

Palpolas: The Symbolic Betting Arena of The Taba People

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Abstract

Palpolas in Taba language means payment. The payment in question is the surrender of a sum of money made by members of the local community on the tenth day of the death ceremony because it costs up to hundreds of millions of rupiah. The results of observations and interviews at the research location using the Bourdieu Practical Theory guide show that Palpolas is basically a reciprocal in overcoming the costs of the death ritual, but the ritual owner tries to collect a source of capital, by displaying symbols of kinship clans in a sacred room when bathing the corpse, burial and Tapin (ritual center), so that it appears a knot that the local community is one family so they voluntarily pay for the ritual. In practice, there was a gamble between the family of the ritual owner and the general public at the time of Palpolas. The owner of the ritual tries to show a symbol of social prestige by minimizing the public debt that must be paid off, while the public wants to show a symbol of dominance by depositing Palpolas money more than once.

Keywords: Local Wisdom Values, Mappadendang Tradition, Social Learning Resources.

Introduction

Palpolas in the language of the Taba tribe means payment. The payment in question is the surrender of a sum of money made by members of the local community on the tenth day of the death ceremony. Palpolas is carried out because during the execution of the death ceremony successively from the first day to the ninth day it costs up to hundreds of millions of rupiah. The Palpolas model actually resembles a habit of giving and receiving or reciprocity if there are other family or relatives performing the same ceremony. Palpolas was originally intended to reduce the cost burden for grieving families in order to form social cohesion. However, along with the flow of globalization, every culture experiences changes in its social context (Hisyam, et al, 2021, p. 24) including the Palpolas tradition in the Taba ethnic culture, so in its implementation it is not only providing assistance to ease the burden of costs but there is a prestige and prestige competition. symbolic violence between the ceremonial owner's inner family and other families as well as with the local community.

Prestige battles and symbolic violence in the implementation of palpolas occur because the family who owns the ceremony wants to show their identity as a solid family that is capable and successful in carrying out the ceremony, marked by being increasingly able to meet all the needs and desires of the local community but with a minimal amount of

debt. Because of that, the family took various ways so that the debt that was announced in the public sphere was calculated in such a way that the amount was still within an affordable range. Meanwhile, other families or the local community will give a bad assessment as if they are only taking advantage of the participation costs of the general public without trying their best to bail out in order to minimize the increase in ritual costs. The prestige competition between the owner of the ceremony and other families and the general public can be seen as a gamble for the prestige of symbolic capital against symbolic violence.

The stakes of symbolic capital and symbolic violence can be seen from the processes and social interactions of an increasingly dynamic society. Symbolic bets arise as a result of habits that have been internalized so that they are entrenched in society or occur due to external factors. External factors are usually influenced by the intensity of the interaction of the local community with the outside world, either through social interaction with the closest culture or obtained through information in cyberspace, such as television media, Facebook, Instagram and others. In this condition, the Taba people want to show their identity by seizing at least one or more of the advantages of available modalities which are used as symbolic identities, as stated by Jean Piere Bourdieu, namely social capital, economic capital, cultural capital and symbolic capital. This modality will be brought during Palpolas to serve as a symbolic battle arena.

Many studies related to the relationship between ethnic rituals and socio-economic aspects have been carried out, including Tangdilintin, (2014) regarding the death ceremony of Rambu Solo as a medium to show social position (Durkheim). Mashadi, et al. (2016), The death ceremony of the Gorontalo Ethnic showing the acculturation of Islam and local culture, La Janu, (2018), The Death Ritual of the Cia-Cia Buton Ethnic as a medium of social cohesion. While research directly related to the Taba Ethnicity was carried out by Amin (2016), that the Makeang Ethnic (another name for the Taba People) after the independence of the Republic of Indonesia showed its existence by mastering the fields of education, economy and politics in North Maluku Province. Anggariani & Sahar, (2018) about the death ceremony of the Taba people as a transition between the natural world and the afterlife through people and sacred spaces. Sahar et al,(2020) regarding the Death Ceremony of the Taba People used as a place for gossip and a new kitchen. Different from the previous study, apart from the theoretical approach used, there is also a different focus. This study focuses on the relationship between the ritual owner and the public which dominates each other symbolically, then the perspective of practical theory to understand how the family who owns the ceremony mobilizes the participation of the family and first-, second-, and third-degree relatives so that they are willing and voluntarily to deposit large amounts of donations so that families most of them are judged by the public as a respectable family facing the local public who are waiting to give symbolic violence.

This academic discussion aims to present local ritual traditions that have been influenced by the current of globalization with the guidance of the theory of cultural practice by Bourdieu. In addition, in general, readers can understand that in an activity of giving or giving gifts, it is not only a reciprocal event but cannot be separated from the prestige betting variable between symbolic capital and symbolic violence.

Literature Review

Overview of Related research

In general, every ritual, especially the ritual of death, does not merely describe human relations with the Unseen, but is connected with social, economic and even political aspects. Likewise Palpolas on the Taba ethnicity. The following are some reviews regarding the relationship between ritual and socio-culture in its social context, both in general and directly related to the Taba Ethnic.

Tangdilintin, (2014) in his study explained that in the Rambu Solo tradition , the death ceremony of the Toraja people is carried out for one month by cutting buffalo and pigs up to tens or even hundreds of heads to be given to the local community, it can cost up to billions of rupiah. Relatives and the surrounding community donate in the form of buffalo, pigs or money that is disabled to be returned one day with a similar value. The more festive Rambo Solo shows the higher the position and social status of the spirit in the afterlife. Although Rambu Solo is understood from Durkheim's perspective, it is not only social cohesion that is discussed but also related to social position and status.

Mashadi, et al. (2016) Regarding the death rituals of the Gorontalo ethnic group, the tradition of funeral ceremonies shows a dialectical relationship between Islamic values according to the Shari'a and local values, so that in certain aspects Islamic values are highlighted, while in other aspects, local values are shown. The relationship between Islam and locality cannot be separated from the motto of the Gorontalo people , namely Adat based on syara, syara based on Kitabullah wa sunnaturrasul . Mashadi understands his study with the guidance of Geertz's syncretic theory to show that the practice of the Gorontalo ethnic death ritual with Islamic nuances cannot be separated from local elements.

La Janu, (2018) in his research on the Cia-Cia Ethnic of Buton Regency explains that during the death ceremony period, the local community conditions the village atmosphere in a state of mourning and mourning. They gather at the funeral home with different social, economic and educational backgrounds, but are united and united by the same mourning atmosphere so that they appear as a society without structure (liminality). La Janu uses the help of Victor Turner's theory of Liminality to reveal the transition during the ritual process describing the Cia-Cia society as a community.

Research that is directly related to the Taba ethnicity is explained by Amin (2016). That the Taba people after independence began to break away from the hegemony of the kingdoms of Ternate and Tidore by carrying the motto of school children. The spirit of the Taba children who dominated this teacher's school which finally entered the 2000s, more than half of the principals from elementary to high school were occupied by teachers from the Taba ethnicity. Amin views this as the first step in mastering the economic and political map in North Maluku Province. Amin, using the Giddens Structural perspective, shows that the Taba Ethnic are now respected for their role because they are able to dialogue about history as the colonized and school children as an ethos to achieve success.

A study conducted by Anggariani and Sahar, (2018) on the ritual of the death of the Taba people shows that the Taba people design a profane room or bedroom to become sacred which is inhabited by close relatives acting as tapin guards. For forty days and forty nights the tapin keeper while attaching a piece of clothing to a dead person's activities

including eating, sleeping and entertaining guests in the sacred room, he is only allowed to leave the sacred room when bathing and defecating. The tapin keeper reflects himself as the sacred one who mediates the spirit in transitioning between life in this world and in the afterlife. With Van Gennep's Life Cycle Theory Guide, this study shows that the transitional period of the spirit must go through a phase of up to forty days to be able to integrate with the new world, the afterlife.

Sahar et al. (2020) in his discussion of the death ritual of the Taba people, it was shown that the Taba people in Sangapati Village who were spearheaded by Muhammyadiyah figures and those with higher education were increasingly enthusiastic about conducting deliberation so that the death rituals were simplified to reduce costs, both in terms of the amount of community involvement, time and amount of consumption. . However, the women's group, which was spearheaded by the mothers, was strongly opposed by protesting while bringing cooking utensils in the form of spoons, forks and pans to break up the meeting. The reluctance of mothers because during the ritual period they can freely gossip while enjoying food three times a day and take it home at home so that their daily needs can be overcome. This study, which uses the theoretical guidance of Victor Turner and Geertz, shows that mothers are at the forefront of the success of death rituals as symbols of gossip and consumption hysteria.

The Theory Perspective Used

In qualitative research the position of the theory is not in order to refute, strengthen or revise a theory, but is used as a perspective or guide in understanding the subject matter discussed. In this study the author uses the theory of practice introduced by Jean Pierre Bourdieu.

When he gave birth to the theory of practice, Bourdieu was greatly influenced by the educational and socio-cultural background in which he lived. Pierre Felix Bourdieu was born on August 1, 1930 in Denguin France. His father was a postman, but in 1951 he graduated at the Ecole Normale Superieure, a prestigious Three College in Paris, France, where Bourdieu met Derrida, Foucault and Roy Ladurie. The philosophy lectures he received made his name widely known in the academic world (Lubis, 2016, p. 97).

The theory of practice was put forward by Bourdieu after criticizing several previous theories which were used as a basis for understanding later what were understood as values inherited from previous generations. Culture in the perspective of practice is a value developed in society that is always given a new meaning that is adaptive in responding to the challenges of the times. The concept of practice was born as an answer to the positivist paradigm in the contemporary era which emphasizes a strict specialization approach. Bourdieu's Practical Approach emphasizes the open space for cultural studies topics that can be discussed in an integrative way. That everyone and the same social arrangements are created by human agents by unifying their culture through practice appears to be the result of a dealicistic relationship between structure and agency (Ritzer & Goodman, 2012, p. 519). The method developed in this practical theory is popularly known as Structural Constructivism (Lubis, 2016, p. 105).

Bourdieu introduces his theory starting with the concept of Habitus which is interpreted as the construction of one's knowledge that is used in dealing with the social

world. Habitus is a habit in a person that is carried out since childhood so as to form a strong character as a foundation for himself or ways of personal history and social position that allow individuals to improvise or innovate (Bourdieu, 1993, p. xv-xvi, Ritzer & Goodman, 2012, p. 522, Erichsen & Murphy, 2018, p. 154). For example, a person who since childhood has provided reading facilities in the family environment in the form of story books, novels, magazines and newspapers will form a literacy culture in him as well as become a habitus. When he grows up and becomes a student he is greatly helped by the habit of reading, writing and discussing from the beginning, then a personal figure will emerge who masters the lecture material and can convey his understanding with a good narrative so that later it becomes capital or capital to compete in the field of education.

The concept of modal is a continuation of Habitus. Capital provides space for a person to get opportunities in various aspects of life. The capital in question is economic capital in the form of money and property, social capital such as relationships and networks, cultural capital in the form of intellectuals and diplomas as well as symbolic capital such as achievement and prestige (Bourdieu, 1993, p. xix, Lubis, 2016, p. 17, Lash, 2019, p. 242-243). Cultural capital and symbolic capital are generated from the habit of reading, writing and discussing. Social and economic capital is generated from hard working habits and extensive networks. All capital is not something static but develops and takes place dynamically so that it is possible to always change and increase.

Someone who has cultural capital in the form of intellectual is needed to provide knowledge transfer. Intellectual as capital becomes a prestige identity, then it will be known and have a wide network, so social capital will also increase. The more the network grows, the wider the opportunities for transactions to take place as a form of respect for him in the form of economic capital. So the capital owned by a person will open up space for the emergence of other capital accumulations. All capital will be a provision to live in a society that Bourdieu termed the Arena. Boudieu sees the environment as an arena of struggle or struggle, a competitive market arena that provides various types of capital (economic, social, cultural, and symbolic) at stake (Bourdieu, 1993, p. xvii, Ritzer Goodman, 2012, p. 525). One can enter two, three or even four arenas at once even though they only occupy a different order in each arena. An intellectual will be dominant in the campus arena but weak in the industrial or power arena, and vice versa (Lubis, 2016, p.121, Lash, 2019, p. 241-242).

The social world for Bourdieu is an arena of contestation. There are various arenas, business arenas, artist arenas, educational arenas and political arenas. If someone wants to succeed in an arena, it takes the right habit and capital. For example, in the world of education, it is necessary to have the habit of learning, writing and discussing so as to produce intellectual capital, namely the ability to produce appropriate academic and research products, because if you do not have the habit and capital in your field, you will not succeed in that arena. Likewise with Habitus and other capital for other arenas as well. Because social life is assumed to be a battle arena, of course those who can come out as winners are those who have the capital. More capital owned, of course, opens the opportunity to win the battle arena (Erichseon & Murphy, 2018, p 153, Lubis, 2016, p. 117, Lash, 2019, p. 242).

Bourdieu's theory of practice is seen as relevant to serve as a guide in understanding the habits that have been ingrained in the Taba community as their Habitus. This habit can

be seen empirically in the form of knowledge about the social cohesion of kinship, both in group (nuclear and inner family) and out group (local community) so as to form cultural capital. Relationships that exist in kinship and groups are able to form social cohesion as social capital. Furthermore, the *kekampan* tries to finance the death ceremony on the basis of a work ethic that gives birth to economic capital. All potential modalities are mobilized to serve as a strategy to satisfy all parties involved so that they become symbolic capital.

Research Method: Data Collection Flow

The type of research used is field research with qualitative-descriptive data collection and analysis techniques. The research activity was carried out by the researcher being at the research location in Sangapati Village, Makian Island District for approximately three months. Sangapati village can be reached from Ternate City access via sea transportation using ferries and pioneer boats twice a week and fast boats every day with rates between sixty to one hundred thousand.

The research started from January to March 2020. Sangapati Village was chosen for the following reasons: first, the village with the largest population (15%) of fifteen villages with Islamic education facilities ranging from Kindergarten, Ibtidaiyah, Tsanawiyah to Aliyah. Second, in Sangapati Village, there are 30 heads of families (201 people) who are residents who fled after the riots in North Maluku in 2019-2020 who have been interacting with Tobaru-Christian culture for 30 years in North Halmahera. and Third, Sangapai Village is one of the villages that consistently carries out Palpolas activities.

The study began by conducting in-depth interviews with key informants who had been determined from the start, which consisted of one Joguru (spiritual teacher), village priest, one modim, two community leaders, one educator figure, one female figure, and one female leader. religious leaders related to the history of Palpolas and its meaning, intent and purpose. Meanwhile, interviews with ordinary informants consisting of 5 housewives were carried out simultaneously with participatory observations to coincide with the implementation of Palpolas.

Observation activities by observing people who come to the Palpolas place, both from Sangapati Village and family and relatives from nearby villages. Researchers arrived early (6:30) local time. Next, pay attention to the series of preparations, starting with a long table placed on the terrace of the house. Before 07.00 am already seated a joguru, priest, two to four modim and several community leaders. The priest representing the family opens the Palpolas ceremony with a ritual, which ends with an announcement of the amount of debt that must be repaid. On the table was a large basin in which Palpolas' money was placed. The money deposited is done openly so that it can be seen by the audience. In general, it consists of two kinds of money, namely money worth Rp. 50,000 and Rp. 20,000. Sometimes there are those who deposit Rp. 100,000 in cash but ask to return Rp. 80,000 or IDR 50,000.

Interviews were conducted at the Palpolas location or in-depth interviews with key informants at the mosque and at home. Interviews at mosques can be referred to as focus group discussions because they involve a number of informants. Information from informants reminds each other, adds as well as strengthens or validates the data needed by researchers.

In addition to observations and interviews which are the main data sources, the authors also obtain third party data in the form of information sources from BPS data, data from the sub-district and village offices, books, journals and other media, both online and offline. The main data and additional data were collected using HP to record and take photos as documentation to make it easier for writers to write reports and analyze data. The data analyzed was carried out from the start of data collection to the editing process, through the stages of data sorting, namely separating data to retrieve those related to research, then classified based on research questions, verifying both through events in different places and times as well as against different informants. Furthermore, it is presented in a narrative form close to reality, then ends with a conclusion.

Result

Economically the Taba people generally work as farmers, they depend on the production of coconut, nutmeg, cacao and cloves for their daily needs, as well as planting tubers and nuts. In addition to farming, there are some who work as ASN and fishermen and day laborers. Their income level is generally sufficient to meet the needs of daily life and are able to send their children to college. However, in terms of fulfilling the needs of the death ritual, it really depends on the participation of family, relatives and local communities, considering the costs used to reach hundreds of millions of rupiah.

The cost of the ritual is high considering that the death ritual is carried out for nine consecutive days involving the village community and relatives from other villages. Every day the people involved must be provided with breakfast, lunch and ritual meals accompanied by sweet tea and coffee with kretek cigarettes. The serving of ritual food for ritual performers is between sixty to one hundred people with the standard serving of two servings, namely the portion to be eaten at the ritual place and the portion to take home for the family at home.

As a first step, to meet the consumption of the village community and its surroundings, all the materials needed for the ritual are first taken at the nearest shop or stall. Such as rice in store A, flour in store B, sugar in store C and so on. In this way it is hoped that traders feel they have an emotional-transactional bond in order to help the success of the ritual. All debts in the store are recorded and submitted to a person in charge for recapitulation. It should be noted that the traders are the biggest contributors of funds after close relatives if some of the materials for ritual needs are purchased (debt) in their shops.

It is a tradition that becomes a source of pride for the family if there are more and more people involved, both as regular participants who prepare ritual needs and ritual participants, with the consequence that the costs involved will increase. In addition, the host must provide services that are considered good, such as providing food to be sent and taken home for all participants, so that the more abundant food available is considered a success. To overcome these costs, this is done by: First, mobilizing symbols of kinship relations, second, voluntary donations from the family, and third, voluntary donations from the village community.

Mobilization of kinship symbols

One way to obtain sources of ritual financing is by announcing to the public about the kinship relationship between the deceased and relatives who are considered to have qualified modalities. Therefore, the Taba people reproduce three sacred spaces which are displayed as symbols of representation of kinship lines from both the father's and mother's sides. First, wash the corpse. The activity of bathing the corpse is carried out twice, namely bathing the corpse which is understood to clean the corpse from various impurities and dirt. The body bath shows three main actors who are symbols of kinship relations, namely the inner family line such as children, or siblings, husband, wife and so on who are in charge of cleaning the stomach, rectum and groin area to the feet. On the head, a second-tier relative, such as a first cousin, is chosen, while the one who pours water is chosen based on the symbol of spirituality, namely joguru or from the priest/khatib/modim element (syara judge).

In addition to bathing the corpse, a second bath is also carried out which is termed a sharia bath. Shari'a bathing is carried out when the work of digging the grave, especially the grave, has been completed. The symbol of kinship displayed is the same as the kinship shown in the funeral bath but with the composition of people coming from different kinship lines but chosen based on the same level of kinship.

Graveyard

In contrast to the sacred space for bathing the corpse, the sacred space in the grave consists of four people, namely a joguru or syara judge in the northern part (the head), then sequentially occupied by close relatives who have made pilgrimages, then second- and third-degree cousins. Jagoru or syara judges represent Bobato Akhira, a religious institution centered in a mosque that curates ritual-related activities in Sangapati Village. The four people who were in the grave will be witnessed by the body attendant as well as delivered to those who were not present to serve as an understanding of the kinship relationship between himself and the bereaved family.

Tapin Room

Tapin in the local Orang Taba language means kitchen. However, the tapin that is used daily, which is a place where cooking activities are carried out, is different from the tapin in ritual activities. Tapin in ritual activities is a bedroom, usually the front room or the middle room of the house that is chosen to be a sacred space. So the tapin in the sacred space is a ritual center designed in such a way that it describes a transition process between people who have died and those who are still alive for forty days. The person in the tapin room which is considered an intermediary symbol is named Jaga Tapin.

Jaga Tapin consists of two people, a woman and a man. Jaga Tapin women are selected based on matrilineal kinship with the deceased. Sequentially starting from the mother, biological sister, then daughter or granddaughter. While the male Tapin Guard consists of two types, namely the Guardian Tapin Guard from the relatives element and if it is not available, the Tapin Guard is selected. mandatory from Bobato Hereafter elements or customary institutions. Take care Tapin guardian becomes an option, while Jaga Tapin obligatory to become a necessity, meaning that it must be present in the ritual process, so

that Jaga Tapin is not available from elements related to kinship relations, the willingness of parties outside the kinship line is called Haoko , meaning asking for help to act as Jaga Tapin .

The main task of Jaga Tapin Perempuan is to reflect on the condition of the deceased who is understood as if they were still around the house, so a special banquet is held in the Tapin room as an intermediary symbol between the living and the dead. All food and drinks consumed by the living are first served in the tapin room as a feast for the spirits. So on the shoulders or head of Jaga Tapin is always attached a piece of clothing from a person who has died. He is required to be in the tapin room when receiving guests, eating and drinking or resting (sleeping). He is only allowed to leave the tapin room when bathing and defecating.

While the male Tapin guard must remain in Sangapati Village for forty days in charge of receiving guests, leading special rituals in the tapin room twice a day, i.e. every morning and evening, intermediary between the tapin rituals and public or public rituals, as well as a sign of the relationship between relatives and the local community. After serving forty days of duty he led a ritual of release as a sign of the closing ritual, then was given a work wage of between four and five million rupiah accompanied by various kinds of food and sleeping equipment.

Source of funds from close relatives.

There are many ways to help families in the execution of death rituals. Due to different economic backgrounds and family occupations, of course, they have different income levels that affect the type and amount of donations. Families who can afford it, for example from ASN will give donations in the form of money between Rp. 500,000 to 1 million, or in the form of rice, wheat flour, sugar and kretek cigarettes valued at the same amount of money. In addition, there are also those who donate in the form of coconuts, firewood, while those who work as fishermen usually donate fish, according to their profession and work background.

This way of donating is done in the presence of more than one family member of the ritual owner. The amount and type of donation was then presented in the family meeting room on the eve of Palpolas day but was not flawed, only used as a collective memory to be given an artistic shape and type in return.

Sources from the local community

Taba people generally give donations in the form of rice or granulated sugar between one to two liters with money between five thousand to ten thousand rupiah each time they participate in preparing ritual food. For nine days of ritual activities, all communities are allowed to eat, drink and smoke for free. All financing is the responsibility of the host as the owner of the ritual.

After the ninth day of the ritual procession, the next day it was named Palpolas Day. Starting from the Imam announced the amount of debt that became the burden of society. The payment process for Palpolas is carried out using Haublak Haso (first call), Haublak Halu (second call) to Haublak Hatol (third call). After the first round of Palpolas activities, the Imam again announced the amount of funds collected. If the amount exceeds the amount

owed, the Imam invites his colleagues to give thanks (Alhamdulillah) followed by a prayer reading. But if the amount of funds is not sufficient then the Imam will announce the next round. After the third round, the funds collected were not sufficient, so the Imam continued to stop the activities of Palpolas. The amount of debt that has not been paid off is handed over to the family concerned to find a way out of the settlement.

In its development, the burden of Palpolas for the general public on the initiative of community leaders has been determined as follows: the minimum RT scope is Rp. 50,000. fifty thousand rupiah, while the general public at least Rp. 20,000.

Discussion

In the activity of bathing the corpse twice, it is understood as a way to announce in the public space the four kinship clan lines, as well as in the graveyard which displays four kinship clans and one kinship clan or power in the Tapin room. From the three ritual rooms, there are eight symbols of kinship clans, each of which has sub-clans, while the power clan is held by Bobato Akhirat to maintain the clan of the customary power institution. The clan symbol will form a kind of knot that can encompass the entire village community as a clan of close relatives. Both through clans of descent and clans based on marriage who are directly responsible for the obligations of Palpolas in sufficient numbers.

Those who feel and are convinced that they are a network of clans will determine the amount of funds deposited to the owner of the ritual. The closer the clan symbol, the greater the amount of donations given, conversely, the farther away the clan symbol, the less the amount donated. The social obligation to pay for this ritual must be morally responsible because the nine symbols of the clan displayed in public spaces were witnessed by those present from the funeral ceremony until the ninth day of the ritual. Important information that the village community wants to know is the name or symbols of the kinship clan.

Towards Palpolas day, the inner family accompanied by the clan symbol held a meeting to discuss the amount owed for the ritual fees. The discussion is related to determining the amount of debt that must be repaid on Palpolas day and the amount of debt that must be taken over by the inner family as personal debt or family debt. The main problem is measuring the strength of the participation of the village/general community so that the amount of debt can only be done once by Palpolas, because at that moment economic capital, social capital, cultural capital and symbolic capital are at stake.

The facts show that the crucial phase of Palpolas is family deliberations. The conflict room started because there was a disagreement between the burden of carrying out the ritual debt. Family members who are symbolized as guardians of family honor and dignity are willing to take some of the public debt into private debt, so that the amount of debt is modified in such a way that it can be paid off in just one call. This is done in order to be appreciated as a successful family so that they can obtain adequate symbolic capital. On the other hand, if Palpolas is summoned more than once, it will be judged as a miserly family, failed and irresponsible, causing symbolic violence. Because the success or failure of Palpolas is largely determined by the capital owned by the family.

Economic capital is determined by the ability of the ritual owner to bring in as many villagers as possible and even people outside the village, either as active participants as

ritual participants, making ritual offerings or just sitting and enlivening. The measure of success is; first, the fulfillment of breakfast needs consisting of cakes, coffee and tea drinks and kretek cigarettes. Second, the fulfillment of the need for lunch consisting of rice, popeda accompanied by side dishes, Third, the sufficiency of ritual food, both to be enjoyed at the venue and to take home for the family at home. In this context, ritual activities are considered as a celebration of a mourning party. It is called a party because all members of the village community can enjoy free food and drink. It is called mourning because the owner of the ritual does not only lose family members but struggles with time to finance ritual activities. In local terms it is called On lo Ramean (eating party).

Furthermore, social capital is determined by the ability to mobilize symbols of family clans, which later will attract neighbors and close family members to participate, either in the form of donations of personnel or donations of funds. The emotional approach is certainly more evocative so that it is socially able to increase public participation, both in terms of the number of people and the amount of funds in Palpolas.

Then cultural capital is carried out in the form of specially dispatched several people who are believed to be able to convince the village community that the family who owns the ritual humbly expects the participation of the community, and so that it is also known that in fact they are a family or clan that has collective responsibility in terms of the success of the ritual. as well as other family responsibilities.

Conclusion

The Palpolas tradition in the Taba people's culture is transformed from a ritual tradition that is based on social cohesion into a symbolic betting arena. To achieve social prestige, the family mobilizes the sacred space when washing corpses, burial and guarding tapins. The mobilization of the sacred space is intended to form kinship lines and circles so that they directly or indirectly contribute to the accumulation of ritual costs so that the implementation of the ritual appears successful, thereby increasing the symbolic capital. On the other hand, symbolic violence perpetrated by the local community as a result of neither the family nor the family minimizes the cost of the ritual so that it becomes a burden on the audience. Thus there has been a myth that started the ritual, then developed into a tradition then transformed for the sake of social prestige or symbolic capital.

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