

Social Solidarity, Value Systems, and Tourism Policy in the Compang (Manggarai) and Uma Lengge (Bima) Traditions

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Abstract: This study interrogates the intricate nexus between social solidarity, value systems, and tourism policy within the ritualistic traditions of Compang in West Manggarai and Uma Lengge in Bima. Employing a descriptive qualitative approach through a case study design, data were garnered via in-depth interviews, participatory observation, and documentary analysis involving indigenous communities and institutional tourism actors. The findings disclose that Compang and Uma Lengge persist as loci of communal cohesion, repositories of collective identity, and instruments of spirituality; yet the penetration of tourism has reoriented their meanings from sacrality toward aesthetic spectacle, engendering risks of desanctification, social fragmentation, and distributive injustice of economic benefits. Compang appears more susceptible to commodification due to the ascendancy of external actors, whereas Uma Lengge manifests a more inclusive mode of community participation and relatively equitable benefit distribution, though not immune to the homogenizing pressures of cultural standardization. These dynamics underscore the necessity of participatory and justice-oriented policy frameworks rooted in substantive cultural recognition wherein indigenous communities are positioned as epistemic subjects rather than mere objects of transformation. Theoretically, this research advances a conceptual repositioning of cultural tourism as an epistemic arena of *serious leisure* dense with authenticity, affect, and identity negotiation thereby contesting the hegemonic modernist paradigm of heritage preservation and re-inscribing local agency within the discursive architecture of tourism governance.

INTRODUCTION

The Compang tradition in West Manggarai, East Nusa Tenggara, and the Uma Lengge tradition in Bima, West Nusa Tenggara, embody intricate societal structures that reflect customary norms and spiritual relationships with ancestral lineages (Road, 2007); (Zhang et al., 2015); (Martín Martín et al., 2021); (Nurhasanah et al., 2024). Despite their divergent material manifestations, both traditions operate as authentic symbols of collective identity that reinforce the essence of communal cohesion, ancestral reverence, and cultural continuity within the dynamics of contemporary society (Dredge, 2010); (Tkalec & Žilić, 2021);. Beyond their ritualistic and symbolic functions, these traditions also occupy a strategic role in cultural tourism, attracting visitors who seek to engage with local wisdom. As the Compang tradition in West Manggarai strategically capitalizes on the prominence of Labuan Bajo as a tourism epicenter, Uma Lengge in Bima likewise serves as a significant cultural transit space within the broader mobility trajectories of travelers en route to Labuan Bajo (Haeril et al., 2020); (Syamsuddin et al., 2023); (Rifai & Haeril, 2024).

The Indonesian Tourism Law No. 10/2009 affirms a tourism framework grounded in cultural, ecological, and participatory values, positioning local communities as autonomous subjects in destination governance. Its principles recognize indigenous culture as an epistemic entity to be preserved, while simultaneously functioning as a form of resistance against the encroaching logic of the market (Budowski, 2002); (Walton, 2005); (McDowell, 2008); (Naef & Ploner, 2016); (Warnholtz et al., 2022). The United Nations Tourism Organization's acknowledgment of cultural tourism as a central component of global tourism consumption with

more than 39% of international visits deriving from it underscores the global significance of cultural sites such as Compang and Uma Lengge (Al Haija, 2011); (Richards, 2020); (Rosalina et al., 2023); (Vol et al., 2023). These sites not only manifest tangible heritage but also sustain intangible dimensions such as ritual practices, local wisdom, and traditional social systems (Causevic & Lynch, 2013); (Farmaki, 2017); (Curcija et al., 2019); (Amirullah, et.al, 2021).

Yet, the transformation of Compang and Uma Lengge within the landscape of contemporary tourism reveals structural dilemmas that threaten the sustainability of social solidarity, value systems, and cultural integrity (Jafari, 2000); (Becken & Carmignani, 2016). Fundamental ambiguities emerge in tourism policy: whether it is genuinely rooted in local wisdom or instead subsumed within the paradigms of heritage tourism and market-oriented creative economies (Yang et al., 2013);(Wang & Yotsumoto, 2019). Economic benefit disparities often deepen social fragmentation, marginalizing indigenous communities while privileging external actors (Lee et al., 2010);(Novelli et al., 2012); . Meanwhile, the reconstruction of cultural identity through interactions with tourists risks engendering gradual shifts in spiritual meaning and value orientations (Neef & Grayman, 2018).

Furthermore, disparities in how West Manggarai and Bima communities negotiate openness to tourism reflect complex dynamics of social structure and customary leadership. Ritual-based collective leadership in Compang differs substantially from the architectural and socio-functional orientation of Uma Lengge, generating divergent community responses to tourism (Chrisantya Angelita, 2019); (Hendra et al., 2023). In addition, globalization, state interventions, and promotional biases that privilege aesthetic over sacred dimensions have accelerated processes of deculturation, thereby eroding the social cohesion of indigenous societies in both regions (Catrileo, 2004); (Minnaert et al., 2009); (Causevic & Lynch, 2011); (Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018).

The guiding research problem thus arises from a critical question: can the symbolic integration of Compang and Uma Lengge into the configuration of tourism narratives in West Manggarai and Bima be understood as a genuine strategy of cultural recognition that strengthens indigenous identity and bargaining power, or does it rather constitute a novel form of epistemic exclusion that normalizes market dominance in the production of value, the definition of collective identity, and the distribution of welfare? The urgency of this inquiry lies in deconstructing the dynamic interplay between the social solidarity embedded in these traditions and the transformations of social structures resulting from the expansion of the modern tourism industry. This research represents an epistemological concern regarding the potential erosion of local value authenticity under the dominance of market logic and policy instruments that insufficiently embody cultural recognition. Accordingly, the study is significant not only as a theoretical contribution to socio-cultural studies and public policy discourse, but also as a practical endeavor to articulate a paradigm of tourism development that is just, participatory, and rooted in the reinforcement of indigenous collective identity as the primary subject of social transformation.

Adopting a case study approach, this research engages with marginalized local narratives that are often eclipsed by dominant development discourses saturated with modernist and market biases (Novellino, 2023). The exploration seeks to deconstruct the inherent paradox between claims of cultural preservation and the realities of market penetration within the architecture of tourism policy (Maguire, 2002). It further investigates the transformation of social solidarity structures and the reconfiguration of the symbolic meanings of Compang and Uma Lengge within a touristic landscape shaped by policy interventions, cultural commodification, and transnational interactions. In this regard, the study not only maps the unfolding socio-

cultural dynamics but also reflectively proposes alternative policy paradigms that are ethical, participatory, and substantively grounded in cultural recognition (Richards, 2018).

The novelty of this research resides in its conceptual and methodological orientation that transcends conventional boundaries of cultural tourism studies, particularly within the localized contexts of West Manggarai and Bima. Unlike prior studies, which primarily focused on environmental concerns, disaster mitigation, coastal community empowerment, sustainable tourism development, or the institutional role of customary law, this study rearticulates the dialectical nexus between social solidarity, indigenous value systems, and tourism policy shaped by global development discourses and market logic. Its methodological novelty is reinforced through a transdisciplinary approach that draws upon the *mobilities turn*, *performance turn*, and *creative turn*, thereby enabling reinterpretations of cultural practices as performative and creative phenomena within the tourism sphere.

Theoretically, this research advances a paradigm shift from tourism understood as a recreational activity toward its recognition as a domain of *serious leisure* imbued with affect, authenticity, and identity negotiation. By dismantling the biases of modernity in cultural preservation discourses and repositioning local voices as epistemic subjects, the study contributes not only to strengthening theoretical foundations in cultural and tourism policy studies but also to formulating an ethical, participatory, and community-based framework for equitable cultural tourism governance (Porter & Salazar, 2005); (Santana Montañez, 2018).

RESEARCH METHODS

This inquiry adopted a descriptive qualitative orientation through a case study design to interrogate the evolving dynamics of social solidarity, value systems, and tourism policy within the ritual architectures of Compang in West Manggarai and Uma Lengge in Bima. Research subjects were identified purposively, encompassing indigenous communities in Melo and Maria villages, leaders of local cultural collectives, and institutional actors from the tourism sector. Empirical materials were elicited through in-depth interviews, participatory observation, and documentary sources, thereby constructing a contextual and holistic portrayal of cultural practices and their entanglements with tourism development. Data validity was reinforced via source triangulation, synthesizing both vernacular narratives and institutional discourses. Subsequently, the empirical corpus was subjected albeit succinctly to thematic analysis, which distilled core categories that illuminate the reconfiguration of social solidarity and the symbolic transformations embedded within these traditions under the pressures of contemporary tourism regimes.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Social Solidarity

The social solidarity embedded within the indigenous communities of West Manggarai through the Compang Toe Melo tradition and within the Bima society through the Uma Lengge institution demonstrates a robust pattern of cohesion, where cooperation, mutual assistance, and collective participation constitute the foundational basis for sustaining cultural identity and communal life (Warnholtz et al., 2022);(Martínez-Martínez et al., 2024). Compang Toe Melo, as a sacred ritual of ancestral offerings, functions as a locus for mobilizing collective participation, wherein every household is obliged to contribute whether materially, through labor, or by presence during ritual ceremonies. This involvement transcends mere formality, serving instead as an expression of internalized communal belonging rooted in customary values. In practice,

such comprehensive participation engenders strong social cohesion, as each individual assumes equal responsibility for the continuity of ritual life and ancestral heritage (Maditsi et al., 2024). Similarly, in Bima, Uma Lengge is not merely a traditional architectural structure but also a social institution that enlivens values of kinship, deliberation, and collective labor. The construction, maintenance, and performance of harvest rituals within Uma Lengge consistently involve collective action, thereby positioning the house as both a repository of food security and a unifying symbol of communal identity. Rituals such as *Ampa Fare* reinforce the necessity of universal participation, weaving bonds of solidarity that extend beyond kinship ties toward broader communal integration.

However, this cohesion has undergone significant transformations with the advent of tourism. Compang Toe Melo and Uma Lengge have increasingly been repositioned as cultural tourism attractions. On one hand, tourism presents opportunities to reinforce solidarity through the revitalization of traditions: Compang Toe Melo is frequently performed at regional tourism events, providing stronger incentives for its preservation, while the Uma Lengge complex, managed as a cultural destination, encourages community commitment to safeguarding ancestral heritage with added economic value. In this sense, tourism functions as an instrument for expanding social solidarity by fostering new forms of collaboration in destination management, the formation of art collectives, and cultural economy initiatives (Salazar, 2012); (Su et al., 2016).

On the other hand, tourism introduces profound challenges to existing solidarity structures. The sacrality of the Compang ritual risks degradation when ceremonial performances prioritize aesthetic appeal for tourist consumption over spiritual meaning for the community. Similarly, Uma Lengge, once central to food security, is increasingly reduced to a visual object for photographic tourism, thereby diminishing both its functional and sacred dimensions. These changes engender tensions between conservative customary groups striving to preserve authentic meanings and adaptive groups that regard tourism as an indispensable economic opportunity. Social fragmentation becomes inevitable, particularly in the face of inequitable distribution of tourism benefits or divergent perceptions regarding the governance of cultural sites (Cócola Gant, 2015).

Viewed through a Durkheimian lens, solidarity within the Compang and Uma Lengge communities initially represented *mechanical solidarity* a cohesion born from shared values, collective beliefs, and ritual participation. Uniformity in ritual involvement, willingness to cooperate, and emotional attachment to ancestral spirits served as the primary cohesive forces. Yet, the incursion of tourism has shifted this structure toward *organic solidarity*, where cohesion increasingly relies upon differentiated functions and cooperative relations based on economic interests and complex social roles. This transition underscores the dynamic and negotiated nature of solidarity, continually balanced between traditional values and modern exigencies.

The implications of these dynamics are the emergence of *hybrid solidarity* that fuses sacred values with economic orientations. Compang and Uma Lengge continue to function as symbolic anchors of collective identity, uniting their respective communities, while simultaneously evolving into economic instruments that generate new social structures (Rahma et al., 2025). The presence of tourism management groups, art collectives, and cultural enterprises demonstrates that social cohesion is now shaped not solely by shared traditions, but also by functional relationships within the tourism economy (Hidayat et al., 2023). Hence, the cohesion of indigenous communities in both research sites is contingent upon their capacity to navigate the tensions between the sacrality of tradition and the commodification of culture. Managed prudently, tourism may serve as a medium for revitalizing solidarity; neglected, it risks eroding communal bonds and deepening internal fragmentation (Hasani et al., 2016).

Value Systems and Cultural Identity

The existence of Compang Toe Melo in West Manggarai and Uma Lengge in Bima constitutes cultural representations that transcend their material functions as ritual centers and traditional structures. Both embody coherent systems of values transmitted across generations, rendering local communities not merely custodians of physical heritage but also bearers of cosmological meanings that connect humanity with ancestral spirits and the sacred order. Findings indicate that the communities' consistency in safeguarding the sacrality of these traditions serves as a fundamental indicator of cultural resistance against the homogenizing forces of modernization and mass tourism. At the same time, however, symbolic shifts have been identified as commodification processes gradually transform certain rituals from sacred domains into arenas of touristic spectacle.

Compang Toe Melo is understood as a communal stone altar that functions as a bridge between humans and the spiritual realm. Structurally, the compang consists of a circular stone arrangement that becomes the locus of customary ceremonies where the Manggarai people offer *teing hang* (prayers) and *wuat wai* (sacrifices) to the sun, the guardian spirits of the earth, and the heavens. It represents a cosmological equilibrium where God, ancestors, humans, and nature interact in a sacred unity. The ritual practices associated with the compang are diverse, ranging from *ndundu ndake* and *tetek alu* dances symbolizing harmony with nature to *teong lempar*, *weri leka*, and *caci*, which embody courage, sacrifice, and reverence for ancestors. Moreover, the *tako mawo* ritual reflects transcendence, wherein the community seeks protection and spiritual legitimacy for collective action. Despite elements of these rituals such as *caci* being increasingly incorporated into cultural tourism performances, the community remains consistent in preserving the compang as the epicenter of ritual sacrality.

Conversely, Uma Lengge in Bima is not only an architectural form characterized by its conical structure but also a symbol of local wisdom functioning as a granary, a spiritual space, and a medium of social cohesion. In the cosmology of the Bima people, each structural component of Uma Lengge represents relational ties among humans, God, and nature. Ceremonies such as *Doa Salama* and *Ntumbu Tuta* reaffirm the community's bonds with ancestors while ensuring the continuity of agricultural cycles. Field findings reveal that the people of Maria, Wawo, continue to regard Uma Lengge as a sacred space for agrarian and social rituals. The *Ampa Fare* harvest ceremony, for instance, is consistently centered in Uma Lengge as a communal expression of gratitude. This sacral function thus reinforces social cohesion, collective labor, and food security. Yet, as with Compang, Uma Lengge has also been subjected to commodification, with its sacred role increasingly reconfigured into cultural attractions for tourism packages, even as communities strive to preserve its sacrality through annual rituals.

Modernization and tourism have introduced a profound ambivalence. On the one hand, both traditions generate new economic opportunities through cultural tourism; on the other hand, they face the risk of *desacralization* as rituals once exclusive to ancestors are staged for public consumption. *Caci*, for example, originally a symbolic war dance, is now frequently performed for tourists as an aesthetic attraction. Similarly, Uma Lengge, formerly central to agrarian resilience, is now marketed as a cultural destination complete with folkloric narratives tailored to global audiences. Nonetheless, communities remain committed to maintaining boundaries between sacred and profane domains. Core rituals such as *Doa Salama*, *Ntumbu Tuta*, and offerings at Compang continue to be conducted under strict customary protocols, shielded from full exposure to tourism. This illustrates a form of *cultural negotiation* whereby communities balance economic imperatives with commitments to preserving sacred values (Yeh et al., 2021); (Nur & Gülşen, 2025).

Ultimately, both Compang Toe Melo and Uma Lengge reaffirm ancestral narratives as the foundation of communal continuity. Compang is understood as ancestral heritage that links present generations with their forebears, while Uma Lengge represents the physical manifestation of Bima's collective memory. Together, they serve as "living archives" that not only record history but also sustain transcendental relationships. Rituals such as *tako mawo* and *ampa fare* continuously reaffirm the presence of ancestors as spiritual actors in everyday life. Thus, the persistence of these traditions cannot be reduced to *cultural heritage* in a static sense but must be understood as *living heritage* continuously renewed through ritual practice. In this regard, the communities' commitment to preserving sacral meaning represents not only resistance to global homogenization but also a strategic assertion of local identity.

Aspect	Compang Toe Melo (Manggarai Barat)	Uma Lengge (Bima)
Primary Functional	Center of Offering and Cosmological Altar	Traditional House, Granary, and Spiritual Space
Symbolic	Bridge between Humans, Ancestors, and Nature	Human-Divine-Social-Natural Relations
Principal Ritual	Teing Hang, Wuat Wai, Caci, Ndundu Ndake, Tetek Alu, Teong Lempar, Weri Leka, Tako Mawo	Doa Salama, Ntumbu Tuta, Ampa Fare
Sacral Consistency	Preserved despite the Commodification of the Caci Dance	Preserved Despite Its Transformation into a Cultural Tourism Destination
Challenges	Tourism Commodification and Desacralization	Tourism Commodification and Constraints in Physical Preservation

From the perspective of performance theory, as developed from Victor Turner's conception of liminality to Butlerian notions of performativity, rituals such as *teing hang*, *wuat wai*, *caci*, and *ntumbu tuta* are not merely symbolic representations but iterative performatives that continually reconstruct collective identity and social cohesion. Yet, in contemporary contexts, these iterations have undergone differentiation: rituals that once embodied liminal experiences have shifted toward the realm of spectacle, marking a transition from sacred space to public aesthetic display.

Within the horizon of the *mobilities turn*, this transformation can be understood as the consequence of mobilities of narratives, bodies, and capital circulating through the tourism industry. Tourists, promotional agents, and digital infrastructures do not merely transport individuals but simultaneously displace meanings, shifting them from communal contexts to global sites of consumption. This process generates a semantic drift, producing hybridity between sacred ritual and touristic performance. The *caci* dance, for instance once a symbolic inter-village combat ritual has been re-choreographed into an attraction subordinated to the aesthetics of spectacle. Nevertheless, indigenous communities have not capitulated to this homogenizing current; rather, they construct strategies of boundary maintenance by safeguarding the core sacrality of rituals while selectively exposing peripheral elements to tourist audiences.

From the standpoint of commodification theory, examined in Marxian thought and elaborated by Appadurai's concept of the *social life of things*, Compang and Uma Lengge undergo reification: a transformation from sacred entities into commodities with exchange value. However, this transformation is asymmetrical. The symbolic capital retained by the community

is often disproportionate to the economic capital extracted by external actors such as tour operators and tourism bureaucrats. This asymmetry constitutes a *symbolic-economic disjunction* a fissure between cultural recognition and material distribution. While indigenous communities maintain monopolies over sacred legitimacy, external actors accumulate economic surplus by packaging traditions for tourism markets (Huang & Stewart, 2000); (Koment et al., 2019).

Further, framed within Laurajane Smith's notion of *authorized heritage discourse*, narratives of ritual authenticity are frequently dictated by formal tourism institutions that standardize tourist experiences and regulate what qualifies as "authentic." At this juncture, recognition theory (Honneth and Taylor) illuminates that recognition is not confined to cultural acknowledgment, but also entails equitable access to resources, meaningful participation in decision-making, and epistemic legitimacy. Indigenous communities thus demand not only acknowledgment as cultural bearers but also legitimacy as rightful subjects who determine how their rituals are staged, monetized, and transmitted.

In Bourdieu's terms, these dynamics may be mapped as struggles over capital within the tourism field (Murzyn-Kupisz & Działek, 2013). Customary leaders command symbolic capital rooted in tradition and ancestral legitimacy; tourism bureaucrats wield institutional capital via policy and regulation; while tour operators possess economic capital (Brabec & Chilton, 2015). The interplay of these capitals generates translations that are not always equivalent. Ritual performances may enhance the community's symbolic capital but do not necessarily translate into strengthened economic capital (Thakur et al., 2023). Only through mediating mechanisms such as active community involvement in the design of tourism packages can symbolic capital be converted into equitable material gain (Aquino et al., 2018); (Doe et al., 2022).

Tourism Policy and the Distribution of Benefits

The management of culture-based tourism in Indonesia rests upon a strong legal foundation, most notably enshrined in Law No. 10 of 2009 on Tourism, which emphasizes principles of participation, equity, justice, and sustainability in tourism governance. Complementarily, Presidential Instruction No. 16 of 2005 underscores the importance of cultural and tourism development as a pathway toward community welfare, job creation, and poverty alleviation. Within this normative framework, the management of local cultural destinations such as Compang To'e in West Manggarai and Uma Lengge in Bima provides concrete illustrations of how national regulations are operationalized in indigenous contexts. Both function as embodiments of tangible and intangible heritage, positioned simultaneously as markers of collective identity and as economic assets through the tourism industry.

In the case of Compang To'e in Liang Ndara, tourism management foregrounds Manggarai customary practices through performances of *caci*, ritual receptions in Pa'ang, and *Suru Lambo* chants. Indigenous communities play significant roles in welcoming guests, conducting ceremonial rituals, and organizing artistic performances. Yet, based on Arnstein's ladder of participation, their involvement remains largely at the levels of tokenism to partnership. While communities are actively engaged in implementation, policymaking continues to be dominated by regional government authorities and external tourism actors such as travel agencies. This condition raises critical questions as to whether community participation constitutes meaningful inclusion or merely formal involvement legitimizing externally driven policy agendas.

By contrast, in Uma Lengge, Maria Village (Wawo, Bima), indigenous participation extends more deeply into mechanisms of heritage preservation, as these conical houses function dually as traditional dwellings and granaries. Findings reveal that residents view Uma Lengge as a symbol of identity, spirituality, and food security. In the tourism domain, Uma Lengge has been repositioned as a cultural destination co-managed with the Bima Tourism Office. Community

engagement here is broader than in Compang To'e, encompassing architectural conservation, ritual enactments such as *Ampa Fare*, and visitor services. Accordingly, community participation approximates the levels of delegated power to citizen control on Arnstein's ladder, despite the continued presence of government intervention in managing the heritage zone.

The distribution of economic and symbolic benefits further reveals contrasting dynamics. At Compang To'e, economic gains are disproportionately captured by external actors—tour operators, travel agencies, and hotels in Labuan Bajo. While indigenous groups receive honoraria for performances, these constitute only a fraction of the overall tourism value chain. This illustrates economic leakage, wherein the majority of revenue fails to remain within local communities. Symbolic benefits, however, are substantial, as cultural recognition, visibility, and intergenerational transmission are reinforced through tourist interactions. From the perspective of Rawlsian distributive justice, such arrangements remain inequitable, as symbolic recognition does not adequately translate into material welfare.

In contrast, Uma Lengge demonstrates relatively equitable economic distribution. Tourists contribute directly to the village through entrance fees, local guide services, and purchases of local products, with revenues managed through village tourism committees. Additionally, Uma Lengge retains its function as a granary, thereby providing material benefits in the form of food security. This duality enhances distributive justice in favor of local communities. Symbolically, Uma Lengge remains deeply meaningful as a sacred ancestral heritage, reinforcing collective identity beyond its commodified dimensions.

Through the lens of the political economy of tourism, Compang To'e is situated within a dependency structure dominated by external actors, while Uma Lengge exhibits greater autonomy under a community-based tourism model. This divergence is shaped by differing tourism orientations: Labuan Bajo, as a premium international destination, tends toward large-scale cultural commodification, whereas Maria Village prioritizes participatory, community-driven approaches. Theories of tourism political economy clarify that benefit distribution is profoundly determined by who controls capital, infrastructure, and policymaking authority.

The findings further suggest that distributive justice must be conceptualized in both economic and symbolic terms. In Compang To'e, symbolic recognition expands as Manggarai culture achieves global visibility, albeit shadowed by risks of cultural commodification that diminish ritual sacrality. In Uma Lengge, commodification is more circumscribed, as the community continues to safeguard the granary's original ritual and subsistence functions. From a policy standpoint, both Compang To'e and Uma Lengge are ostensibly bound by the participatory, equitable, and empowerment principles articulated in Law No. 10/2009. Yet, in practice, Manggarai's tourism governance tends to be top-down and capital-driven, while Bima's approach is more bottom-up and community-centered. These contrasts underscore the necessity of adapting national legal frameworks to local contexts to ensure that indigenous communities are not merely cultural performers but rightful stakeholders in the governance of heritage-based tourism (Tharmabalan, 2023).

CONCLUSION

The findings of this study affirm that Compang and Uma Lengge remain vital cultural institutions that sustain social solidarity and identity, yet their encounter with tourism generates paradoxical effects. On the one hand, tourism provides opportunities for cultural revitalization and economic access; on the other hand, it threatens sacred values, creates risks of commodification, and exposes communities to uneven benefit distribution. Uma Lengge offers a

more inclusive participatory model, while Compang reveals greater vulnerability to external dominance and symbolic dilution.

From a theoretical perspective, this study contributes by articulating the notion of cultural *re-signification* in tourism, where heritage functions are reinterpreted through the tension between sacrality and spectacle. This perspective enriches debates on cultural policy and heritage governance by highlighting how local agency negotiates the pressures of market rationalities. In terms of policy implications, the research underscores the need for participatory tourism governance that ensures cultural recognition, equity, and sustainability, positioning communities not as passive recipients but as decision-makers in shaping their cultural futures.

For future studies, comparative analyses across other indigenous traditions, the role of digital tourism platforms, and longitudinal approaches to identity transformation are recommended to refine theoretical insights and inform more context-sensitive cultural tourism policies.

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