mats are also used as a place to sit for families and people who came to the ritual. For the local, it is a form of respect and politeness to place the ancestors' body on a mat instead of the bare ground that is considered to be dirty.
Areca Nuts and Cigarettes	In the old days, Areca nuts and cigarettes were the common offering. This is meant for the ancestor so that they will come and bless the living descendants. However, this form of offering is no longer common as Torajan believe that the ancestors no longer enjoy them. Nowadays these offering are given to the attendees as a form of appreciations.
Food	In the old days, when <i>Aluk Todolo</i> were still the main religion of Torajan, there were two types of food for <i>Ma'nene</i> ritual. One were named <i>Kande Bombo</i> which means 'spirit food', while the other named <i>Kande Deata</i> which means 'God's food'. Rice were considered to be <i>Kande Deata</i> while <i>Kande Bombo</i> are often sweet potatoes, bananas, etc (uncooked food). Homecooked meals are forbidden to be consumed by attendees during <i>Ma'nene</i> ritual because it is seen to be special for the Gods. Nowadays as the belief have shifted, the food available are for the attendees and there has not been any rule regarding food.
Sacrificial Animals	Unlike <i>Rambu Solo'</i> with some social standards with the sacrificial animals, <i>Ma'nene</i> ritual sacrificial animals are depending on agreement and capability of the family. Although not necessary, some families with good finance still have desire to provide the best animals for their ancestors.

Source: Putra, et al (2023)

During this research, *Ma'nene* is perceived by the researcher to be 'darker' dark tourism for the macabre nature of the graves which align with the 'darker' side of Stone's (2006) different shades of dark tourism spectrum. This ritual reflects Torajan culture and the attitude to their loved ones. Similar to the graves and *Rambu Solo'*, this ritual also reflects the old belief of Torajan for ancestor worshipping. The presence of mummified bodies, the act of retracting and reopening coffins, and other treatment of the deceased can be seen as very disturbing from an outside perspective. The combination of tradition and modern technology can seem to add to the macabre aspect of the ritual where many people will be seen taking pictures with the mummified body(ies). Similar to *Rambu Solo'*, considering that this ritual is not made specifically for the purpose of tourism, this ritual can also be perceived to be authentic and unique to only Torajan. Like the other examples, *Ma'nene* also reflects political influence and culture of Torajan. However, *Ma'nene* was considered by the researcher to be 'darker' and not 'darkest' dark tourism because *Ma'nene* were one ritual, which compared to *Rambu Solo'* that has many different rituals in one event which may combine both the graves and deceased body which makes *Rambu Solo'* perceived to be more intense.

Denmark

Denmark is a Nordic nation with combination of historic charm and modern innovations (Stainton, 2024). Unlike Indonesia with their many different cultures and languages, Danes share one native language which is Danish, which is heavily influenced by German and Old Norse (Folke, et al, 2024; NordicTrans.com, 2023). Denmark has a rich history about Vikings and well known for their literatures, some examples can be taken from authors Hans Christian Andersen and Søren Kierkegaard (Folke, et al, 2024; NordicTrans.com, 2023). Denmark is also known for their designs, particularly furniture and home goods (Folke, et al, 2024; NordicTrans.com, 2023). Denmark also contributed much to the growth of the world civilization, especially in humanities (Folke, et al, 2024).

Danish culture is often associated with '*hygge*' which roughly translated to coziness (NordicTrans.com, 2023; Stainton, 2024). Danes often value their social connections and tend to place high emphasis on work-life balance (NordicTrans.com, 2023).

Although considered small in territory and population (Folke, et al, 2024), in 20213, Denmark recorded a total of 7.14 million of overnight stay tourists (Statistics Denmark). Denmark places a strong importance of sustainability and green tourism practices (Stainton, 2024), creating growing demands for more unspoiled nature (Jensen, 2022). Combination of both '*hygge*' culture and the famous designs in Denmark, there is a sense of warmth across the country (Stainton, 2024). Other tourism destinations in Denmark often reflect similar sense of warmth, such as Aarhus Old Town or also known as *Den Gamle By*, The Little Mermaid or also known as *Den Lille Havfrue*, Tivoli Gardens, etc.

Being known for their *hygge* lifestyle does not stop Denmark to display some dark chapters in the country's history (Hohenhaus). Denmark has different dark tourism attractions such as Cold War Museum REGAN Vest, Hex! Museum of Witch Hunt, Tollund Man, Silkeborg Bunkermuseum, etc. Using Stone's

(2006) spectrum of different shades of dark tourism, dark tourism in Denmark seems to be more on the 'light' dark tourism side.

In this Denmark section, researcher will also use information provided by a local source from Denmark. This local Danish source is considered to be an expert considering his occupation that is an undertaker in Denmark. The source will be referred to as 'Danish interview source'.

Danish Death

When it comes to the topic of death, many Danes seem to avoid thinking and talking about it (Danish interview source, 2024). Although, some people think that it is a responsibility and important to have a plan so that their family will not be in trouble (Danish interview source, 2024). Therefore, some people in Denmark chose to fill a 'My Last Will' (known as '*Min Sidste Vilje*' in Danish) form before deceased which clarify and decide what can be done to their bodies (Danish interview source, 2024). This will be the strongest will, '*a line that can't be crossed*', meaning that the family couldn't decide what should happen against the last will (Danish interview source, 2024). Yet, some things may be more important than others, for example: family can choose other song against the will but can't choose something against the deceased religion (Danish interview source, 2024).

Compared to Torajan death rituals, Danish death rituals seemed to be very different. Majority of Danish religion is Christian (Christensen, 2023; The Funeral Market, 2024) which then hold the majority of funeral ritual in Denmark. The Danes are seen to be superstitious about death where they believe that if someone is close to dying, leaving the window open can help the person's soul passing through once they have died (The Funeral Market, 2024).

In 2021, 81% of deceased held a funeral organized within the majority church – Lutheran church, 5% were buried in other faith communities, and 14% had a funeral without religious belief (Christensen, 2023). The rest of the deceased chose to be cremated (Danish interview source, 2024). It is believed that one of the reasons why people often chose to be cremated is the cost (Danish interview source, 2024). Being buried in a coffin is a lot more expensive considering the cost of the coffin and rent for the ground in the cemetery (Danish interview source, 2024).

In the old days, it was common to be buried without a coffin (Danish interview source, 2024). Around the year 1550, it became a law in Denmark that deceased must be buried in a coffin (Danish interview source, 2024). When someone decided to be buried in a coffin, according to Danish law, the person and the coffin needed to be able to turn to dust within at least 25 years (Danish interview source, 2024). And depending on how the ground is, some people have to rent the ground for at least 35 years (Danish interview source, 2024). Meanwhile for cremation, the ground can be rented for around 10 years and the urn doesn't cost as much as a coffin (Danish interview source, 2024). According to Danish law, the urn also needed to turn into dust and there should be nothing left (Danish interview source, 2024). It is also possible for the deceased to be cremated with memorable or important items to the deceased (Danish interview source, 2024).

In certain cases, some families can ask whether an item (or more) can be put inside the urn with the ashes of the deceased before sealing the urn (Danish interview source, 2024).

Some smaller amount (around 10%) of the population often has different wants which are mostly being buried in a coffin or being spread out to the ocean (Danish interview source, 2024). During the old days until around 1870s, it was common to make their own coffins and have the coffins at home, however there were more and more regulations added since (Danish interview source, 2024). Because the deceased, who choose to be buried must be buried at least two meters down into the ground -and have to be able to turn to dust within 25 years-, there are different regulations of the coffin for example the thickness of the coffin and/or the type of wood that can be used (Danish interview source, 2024). Although this means that personally made coffins don't exist now, there are other types of coffins for those who are taller, bigger, and/or heavier (Danish interview source, 2024). It is also possible to add different important items that can be seen as memorable or important items for the deceased inside the coffin, such as teddy bears, watches, letters, etc (Danish interview source, 2024).

Once a person is deceased, they will be laid in a cooler (from undertaker service or church service) for maximum of eight days according to Danish law, however when using service of undertaker, the time limit can increase up to fourteen days (Danish interview source, 2024). When the family need more time, undertaker needed to call patient security in Denmark to consult with a specific doctors and seek permission (Danish interview source, 2024). Normally, the family will be able to put up a few last words before the deceased will be transported to the church (Danish interview source, 2024).

Danish Funerals

In the old days, church ceremonies were not the manner (Danish interview source, 2024). The deceased person was immediately brought to the graveyard (Danish interview source, 2024). However, most Danish people (around 75%) are member of the Danish church and therefore often chose church funeral (Danish interview source, 2024). The rest of them have different beliefs and therefore can have a funeral in different places, from chapel, own house, or even the nature (Danish interview source, 2024). Most funerals are funded by family, yet sometimes there is help provided by government for lower income families (lower than 52.500kr annually) to receive a fund up to 12.200kr (Danish interview source, 2024). This amount is not as much considering a funeral can cost 30.000kr to more than 50.000kr (Danish interview source, 2024).

The funeral attendees are normally family and friends who often chose to wear something dark to represent their sorrow (Danish interview source, 2024). The attendees must have a connection with the deceased or with those who came to the funeral (Danish interview source, 2024). There was no rule nor social rule for the attendees to bring anything to the funeral (Danish interview source, 2024). Normally, a priest also present, yet it is possible to have a funeral without a priest (Danish interview source, 2024).

Often at a funeral, flowers are laid around. However, it doesn't seem to have any special meaning other than aesthetic, therefore the flowers can vary depending on family (Danish interview source, 2024). Although according to Christensen (2023), flowers have significant meaning in the creation and maintenance of relationships where the size of flower arrangements and the printed ribbons can be used to express social bond to the family. Therefore, many attendees also chose to bring some flowers to be laid in front of the coffin in the church (Danish interview source, 2024). However, because it is not a necessary process, some families can choose to not add flowers at the funeral (Danish interview source, 2024).

According to Christensen (2023), the ideal typical funeral takes place in a church and is headed by a pastor where the pastor learned about the deceased by conversing with the families and discussed the choice of hymns to sing during the ceremony. On the funeral day, the funeral director brings the deceased in a casket and places it in the church (Christensen, 2023). Participants then arrive within the scheduled time for the funeral and the funeral often starts with a bell tolling and an organ that preludes right after (Christensen, 2023). Often, there is a common liturgical script that have been prepared, collective prayers, a sermon which consists of teaching that is focused on the theology of resurrection and biographical narration of the life of the deceased by the pastor (Christensen, 2023). The ceremony often lasts around half an hour and ends with the committal (Christensen, 2023; Danish interview source, 2024). Depending on the wishes of the deceased, the cast will then be either carried out to the grave or for cremation (Christensen, 2023; Danish interview source, 2024). In 2021, 85% of deceased chose to have cremation which means that most funerals then end with participants saying goodbyes at the hearse when the casket is taken to the crematorium (Christensen, 2023).

There was no rule for the carrier whether it has to be someone that has had connection with the deceased or someone who doesn't know the deceased (Danish interview source, 2024). However, there should be six people to carry the coffin and the family needed to choose the carriers (Danish interview source, 2024). Because of this, understandably, families often pick some who are close to the deceased and able to carry heavy weights, but this isn't always the case (Danish interview source, 2024). An understanding of weight distribution is often needed (Danish interview source, 2024). Often, the heavier side are the back -where the upper body were- and the front -where the feet were- (Danish interview source, 2024). Therefore, the two people who are not as strong were placed and carried the middle of the coffin (Danish interview source, 2024).

Although church funeral is the most common funeral in Denmark, there are also different types of funerals (Danish interview source, 2024). There are also ceremonies where people would rather have the ashes of the deceased spread over the ocean or maybe have the ashes in an urn and have it sailed on a boat and choose to have funeral in the nature instead of the church (Danish interview source, 2024). There were also different regulations for this type of funeral such as: it must be in an ocean, meaning that beaches or lake is not allowed and that it must be at least two hundred meters outside of the ocean (Danish interview source, 2024). Of course, there are a lot of different varieties on top of this example (Danish interview source, 2024). Normally, permission is needed to conduct special funeral requests (Danish interview source, 2024).

Nowadays, there are also many instances where around 26% of Danish people around the age of 32 were no longer a member of Danish church (Danish interview source, 2024). It is believed that they want to be more independent and therefore don't want to be related to this church funeral tradition (Danish interview source, 2024). The numbers keep increasing and it is believed that in the future, many people will choose funerals outside of the church (Danish interview source, 2024). Although, as for now, if the family doesn't know what to do, the general option will be the church (Danish interview source, 2024).

In certain places where there are many immigrants with different beliefs, there can be special arrangements that can be made (Danish interview source, 2024). For example, in Brønby, Copenhagen, there is a place where is made specific for Muslims (Danish interview source, 2024). They can be buried without a coffin despite of Danish law (Danish interview source, 2024). Because of many Muslim beliefs in Brønby, it was possible to seek for their rights (Danish interview source, 2024). In other places without this arrangement, they would still have to follow Danish law (Danish interview source, 2024). Some other beliefs can also choose to bring the deceased ashes back to their home country (Danish interview source, 2024). Some others may choose to carry the coffin to the cremation site or chose to have an open coffin, which were often allowed with permission (Danish interview source, 2024).

After church ceremony, the main family often invites the participants for refreshment at a nearby restaurant (Christensen, 2023; Danish interview source, 2024) or venue. Normally, the family and the participants do not play an active role in the church ceremony, but they often will tell stories and anecdotes of their experiences with the deceased at the subsequent wake (Christensen, 2023). Here, the families and friends traditionally would drink beer (known as *Gravøl* in Danish), however nowadays this is not something that all families do (Danish interview source, 2024). Normally, this meeting can last for two to three hours and then they will go apart (Danish interview source, 2024).

After the funeral is over, some families will often visit the cemetery again (Danish interview source, 2024). However, there were no specific times of visiting (Danish interview source, 2024). Anyone could visit at any time, especially because the cemeteries are often open to the public to visit and see (Danish interview source, 2024). During the old times, some families often poured half of beer bottle on the deceased cemetery and they will drink the other half, however this practice is no longer common (Danish interview source, 2024).

Danish and Torajan Deaths

Both Torajan and Danish death rituals showcases unique cultural and religious values surrounding death and the way they mourn. These rituals reflected the deep-rooted traditions in each society. In Tana Toraja, funeral ceremonies and rituals are integral parts of honoring the deceased and preparation for the afterlife. These were considered to be grand events and hold significant values to maintain connection with ancestors and ensuring peaceful transition to the afterlife.

On the other hand, Danish death rituals are predominantly influenced by Christian traditions, with most funeral ceremonies often held in churches. Danish death rituals also were simple and practical, yet still show respect and honor towards the deceased.

Despite being different in their practices, Torajan and Danish culture shares similar value of respecting the deceased and commemorate the lives of those who had passed. Both Torajan and Danish death rituals emphasis on honoring the deceased and preserving culture through ceremonial practices. Both cultures demonstrate their love and commitment to the deceased to respect their wishes in death, highlighting the universal value to commemorate and remember their loved ones.

CHAPTER 3:

METHODOLOGY

This methodology chapter were made to explain methodologies used in this research. These methods were used in order to explore the perspectives of local Indonesian potential tourists comparing to Danish (international) tourists to dark tourism in Tana Toraja, Indonesia. To start the chapter, explanations of research technique will be presented, followed by list of participants for this research, limitation of the research, and lastly positionality and reflection from the researcher.

Research Technique

For this research, a qualitative approach is used to explore the perspectives and attitudes of respondents from two different cultures. Qualitative methods refer to several distinctive research activities that include participant observation, intensive (depth) interviewing, and focus group (Check and Schutt, 2012, p.188). This method typically involves exploratory research, inductive reasoning, orientation to the social context of educational activities, and focus on human subjectivity and the meaning attached by the participants (Check and Schutt, 2012, p.189).

This research also adopted constructivist paradigm, which is a research approach that emphasizes subjective nature of reality and emphasizes the importance of how participants construct their own knowledge and interpret the world around them based on mental activity (Mogashoa, 2014, p.52). Constructivists seek to understand the experiences of participants in order to discover subjective truth or perceptions (Thompson, 2019). Additionally, constructivists do not claim objectivity but acknowledge and describe subjectivity as co-constructing understanding with participants (Thompson, 2019).

These approaches are suitable to explore in-depth understanding of the complex and subjective nature of dark tourism perspectives. These approaches also allows for the exploration of the context-specific factors that shape tourists perspectives and provide the flexibility to uncover these contextual factors and how they shape tourists experiences and perceptions.

Both primary and secondary data collection were used. Primary data collection was collected through observations, semi-structured interviews, and some informal communications with the respondents. Meanwhile, secondary data collection was collected through existing data and literature.

The practice of interview is used to produce data that allows better understanding of feelings, experiences, and perceptions that individuals or groups of individuals have of social phenomena (Pin, 2023; Check and Schutt, 2012, p.188). This interview generally serves comparative and representative purposes from the participants (Fetterman, 2009, p.554).

Informal interviews were conducted during this research, which are the most common way to conduct an interview (Fetterman, 2009, p.554). Additionally, semi-structured interview is a data collection technique that was used and is also a widely used technique in qualitative research (Pin, 2023; Fetterman,

2009, p.554). This means that the interview seems to be a casual conversation to discover categories of meaning in a culture (Fetterman, 2009, p.554).

For this research, informal interviews were also conducted because of the sensitive nature of dark tourism. Researcher believed this creates a lighter mood to express actual thoughts about dark tourism. Additionally, the interview was made in stages, from 'dark' dark tourism, 'darker' dark tourism, to 'darkest' dark tourism to gauge whether the specific respondent could/want to continue the interview. The questions were mostly open-ended questions.

Among the more established and documented dilemmas of dark tourism, ethics and morality of selling 'provocative' and 'sensitive' narrative through visiting public are important concerns (Sharpley and Stone, 2009, p.130). Therefore, ethics also became an important role for this study considering the sensitive topic of dark tourism examples taken. Ethics have been conceptualized as a set of rules and principles that claim authority (Sharpley and Stone, 2009, p.130) to guide the interviews. It is also important for the researcher to ensure confidentiality of the participants for this project. The ethical considerations and guidelines are based on the Danish Code of Conduct for Research Integrity (2014).

Implementation of ethical considerations for this research includes:

- All participants are anonymous, where all the names in the interviews are changed to numbers and letters.
- Before the interviews, participants needed to fill out a form of consent that explained how their data will be used.
- Most questions of identity in the form mentioned are optional so that the participants can decide whether it is appropriate for them to share or not.
- Before the interview started, participants were reminded again of the consent form and asked to consent once more after explanations of how the interview will be done.
- Participants are repeatedly reminded during the interviews that the topic has a sensitive nature, therefore participants are always welcome to stop the interview.
- During the interview, participants are reminded that this research is based on each participants' experiences and/or opinions, therefore, there are no universal and 'right' answers.

Participants

The study takes participants from Indonesia and Denmark for comparison. A small sample of eleven participants were interviewed during April and May 2024. Six participants are Indonesian and five participants are Danish. Participants chosen are people who shows interest in dark tourism and tourism that are seen to be somewhat unusual and, for Indonesian respondents, participants that are not Torajan are chosen. The participants are chosen randomly from social media (Instagram and Facebook groups) and some connections of the researcher. A post have been made in each platform, with specifically Instagram for Indonesian respondents and Facebook group for Danish respondents. The posts explained general dark tourism with some examples for reference, along with the kind of respondents needed for the research

and encourage the potential respondents to reach out. Some potential Danish respondents are unfortunately rejected if they did not suit the descriptions. These potential respondents are those who were Danish, yet follows different culture.

This strategy could create biases, especially for Indonesian, considering that Instagram means that the researcher exposed this research mostly to those surrounding the researcher, meaning that the Indonesian respondents may have similar lifestyle, education, or economy of the researcher. There are also gender imbalances in this research where five participants from Indonesia are women and one participant from Indonesia is a man, where all Danish respondents are all men. All participants are between 21 years old and 40 years old.

Table 3

Indonesian Research Participants

Interviewee (Indonesian)	Gender and Age	Origin	Occupation
I1	W 25	Java	International Student
I2	W 30	Java	International Student
I3	W 35	Java	Tourism Lecturer
I4	M 31	Java	Tourism Lecturer
I5	W 27	Sulawesi	Freelance Writer
I6	W 29	Java	Office Employee

Table 4

Danish Research Participants

Interviewee (Danish)	Gender and Age	Origin	Occupation
D1	M 30	Copenhagen	Biologist
D2	M 26	Southern Denmark	Unemployed
D3	M 25	Mid Jutland	Logistics
D4	M 23	Southern Denmark	Student
D5	M 24	Southern Denmark	Unemployed

Additionally, researcher also interviewed two different sources that are considered expert to gain more knowledge of the funeral topic in Toraja and in Denmark. A source from Toraja have been working as licensed tour guide in Toraja since 2001 and another source from Denmark have been working as an undertaker in Denmark since 2020.

Limitations

By choosing research about dark tourism perception within two different cultures, the researcher was faced with different challenges that were both expected and unexpected. One of the challenges was finding participants that are open to conduct an interview. As mentioned in literature review, people predominantly prefer a destination that is perceived to be beautiful and relaxing (Prodan, 2021). Only small amount of people mentioned that they are attracted to dark tourism and researcher needed to seek people from specific groups, especially for Danish participants. One of the reasons might be because researcher is an international student from Indonesia that understandably know more of finding participants from Indonesia than Denmark. It was also difficult for the participants to spare some time, considering the length of the interview which takes about one to two hours.

Finding literature was also difficult for the researcher, especially when it comes to Danish culture about death. It seems that death is something that is very personal to Danes and therefore there was not many articles about it, and when there is, it is sometimes, understandably, in Danish. This becomes a challenge considering researcher have limitations of understanding Danish language. Unexpectedly, finding literatures of Torajan death rituals were also a challenge for the researcher. Despite being native Indonesian speaker, there were many different literatures that does not seem to explain deeper meaning about the rituals and there were many articles that presents conflicting explanations and/or understanding of the rituals.

Another challenge is that the researcher has limited time to conduct the research. This research requires a lot of time to be critical of the literature and seeking the right literatures for the research. Considering the nature of sensitive topic of dark tourism and different things to cover in the interview, it then takes a lot of time to be conducted, with around at least two hours per person and often even more to lighten the mood of the interview.

Positionality and Reflection

To me as Chinese Indonesian, life have been an interesting journey. Indonesia is a big country and I was fortunate enough to have lived in various places in Indonesia. From Sulawesi, Java, to Nusa Tenggara, there were always different experiences and something new to learn. All destinations are unique to their own. Toraja stands out to me as I lived my childhood there. Although as Chinese Indonesian, I was more exposed to Chinese culture, yet my classmates were mostly Torajan and therefore I learn a lot of Torajan culture from them and some from school. Since I was very young, I have learned that the way things work for my family was different than theirs. It fascinates me, yet it feels as if it was something normal and I was simply a bit different. Moving to different places afterward taught me that Torajan culture were also fascinating to others. It was the same process wherever else I go. I learned of their culture, and they learned a bit of my different cultural experiences. Although there are many differences within each places, moving out from different destinations in Indonesia to others were not as difficult.

Coming from Indonesia to be an international student in Denmark was not as easy. As international student in Denmark, I have seen and witness how different our culture and way of livings can

be. As I was more exposed to other internationals like me, I learned not only of Danish culture but also some other cultures. Personally, I find this to be a very interesting experience and it was nice to figure things out in another country. Little by little, I learned more of Danish culture and slowly grasp the way Danes live their life. I sensed that Danes often enjoy stability, to the point that eating out in a new restaurant can be a bit too much for some. As Indonesian myself, I tend to enjoy exploring something new and if there was something that I never really know of, I would love to learn or even try it out. Originally, I thought that everyone were this way, because everyone around me were. This culture shock was so shocking that I became really invested in learning more and more.

Something that all of us -no matter the culture nor background- will experience is death. I always have an understanding of different things that can be done at a funeral from when I was young, considering my mixed culture. It was always interesting for me to see how Torajan have a very different belief and funeral than my family had. It was more interesting that this funeral became an attraction by itself. As someone who was used to this, I sometimes talk to some friends about this funeral and they would seem to be somewhat intrigued or some people will feel some sense of fear. I wondered how it will be for Danish people, who are not known to be superstitious and have a completely different way to grief.

Being Indonesian, I thought that people will be interested to travel to new places every time it is possible to do so. Being Chinese Indonesian, I thought that people will prefer to visit bigger cities than rural areas. Being an international student, I thought that people are very open minded to try and learn something new. Being international in Denmark, I thought that people enjoy *hygge* than exploring something that is considered 'different'. Being a student of tourism makes me wonder whether this is all true.

CHAPTER 4:

RESULTS

"It's difficult to talk about culture. It's difficult to change culture."

-Respondent I3 (2024)-

This research discovers some information received from the interviews, combined with secondary data. Additionally, the result also figures out some reasons that might influence travel decision to Toraja, Indonesia. The findings are examined under the following themes:

Interests and Knowledge of General Dark Tourism

Considering the nature of dark tourism being somewhat sensitive (Sharpley and Stone, 2009, p.130), an interest within this topic is also limited. There does not appear to be many interests coming from both Indonesian and Danish respondents. Additionally, all respondents mentioned the lack of knowledge of the term dark tourism before receiving examples and explanations from researcher. The activity of dark tourism often consumed by some of the respondents, mostly from Indonesia, yet the term is not known. This made sense considering the activity referred to as 'dark tourism' has only been focused on and researched recently (Sharpley and Stone, 2009, p.6). As respondent D5 mentioned *"I know about the concept, I just didn't know it had a name"*.

Additionally, most respondents who claimed to have an interest in dark tourism also mentioned an interest in history -which can also be correlated with understanding of knowledge or curiosity- as Stainton (2023) and Wailmi, et al (2024) mentioned within their research. It seems that the idea of dark tourism is connected to history and knowledge for most of the respondents. Interestingly, all Danish respondent and respondent I6 who is Indonesian (all men) mentioned interests in history and often ask questions about the rituals mentioned. As respondent D2 mentioned *"when you go to a foreign country, you can experience that culture and history up close"*. Only one respondent (respondent I5) who is a woman from Indonesia who also mentioned history as an interest in history, *"I coincidentally enjoy history too"* when asked whether she wants to re-visit a cemetery that she had visited before. Respondent I4 also mentioned that by visiting dark tourism sites *"we're not only learning history but also different and changing culture from long time ago"*.

While most respondents mentioned interest in history of the rituals, other respondents mentioned interests to experience something new, meanwhile one respondent implied interests in spiritual aspect of the rituals. As respondent I2 mentioned, *"truthfully, different places (in term of tourism destinations in Indonesia) such as historical monuments, museums, etc. We can't really differentiate it as 'dark tourism' because our citizen has always lived with spiritual things"*. During the interview, respondent I2 also continuously correlating and assuming the rituals in Toraja with supernatural beliefs like ghosts or something mystical. Respondent I1, I2, and I3 mentioned a sense of fear to visit mentioned rituals in Toraja.

Without knowledge of other respondents, respondent I4 coincidentally mentioned that he *“think that if you ask Indonesian in general, they will associate dark tourism with ghosts. Therefore, if you mentioned dark tourism, they wouldn’t think of places like war destination such as Chernobyl but they will think of tourism experiences such as uji nyali (testing their fear/anxiety level – ghost related)”*. Wailmi, et al. (2024) also mentioned that Indonesian generally believe in supernatural things and therefore dark tourism for them may seem to be connected with supernatural beings or magic. Following and agreeing with respondent I4, respondent I3 who have had experiences of tourism mentioned that dark tourism is a type of specific tourism that not everyone will enjoy. *“We can see this from their economy and education, they of course have higher economy status and education. It’s not really possible for someone with lower economy and education, unless they have connection with the destination, for example if they have family who were in a disaster and therefore they came to remember them. But for others, why would they look at graves/memorial?”*. This statement is supported in research by Morachat (2003, p.91) who explained that people who are at the lower level of travel motivation ladder emphasize basic services such as food, space, toilets, etc and often enjoy the sense of escape from their daily life. On the other hand, people at the higher levels are concerned with developing skills, knowledge, ability, and other special interests. Additionally, respondent I4 added that *“people with lower economy wouldn’t be interested because they want a holiday where relieve stress, not adding stress (from studying/learning about history)”* and that although some Indonesian can seem as if they are interested, sometimes *“there’s a tendency to have bragging rights (of visiting dark tourism), like ‘I have been to Chernobyl, you know?’ or ‘I have been to Fukushima, you know?’ (these quotes are him simulating the way some people brag about the destinations). They maybe have different perspectives”*.

Although many respondents have visited dark tourism destinations previously, revisiting dark tourism site were not a priority for both Indonesian and Danish respondents. Respondent I3 talked about wanting to revisit dark sites only if there is something new or there are specific occasion for it, *“but then again... If it’s a disaster (as an example) will there even be something new?”*. Similarly, respondent D1 also mentioned that revisiting will only happen if he is visiting with someone else. Although for context, both respondents were more referring to museums.

Relation and Knowledge of Toraja

Although all respondents have visited dark tourism sites before, understandably, none of the respondent from Denmark knows anything about Toraja. Meanwhile, most respondents from Indonesia know briefly about Toraja. Respondent I1 was the only respondent without any prior knowledge of Toraja. Although *Rambu Solo’* was well known for being one of the most expensive funeral, most respondents know more about *Ma’nene* which respondent I2 refer to as *“zombie”* therefore making Toraja a *“zombie area”*, respondent I5 and I6 refer to as *“walking deceased body”*, while respondent I3 and I4 understandably know a lot more of Toraja due to their occupation as tourism lecturer. However, none of the respondents have been to Toraja previously.

Every respondent shows a sense of curiosity to know and understand the story of dark tourism in Toraja regardless of interest to visit. None of the respondents stopped the interview but proceeded to the

'darkest' dark tourism, often with questions to know more. Most respondents (respondent I1, I4, D2, D4, and D5) even did immediate search of pictures about the topic during the interview, indicating curiosity and interest to know more. During the interview, it was noted that most respondents were excited to hear the dark tourism as it goes in stages. With most Indonesian respondents showing excitement by smiling when darkest tourism was mentioned, and Danish respondents voicing their excitement and mentioned 'curiosity'.

All of the respondents were consistent from 'dark' dark tourism to 'darkest' dark tourism. When they expressed interest in engaging with Torajan graves, they also expressed interest in engaging with *Ma'nene* and *Rambu Solo'* and vice versa. There was no middle ground where the respondents only liked certain things. It seems that for Danish respondents, the shade of darkness was not distinguishable.

Interestingly, respondent I4 wondered why *Ma'nene* were perceived to be a 'darker' dark tourism and not 'darkest' as for him, *Rambu Solo'* were not as dark as *Ma'nene*. Similarly, respondent I3 also mentioned that *Ma'nene* were more interesting and 'different'. However, none of Danish respondents mentioned anything in this regard, although most respondents' voices disagreements with one of the events, *Ma'pasilaga Tedong* in *Rambu Solo'* funeral. Respondent D3 mentioned, *"I don't think that animal death is entertaining, but yeah again, it's their culture"*. Additionally, respondent I4 -who was a tourism lecturer- also mentioned that *"back to the culture again. For example, in Denmark, they may care more about the animals (in the context of sacrificed animals) while in Indonesia maybe because... We have Eid ul-Adha (Muslim's festival of sacrifice) so for those who had watch and participate maybe became desensitized with animal sacrificial"*. Respondent I5 agreed that Indonesian are somewhat desensitized when it comes to 'sensitive' rituals in Toraja.

Visiting the Dead in Toraja

Although most respondents indicate curiosity and interest of dark tourism in Toraja, many respondents implied that they would not really want to visit the destination. Only two of the respondents from Denmark who wants to visit the destination. Respondent D2 mentioned interest of knowing a lot more about the rituals and implies fascination of the Torajan that are very open about their tradition. Respondent D2 mentioned that *"think it's kind of interesting just because it's so different, right? I think I'd love to also talk to... you know, some of the people... you know, what's their point of view is like, right?"*. Additionally, respondent D3 mentioned similar motives to visit Toraja, *"it sounds pretty wild and it would be a thing that I would be interested to seeing. Uh... Some part of it. I don't think you have to agree with everything that's going on to go witness it. There's a lot to learn and there's lots to see. Yeah... I think it's important to be open to other cultures and other ideas... even if they are wild and crazy"*.

Other respondents from Denmark didn't seem to be interested to visit the dark tourism specifically in Toraja. All Danes respondent, including respondent D2 and D3, mentioned how the rituals seem to be personal and therefore mentioned that they would only go with an 'invitation'. Respondent D1 mentioned *"it would feel weird for me if I didn't get asked why. It is like... because it feels like it's personal... Kind of..."*. Similarly, respondent D5 mentioned that, *"I know that that's not how the people feel, but I would feel like*

I was being very disrespectful. I would feel like I was intruding in something special that, you know, is for them.”. Additionally, respondent D5 added that he “think if I knew someone there who invited me, then I would feel a lot more... Then I would definitely say, yeah of course. I would love to experience your culture”.

Differently, almost all Indonesian respondents wants to visit Toraja for their dark tourism. Most Indonesian respondents voice their interest to witness something new, curiosity, or even interest in supernatural things. Most respondents did not talk about religion, however respondent I2 mentioned interest to seek something supernatural from the rituals, *“I want to visit the ritual at night or afternoon right before nighttime”*. For context, this time period is often believed to be the scariest time period in Indonesia in regard to ghosts. Respondent I1 also mentioned that *“it’s hard (to think differently without ghosts) because we don’t feel this culture”*. Additionally, respondent I1 talked about her religion. Respondent I1 is the only respondent who does not want to visit Toraja because she *“is a Catholic. So I mean... Ritual like this... Me as a Catholic believe that when someone had passed, the soul is in heaven. Or hell (while laughing). But the point is they are no longer here. These types of dark tourism is a bit disturbing for me”*.

Although there are many interests of dark tourism in Toraja, even for those who already have Toraja in their travel list, most people did not prioritize visiting Toraja because of the location. Both respondents from Denmark and Indonesia -who are interested to visit dark tourism in Toraja- mentioned lack of resources (such as money) and time. Respondent I3 mentioned *“it’s not cheap”*. For context, because of the location, reaching Toraja is not easy for most of the respondents, even for those who live in Indonesia. Most respondents live in Java, meaning that to get to Toraja, respondents have to take around two hours flight to the nearest big city, which is Makassar in Sulawesi. In Makassar, respondents can choose to take transport like bus, car, or flight to Toraja. Land transport takes around eight hours meanwhile flights take around an hour. Additionally, busses often only operate at night.

Ethics and Respect

Almost all Danish respondent disagree with part of the ritual when it comes to animal sacrificing, however they all seem to have an understanding about different culture and seem to try and politely voice disapproval in understanding. Respondent D4 mentioned that the rituals are *“a little weird, not gonna lie. But hey, it’s their culture I’m not gonna like... Shit on it, right? Like they probably think what we do is weird”*. All Danes respondents share this attitude.

Differently, some Indonesian respondents have some concern about keeping deceased body in the house and still interact with them. Most people seem to understand different culture, especially remembering diverse culture around Indonesia, yet respondent I2 mentioned *“they are sick. They are mentally sick”* and she *“wouldn’t want to deceased body, what’s even the point? Crazy people”* while laughing. Respondent I1 mentioned *“this is really... creepy”* and voices her fear. Despite this comments, respondent I2 still voice her interest to visit Indonesia for the dark tourism, although it will not be her main priority. Additionally, respondent I2 also mentioned how *“they are already dead and still troublesome”*.

Surprisingly, these types of attitudes were coincidentally mentioned by researcher's Torajan source. As tour guide, he talked about his experiences with western -not international in general- and local tourists and mentioned that most western tourists were polite and respectful, yet Indonesian tourists who are often religious have harsh comments about the ritual. An example he provided were a comment about the deceased body, *"why is Torajan like this? It's not feasible to treat deceased body like that"*. He mentioned that some Indonesian likes to *"connect their religion to Torajan rituals"*. He mentioned that *"tradition is tradition, religion is religion, don't combine them together. This is our culture"*. The Torajan source voices his anger about these attitudes.

Attractiveness of Toraja Dark Tourism

For all Danish respondents, knowledge and history seemed to be the main motivator to visit dark tourism in Toraja, therefore they felt that visiting dark tourism in Indonesia will fulfil their curiosity of Torajan different cultural history and knowledge. After getting exposed to dark tourism in Toraja, respondent D5 mentioned that *"there's a higher likelihood than before (to visit Toraja), which before it was zero because I didn't know about it"*. This goes along with research findings from Pereira, Pereira, and Limberger (2022) which explained that the key motivation to visit dark sites includes learning and sociability. While some Indonesian respondents agree, most Indonesian respondents express that they want to experience something new which can be linked to escapism (Pereira, Pereira, and Limberger, 2022). Although respondent I2 express different motives and mentioned that she seemed to seek the thrills of witnessing something that she consider to be *"creepy"*, to the point that when asked what does she want to gain if she had the chance to visit Toraja for their dark tourism, she mentioned *"so when I come home from the place with a 'gift' of the experiences, it will feel different. Like something is following me and I feel uneasy because I find it so creepy"*.

CHAPTER 5:

DISCUSSION

This research aims to explore the perspectives of potential local/domestic tourists from Indonesia and Danish (potential international) tourists regarding dark tourism in Tana Toraja, Indonesia, with varieties of different levels of 'darkness'. As mentioned above, Torajan dark tourism is a unique culture that cannot be found elsewhere. The dark tourism in Toraja holds significant value for Torajan and it is not specifically made for tourists but for the locals. This form of tourism is perceived by the researcher to be on the 'dark' scale of the shades of dark tourism' Spectrum by Stone (2006). Torajan graves are perceived to be a 'dark' dark tourism because of the 'dark' nature of the graves, along with the high cultural influence on tourists. *Ma'nene* is perceived to be 'darker' dark tourism considering higher sensitivity of the activity and higher political and cultural value, along with local interactions. The 'darkest' dark tourism is perceived to be *Rambu Solo'* considering there are different form of combinations between the other Torajan dark tourism. *Rambu Solo'* also reflects the culture of Torajan and is arguably more noticeable than the other activities mentioned. With this perception, one Indonesian respondent mentioned how it did not seem to be that order for him and some other respondents from Indonesia mentioned more interest. It was noted that Indonesia is a religious country with different religions and different cultures to experience (Legge, et al, 2024) while Denmark culture seemed to be stable with '*hygge*' which could significantly affect these different perceptions. For example, in 2010, majority of Indonesian are Muslims (Legge, et al, 2024) which means that it can be somewhat common to witness certain things that are not common in Denmark such as animal sacrificing for Muslims, *Eid ul-Adha*. This highlighted how culture can influence perceptions of the shades of darkness in dark tourism and possibly also one of the reasons for the lack of indicator for the shades of dark tourism.

Additionally, respondents who claim interests to dark tourism also seem to have different motivations. While Danish respondents often showed interest in history and knowledge, most Indonesian shows interests in experiencing something new with respondent I2 as an exception with her interest in something spiritual and respondent I3 who also share similar interest in history and knowledge. In the end, as mentioned previously, some researchers have found that there are several different motivations and experiences of dark tourism visits with significance related to cultural background (Reine, 2013; Min, Yang, and Asha, 2021). However, it was surprising that most men have similar interests, and most women also have similar interests, where most men respondents have interest in history while the women respondents have interest to try something new, resembling escapism. While this might be biased considering this research unfortunately did not have a very diverse audience, gender appears to have influence in dark tourism motivation. This goes along with findings from Precht (2018) where the men respondents seem to want to engage to culture while women prefer to have fun and get away. It is also a possibility that this type of dark tourism is more attractive to women in Indonesia but less attractive to women in Denmark, but more attractive to men in Denmark but not in Indonesia. Perhaps culture and gender both contribute to the attraction of dark tourism. However, as mentioned previously, there is a particular lack in research about visitor motivations to visit this specific form of dark tourism (Reine, 2013, p.244).

When talking about Torajan dark tourism, all respondents mentioned uniqueness and interests of the story. However, Danish respondents seemed to be somewhat polite of their answers. While sometimes disagree, it seemed that they don't quite express this disagreement 'loudly' but expressed it briefly and move on from the topic. Additionally, Danish respondents often add some nice comments afterwards, which seems to be a way for them to cover up their disagreement in a way. For example, when respondent D4 mentioned that the destination is not for him, he quickly mentioned understanding that some other people will enjoy Toraja as a destination. Meanwhile some Indonesian respondents are quick to express disagreement and sometimes even adding some bad comments about the rituals. This was supported by researcher's Torajan source (2024) who mentioned that Indonesian visitors are often those who had many different comments, although it is possible that tourist may still make some comments about the rituals in their own languages without the source knowledge. This was an interesting find considering it was assumed that Indonesians were more prone to accepting differences considering Indonesia was a country with many different cultures (Legge, et al, 2024). Perhaps it was part of Indonesian culture? Similarly, Hadriaty, Ismail, and Che Noh (2023) found similar findings where local Indonesian visitors made both positive and negative comments about *Rambu Solo'*. While Toraja has unique rituals, Hadriaty, Ismail, and Che Noh (2023) found that local tourists also perceived as a waste of money and that *Ma'pasa' Tedong* were not accepted because it means that Torajan are reducing a species of buffaloes.

As mentioned previously, the research attempt to separate 'dark', 'darker', and 'darkest' dark tourism for Toraja as dark tourism destination, yet this didn't seem to be distinguishable for Danish respondents. When Danish respondents show interest of the graves, they will also show interest in *Rambu Solo'*. Differently, some Indonesian respondents may think that the order were 'wrong' and that *Ma'nene* was considered 'darkest' for them. Perhaps the concept of rituals in Toraja were somewhat too foreign for Danish respondents and therefore it seemed more like a blur between each line. Meanwhile Indonesian respondents seemed to be able to distinguish the shades of darkness a bit better. Perhaps this is caused by somewhat common dark tourism sites in Indonesia.

Although with interest to understand and learn more about dark tourism in Toraja, many of Danish respondents didn't want to visit Toraja. Most of the reasons can be related to their own culture. In Denmark, funeral is something that is personal and many people could not seem to get away from this mindset despite knowing the story and different mindset of Torajan. Although being polite about their answers, they seemed to be somewhat weirded out with the idea of being in a death ritual for someone that they never knew of previously. None of Indonesian respondents express this feeling and are simply excited to see and learn something new.

"It's kind of beautiful in a way, that they show so much of an appreciation to family members."

-Respondent D5 (2024)-

CHAPTER 6:

CONCLUSION

This research aims to explore the perspectives of potential local/domestic tourists from Indonesia and Danish (potential international) tourists regarding dark tourism in Tana Toraja, Indonesia, with varieties of different levels of 'darkness'. In order to understand these different perspectives, this research adopted qualitative method and eleven semi-structured interviews were conducted with two additional interviews with local sources in Denmark and Indonesia. Semi structured interviews allowed deep exploration of participants' perspectives. Additionally, constructivist paradigm emphasized the subjective nature of reality and highlighted how individuals construct their own knowledge and interpretations of the world around them.

This study sheds light on the varying shades of darkness within dark tourism activities and applied to examples from Tana Toraja. Although the shades of darkness can be interpreted differently, this research interpreted Torajan graves as 'dark' dark tourism, *Ma'nene* as 'darker' dark tourism, and *Rambu Solo'* as 'darkest' dark tourism. These interpretations of shade of darkness reflected the nuance of cultural, political, and cultural influences embedded within each experience. However, the contrast between religious and cultural diversity in Indonesia and stability of Danish culture that is characterized by '*hygge*' lifestyle further highlighted how cultural backgrounds shape individuals' perception of the shades of darkness in dark tourism where Indonesian rich religious and cultural diversity influences interpretations of dark tourism through spiritual beliefs, while Denmark's emphasis on comfort and well-being affect how darkness is perceived. These backgrounds play a significant role in shaping respondents' views on dark tourism experiences, highlighting diverse ways in which cultural concepts influence tourism preferences and perceptions.

The results of the research revealed limited knowledge of the term 'dark tourism' among both Danish and Indonesian respondents. The sensitive nature of dark tourism and the need for in-depth interviews to cover various aspects of the topic of Torajan dark tourism added complexity and time to the research problem.

Moreover, this research found a strong correlation between an interest in dark tourism and fascination among knowledge and history among Danish respondents while Indonesian respondents demonstrated deep interests in exploring something new, while also highlighting spiritual and supernatural dimensions associated with the sites. Interestingly, the research also found that Danish respondents did not seem to be able to distinguish the shades of darkness, yet Indonesian respondents were able to distinguish and critique the order in this research. This highlighted the complexity of dark tourism shades and further noted how the shades of darkness were not a hierarchy.

Additionally, this research found that dark tourism in Toraja not only offers valuable insights of history and knowledge but also different perceptions of potential tourists from local Indonesia and Danish as potential international tourists. This research also highlighted the interplay between history, culture, and personal beliefs in shaping individuals' engagement with dark tourism, specifically in Toraja.

Future Research

This research acknowledges that each participant's opinions are unique to their own, however, for the purpose of qualitative research, the opinions are made as a pattern. For the future research, it might be more beneficial to get more information from the respondents such as economy status and education, which might give more perspectives of the types of people who will be interested in this specific type of dark tourism. There were only five respondents from Denmark and six respondents from Indonesia that participated for the interview which might not be representative enough for the research. There were also gender imbalances, although it might be possible that gender influence motivation and interest. Therefore, larger participants pool might be able to make the findings more representative. This research also focused on respondents who have never been to Toraja previously, however it might be good to be able to have a few perspectives from those who have been to Toraja.

This research developed some questions and/or suggestions that might be helpful for further information:

- Analyze relationship between travel cost and motivation to travel
- Perspective comparison between similar cultures of dark tourism destinations
- Investigating gender influence in dark tourism
- What is 'dark tourism' for religious countries?
- Perception of international tourists by local Torajan, are they ready?

By addressing and/or adding these research gaps and incorporating more comprehensive approach to data collection and analysis, future studies can contribute significantly to the evolving field of dark tourism and provide valuable insights for both academic and industry practitioners.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Consent Form

Interview Consent Form

Project Title: *Toraja as Dark Tourism: Perspective Comparison of Danes and Indonesian*
Researcher: Senia Ridho

Participant Information

Participant's Name

First Name

Last Name

Origin (Country) *

Participant's Age

Participant's Gender

☐ Male

☐ Female

☐ Other

Occupation

Project Title: *Toraja as Dark Tourism: Perspective Comparison of Danes and Indonesian*
Researcher: Senia Ridho

INTRODUCTION. This research focus is to learn and understand different perspectives of dark tourism attractions in Toraja.

PURPOSE OF RESEARCH. The purpose of this research is to have an understanding of different perspectives from 2 different cultures about Toraja as dark tourism destination.

DURATION. This research is scheduled to be completed within about 2 months provided that all participants will be available on the scheduled dates. The interview session will last for about 1-2 hours.

CONFIDENTIALITY. The data provided by the participant will be considered strictly confidential and will not be given to others without written permission from the participant.

RIGHT TO REFUSE OR DISCONTINUE. The participant has the right to discontinue or decline the

participation in the research anytime they feel to do so.

Please read and select "all" the options below *

- ☐ I confirm that my participation in this research project is voluntary.
- ☐ I acknowledge that I will not be receiving any payments in regard to my participation.
- ☐ I confirm that the duration of the research wherein I will participate is around 1-2 hours which includes recorded interviews.
- ☐ I acknowledge that I have the right to decline or discontinue my participation in this research when I have a valid reason to do so.
- ☐ I have read and understood what the research is all about and how it will affect the target audience.
- ☐ I understand that the researchers will not identify me by name in any reports using information captured from one of my interviews or answers to the surveys I completed.

Date Signed *

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Month Day Year

Submit