



## Ma'badong in Bourdieu's Field of Cultural Production and Its Implications for Developing Church Music in Toraja

Zefanya Sambira<sup>1</sup>, Andriano Mario Palimbong<sup>2</sup>, Hasrat Dewy Rante Allo<sup>3</sup>, Jhesica Patalo<sup>4</sup>

Institut Agama Kristen Negeri Toraja, South Sulawesi, Indonesia<sup>1234</sup>

[zefanyasambira@gmail.com](mailto:zefanyasambira@gmail.com)

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.34307/b.v8i2.588>

**Abstract:** *Ma'badong is a communal lament sung in a circular formation at the Toraja tribe's death ceremony (Rambu Solo'), serving as an expression of grief. Ma'badong is conducted following the slaughter of a tedong (water buffalo) in a quantity corresponding with the social rank of the deceased. Ma'badong is considered not only a symbolic gesture but also an endeavor to preserve and promote Toraja culture. This study aims to examine the contextualization of Ma'badong from the perspective of cultural production and its implications on the development of church music in Toraja. This research is characterized as descriptive and qualitative. This study examines the art of Ma'badong as portrayed in the Rambu Solo' ceremony in Toraja, particularly in the Gandangbatu Sillanan District of Tana Toraja Regency. The analysis of the issues in this study is grounded in Pierre Bourdieu's theory, which is The Field of Cultural Production theory. The results of this study indicate that Pa'badong representatives, serving as both agents and traditional musicians in church music services, generate cultural practices appreciated by the Toraja community and church congregation members. The habitus of the Toraja community (Ma'badong) is shaped and regulated by agents based on the capital they hold, which enables them to exert dominance in the field of Toraja art, encompassing church music as well. The field controlled by agents is classified as an elite or limited cultural sub-field. Ma'badong's implications for the development of church music in Toraja are the production of several ethnic-nuance congregational songs that incorporate its musical patterns and features. The incorporation of Ma'badong musical components has emerged as a significant characteristic of the Toraja Church, transforming congregational singing into a medium for expressing the local community's identity.*

**Keywords:** *capital, church music, field, habitus, ma'badong*

**Article History:**

Received: 29-11-2024

Revised: 25-12-2025

Accepted: 13-01-2026



## 1. Introduction

Music in culture embodies the essence and collective expression of a civilization, encapsulating its history, experiences, and values transmitted across generations. Its societal application extends beyond recreational purposes, significantly contributing to identity preservation and fostering connections to cultural heritage. Music within a cultural framework catalyzes the generation of innovative concepts during liminal periods, while simultaneously reflecting the existing status quo.<sup>1</sup> As written by Geertz,<sup>2</sup> He perceives art (music) as a cultural endeavor that must originate from an initial understanding that it is beyond mere technicality, emphasizing its contextual significance within the purpose of art and the experiential patterns of a collectively constructed society. These experiential patterns are expressed as symbols that have been historically transmitted.<sup>3</sup> These symbols, with human assistance, convey, maintain, and cultivate information and perspectives regarding the reality of existence.

Humans can transmit meanings by symbols or rituals enacted by subsequent generations. Geertz<sup>4</sup> perceives symbols within culture as mechanisms through which people express and articulate their values, feelings, and beliefs. Rituals are not simply mundane behaviors; they are "meaningful actions" that embody societal perspectives on life, death, and the sacred. Merriam's interpretive approach to music is examined as a "cultural system," characterized as "a system of symbols that establishes a profound and enduring mood and motivation by articulating conceptions regarding the fundamental order of nature and life, thereby rendering the evoked mood and motivation palpable".<sup>5</sup>

For the Toraja people, traditional music is deeply embedded as a symbol within rites like *Ma'Badong*. *Ma'badong* is a musical tradition conducted during funeral rituals or *Rambu Solo'* among the Toraja people. The term *Ma'badong* derives from "badong," signifying a song or lamentation.<sup>6</sup> This practice involves groups forming a circle and singing songs in remembrance of the deceased. The songs are performed by *Pa'badong* (singers in *Ma'badong*) as poetic expressions of lamentation, life journeys, and the social identity of the person being commemorated. To perform it, a minimum of one buffalo must be sacrificed, and the performance must adhere to the *Rambu Solo'* standards. Typically, *Ma'badong* is conducted during celebrations or when guests and mourners

---

<sup>1</sup> Liston Simaremare, "Perubahan Budaya Musik Dari Perspektif Teori Kebudayaan," *Jurnal Seni Nasional Cikini* 1 (2017): 9.

<sup>2</sup> C Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays In Interpretive Anthropology* (Basic Books, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 89.

<sup>4</sup> Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretative* (Basic Books, 1983).

<sup>5</sup> Simaremare, "Perubahan Budaya Musik Dari Perspektif Teori Kebudayaan," 16.

<sup>6</sup> J Tammu and H van der Veen, *Kamus Toraja Indonesia* (Toraja: P.T. Sulo, 2016).

participate in the procession. At elevated tiers of ceremony, its duration may extend.<sup>7</sup> In the performance, *Pa'badong* transforms ritual recitations into songs. That ability is unique to *Pa'badong*, necessitating proficiency in transforming recitations into songs. This proficiency in ritual recitations is attained through inherited wisdom and experience earned from involvement in rites.<sup>8</sup>

This study will analyze *Ma'badong* using Pierre's Bourdieu theory about The Field of Cultural Production and its implications for the development of church music in Toraja.<sup>9</sup> Bourdieu's theory of cultural production encompasses three essential concepts: habitus, field, and capital. Habitus denotes the recurrent habits, encompassing both attitudes and behaviors, that are perpetuated by agents within a specific environment or context. The Field is characterized as a domain of authority governed by agents to obtain various advantages; thus, the broader the extent of the region they oversee, the greater their influence within that field. Capital encompasses all resources held by agents, including wealth, objects, rank, social standing, or any other entities deemed valuable by society. Capital is currently categorized into four types: economic, social, symbolic, and cultural capital.

The popularity of *Ma'badong* within Toraja culture and art renders it a compelling and distinctive subject for study and research. Previous studies on *Ma'badong* have predominantly focused on theological, sociological, linguistic, symbolic, ethnographic, anthropological, and historical aspects; thus, studies into cultural production are particularly relevant as a novel area of research in this context. Furthermore, if cultural production is associated with church music, it has had developments in the past decade, particularly in the revival of traditional music and its incorporation into church music. *Ma'badong* possesses distinctive symbolism and significant potential for fostering a culture that encompasses diverse facets of human existence, including politics, art, economy, culture, religion, education, language, and more. In other words, *Ma'badong* also tackles numerous concerns that many people have not considered. This scenario provided scholars with a framework to examine *Ma'badong* within the context of cultural production, capable of influencing and generating innovations in several societal domains, including ecclesiastical music. The results of observations and interviews with informants demonstrated that traditional musicians actively participated in music ministry within churches. Indeed, the majority of young people assumed roles as both trainers and musicians within churches.

---

<sup>7</sup> Zefanya Sambira, Wadiyo, and Syakir, "Presentation of Ma'badong Music in the Context of Social Action in Lembang Gandangbatu," *Catharsis: Journal of Arts Education* 9 No. 2 (2020): 146–54.

<sup>8</sup> D Rappoport, *Nyanyian Tana Diperciki Tiga Darah: Penceritaan Etnografi*, Nyanyian Tana Diperciki Tiga Darah (Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2014).

<sup>9</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Arena Produksi Kultural: Sebuah Kajian Sosiologi Budaya*. Terjemahan Yudi Santosa (Bantul: Kreasi Wacana, 2012).

Literature reviews are beneficial for research related to *Ma'badong* in Bourdieu's field of cultural production and its implications for the development of church music in Toraja. Numerous prior literature reviews pertinent to the research topic possess significant relevance and may serve as references for this study (state of the art). The results from Elfena, Nurhadi, and Nurcahyono about "Arena Produksi Kultural Kerajinan Kulit di Surakarta dalam Tren Ekonomi Kreatif" show that leather agents or artisans not only produce leather crafts as works of art or goods, but also process and utilize them as economic capital to dominate the field.<sup>10</sup> The influence of economic capital is significant and affects other forms of capital held by agents, including cultural capital. Cultural capital enhances the attractiveness of leather craft production in Surakarta by increasing customer interest and attracting fellow artisans, thereby creating new economic opportunities, particularly for small and medium-sized enterprises. Thus, economic capital and cultural capital, utilized in this study as benchmarks for analyzing the economic and cultural capital present in the *Ma'badong* production field, exert a direct influence on the broader community and church congregants. These types of capital significantly influence the *Ma'badong* performances, as they engage numerous participants and entail substantial expenses for each event.

The findings of Nufus study about "Teori Strukturasi: Habitus dan Kapital dalam Strategi Kekuasaan (Studi Kepemimpinan Perpustakaan Universitas Islam Indonesia Yogyakarta)" demonstrate that power is a strategy for maintaining dominance through efforts that differ from those of others.<sup>11</sup> To control a field, it is insufficient to possess influence and extensive reach; agents must also formulate a strategy. This approach must be relevant to the field's circumstances and distinct from those of other actors. Consequently, the field domination approach in this study serves as a reference for examining research on the *Ma'badong* production field, as its scope encompasses traditional music performances with no fixed schedule. The control approach employed by agents extends beyond the *Ma'badong* field to encompass churches and places of worship for Christians, the predominant religion among the Toraja people.

Haerussaleh and Huda research findings about "Modal Sosial, Kultural, dan Simbolik sebagai Representasi Pelanggaran Kekuasaan dalam Novel The President karya Mohammad Sobary (Kajian Pierre Bourdieu)" show that the symbolic capital used by the Slaga Ima and Abah Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) is "Pancuran Tujuh"

---

<sup>10</sup> Lisa Elfena, Nurhadi Nurhadi, and Okta Hadi Nurcahyono, "Arena Produksi Kultural Kerajinan Kulit Di Surakarta Dalam Tren Ekonomi Kreatif," *Jurnal Socius: Journal of Sociology Research and Education* 7, no. 2 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.24036/scs.v7i2.244>.

<sup>11</sup> Ade Nufus, "Teori Strukturasi: Habitus Dan Kapital Dalam Strategi Kekuasaan (Studi Kepemimpinan Perpustakaan Universitas Islam Indonesia Yogyakarta)," *Libria* 11 No. 2 (2019).

(Seven Showers), a strategy employed to maintain and control their dominance.<sup>12</sup> Symbolic capital holds great prestige within the community, especially among enthusiasts, and serves as a basis for attracting many people who are in tune with the field's influence. In contrast to other types of capital, symbolic capital is intangible and cannot be manifested as physical products or objects; nevertheless, every person possesses many forms of symbolic capital, including talent, authority, or particular abilities. Consequently, symbolic capital in this study serves as a reference for research on the *Ma'badong* production field. *Pa'badong* is known among the Toraja community not for his financial resources but for his symbolic capital, manifested through his self-taught talent and proficiency in singing, which has garnered him legitimacy and esteem from other societal groups. This legitimacy is employed to control the field of both traditional Toraja music and church music. Conversely, this symbolic capital can facilitate the augmentation of economic capital through pay or rendered services.

The results from Sambira, Wadiyo, and Syakir about "Presentation of *Ma'badong* in the Context of Social Action in Lembang Gandangbatu" show that *Pa'badong* acts as an actor in objective, value, affective, and traditional actions through melody, rhythm, and *badong* poetry.<sup>13</sup> *Pa'badong's* social acts aim to cultivate relationships within the community while gradually asserting dominance in his efforts. This act represents a form of social capital held by *Pa'badong*, which is integrated with the cultural capital and habitus of the Toraja community. Consequently, social capital and the focus of this study serve as a subsequent examination of research concerning the *Ma'badong* production field, ensuring that *Ma'badong* is perceived not merely as a symbolic representation, ritualistic art, and theological inquiry, but also as a cultural production field with ramifications for the advancement of church music. The necessity for *Ma'badong* encompasses not just a cultural requirement but also an artistic and spiritual responsibility.

This study synthesizes different prior research findings that represent the state of the art to generate novelty in both the subject and object of investigation. Prior research typically elucidates the connection between the cultural production field and corporate entities or rivals, the hegemony of economic capital, the literary production field, and creative endeavors as revenue sources, while neglecting additional dimensions and emerging challenges. This research is novel in its application of Bourdieu's cultural production field theory to examine *Ma'badong* as a site for art production and symbolic legitimacy (power, violence, relations), facilitating the creation of new culture designed

---

<sup>12</sup> Haerussaleh and Nuril Huda, "Modal Sosial, Kultural, Dan Simbolik Sebagai Representasi Pelanggaran Kekuasaan Dalam Novel The President Karya Mohammad Sobary (Kajian Pierre Bourdieu)," *METALINGUA* 6 No. 1 (2021).

<sup>13</sup> Sambira, Wadiyo, and Syakir, "Presentation of *Ma'badong* Music in the Context of Social Action in Lembang Gandangbatu."

to sustain, regulate, and enhance the dominance of power through the reconversion of various forms of capital, including economic, symbolic, cultural, and social capital. The agents are actively engaged and influential in the church, particularly in music and worship services, to expand their networks and enhance their power. This participation renders these agents significant personalities, particularly in church music ministry, encompassing worship, choirs, vocal ensembles, coaching, or church musicianship. Consequently, this study uses cultural production at *Ma'badong* as a catalyst for advancing church music, encompassing songs, musical embellishments, and the role of church musicians.

## 2. Method

This study is a qualitative research study. This study employs a qualitative descriptive methodology to investigate and analyze "*Ma'badong* within Bourdieu's Field of Cultural Production and Its Implications for the Development of Church Music in Toraja." This research focuses on *Ma'badong* art in the Gandangbatu Sillanan District, Tana Toraja Regency, South Sulawesi Province. *Ma'badong* is a vocal musical art performed during *Rambu Solo'* (death ritual) that serves not only as ceremonial music but also as a cultural production domain governed and ruled by agents (individuals or communities).

This study employed observation, interviews, and documentation as data collection methodologies. Observations were conducted during *Ma'badong* performances and numerous activities of the Toraja Church, including Easter, Christmas, and harvest thanksgiving rituals. The researcher directly observed the ambiance of the ceremonies and worship services to acquire a comprehensive understanding of the current circumstances and conditions in the field. Interviews were conducted with multiple informants to gather precise and authentic data. The participants in this study were selected based on three criteria: being a *Pa'badong*, being a youth actively engaged in community and religious activities, and being a music scholar. The three participants were selected to provide descriptions and assertions regarding practices and other elements that would subsequently serve as raw research data for analysis. Data gathering was conducted through documentation, including photographic and video recordings of the field conditions.

Triangulation techniques are used to validate the data obtained. By applying source triangulation, the level of confidence in the information presented by informants becomes clearer, and its accuracy can be verified. Sumaryanto explained the criteria for validating qualitative data, including the degree of confidence, transferability,

dependability, and certainty.<sup>14</sup> Data from observations and informants were gradually collected and compared to find accurate data. Data analysis was conducted through the collection, reduction, presentation, and verification of data. The collected data was reduced to find objective data. The results of data reduction are then categorized according to the research focus. After that, the data is verified to construct information that can answer the research questions. Thus, the analysis of "Ma'badong in the field of cultural production and its implications for the development of church music in Toraja" will describe and elaborate in detail the various realities that occur in Ma'badong using the concepts of habitus, field, and capital.

### 3. Result and Discussion

#### ***Ma'badong* as Art Ritual**

Individuals or communities use art as a means of engaging in a series of activities that involve social actions and interactions. Wadiyo concludes that art is a real practice of social action managed by humans.<sup>15</sup> In line with this idea, Soedarso states that all human needs, including practical, spiritual, and social communication needs, can be fulfilled through art.<sup>16</sup> A unique form of art in Toraja society, particularly in Gandangbatu Sillanan District, is the performance of *Ma'badong*. Raditya asserts that the uniqueness of performing arts is in their universal appeal and capacity to be appreciated by all societal demographics, from children to adults. *Ma'badong* is a vocal music performance conducted during death ceremonies known as *Rambu Solo'*.<sup>17</sup> The term *Ma'badong* comes from the word "badong," which means a song or lament.<sup>18</sup> *Ma'badong* is known as *Gau Pa'Tendengan* (art), which contains expressions or lamentations packaged in various song lyrics.

The *Ma'badong* presentation encompasses multiple requirements and stages grounded in Toraja traditions, values, and culture. Andaryani indicates that a primary function of art is to satisfy wants or engage in activities.<sup>19</sup> An interview with a *Pa'badong* revealed that the nobility or their descendants typically performed *Ma'badong*. Nonetheless, due to globalization and the introduction of Christianity in Toraja, *Ma'badong* can now be executed by anyone. Moreover, the badong poetry, previously

---

<sup>14</sup> Totok Sumaryanto, *Pendekatan Penelitian Kualitatif Dan Kuantitatif* (Semarang: UNNES Press, 2007), 113.

<sup>15</sup> Wadiyo, *Sosiologi Seni* (Semarang: Penerbit Unnes Press, 2008), 123.

<sup>16</sup> Sp Soedarso, *Trilogi Seni: Penciptaan, Eksistensi, Dan Kegunaan Seni* (Yogyakarta: ISI Yogyakarta, 2006).

<sup>17</sup> H Raditya, "Dangdut Koplo: Memahami Perkembangan Hingga Pelarangan," *Jurnal Studi Budaya Nusantara* 1 No.1 (2017): 23-41.

<sup>18</sup> J Tammu and H. V. D. Veen, *Kamus Toraja Indonesia* (Rantepao: Yayasan Perguruan Tinggi Toraja BPSGT, 1972).

<sup>19</sup> E. T Andaryani, "Persepsi Masyarakat Terhadap Pertunjukan Musik Dangdut Organ Tunggal," *Harmonia: Journal of Arts Research and Education. UNNES* 11 No. 2 (2012).

encompassing the teachings of *Aluk To'dolo*, can now be modified to align with the passages of the Bible. Rappoport determined that *badong* is performed by the Toraja people as a choir during the *Rambu Solo'* rite.<sup>20</sup> *Pa'badong* cultivated contrasting and melismatic vocal approaches, rendering each collective utterance in the song more significant and imbued with spiritual aspects. *Ma'badong* performances are organized in a circular pattern and executed by *Pa'badong* or by visitors participating in *Rambu Solo'*. Wadiyo asserts that music (as an art form) gained popularity due to community endorsement.<sup>21</sup> Prior to the commencement of the *Ma'badong* performance, a buffalo or tedong is sacrificed to signify the initiation of *Rambu Solo'*. The *Ma'badong* performance has male vocalists who join hands, move their heads and shoulders, rotate in formation, and recite *badong* lyrics in the Toraja language. The *Ma'badong* performance occurs in an open space surrounding the *Tongkonan* (traditional dwelling) and *Alang* (rice barn).

Conversely, *Ma'badong* is part of Toraja society. This tradition is perpetuated and transmitted orally from one generation to the next. Hadi<sup>22</sup> notes that it is challenging to differentiate between aesthetic experiences in art and spiritual experiences in religious rituals. In other hand, Astuti asserts that human creations, inventions, and preferences influence culture.<sup>23</sup> Thus, *Ma'badong* represents a manifestation of Toraja culture, managed by the community to satisfy aesthetic and spiritual requirements, so impacting all facets of human existence. Furthermore, *Ma'badong* has evolved into a practice of communal social deeds. The *Ma'badong* music performances actualize the educational values of Toraja civilization and possess the potential to nurture character. The educational principles inherent in *Ma'badong* can foster intellectual development while also enhancing the emotional and ethical standards of the community.

*Ma'badong* is exclusively provided at a person's death. Witriani, Sumaryanto, and Malarsih elucidate that performances are presented to the general public, so they should be enjoyed and appreciated.<sup>24</sup> In *Ma'badong*, *kadong badong* (poetry) is integrated with many musical elements, including melody and rhythm. *Ma'badong* is delivered in vocal form, specifically as an a capella, or music devoid of instrumental accompaniment. *Pa'badong* dons black attire and sarongs for the *Ma'badong* performance, as black is a

---

<sup>20</sup> Dana Rappoport, "Ritual Music and Christianization in the Toraja Highlands, Sulawesi," *Ethnomusicology* 48, no. 3 (2004): 378–404.

<sup>21</sup> Wadiyo, "Campursari Dalam Stratifikasi Sosial Di Semarang," *Harmonia: Journal of Arts Research and Education*. UNNES 8 No.1 (2007): 2.

<sup>22</sup> Y. Sumandiyo Hadi, *Seni Dalam Ritual Agama* (Yogyakarta: PUSTAKA, 2006), 297.

<sup>23</sup> E. S. R Astuti and Y. S., "Identifikasi Keragaman Unsur Kebudayaan Di Desa Neglasari Kecamatan Salawu Kabupaten Tasikmalaya" 3 No.2 (2017): 241.

<sup>24</sup> Rani Witriani, Totok Sumaryanto, and Malarsih, "Form of Performance and Creativity of the Sisingaan Art in Wanareja Group in Subang Regency, West Java," *Catharsis: Journal of Arts Education* 8 No. 2 (2019): 127–34.

symbol of grief for the Toraja community. An interview with a *Pa'badong* informant and leader of the *Ma'badong* group disclosed that *badong* originated in the sky and was bestowed upon the Toraja people by the Gods, along with their teachings. *Ma'badong*, originating in the Gandangbatu Sillanan sub-district, extended to the bordering region of Enrekang Regency. The *Ma'badong* group is bifurcated into two factions: one located in the Gandangbatu area and the other in the Sillanan area. *Ma'badong* Gandangbatu Sillanan exhibits distinct traits that set it apart from those of other regions. The distinctions reside in the delivery of poetry and the focus on word choice.

Currently, *Ma'badong* is regarded not as a song of *Aluk Todolo* or the ancient beliefs of the Toraja people, but as a form of thanksgiving and heartfelt expression to God for human experiences. This understanding transpired due to the introduction of the Gospel to the Toraja region by Dutch Christian missionaries, specifically the Gereformeerde Zendingsbond (GZB). *Ma'badong* exemplifies the intersection of the Gospel with Toraja culture, despite the protracted process and the ensuing discourse among the Toraja community. Nonetheless, it was progressively adopted by the Toraja people and subsequently used in Toraja Church services in a modified format. For instance, church hymns in the Torajan language are used during Sunday worship services, following the style, vocal techniques, melodies, and rhythms characteristic of *Ma'badong*. Consequently, numerous Christian hymns have been translated and adapted into the Torajan language, played with traditional Torajan musical instruments, including the *gandang* (a traditional Toraja musical instrument that is played by striking it and is shaped like a drum), *geso-geso* (a traditional Toraja stringed instrument, similar in shape to a violin but made of bone and with two or three strings), and *pompang* (traditional Toraja musical instrument played by blowing into it and made from bamboo). Consequently, the liturgy of the Toraja Church exemplifies a collaboration that emphasizes Christian doctrines while also revitalizing local culture.

### ***Pa'badong* Habitus**

Bourdieu defines habitus as a system of transferable and permanent dispositions that serve as objective principles for attaining "power" and specified objectives.<sup>25</sup> Habitus predates agents, indicating that its essence is embedded in social conventions, which evolve into habits transmitted and perpetuated in daily life. Elfana defines habitus as the abilities or cultivated skills held by agents, regardless of whether they are obtained formally or informally.<sup>26</sup> Habitus possesses four primary characteristics: it is consistently present in the agent's life; it evolves and adapts to various contexts; it adheres to specific

---

<sup>25</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Arena Produksi Kultural Sebuah Kajian Sosiologi Budaya*, ed. Inyik Ridwan Muzir (Bantul: Kreasi Wacana, 2010).

<sup>26</sup> Elfana, Nurhadi, and Nurcahyono, "Arena Produksi Kultural Kerajinan Kulit Di Surakarta Dalam Tren Ekonomi Kreatif."

social contexts; and it generates new practices in particular circumstances. Habitus is not solely a mental construct; it is a manifestation of the mind expressed through purposeful and creative activities aimed at achieving specific objectives, including survival. Habitus manifests inside subjective structures due to the absorption and assimilation of objective structures.<sup>27</sup> The main characteristic of habitus is creativity, enabling agents to operate improvisationally and independently. The system of dispositions inside habitus may differ based on the agent's internalization of other agents or objective structures.

Within the framework of this study, the habitus of *Pa'badong* encompasses the performance of *badong* poems and melodies during the *Rambu Solo'* rite, adhering to the established ceremonial steps. The tradition indicates that at least five buffaloes must be sacrificed for the *Ma'badong* performance to commence. *Pa'badong* perpetually observes this tradition to fulfill his responsibilities within the social hierarchy, ensuring that his presence has a significant influence. This tradition develops organically and is passed down orally to subsequent generations. This condition is utilized, administered, and cultivated by *Pa'badong* as a means to sustain his existence and to extend his domain of influence in alignment with his capabilities. *Pa'badong's* singing skills are cultivated via learning and life experiences influenced by his environment. One informant indicated that the capabilities exhibited are not solely innate abilities but also the result of learning from other *badong* singers. These skills are employed in *badong* narratives through ritual recitations, correlating the life histories of deceased individuals. The social status, educational attainment, and standing of the departed also affect the lyrics performed in the *badong*. The *Pa'tolo badong* (The leader of *Pa'badong*) manages and interprets this using innovation, improvisation, and a sequence of phrases, subsequently followed and sung by the *Pa'badong* in a circle.

Habitus features not only endure in the lives of agents but also evolve, adapt, and generate new practices in response to the circumstances and conditions of the contested field. Habitus generates practices stemming from the reciprocal interplay between experienced objective structures and the subjective representations of agents, which are manifested as values.<sup>28</sup> *Pa'badong's* actions and answers are questionable, particularly as these changes have impacted his position within the Toraja social hierarchy. Habitus is attained through a process of transition or disposition arising from practice, agent habits, and modes.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, elements of the habitus are altered, maintained, integrated, and

---

<sup>27</sup> Kukuh Yudha Karnanta, "Paradigma Teori Arena Produksi Kultural Sastra: Kajian Terhadap Pemikiran Pierre Bourdieu," *Jurnal Poetika* 1 No.1 (2013): 10.

<sup>28</sup> Nufus, "Teori Strukturasi: Habitus Dan Kapital Dalam Strategi Kekuasaan (Studi Kepemimpinan Perpustakaan Universitas Islam Indonesia Yogyakarta)."

<sup>29</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Polity Press, 1992), 149.

evolved into something unique and distinctive as part of strategies for dominance. According to an informant who is also a *Pa'badong*, *Ma'badong* in the Gandangbatu Sillanan region can incorporate Bible verses into every song performed. In addition, the influence of *Pa'badong* is also evident in the liturgy of the Toraja Church, particularly in the liturgy of mourning or funeral services. In addition to the use of hymns in the Toraja language (*kombongan songs*), there are also songs that are composed in the *badong* style commonly known to the community, such as the songs titled "*Sadiala la menomba*" and "*Pa'poraian Tu Dadi*". This endeavor signifies that a creative process has occurred, integrating Christian teachings with Toraja culture. This process is also an endeavor or strategy employed by agents to legitimize symbolic dominion. Bourdieu defines this endeavor as a strategy or practice by which agents in the social space attempt to achieve something in accordance with the capital they possess.<sup>30</sup>

The dynamics associated with *Pa'badong* habitus occur in competition with other traditional arts, not with other *Pa'badong* groups, because there is only one badong group in the area. Other traditional arts have more opportunities to present performances, both in death rituals and thanksgiving rituals. This is what causes *Pa'badong* to have limited performance time, as they are only involved in death rituals, and even then only if various requirements are met in the procession. For this reason, *Pa'badong's* creativity emerged, was managed, and was realized with the appearance of attributes that showed its characteristics and existence in the form of uniform clothing combined with other decorations, such as hats, sarongs, and so on. In addition, social media is actively utilized by displaying various videos of *Ma'badong* performances that have been held in various places as part of promotion and an effort to capture the arena of traditional Toraja art. Various dynamics between *Pa'badong* and other traditional artists occur without physical or verbal violence, so it can be said that the dynamics tend to run smoothly.

### **The Field of Cultural Production**

Bourdieu defines a field as a structured environment characterized by specific conditions, regulated by social relations, that facilitate the movement or transformation of actors.<sup>31</sup> Bourdieu's theory of cultural production venues was formulated to examine social structures grounded in social aspects.<sup>32</sup> Agents will compete against one another in the field, employing diverse techniques devised to outmaneuver their rivals. The field is emblematic of the venue where agents compete for dominance based on their individual

---

<sup>30</sup> Bourdieu, *Arena Produksi Kultural Sebuah Kajian Sosiologi Budaya*.

<sup>31</sup> Bourdieu.

<sup>32</sup> Karnanta, "Paradigma Teori Arena Produksi Kultural Sastra: Kajian Terhadap Pemikiran Pierre Bourdieu," 4.

strengths and weaknesses.<sup>33</sup> Symbolic legitimation transpires within the field, encompassing symbolic power, symbolic aggression, or symbolic relations, rendering the field challenging to perceive visually. The field transforms into a nexus for all varieties of capital, both large and small.<sup>34</sup> The available capital is strategically managed and utilized as a primary tool to outmaneuver competitors. Elfana asserts that the field can be characterized as a marketplace where market leaders and the ruled meet.<sup>35</sup> Capital reconversion and reproduction are integral to competitiveness and marketability in attracting targets. The habitus of agents in the field manifests as strategic behaviors that aim to dominate the market and sustain the salability and popularity of items among the public. Bourdieu 2010 claims that the field consistently exists between two sub-fields: the elite or limited production field and the large-scale production field. The limited production field pertains to the creation of great art, commonly referred to as art for art's sake. Bourdieu perceives this as an inverse economic principle, as the limited production sphere seeks cultural rather than material or economic gain, hence deprioritizing commercialization. The field of large-scale production, generally referred to as common culture or popular culture, encompasses film, social media production, television, and popular music production, among others. This sub-field is underpinned by a diverse and intricate industrial culture, emphasizing values associated with economic capital. The sustainability of this sub-field is dependent upon the broader society. Bourdieu asserts that the creation of works inside this sub-field frequently appropriates and elaborates upon concepts from the limited sub-field.

The field of struggle in this study encompasses the realm of art and its sub-field. The field serves as a gathering place for all Toraja arts, encompassing visual arts, dance, music, and literature as expressions of culture. Meanwhile, the sub-field is a smaller and more specific part of the field. Bourdieu asserts that the field comprises two opposing sub-fields: the limited sub-field and the large-scale sub-field.<sup>36</sup> The limited sub-field generates artworks for aesthetic goals rather than for optimal profit or economic benefit. Simultaneously, the large sub-field generates artworks to secure substantial returns for economic capital. The initial sub-field categorizes *Ma'badong* as a traditional art associated with funeral rituals or *Rambu Solo'*, whereas the subsequent sub-field positions *Ma'badong* within the context of church music. Consequently, each of these sub-fields is

---

<sup>33</sup> Syakir, "Seni Perbatikan Semarang: Tinjauan Analitik Prespektif Bourdieu Pada Praksis Arena Produksi Kultural," *Jurnal Imajinasi* 10 (2016): 121–33.

<sup>34</sup> Chusnul Azizah, "Peran Komunitas Online Fanaction Dalam Mengembangkan Literasi Media Sebagai Praktik Reproduksi Kultural," *Libri-Net* 3 No. 2 (2014): 660–71.

<sup>35</sup> Elfana, Nurhadi, and Nurcahyono, "Arena Produksi Kultural Kerajinan Kulit Di Surakarta Dalam Tren Ekonomi Kreatif."

<sup>36</sup> Bourdieu, *Arena Produksi Kultural Sebuah Kajian Sosiologi Budaya*.

contested to secure a larger field, with the initial sub-field serving aesthetic goals (limited scale). In contrast, the subsequent sub-field seeks to maximize profit (large scale).

The conflicts in this field are typically pleasant, characterized by numerous concessions. As is well known, there is only one *Pa'badong* group in the Gandangbatu area, so competition takes place within a sub-arena, between *Pa'badong* and other traditional artists. Therefore, the strategy employed by the artists is simply to highlight the unique characteristics of each art form they perform. The most prominent and frequently used strategy is the use of complementary attributes in clothing, such as hats and sarongs with various models or motifs, as well as the use of social media as a means of promotion and also economic benefits as content creators. Not to forget, emphasizing the function of art in every ritual inherent in customs and culture is also one of the effective strategies. In Toraja customs and culture, *Ma'badong* is exclusively sung during death rites as a form of mourning music. Nonetheless, *Ma'badong* has developed a presence in musical compositions and church worship. The notion of the field is predicated on the endeavors and behaviors of agents who are constantly vying to alter their standings as part of their strategic competition.<sup>37</sup> One informant indicated that this phenomenon occurred as a result of Christianity's influence, leading to the adaptation of certain aspects of *Ma'badong* to align with Christian teachings and Toraja culture, including its meaning, lyrics, and qualities. However, an interview with a music scholar indicated that the melody and rhythm of *Ma'badong* were preserved as intrinsic features. The discourse between traditional leaders and religious leaders on this matter is inconsequential, primarily because each fulfills their tasks and obligations within defined parameters. Tensions and rivalry among agents, including artists, *Pa'badong*, musicians, music producers, music instructors, and others, mainly focus on competition for supplementary revenue and participation in contests. There is a notable absence of physical or verbal interaction among the agents in this conflict.

*Pa'badong*, a self-taught vocalist experienced in *Ma'badong*, competes with church musicians who possess far superior theoretical and practical musical expertise, leading to a symbolic legitimization strategy employed by *Pa'badong* to assert dominance in the field. *Pa'badong's* advantage is in his historical societal function and experience, which have resulted in recommendations for his involvement in both minor and large-scale sub-fields simultaneously. Interviews with youth and community members position *Ma'badong* as an aristocratic art form due to its exclusivity. *Ma'badong* is not designed for mainstream culture, but rather for cultural objectives. It is exclusively practiced at locations designated for funeral services, rather than in random settings. Its presence at ceremonies signifies prestige, embodying both symbolic and aesthetic determination.

---

<sup>37</sup> Karnanta, "Paradigma Teori Arena Produksi Kultural Sastra: Kajian Terhadap Pemikiran Pierre Bourdieu."

This understanding confirms that *Ma'badong* is not produced on a large scale, and the practice has evolved in the realm of elite or limited cultural production. Even though the struggles of artists and agents have been socially constructed, art products are not merely aesthetic experiences.<sup>38</sup>

The expertise of *Pa'badong* and traditional musicians in the sub-field of *Ma'badong* aligns with their implications for the church, particularly in the development of church music. This finding suggests that when agents maintain a positive presence and reputation within the community, it has a direct impact on the church culture. The congregation perceives the presence of these agents in the church as exceptional, given their influence, abilities, and experience in fulfilling the church's musical requirements; thus, the church seeks to utilize their presence to enhance and maximize current resources for worship. Music in the church is a vital component of Christian worship, serving to glorify God, facilitate personal growth, and advance the church's mission. Indeed, music has become a fundamental aspect of Christian culture.

### ***Pa'badong* Capital**

Capital, according to Bourdieu encompasses an economic term that refers to everything one owns that can be invested in, inherited, and provide social benefits.<sup>39</sup> Asy'ari and Sulton define capital as something that can be used for various purposes, one of which is to gain power.<sup>40</sup> Capital can be categorized into four components: economic capital, symbolic capital, cultural capital, and social capital.<sup>41</sup> Economic capital, manifested as tools or materials (monetary assets), possesses significant purchasing power and can be transmitted to successors. Symbolic capital, encompassing position, legitimacy, and prestige, is imperceptible to the human eye yet holds significant societal worth beyond material possessions. Cultural capital manifests as competencies or expertise acquired through formal or informal means. Social capital comprises numerous mutually beneficial social interactions.

Transformations in the art production field serve as a form of preservation while simultaneously altering the framework of the field, characterized by the rise of several competitions.<sup>42</sup> Large capital exerts considerable implications for agents, intensifying

---

<sup>38</sup> Karnanta.

<sup>39</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, "Outline of a Theory and Practice," *Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology*, 1995.

<sup>40</sup> Mokhammad Farosya Asy'ari and Agus Sulton, "Analisis Produksi Kultural Pierre Bourdieu Dalam NaskahNaskah Teater Andhi Setyo Wibowo," *Kajian Linguistik Dan Sastra* 2 No. 1 (2023): 50-63.

<sup>41</sup> Syakir, "Seni Perbatikan Semarang: Tinjauan Analitik Prespektif Bourdieu Pada Praksis Arena Produksi Kultural."

<sup>42</sup> Bourdieu, *Arena Produksi Kultural Sebuah Kajian Sosiologi Budaya*.

rivalry inside the field. Agency practice encompasses three categories of ideas: struggle ideas, strategy ideas, and logical ideas. Struggle ideas focus on assessing available capital. Strategic ideas are founded on the mastery of both theoretical and practical knowledge. Logical ideas are contingent upon the circumstances and parameters of an occurrence. For this reason, agents are required to have not only a strong habitus but also significant capital so that the field is easier to control. The primary contention in the art field is the monopoly on artistic validity, prompting agents to compete through diverse techniques and numerous variations.<sup>43</sup>

There are two types of strategies: capital reconversion strategies and reproduction strategies. Reconversion strategies refer to the exchange and addition of old capital to new capital in a given field. In contrast, reproduction strategies are efforts to maintain and develop the capital that agents already possess.<sup>44</sup> Agents predominantly employ both strategies. The patterns or variations are controlled and modified in accordance with the circumstances and conditions of the habitus and field. This understanding is also relevant to art creation, encompassing the promotion and presentation of artistic products and services. Karnanta defines that agents endeavor to leverage all accessible capital to acquire impact, regardless of the risk to that capital.<sup>45</sup> Profit and loss are not the primary objective; the primary goal is to establish control over the field to facilitate the modification and management of habits through the creative input of agents or artists.

In this study, capital denotes all assets possessed by agents, particularly *Pa'badong*, encompassing economic, symbolic, cultural, and social capital. Capital serves as the basic reference point for agents to control the field and the products they produce. Therefore, to develop a product, a harmonious combination of habitus, field, and capital is essential for market regulation. The economic capital of *Pa'badong* is primarily derived from salaries earned as *Ma'badong* performers and from various occupations outside the field, including farming, ranching, entrepreneurship, civil service, teaching, law enforcement, retirement, and other pursuits. In addition, economic capital also takes the form of inheritance received in the form of land, houses, money, gold, and other valuable items. Among the four categories of capital, economic capital significantly impacts agents in shaping their habitus and conquering their field, and it can even "purchase" the other three forms of capital. Conversely, economic capital serves as a criterion for the community in selecting *Pa'badong*. The larger *Pa'badong's* economic capital, the higher the quality he attains, directly correlating with his performance in presenting *Ma'badong*.

---

<sup>43</sup> Mahar Chleen and Harker Richard, (*Habitus X Modal*) + *Ranah = Praktik: Pengantar Paling Komprehensif Kepada Pemikiran Pierre Bourdieu* (Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2010).

<sup>44</sup> Bourdieu, "Outline of a Theory and Practice."

<sup>45</sup> Karnanta, "Paradigma Teori Arena Produksi Kultural Sastra: Kajian Terhadap Pemikiran Pierre Bourdieu."

Consequently, economic capital represents a standard of quality and outcomes that agents pursue.

*Pa'badong's* symbolic capital refers to his social rank, position, authority, and career, which bestow prestige or a particular impression upon those acquainted with him. In this case, one informant in the study, a *Pa'tolo badong*, wields significant influence due to his status as a retired police officer and his current role as the village chief. Moreover, his disposition and character exemplify ideals for all who are acquainted with him. This phenomenon is known as prestige, which carries both allure and symbolic capital for its holders. This status has a profound impact on him, his family, and his close colleagues. Consequently, the *badong* group he heads has acquired expertise and a commendable reputation in the Gandangbatu Sillanan subdistrict.

Cultural capital encompasses knowledge acquired both formally and informally through the learning processes of individuals. Formal learning experiences encompass basic education through doctoral studies, primarily characterized by the transmission of textual knowledge. Informal learning experiences are often conveyed verbally, derived from group traditions or settings that have been passed down directly from knowledgeable relatives. In this setting, *Pa'badong* is characterized by non-formal learning activities designed to acquire cultural capital. Knowledge regarding *Ma'badong* is derived from the traditional and oral communication practices of the Toraja culture; hence, it is typically acquired upon a person's death. The acquired knowledge is communicated verbally through social interactions among people. The process of knowledge transfer is both pragmatic and inherent, facilitating the practical training of cognition and skills. The formal knowledge held by agents in this instance is utilized to enhance non-formal knowledge. Consequently, *Pa'badong's* cultural capital is founded on his understanding of the culture that has evolved in everything around him. Cultural capital contributes to cultural preservation in *Ma'badong*, as Bourdieu posits that it can be transmitted through both formal and informal ways of learning.

Social capital denotes the social network held by *Pa'badong*, established through his expertise in presenting *Ma'badong*. An agent's social capital is derived not only from his proficiency in *Ma'badong* but also from the duration of his role as a *Pa'badong*. Experience serves as a key metric for assessing social capital due to its capacity to create robust connections with influential parties. The social capital of *Pa'badong* is a precondition for possessing symbolic capital, owing to the interrelation between the two forms of capital. A characteristic of social capital is its rapid spread, both verbally and through social media, so that both *Pa'badong* and *Ma'badong* can be reached nationally and internationally.

Capital processing is a well-known strategy employed by agents to achieve dominance in the field. This technique comprises two components: capital reconversion and capital reproduction. This study employs both tactics deployed by agents. Nevertheless, the capital reconversion approach is the most notable and simplest to implement within the field and sub-field. Capital reconversion occurs because capital can be exchanged or accumulated with other capital.<sup>46</sup> The capital reconversion manifests as the transformation of social capital into economic capital and cultural capital into symbolic capital. The change or accumulation of existing capital occurs in churches or other sub-fields, as these are new fields for creating new products. In this instance, *Ma'badong* is intended for utilization in churches, encompassing both worship and ancillary activities.

The conversion of social capital into economic capital through social ties and relationships can enhance the economic capital of persons. For example, in Toraja cultural arts training, the creation or arrangement of traditional Toraja songs is adopted into church hymns. The advantages acquired by agents are amplified by endorsements from community and church members concerning their competencies. The transformation of cultural capital into symbolic capital through talents enhances status. *Pa'badong's* proficiency in *badong* and traditional Toraja music establishes him as a knowledgeable and authoritative presence in the church, particularly in the integration of traditional music with church music during worship. This practice develops in church members a dual affection for God and their own culture. Consequently, all capital reconversions executed by *Pa'badong* constitute effective methods for dominating the sub-field. Bourdieu's cultural production field fundamentally involves a contest for power through various forms of capital, utilizing symbolic legitimacy (authority, coercion, and connections). Symbolic legitimacy is employed to uphold, alter, or contest the doxa or foundational principles. The dominant agents in the field structure seek to maintain, protect, and preserve the existing dogma as part of their strategy and symbolic power; this is what is referred to as orthodoxy.<sup>47</sup>

### **Implications for Church Music**

The church music that has developed in Toraja encompasses not only hymn collections, such as *Kidung Jemaat*, *Pelengkap Kidung Jemaat*, *Nyanyikan Kidung Baru*, and *Nyanyian Kemenangan Iman*, but also reflects Toraja's cultural traditions and wisdom. An example of this is the creation of Christian hymns in the Toraja language, incorporating Toraja musical characteristics. The Toraja Church Synod has addressed the congregation's

---

<sup>46</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Handbook of Theory and Research for The Sociology of Education: The Form of Capital*, ed. J. G Richardson (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 243.

<sup>47</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Arena Produksi Kultural* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2010), 152.

demand for traditional music by releasing a songbook "Nyanyian Jemaat Nuansa Etnik" (NJNE) in 2008. The songs are organized and adapted to the liturgy of the Toraja Church, indicating that their subjects are structured according to the liturgical events, including Sunday services, thanksgiving services, or OIG (intra-church organization) services. The release of the NJNE book significantly aids the congregation in articulating and valuing God's presence via music and singing.

There is a system within the social sphere that allows agents to have characteristics and skills that are not the same as one another.<sup>48</sup> *Pa'badong's* competencies encompass not just *badong* and other Toraja arts but also include his proficiency in singing hymns and playing a variety of both traditional and contemporary musical instruments usually used in Christian worship. His skills make him suitably qualified to serve as a music coach or accompanist in churches, including roles such as vocal coach for choirs and cantorias. Interviews with music scholars indicate that the expertise of traditional Toraja musicians is integrated with church music to create contextual worship music. Traditional musicians play a significant role in enhancing the popularity of church music within the congregation. Since the incorporation of *Nyanyian Jemaat Nuansa Etnik* (NJNE) into the worship liturgy of the Toraja Church, *Pa'badong* and traditional musicians have actively participated in instruction and training, as these songs are inspired by or derived from traditional Toraja melodies. This incorporation is evident in the lyrics, melody, and rhythm of NJNE, which are characteristic of Toraja culture, as exemplified by NJNE No. 1, titled "Sadiala la menomba," and NJNE No. 104. "Pa'poraian Tu Dadi," which are inspired by *badong* songs, were then created or arranged into hymns for use in Toraja Church worship services, including Sunday services, family services, funeral services, and thanksgiving services.

The musical components of *Ma'badong* are essential in the composition of NJNE. Repetitive rhythms and the utilization of melodies, frequently in unison, are characteristics of *Ma'badong* music, as evidenced in various NJNE songs. The rhythm patterns and essential patterns of NJNE Number 1, 104, and several other works closely resemble those found in *Ma'badong*. The words have been adapted to the Toraja language, based on the Bible, resulting in a shift in overall meaning while preserving the musical elements. This effort is undoubtedly intertwined with the cultural capital held by local composers or agents who are essential to the creative process of producing and integrating musical and linguistic (lyrical) materials. The contextualization of songs rooted in traditional music, such as *Ma'badong*, enhances their acceptance among the congregation due to cultural affinity. Conversely, the incorporation of *Ma'badong* musical

---

<sup>48</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Choses Dites: Uraian Dan Pemikiran* (Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2011), 176.

elements in NJNE reinforces the identity of the Toraja Church by transforming church music into a medium for expressing the local identity of the Toraja people.

Rappoport asserts that for the Toraja people, all ritual activities are connected to "bisara" (speaking).<sup>49</sup> According to one informant, people in the Gandangbatu Sillanan region are permitted to quote biblical texts, as a majority of the Toraja population has converted to Christianity. This transformation is what Bourdieu designates as cultural practices executed by agents in the administration of their thoughts, experiences, and creativity. In essence, existence serves to either maintain or change something in accordance with its significance. Furthermore, habitus may also evolve in response to a shifting environment. The Christianization of the Toraja community profoundly impacted their traditional customs and practices.<sup>50</sup> This effort influenced the process of integrating *Ma'badong* musical elements into NJNE in a way that was acceptable to the Toraja Church congregation.

Events and competitions for vocal groups have characterized the development of church music in Toraja, with choirs performing traditional Toraja spiritual songs, often organized by churches and local governments. These events have garnered a highly favorable and enthusiastic reaction from the community and church members, as they actively engage all members of the congregation. Traditional Toraja musicians strive to deliver the finest musical presentations, incorporating instruments, dance, and traditional Toraja attire. This effort is undertaken not alone to achieve victory, but also as evidence that in glorifying God, individuals must provide and present their utmost efforts. Consequently, these agents have achieved expertise in the field, encompassing both Toraja arts and church music.

Of the four types of capital above, social hierarchy and differentiation are determined by the amount and structure of capital possessed by agents. Agents who influence all forms of capital will undoubtedly ascend to the top echelons of authority and establish themselves as the dominant class. On the other hand, control over certain types of capital will occupy the middleclass hierarchy, and those who control none will occupy the lowest position. In the context of *Pa'badong*, control over economic capital is not particularly dominant because it falls within a limited subfield of the overall economy. However, with control over the other three types of capital, *Pa'badong* occupies the highest position in the hierarchy and can gain power, becoming the dominant class in the cultural field.

*Pa'badong's* diverse assets make him a significant figure in the social sphere, particularly in the realm of Toraja art. On the other hand, these assets constitute legitimate evidence of his dual function. This event indicates that, alongside his position

---

<sup>49</sup> Rappoport, "Ritual Music and Christianization in the Toraja Highlands, Sulawesi."

<sup>50</sup> Rappoport.

as *Pa'badong* within the social structure, he also serves as a traditional musician tasked with delivering musical services in the church, functioning both as a trainer and music educator. The capital held by the agent in Toraja art is inherently validated as capital in the church music ministry. It is this dual function and role that gives the agent a high degree of existence to dominate the field in the habitus possessed by the Toraja community, both culturally and in church music ministry.

Additionally, there is a substantial capital increase attributable to the dual activities and roles of the agents. For example, in terms of economic capital, the fees or honoraria given to music coaches or music teachers in churches are quite large, commensurate with the scope of their duties. Additional responsibilities within the church's music ministry include serving as a jury in artistic competitions for vocal groups and choirs, as well as producing songs for subsequent church holiday festivities. Symbolic capital transforms people into traditional and church musicians, thereby augmenting their dignity and status through the perception of prestige, which subsequently elevates their remuneration in church music ministry. The higher the achievement in the field of church music, the greater the impact on economic improvement. Cultural capital, which establishes the agent as both a traditional musician and a church musician, is characterized by his musical experience, both aesthetic and artistic, which he has undergone over a long period of time. Church musicians not only compete with each other, but also contribute to expanding the knowledge of church members about music, both in theory and practice, so that music ministry in the church is not just a routine, but a calling.

#### 4. Conclusion

*Ma'badong's* discourse and examination of Bourdieu's Field of Cultural Production elucidate three essential elements that influence cultural production: habitus, field, and capital. *Ma'badong* is depicted as the manifestation of the Toraja people's habitus in conducting funeral ceremonies, known as *Rambu Solo'*. This habitus has been passed down through generations, evolving into a tradition of the Toraja people. Changes in habitus arise from the enhanced cognitive capacities and competencies of the community. Those changes made *Ma'badong* a source of inspiration, representing Toraja art as a means to integrate it into church music or hymns, thereby showcasing the intersection of the Gospel and Toraja culture. The impact is the emergence of power and specific goals to dominate or compete with one another. In this context, the field is a domain of struggle pursued by *Pa'badong* as a traditional musician involved in church music through vocal music in *Ma'badong*, as well as church singing, to control and dominate Toraja art, which also includes church music, in order to gain maximum profit. However, the goal of *Ma'badong* is not to dominate the market like a mass or popular subculture, but rather an

elite or limited subculture that places greater importance on symbolic (meaning) and aesthetic (art) quality. The capital employed by agents, whether as *Pa'badong* or traditional musicians, to dominate the field and influence the habitus of the Toraja community through *Ma'badong*, can be categorized into four types: economic, symbolic, cultural, and social capital. The economic capital employed to achieve this objective encompasses all resources, including both financial resources and physical assets. Symbolic capital manifests as prestige or reputation (authority) to garner the attention of the community and church members, while also strengthening his profession. Cultural capital is utilized to enhance and cultivate his capabilities and talents in articulating and actualizing his creativity. Social capital is utilized to promote their offerings and engage with many people to garner support and recognition from different groups for what is being given. The cultural production executed by agents is contingent upon habitus, field, and capital; these three elements are essential for agents to master and dominate their pursuits. They also serve as the conduit for the development of contextual church music and the revitalization of other musical arts, enabling their management and actualization in the daily lives of church members.

**Reference:**

- Andaryani, E. T. "Persepsi Masyarakat Terhadap Pertunjukan Musik Dangdut Organ Tunggal." *Harmonia: Journal of Arts Research and Education*. UNNES 11 No. 2 (2012).
- Astuti, E. S. R, and Y. S. "Identifikasi Keragaman Unsur Kebudayaan Di Desa Neglasari Kecamatan Salawu Kabupaten Tasikmalaya" 3 No.2 (2017): 241.
- Asy'ari, Mokhammad Farosya, and Agus Sulton. "Analisis Produksi Kultural Pierre Bourdieu Dalam Naskah Naskah Teater Andhi Setyo Wibowo." *Kajian Linguistik Dan Sastra* 2 No. 1 (2023): 50–63.
- Azizah, Chusnul. "Peran Komunitas Online Fanaction Dalam Mengembangkan Literasi Media Sebagai Praktik Reproduksi Kultural." *Libri-Net* 3 No. 2 (2014): 660–71.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Arena Produksi Kultural: Sebuah Kajian Sosiologi Budaya*. Terjemahan Yudi Santosa. Bantul: Kreasi Wacana, 2012.
- . *Arena Produksi Kultural*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2010.
- . *Arena Produksi Kultural Sebuah Kajian Sosiologi Budaya*. Edited by Inyik Ridwan Muzir. Bantul: Kreasi Wacana, 2010.
- . *Choses Dites: Uraian Dan Pemikiran*. Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2011.
- . *Handbook of Theory and Research for The Sociology of Education: The Form of Capital*. Edited by J. G Richardson. New York: Greenwood Press, 1986.
- . *Language and Symbolic Power*. Polity Press, 1992.
- . "Outline of a Theory and Practice." *Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology*, 1995.

- Chleen, Mahar, and Harker Richard. *(Habitus X Modal) + Ranah = Praktik: Pengantar Paling Komprehensif Kepada Pemikiran Pierre Bourdieu*. Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2010.
- Elfena, Lisa, Nurhadi Nurhadi, and Okta Hadi Nurcahyono. "Arena Produksi Kultural Kerajinan Kulit Di Surakarta Dalam Tren Ekonomi Kreatif." *Jurnal Socius: Journal of Sociology Research and Education* 7, no. 2 (2020). <https://doi.org/10.24036/scs.v7i2.244>.
- Geertz, C. *Local Knowledge: Further Essays In Interpretive Anthropology*. Basic Books, 2008.
- Geertz, Clifford. *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretative*. Basic Books, 1983.
- . *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books, 1973.
- Hadi, Y. Sumandiyo. *Seni Dalam Ritual Agama*. Yogyakarta: PUSTAKA, 2006.
- Haerussaleh, and Nuril Huda. "Modal Sosial, Kultural, Dan Simbolik Sebagai Representasi Pelanggaran Kekuasaan Dalam Novel The President Karya Mohammad Sobary (Kajian Pierre Bourdieu)." *METALINGUA* 6 No. 1 (2021).
- Karnanta, Kukuh Yudha. "Paradigma Teori Arena Produksi Kultural Sastra: Kajian Terhadap Pemikiran Pierre Bourdieu." *Jurnal Poetika* 1 No.1 (2013).
- Nufus, Ade. "Teori Strukturasi: Habitus Dan Kapital Dalam Strategi Kekuasaan (Studi Kepemimpinan Perpustakaan Universitas Islam Indonesia Yogyakarta)." *Libria* 11 No. 2 (2019).
- Raditya, H. "Dangdut Koplo: Memahami Perkembangan Hingga Pelarangan." *Jurnal Studi Budaya Nusantara* 1 No.1 (2017): 23–41.
- Rappoport, D. *Nyanyian Tana Diperciki Tiga Darah: Penceritaan Etnografi*. Nyanyian Tana Diperciki Tiga Darah. Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2014.
- Rappoport, Dana. "Ritual Music and Christianization in the Toraja Highlands, Sulawesi." *Ethnomusicology* 48, no. 3 (2004): 378–404.
- Sambira, Zefanya, Wadiyo, and Syakir. "Presentation of Ma'badong Music in the Context of Social Action in Lembang Gandangbatu." *Catharsis: Journal of Arts Education* 9 No. 2 (2020): 146–54.
- Simaremare, Liston. "Perubahan Budaya Musik Dari Perspektif Teori Kebudayaan." *Jurnal Seni Nasional Cikini* 1 (2017): 7–25.
- Soedarso, Sp. *Trilogi Seni: Penciptaan, Eksistensi, Dan Kegunaan Seni*. Yogyakarta: ISI Yogyakarta, 2006.
- Sumaryanto, Totok. *Pendekatan Penelitian Kualitatif Dan Kuantitatif*. Semarang: UNNES Press, 2007.
- Syakir. "Seni Perbatikan Semarang : Tinjauan Analitik Prespektif Bourdieu Pada Praksis Arena Produksi Kultural." *Jurnal Imajinasi* 10 (2016): 121–33.
- Tammu, J, and H. V. D. Veen. *Kamus Toraja Indonesia*. Rantepao: Yayasan Perguruan Tinggi

- Toraja BPSGT, 1972.
- Tammu, J, and H van der Veen. *Kamus Toraja Indonesia*. Toraja: P.T. Sulo, 2016.
- Wadiyo. "Campursari Dalam Stratifikasi Sosial Di Semarang." *Harmonia: Journal of Arts Research and Education*. UNNES 8 No.1 (2007): 2.
- . *Sosiologi Seni*. Semarang: Penerbit Unnes Press, 2008.
- Witriani, Rani, Totok Sumaryanto, and Malarsih. "Form of Performance and Creativity of the Sisingaan Art in Wanareja Group in Subang Regency, West Java." *Catharsis: Journal of Arts Education* 8 No. 2 (2019): 127–34.