

Habitus and Symbolic Violence in *Sar* Culture, Merauke, Papua

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Abstract

The *Sar* culture is the pre-existing culture of the Kanum tribe whose implementation is aimed to maintain and preserve nature. *Sar* culture not only has a positive influence on the environment but also represents symbolic violence against women and the Kanum people. This research is aimed to describe *Sar* culture based on the theory of habitus and symbolic violence by Bourdieu. This research used a qualitative descriptive method, in which the data was obtained from in-depth interviews with Kanum tribal head, Kanum tribe elders, and some village residents involved in *Sar*, observation in Naukenjerai district, and supported by literature review. The data was then analyzed descriptively according to the concepts of habitus and symbolic violence by Bourdieu. The research results show that *Sar* culture is a habitus resulting from an interaction between human beings and their nature that has existed for a long before. There is symbolic violence against the Kanum women and Kanum people, which is done by the Kanum men and the leaders of the Kanum tribe as the dominant actors.

Budaya *Sar* adalah budaya asli Suku Kanum yang prinsip pelaksanaannya adalah untuk menjaga dan melestarikan alam. Pelaksanaan budaya *Sar* sendiri tidak hanya memberikan dampak positif bagi lingkungan, tetapi juga menyiratkan terjadinya kekerasan simbolik pada pihak perempuan. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah mendeskripsikan budaya *Sar* berdasarkan teori habitus dan juga kekerasan simbolik oleh Bourdieu. Penelitian ini adalah penelitian kualitatif deskriptif. Pengambilan data dilakukan dengan cara wawancara mendalam dengan kepala Suku Kanum, tetua adat Suku Kanum dan beberapa masyarakat adat yang pernah melaksanakan budaya *Sar*, observasi di kawasan Naukenjerai, serta studi literatur. Data yang telah dikumpulkan, kemudian dianalisis secara deskriptif menggunakan konsep habitus dan konsep kekerasan simbolik milik Bourdieu. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa budaya *Sar* adalah habitus yang muncul karena adanya interaksi antara manusia dan alam yang dilakukan sejak dulu kala. Selain itu, terjadi kekerasan simbolik dalam pelaksanaan budaya *Sar*, yaitu kekerasan simbolik pada perempuan dan juga pada masyarakat adat Suku Kanum, yang dilakukan oleh aktor dominan yaitu pihak kaum pria Suku Kanum dan juga para pimpinan Suku Kanum itu sendiri.

Keywords: habitus; symbolic violence; Bourdieu; *Sar* culture; Merauke

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Introduction

The interaction between nature and humans has existed since the beginning of human creation. Human interaction and their dependence on nature forced humans to create their own rules to take from, process, or preserve the nature. These rules were then passed by the ancestors to their descendants, with the intention that the descendants would take, cultivate, or preserve nature appropriately. Indirectly, these rules have served as a culture people have adhered to and implemented to date.

Each culture will have its own values. Cultural values that are used to overcome social problems, including environmental problems, and function to improve community welfare are referred to as local wisdom (Sibarani 2018). Most of the tribes in Indonesia have their own local wisdom to protect and preserve nature.

In Merauke, there is local wisdom that prohibits humans from taking and processing natural products from an area within a certain time (Palittin and Hallatu 2019). This local wisdom is a culture that is carried out when a Kanum man dies. The main purpose of implementing this culture is to honor the dead Kanum man. The implementation of this culture involves closing the area which is within men's customary right for a certain period of time, so that no one is allowed to enter the area to take and process natural products. Moreover, in this culture, the wife will also get involved in *Sar*. In this case, the wife is prohibited from engaging in activities and also interacting with anyone, especially the husband's family, during the validity period of *Sar* culture.

Based on the implementation process, *Sar* can be analyzed using Bourdieu's theory of habitus and symbolic violence. Habitus is a theory that explains that culture is something that is produced because of the interaction between humans in a certain space and time (Siregar 2016). The theory of symbolic violence emerged because of the power run by the dominant actors against the subordinate actors (Fatmawati 2020).

A culture called local wisdom is passed down from the ancestors and is sometimes seen as a village philosopher who guides in carrying out daily activities (Na Talang 2001). Therefore, local wisdom relates to nature and ancestors in an environment that requires people to respect their ancestors, spiritual practices, and also nature (Phongphit and Nantasuwana 2002). An important characteristic of local wisdom is that it comes from a life experience that integrates body, soul, and environment (Mungmachon 2012). The implementation of culture or local wisdom can have a positive impact on the environment (Rim-Ruekh, Ierhiewwie and Agbozu 2013) because in practice it contains taboo traditional beliefs so that people are afraid to break them (Peluso 1992).

The use of local wisdom to protect and preserve natural products has been carried out by the Thai people, especially in Tambon Bangkhunsai. Local people use bamboo called cha to control shellfish harvesting (Kongpara-sertamorn 2007). Nepal uses local wisdom that adopts a rainforest system to conserve nature, provide food supplies, and avoid natural disasters such as rain and landslides (Devkota et al 2013). Nigeria itself believes in the totemism

system, which considers that certain animals and plants are the manifestations of their ancestors, so that it is prohibited to take, hunt, and even eat these plants and animals (Rim-Ruekh, Irerhievwie and Agbozu 2013).

Several regions in Indonesia have implemented local culture or wisdom as a way to protect and preserve their nature. Several tribes in Indonesia, such as the Manggarai tribe on Mount Ruteng, the Dayak Kenyah tribe in North Kalimantan, and in North Seram, use the local wisdom of sacred forests to protect and conserve their forests (Iswandono et al. 2015; Anau et al. 2019; Silaya and Siahaya 2018). For the Eastern Indonesia region, there is *sasi* local wisdom in Maluku and North Papua aimed to protect and preserve their natural products (Hallatu, Palittin and Umanailo 2019).

The use of culture in Indonesia, apart from having a positive impact, can also have a negative impact on one of the parties. Moreover, some regions in Indonesia still adhere to a patriarchal system, causing some of their cultures to also adopt a patriarchal system which can have a negative impact on women. In Timika, the culture of early marriage, belief in traditional healers, taboo on certain types of food, and burdensome main duties for women, have caused women in the Amungme and Kamoro tribes to experience health problems during pregnancy. This has resulted in a high mortality rate for newborns (Alwi 2009). In Biak, Papua, women experience reproductive disorders due to the culture that dominates them (Rerey et al. 2014). Meanwhile, Muyu women in Boven Digoel also experience the negative impact of their culture, namely they will be

evacuated to a *bevak* during menstruation, childbirth, and the puerperium (Laksono et al. 2014).

Culture in Indonesia can be analyzed using Bourdieu's theory, which is a constructive structural theory that falls into the position of post-modernism philosophy. This theory unites the dualism of objectivism and subjectivism, individual and society, as well as the roles of actors and structures in a methodology (Kholifah and Suyadnya 2018).

There are five important concepts in Bourdieu's constructive structural theory, namely habitus, arena/field, symbolic violence, capital, and strategy. The first concept is the concept of habitus, which is a concept used to connect subjectivism and objectivism (Ritzer 2011). The concept of habitus can arise because of the combination of individual history with an objective structure that has lasted a long time and has undergone changes, which has a basic function for a structured practice (Lubis 2014).

The habitus theory also reveals that habitus is the result of historical products that are produced due to interactions between humans. The interaction referred to is the existence of nurture and socialization that occurs in a historical society without being aware of it by themselves. This confirms that the habitus is not a nature of historical society itself (Beames and Telford 2016). The results of this study also make the habitus a mental structure that is expected to be used as a way to deal with social life (Ritzer 2011).

In social life, habitus is always associated with an action. Habitus itself is a thought, belief, request, and understanding of the world that results from socialization through family,

culture, and education (Aune 2011). From this understanding, habitus can be considered to have the potential to influence actions and also the social world (Prayitno 2017). Habitus can be created because of an action, but also habitus is an action created from social life. This makes the habitus as something that tends to be formed by an action and can also function as a unifier that produces action (McNay 1999).

The next concept is the arena/field (field) concept, which is defined as space where actors compete with each other (Karnanta 2013). The existence of competition between actors causes the status of dominant actors and social actors (subordination) (Siregar 2016). The existence of actors in Bourdieu's theory is based on the concept of capital, which includes economic capital, cultural capital (knowledge or expertise), social capital (relationships between individuals), and symbolic capital (honor and prestige) (Beames and Telford 2016). The capital owned by the actor will determine a position of the actor as the dominant actor or not, as well as the basis for maintaining the legitimacy of the actor (Aune 2011). The actor's efforts in maintaining his position can be done through a strategy. According to Bourdieu, strategies are needed to maintain capital associated with power hierarchies (Beames and Telford 2016).

According to Bourdieu, symbolic violence resulted from a longstanding practice of power. The domination of dominant actors in applying social meanings and representations of reality to subordinate actors is considered natural and legal (Farlina 2016). Symbolic violence which is considered a practice of power can occur because of the continuous calculation process. This has led to the perception that symbolic

violence occurs by means of "concealing violence" and as something "as it should be".

In the concept of symbolic violence, Bourdieu explains class division that considers the relationship between economic production and cultural production (Krisdinanto 2014). The classes divided according to Bourdieu are: (1) the dominant class, a class with the most and significant amount of capital, and having the greatest ability to impose a vision of the social world on other classes, (2) the petty bourgeoisie, a class in a position of middle class, which does not have as much capital as the dominant class, but wants to always exist in social mobility activities, and (3) the popular class, a class with the least amount of capital in a social space.

Based on the background, the uniqueness of the implementation of *Sar* culture, and the theories put forward, the research question in this article is the concept of habitus and symbolic violence in *Sar* culture? From these questions, this study aims to describe the implementation of *Sar* culture according to the concept of habitus and the symbolic violence proposed by Bourdieu.

To answer the research question, this research used a qualitative approach. This study aims to analyze the practice of *Sar* culture using the concept of habitus and symbolic violence.

This research was conducted in Tomer Village, Tomerau Village, and Onggaya Village, which are in the Naukenjerai District. Data collection was carried out using observation and direct interviews. Observation was made to see environmental conditions. Interviews were conducted with the head of the Kanum tribe, the elders of the Kanum tribe, and several indigenous people of the Kanum tribe who have

practiced *Sar* culture. The information from the informants can be seen in Table 1.

The data has been validated in 4 stages, namely credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Following the validity test, the data was analyzed using the theory of habitus and symbolic violence by Bourdieu. The data analysis included the stages of data reduction, data presentation, data verification, and concluding. Data reduction was performed by sorting the data needed and in accordance with the research objectives. After that, the data was presented in the form of categories according to the research objectives. Then the data verification was conducted to check the correctness of the data presented. The final step is making conclusions, performed by concluding verified data. The conclusion drawn is related to the research objective to describe the *Sar* culture using the concept of habitus and symbolic violence by Bourdieu.

Kanum Tribe

Merauke is one of the largest districts in Papua, in the southern part of the island of Papua. Several indigenous tribes inhabit the Merauke district, namely the Marind, Kanum,

and Yei tribes. Besides, there are several ethnic immigrants from all parts of Indonesia who inhabit this Merauke district. The topographical shape of Merauke, which is mostly covered by forests and swamps, has influenced the indigenous people, including the Kanum tribe, in fulfilling their daily needs. Merauke's natural wealth makes the Kanum tribe depend on nature by hunting, gardening and also gathering. This dependence on nature is a culture passed down from the ancestors of the Kanum tribe. Natural wealth and survival of the Kanum tribe to be maintained, their ancestors then made a rule regarding natural resource management which was then passed on to the generations of the Kanum tribe into a culture that needs to be preserved so that their nature and life are maintained (Phongphit and Nantasuwana 2002).

Some of the cultures related to nature conservation and the results are *Sar*, totemism system, and sacred forest (Hallatu, Palittin, and Seilatuw 2019). The totemism system emerged because the Kanum tribe believed in their *buan* (ancestors) in the form of plants and animals. Plants and animals that are considered their totems are prohibited from being taken or killed.

Tabel 1
Information about Informants

No	Informant	Place	Information
1	Informant 1	Onggaya Village	The Head of Kanum Tribe
2	Informant 2	Tomerau Village	The Elders of Kanum Tribe in Tomerau Village
3	Informant 3	Tomer Village	The Elders of Kanum Tribe in Tomer Village
4	Informant 4	Tomer Village	Indigeneous people of Kanum Tribe
5	Informant 5	Tomer Village	Indigeneous people of Kanum Tribe
6	Informant 6	Onggaya Village	Indigeneous people of Kanum Tribe

This is a form of respect for their *buan*. The Kanum tribe also has sacred forests in the area where they live. It is said to be a sacred forest, because the forest is considered the place of origin of their ancestors. People are prohibited from entering and taking natural products from it. Violators of totem culture and sacred forest will be subject to customary sanctions in fines, illness, and even death.

The head of the Kanum tribe leads the Kanum tribe. Besides, the Kanum tribe also has customary elders in all areas of the Kanum tribe. The leader of the Kanum tribe and the customary elders are elders and respected by the Kanum tribal community as a whole. They were chosen as leaders because their knowledge and life experience exceeded those of the Kanum tribe in general. They are tasked with regulating the life of the Kanum tribe in general through rules or cultures that their ancestors have passed down.

In everyday life, the Kanum tribe still adheres to a patriarchal system, which considers the position of men to be higher than that of women. Men are considered superior because men have the duty to carry the clan so that the Kanum clan does not run out. Meanwhile, women only have the duty to provide offspring without carrying clans. When a Kanum woman marries, her clan will disappear and follow her husband's clan.

All activities of the Kanum tribe prioritize men. Like earning a living, men are tasked with hunting, building boats, or activities that require more energy. Meanwhile, women are tasked with gardening, gathering, looking after children, serving their husbands, and also giving offspring. In terms of inheritance rights, only men have inheritance rights. A woman will get inheritance

rights if given by her brother or if the woman is the only child in the family (single right). In the Kanum tribal forum, those who have the right to occupy a position and the right to speak are men. All decisions in the adat forum are taken by consensus which only men participate in.

Sar Culture

The Kanum tribe has several cultures related to nature conservation. One of them is *Sar*. The principle of implementing *Sar* culture itself is to prohibit humans from entering, taking, and even processing natural products from a certain area within a predetermined period. The prohibition to enter and take natural products from an area has indirectly preserved the area. Besides, this prohibition can positively contribute to the environment, such as preventing natural disasters and preventing environmental pollution in air pollution, land pollution, and water pollution (Palittin, Supriyadi and Aristia 2019).

Sar culture is only practiced when a Kanum man dies. The purpose of carrying out this culture is to honor the man who died. Whereas for the Kanum tribe women who died, only the *yamu* culture will be carried out, which is a tribute ceremony that is carried out after 40 days of death. In *yamu* culture, what is done is to make *sago sep* (a typical Kanum food made from *sago* with a mixture of meat, fish, bananas, and tubers) cooked by burning stones. When the *sago palm* is available, a meal will be served to the invited guests, including the Head of Kanum Tribe, Kanum Tribe Elders, representatives of each clan in the Kanum tribe, as well as the berieved extended family.

The event for implementing the *Sar* culture, begins with the *yamu* culture. However, the

implementation of *yamu* at the death ceremony for Kanum women is different from that for Kanum men. Invited guests who attend this event are the Kanum Tribe Head, Kanum Tribe Elders, male and female family parties, as well as representatives of several clans in the Kanum tribe. This event begins with cooking *sago sep*. When the sago is cooked, it will be served to the guests. However, before the sago is eaten, the tradition like the procession of short-range archery arrows shown by the brothers of husband and wife will be performed, this tradition is followed by mealtime.

After the sago meal is over, a customary forum, attended by the Kanum head, the Kanum tribal elders, male family members, and representatives of each Kanum clan, will be held. While the wife is also included in the forum, she does not have the right to speak. In this customary forum, it will be decided which areas will apply the *Sar* and the length of time for implementing the *Sar*. When a decision has been made, the arrows will be released targeting the areas where *Sar* is applied. These areas will later be planted with eggs, a wooden pole tied using a *gebang* rope. The way to tie the *gebang* rope is different from each clan of the Kanum tribe. To indicate that the area is being treated by a certain clan, so that they do not violate it. Access to the area reopens when the *Sar* culture is completed. An open *Sar* ceremony is carried out by the family and followed by the Kanum Tribe Head, Kanum Tribe Traditional Elders, the family, and representatives of each Kanum clan.

The implementation of *Sar* culture applies to areas that are the customary rights of the deceased man and applies to the wife. In this case, the wife will have a gatross tied around her

wrist, as a sign that she is being applied by *Sar*. During the *Sar*, there are several important rules that must not be violated by the wife. These regulations include: (1) prohibition of carrying out any activity; (2) prohibition of interacting with anyone, especially brothers from the husband's side; (3) prohibition of holding tools used by the husband during his life to earn a living. During that time, the wife will be assisted by her sister in doing anything. The sister will provide the food for the wife and will also take the wife to the restroom. This is all done to honor the husband. This prohibition will stop when the time of *Sar* is over and the traditional ceremony of opening the *Sar* is carried out.

Habitus in *Sar* Culture

The *Sar* culture is passed down from the ancestors of the Kanum tribe. *Sar* culture is said that the habitus of the Kanum tribe. Until now, this culture is still being practiced, especially when any of the Kanum men passed away. It is evident from the results of the interviews, where two families who have just carried out the *Sar*, who live in Tomer Village and in the following Onggaya Village:

"Yes, recently, last year in December, we had this younger brother who died, so we made him have the *Sar* event. So, we reported it to the customary leader of the Kanum tribe in Tomer village; if we had a younger brother, he died, so we wanted to make *Sar*. Later he will convey it to *Lembaga Masyarakat Adat* (LMA) Kanum. then counted 40 days after death, then we will make a series of *Sar* events." (Informant 5).

"So, the *Sar* is usually done when people die. When people die, it depends on the conversation, its traditional parents, elders, tribal chiefs, for example, it is open for one year, let's

talk about it later. For example, yesterday I had a father, just finished the event. it is *Sar* about five years. If I have a father-in-law, it is not open yet." (Informant 6).

The existence and implementation of the *Sar* culture that continues to date proves that *Sar* is a habitus that has been internalized in the life of the Kanum tribal people. This culture is internalized through the practice of *Sar* culture itself and also the transfer of knowledge from generation to generation, even though the transfer of knowledge provided is incomplete. From this internalization, this culture can continue, especially when a Kanum man dies.

Sar culture can be said to be a habitus, which is a historical product produced by the ancestors of the Kanum tribe itself, as a result of the interaction between communities during historical times. This *Sar* culture is also an action created from the social life of the Kanum tribe in historical times, namely social life related to the patriarchal system. Because of this patriarchal system, the ancestors of the Kanum tribe created rules or mental structures that were used to honor Kanum men who died through the *Sar* culture. The practice of this culture makes the indigenous people of Kanum tribe always respect men in their social life (Ritzer 2011). As said by an informant as follows:

"For the implementation of the *Sar*, if there is a male Kanum who died, that's the story we said that the place to get rid of him had leg marks, arrow marks that might have been there as long as he was alive. We do it to respect that person, especially men. So, we apply *Sar* in his land, forests and swamps." (Informant 2).

The *Sar* culture is also a historical product related to nature due to the interaction between

the indigenous Kanum people and the environment. This interaction and dependence on nature make natural learning for the ancestors of the Kanum tribe in protecting nature. The ancestors made several rules to preserve nature by harvesting without destroying nature. The rules were passed down to the next generation. By seeing the process of inheriting rules, *Sar* can be said to be habitus. Indirectly, the inheritance of this rule makes *Sar* a habitus (Beames and Telford 2016).

Sar culture as a habitus or habit that has been passed down from their ancestors influences the indigenous Kanum people in thinking and acting (Prayitno 2017). The rules and sanctions in the *Sar* culture make the indigenous people of the Kanum tribe obey the prohibitions of the *Sar* culture. Even so, the *Sar* culture as a habitus is not necessary to influence the behavior of the indigenous Kanum people themselves (Ritzer 2011). It can be seen from the following interview excerpts:

"*Sar* is a prohibition, people are not allowed to enter that place. Later there will be a sign that the place is searched. So, we can't enter carelessly, we can't pass either. If it passes, it means that you will be subject to customary sanctions. You can die." (Informant 4).

The implementation of *Sar*, which is carried out when a Kanum man dies, makes *Sar* a habitus or a habit for the Kanum customary community itself. As a habitus, *Sar* is categorized in the cultural arena/field because the *Sar* is a legacy from the ancestors of the Kanum tribe.

In the implementation of *Sar* culture itself, some actors are influential in that culture. The division of actors based on class in the implementation of *Sar* culture is given as follows,

the dominant actors are the Kanum men and the Kanum tribal leaders, in this case the head of Kanum tribe and the Kanum tribal elders.

Men become dominant actors because they have social and symbolic capital, as evidenced by the position of men in the indigenous Kanum tribe higher than the position of women. It is the purpose of implementing *Sar* culture, namely to respect it. As said by an informant who has a vital role in the Kanum tribe, as follow:

"The *Sar* is only for men. The customary rules are like that, only for men. If the woman is just an ordinary *yamu*, no *Sar*. So, the *Sar* is only for men, to respect him throughout life." (Informant 1).

The leaders of the Kanum tribe also play an essential role as the dominant actor. The leaders of the Kanum tribe have social capital, symbolic capital, and also cultural capital. More knowledge and life experience than the Kanum indigenous people, in general, make the Kanum tribal leaders respected. In the *Sar* culture, they become the party in power in regulating the implementation of the *Sar* culture. The regulation consists of regulations regarding the implementation of the traditional *Sar* opening ceremony, decision making on sarcastic areas, the duration for performing the *Sar*, and sanctions for violators of *Sar* culture. The implementation of *Sar* which is tied to customary causes sanctions in the form of customary sanctions. They believe that ancestors approved the implementation of *Sar*. As said by some of the following informants:

"In the *yamu* event, the 40-day event, the tradition is finished, the arrow is finished, then we sit down to talk for the *Sar* implementation. There is a family. Then

there is a customary institution. There must be a tribal chief with customary elders, with representatives from the clans. Later from the customary institution, he will direct the adat community and the clan, saying that *Sar* is like this, he has the rules like this. After determining the area to be extracted for a length of time, the customary institutions that decide will continue to be ratified. After that, let go of the arrow while mentioning the places' names, which means the *Sar* came into effect. Just plant the *Misar* wood in that place. And for the time being, that was also discussed. Suppose we say five years, so he also has to show him the pig that wants to be killed for opening *Sar* ceremony later. Please raise the pig for five years. Later when it is five years, the pig will be killed for the opening *Sar* ceremony." (Informant 1).

"When the *Sar* started, when the arrow was released, that means we sent the ancestors with the gods to guard the place. So, people are not allowed to enter that place. if someone breaks it, because we sent it earlier, so he returns the arrow, the language is a weapon to eat, sir, that is what happens. So, the person who violates it can get hurt or die." (Informant 2).

Kanum women become subordinate actors because they just have the social capital, which is a lower position than the position of men. In the implementation of *Sar* itself, women become victims of the implementation of the culture itself. In this case, the women who are the bereaved wives will also be affected by *Sar*. As two informants said:

"His wife was also applied by *Sar*. The length of time depends on the decision of the customary forum. If it is one year, it is one year. If it is five years, it is five years. So, he can't do anything. Two parties will only assist him, a man who is looking for work, a woman to serve him, take care of him, and eat, as long as she is being applied by *Sar*." (Informant 2).

"The wife has to get applied by *Sar* too. She can't go out of the house. She just comes out to pee or take a shower. Even then, he will be escorted by his sister. She could not do anything, could not work, could not hunt, could not handle arrows, machetes, axes, just like what she used to her husband doing in her life. If it is one year, it means that it is not allowed for one year. She will be fitted with a rope in his hand. So, if you put the rope like that, people know that he has been hit." (Informant 1).

The people Kanum become the subordinate actors too because they just have the social capital and cultural capital. However, in terms of knowledge and life experience, their wealth is still lower than that of the Kanum leaders themselves. The indigenous Kanum tribes are also subordinate actors because the Kanum tribal people must obey the rules that apply in the *Sar* culture. If someone violates the rules, then the violator will be given customary sanctions. As an informant said:

"If the *Sar* is already in effect, it means that the prohibition or prohibition cannot be violated. forest or places that have been applied by *Sar* earlier, may not enter again, not at all. Whatever the reason, whatever you want to make there, just passing is not allowed. We have to go far. The rules are so. If you break it, you can get hurt there, you can die. That applies to everyone, whether the Kanum customary community or immigrants are also affected." (Informant 1).

Symbolic Violence for Kanum Woman in *Sar* Culture

In its implementation, the *Sar* culture that positively impacts the environment contains symbolic violence against the subordinate actors. The symbolic violence in the *Sar* culture is (1) the implementation of the *Sar* culture only applies to respect Kanum men and does not

apply to Kanum women. It means that there is symbolic violence in which women become subordinate or not respected and cared for in the indigenous Kanum community.

The following symbolic violence (2) is psychological violence against women. During the duration of the *Sar*, the wife will be prohibited from engaging in activities, prohibited from interacting, especially with the husband's family and brothers, and banned from working and holding up the equipment that the husband has used in his lifetime. It has indirectly occurred in psychological violence against the wife. As said by an informant who practiced *Sar* culture, this informant's family practiced *Sar* culture. However, because the wife/mother was not willing to be interviewed, information regarding what the wife/mother felt was obtained from her child.

"So, mama can't talk to her brother-in-law, so it's like getting angry. Mama also shouldn't touch the tools that father has all his life, basically everything. We just came to see mama, but it can't be held. just saw each other, could not speak with each other. The implementation of the *Sar* had made my mother half-dead, a thousand times half dead. But what can we do, this is a customary decision; you can't change it, you have to run it to completion? We're sorry to see Mom, do not have the heart too. But that's already done, all the customs are so, we appreciate it, we have to carry it out. If it is violated there is punishment, it can lead to death." (Informant 4).

The results of the interview excerpts imply that these restrictions seem to be the rules imposed as a sanction on the wife. The prohibition of speaking and doing activities indirectly violates the rights of the wife. The wife and the children and the family also feel sorry and tormented by the wife's condition. However,

because *Sar* is a custom that must be carried out, as the Kanum indigenous people, they still have to obey these customary rules. The existence of sanctions that will apply if they violate the custom is also one reason why they cannot violate the custom.

Symbolic Violence for Kanum People in *Sar* Culture

In addition to symbolic violence against women as subordinate actors, it also occurs in the indigenous Kanum people. The symbolic violence in question is symbolic violence perpetrated by the dominant actors, the Kanum tribal leaders. In this case, they are the party in power to consider and enforce the application of *Sar*, including imposing sanctions for violation against members of the Kanum orthodox community.

"*Sar* is the culture of the ancestors, so it must be done if someone dies. That will later require the Kanum customary institution. Later those who lead it are customary events, then the rules are like this, they are not allowed to enter the hamlet. if not, then he will be sanctioned, he could die. For time, they will decide how long it will take. For example, 1 year, it's been 1 year, please decide whether to breed pigs already. If it is 1 year old, the pig is big and it means that it is ready to be slaughtered for the opening ceremony. if not yet big, then usually you will be given extra time later." (Informant 3).

The implementation of *Sar* culture, accompanied by customary sanctions for violators, is one form of symbolic violence perpetrated against the indigenous Kanum people. It is due to the necessity to comply with the rules contained in *Sar* culture. This imperative is wrapped in a practice that should be accepted and is not a

compulsion because everything is related to the implementation of *Sar* itself.

Conclusion

The Kanum tribe, one of the indigenous tribes who live in Merauke, depends on the nature for their life. The Kanum tribe also has a culture related to nature, namely the *Sar* culture. *Sar* culture has a positive impact on nature but also has a negative effect on women. The *Sar* culture is a Kanum tribe habitus because this culture has formed due to the interaction of the Kanum people with the natural environment and its surroundings since a long time ago to protect nature from the threat of damage. The actors in the implementation of this *Sar* culture are men, while the leaders of the Kanum tribe are as the dominant actors and the Kanum women and the indigenous Kanum people as subordinate actors.

In the implementation of *Sar* culture, symbolic violence occurs indirectly against women. The symbolic violence that occurs represents the absence of respect for women in the *Sar* culture and the psychological violence experienced by women during the *Sar* culture. Besides, the Kanum tribal leaders as the ruling party, also commit symbolic violence against the Kanum tribal people themselves.

The *Sar* culture, as the legacy of the Kanum tribe ancestor, is important to conserve because of its positive impacts on the environment. The implementation for nowadays context needs to be transformed. *Sar* culture may be practiced once any misery or feeling of worry among Kanum tribe, as environmental damage or important agreement between outsider and indigenous people related to nature exploration.

Standard rules for implementing *Sar* culture need to be exact. The Kanum tribal community, represented by the Kanum tribal leaders, can work together with the Merauke Regency Government and academics in drafting these regulations. It aims to maintain the sustainability of *Sar* culture and introduce *Sar* culture to the wider community. It can be used as an alternative to protecting and preserving the environment, especially in Merauke, Papua.[]

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