



***Sulapa Eppa* Local Wisdom in Modern Social Dynamics: A Habitus Perspective of Pierre Bourdieu**

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ABSTRACT

Sulapa Eppa is a philosophical foundation of the Bugis people that embodies the values of *macca* (wisdom and intelligence), *malempu* (honesty), *warani* (courage), and *getteng* (steadfastness) as guiding principles for social and cultural life. The processes of modernization and globalization have created new social arenas that influence how these values are interpreted and reproduced within contemporary society. This study aims to analyze the transformation of *Sulapa Eppa* in modern social dynamics through Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus and to identify the roles of cultural, social, economic, and symbolic capital in sustaining Bugis cultural identity. The research employed a qualitative approach, using a library-based method to examine primary and secondary sources related to Bugis culture and Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice. Data were analyzed using interpretative content analysis by examining the relationships among habitus, field, capital, and social practice. The findings reveal that *Sulapa Eppa* functions as a collective habitus that shapes the worldview and social actions of the Bugis people. Modernization has not eliminated these values; instead, it has encouraged processes of reinterpretation and negotiation across different spheres of life, including education, economic activities, and digital culture. The continuity of *Sulapa Eppa* is supported by cultural, social, economic, and symbolic capital, which enable the sustained reproduction of Bugis collective identity. This study demonstrates that local wisdom is not static but adaptive and continuously transformed without losing its symbolic legitimacy amid contemporary social changes.

Keywords: *Sulapa Eppa*; habitus; Pierre Bourdieu; local wisdom; Bugis society.

I. INTRODUCTION

Local wisdom constitutes a system of knowledge and cultural values transmitted across generations and functions as a guideline for communities in regulating social relations, environmental interactions, and spiritual life (Sillitoe, 2007; UNESCO, 1995). Amid the forces of globalization, the rapid development of digital technology, and increasing social mobility, local wisdom faces challenges in the form of shifting values, changing patterns of interaction, and the emergence of new social arenas that require processes of adaptation without erasing deeply rooted cultural identities (Appadurai, 1996; Hormazabal, 2001). In this context, cultural preservation cannot be understood merely as an effort to maintain traditions in a static form, but rather as a dynamic process of value reproduction and transformation that evolves in accordance with societal development (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Bourdieu, 1990).

The Bugis people are one of the ethnic groups in Indonesia that possess a strong philosophical system of life which continues to be practiced to the present day (Mattulada, 1985; Pelras,



1996). One of the fundamental concepts in Bugis culture is *Sulapa Eppa*, a cosmological worldview that interprets life through four primary elements: fire, water, wind, and earth (Mattulada, 1985). This concept not only represents the structure of the universe but also serves as the foundation for character formation through the values of *macca* (wisdom and intelligence), *malempu* (honesty), *warani* (courage), and *getteng* (steadfastness) (Jusmiati, 2024). These values are internalized in various cultural practices, including stilt-house architecture, customary rituals, family education systems, and the social relations of Bugis communities (Jusmiati, 2024; Pelras, 1996; Millar, 1989).

The development of modernity has brought significant changes to the ways communities interpret and practice traditional cultural values (Giddens, 1991; Appadurai, 1996). Formal education, market economies, urbanization, digital media, and global popular culture have created new social spaces that encourage communities to reinterpret their cultural heritage (Castells, 2010; Bauman, 2000). Under such circumstances, *Sulapa Eppa* is no longer understood merely as a cosmological symbol but also as a set of values continuously negotiated to remain relevant to contemporary life (Jusmiati, 2024; Pelras, 1996). This process demonstrates that local culture is inherently adaptive and constantly transformed through social practices occurring within particular historical contexts (Bourdieu, 1990; Hall, 1997).

Previous studies have examined *Sulapa Eppa* from symbolic, cosmological, educational, and ecological perspectives. Jusmiati (2024), for instance, positions *Sulapa Eppa* as a philosophy of life that shapes the identity of the Bugis-Makassar people, while other studies have primarily associated it with character education and the preservation of local culture. Nevertheless, most of these studies remain focused on normative and representational aspects, providing limited explanations of how the values of *Sulapa Eppa* are reproduced, maintained, and transformed within modern social dynamics through interactions among individuals, social structures, and various forms of symbolic power.

These limitations present opportunities to employ Pierre Bourdieu's sociological perspective as an analytical framework. Bourdieu (1977) argues that habitus is a system of durable and transferable dispositions formed through historical experiences and functioning to guide the ways individuals and groups think, feel, and act. Habitus does not operate through mechanical obedience to formal rules but through practical tendencies internalized in everyday life. Furthermore, Bourdieu (1990) emphasizes that social practice results from the dialectical relationship among habitus, capital, and the field in which individuals interact. Therefore, the continuity of a tradition is determined not only by the transmission of values but also by the ability of cultural actors to mobilize cultural, social, economic, and symbolic capital to maintain their positions within ever-changing social arenas.

Through this framework, *Sulapa Eppa* can be understood not merely as a philosophical concept or cultural symbol but as a collective habitus of the Bugis people that continuously shapes patterns of action and social perception (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990; Pelras, 1996). The values of *macca*, *malempu*, *warani*, and *getteng* are not only inherited as moral norms but are also reproduced through social practices within families, educational institutions, customary



traditions, and modern social life (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Mattulada, 1985; Jusmiati, 2024). At the same time, the emergence of new arenas such as higher education, the digital economy, and social media has encouraged the negotiation of these values, giving rise to forms of cultural practice that differ from those of earlier periods (Giddens, 1991; Castells, 2010; Appadurai, 1996).

Based on the foregoing discussion, this study seeks to address two primary questions: how have the principles of *Sulapa Eppa* been transformed within modern social dynamics, and to what extent do these values continue to shape the habitus of contemporary Bugis society? Accordingly, this study aims to analyze the continuity and transformation of *Sulapa Eppa* values through Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus and to identify the roles of cultural, social, economic, and symbolic capital in sustaining Bugis cultural identity amid modernization processes.

Theoretically, this study is expected to broaden the application of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice within local wisdom studies in Indonesia. In practice, its findings may serve as a foundation for strengthening locally based cultural education and strategies for preserving Bugis values among younger generations. The novelty of this research lies in its effort to position *Sulapa Eppa* not merely as a cosmological system and cultural symbol, but as a living, adaptive habitus that continuously negotiates with modern social arenas without losing its symbolic legitimacy within Bugis society.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Studies on *Sulapa Eppa* indicate that this concept is one of the philosophical foundations of the Bugis-Makassar people, integrating cosmological, ethical, and cultural-identity dimensions. Etymologically, *Sulapa Eppa* means "four-sided" or "quadrilateral," representing the four fundamental elements of life: fire, water, wind, and earth. These elements are understood as principles of natural balance as well as the basis for human character formation. Mattulada (1985) explains that the concept is closely related to the Bugis cosmological worldview, which regards human beings as integral to the universal order. Therefore, *Sulapa Eppa* functions not only as a cultural symbol but also as a moral guideline for social life.

Recent studies have demonstrated that the values embodied in *Sulapa Eppa* remain relevant across various aspects of Bugis society. Jusmiati (2024) emphasizes that this philosophy is manifested through the values of *macca* (wisdom and intelligence), *malempu* (honesty), *warani* (courage), and *getteng* (steadfastness), which serve as the foundation for both individual and collective character formation. These values are reflected in customary practices, Bugis stilt-house architecture, the use of *walasuji* in marriage rituals, and family educational systems. Such studies indicate that *Sulapa Eppa* continues to function as a source of moral legitimacy and cultural identity for the Bugis people amid ongoing social transformations.

Nevertheless, most studies on *Sulapa Eppa* have primarily focused on its symbolic and normative dimensions. Greater attention has been devoted to its cosmological meanings, forms



of cultural representation, and functions in character education based on local wisdom. These studies have provided limited explanations of how the values of *Sulapa Eppa* are reproduced, negotiated, and transformed when confronted with modern social fields such as formal education, market economies, urbanization, and digital culture. Consequently, there remains considerable analytical space for understanding *Sulapa Eppa* as a dynamic social practice that is continuously reproduced in contemporary society.

Pierre Bourdieu's perspective offers a relevant theoretical framework for addressing this issue. Bourdieu (1977) defines habitus as a system of durable and transferable dispositions formed through historical experiences and transmitted through processes of socialization. Habitus generates particular tendencies in thinking, feeling, and acting without relying on explicitly recognized formal rules. In this sense, culture is understood not as a static set of norms but as a living structure continuously reproduced through everyday social practices.

Furthermore, Bourdieu (1990) argues that social practice results from the dialectical relationship among habitus, capital, and field. A field is understood as a social space in which individuals and groups compete for legitimacy and symbolic power. Within such fields, various forms of capital—including cultural, social, economic, and symbolic capital—determine actors' positions and capacities to maintain their identities and influence. Cultural capital encompasses socially inherited knowledge, education, and competencies; social capital refers to networks and social relations; economic capital concerns material resources; whereas symbolic capital consists of recognition, prestige, and legitimacy granted by society (Bourdieu, 1986).

Bourdieu's concept of symbolic power also provides insight into how cultural values achieve collective recognition and endure across generations. According to Bourdieu (1991), symbolic power operates subtly through society's acceptance of particular meanings and values as legitimate and natural. In the context of Bugis culture, symbols such as *walasuji*, the traditional stilt house (*Bola Ugi*), and the values of *macca*, *malempu*, *warani*, and *getteng* may be regarded as forms of symbolic capital that sustain the collective identity of the Bugis people.

Numerous studies on the application of Bourdieu's theory in cultural research demonstrate that habitus possesses an adaptive capacity to social change without losing its fundamental structure. Habitus may transform when confronted with new fields; however, such changes occur through processes of negotiation that preserve collective memory and cultural legitimacy. Accordingly, modernization does not necessarily eliminate tradition but may instead generate new forms of cultural reproduction that are more compatible with contemporary social contexts.

Based on this review of the literature, it can be concluded that research on *Sulapa Eppa* remains dominated by descriptive approaches that position the concept primarily as a cosmological symbol and moral guideline for Bugis society. Meanwhile, studies connecting *Sulapa Eppa* with Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus remain relatively limited. Therefore, this study seeks to address this gap by positioning *Sulapa Eppa* as a cultural habitus shaped by history,



transmitted through social practices, and continuously negotiated within various arenas of modern life. This approach is expected to contribute new insights into understanding the continuity and transformation of Bugis local wisdom amid the dynamics of contemporary society.

III. METHOD

This study employed a qualitative approach using library research. Library research was selected because the study focused on exploring, examining, and interpreting written sources on the concepts of *Sulapa Eppa*, Bugis culture, and Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus. According to Zed (2014), library research encompasses a series of activities involving the collection, reading, recording, processing, and analysis of scholarly materials without conducting direct field data collection.

The research data consisted of primary and secondary sources. The primary sources included Pierre Bourdieu's major works, namely *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977), *The Forms of Capital* (1986), *The Logic of Practice* (1990), and *Language and Symbolic Power* (1991), which served as the theoretical foundation for understanding the concepts of habitus, field, capital, and symbolic power. In addition, Mattulada's (1985) work was employed as a principal reference on the cosmology and value system of Bugis society. Secondary sources were obtained from scholarly journal articles, books, and recent studies discussing *Sulapa Eppa*, Bugis local wisdom, cultural transformation, and the application of Bourdieu's theory in social and cultural studies.

Data collection was carried out by identifying, selecting, and classifying literature based on its substantive relevance to the research focus. The selected materials primarily originated from authoritative academic publications, including reputable journals, scholarly books, and classic works that serve as primary references in Bugis cultural studies and sociological theory. All collected data were subsequently documented, categorized, and organized according to the study's main themes: *Sulapa Eppa*, habitus, social fields, cultural capital, and the transformation of social practices within Bugis society.

Data analysis was conducted using an interpretative content analysis approach (Mayring, 2014; Krippendorff, 2018). This analysis aimed to identify the relationships between the values embedded in *Sulapa Eppa* and Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus, and to interpret how these values are reproduced and transformed within modern social dynamics. The analytical process involved stages of data reduction, thematic categorization, conceptual interpretation, and inductive conclusion drawing (Miles et al., 2014; Zed, 2014). To ensure data validity, this study employed source triangulation by comparing various works addressing similar research objects and theoretical frameworks, thereby yielding a more comprehensive and consistent understanding (Denzin, 1978; Patton, 1999).



IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Sulapa Eppa as the Cultural Habitus of Bugis Society

Sulapa Eppa is one of the fundamental concepts within the Bugis system of knowledge, integrating cosmological, ethical, and social dimensions. Literally, *Sulapa Eppa* means “four-sided” or “quadrilateral,” representing the four primary elements of life: fire, water, wind, and earth. These elements are perceived as principles of natural balance as well as the foundation for human character formation. Mattulada (1985) explains that the Bugis cosmological worldview positions human beings as integral to the universal order, making harmony among humans, nature, and social values the principal foundation of communal life.

The concept of *Sulapa Eppa* extends beyond its symbolic dimension and is deeply internalized within various cultural practices of Bugis society. Jusmiati (2024) argues that this philosophy is manifested through four core values: *macca* (wisdom and intelligence), *malempu* (honesty), *warani* (courage), and *getteng* (steadfastness). These values function as moral guidelines governing interpersonal relations, family life, customary rituals, and collective decision-making processes. Therefore, *Sulapa Eppa* can be understood as a system of collective dispositions that has shaped how the Bugis people think, feel, and act across generations.

From Pierre Bourdieu’s perspective (1977), such a system of dispositions transmitted through historical processes and socialization is referred to as habitus. Habitus is an internalized structure that generates particular social practices without relying on consciously recognized formal rules. Bourdieu characterizes habitus as “structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures,” namely, structures shaped by past experiences that simultaneously provide frameworks for present actions. In this sense, habitus operates as a form of living social memory embedded within individuals and communities.

Within Bugis society, *Sulapa Eppa* may therefore be understood as a cultural habitus that guides moral orientations and social practices. The value of *macca* signifies not merely intellectual capability but also wisdom in considering the social consequences of one’s actions. *Malempu* emphasizes honesty and integrity as the foundation of interpersonal relationships, whereas *warani* represents courage framed by moral responsibility. Meanwhile, *getteng* reflects steadfastness and consistency in upholding fundamental principles of life. These values are not transmitted solely through formal education but are inherited through family traditions, customary institutions, life experiences, and participation in various cultural rituals.

Bourdieu (1990) further argues that habitus is neither mechanical nor deterministic; rather, it has the capacity to generate diverse practices in specific social contexts. Habitus provides a repertoire of actions considered legitimate and natural within a given community. In this regard, *Sulapa Eppa* establishes an interpretative framework through which the Bugis people understand the social world and collectively define moral boundaries. Consequently, cultural practices such as the use of *walasuji* in marriage ceremonies, the spatial organization of the



traditional Bugis stilt house (*Bola Ugi*), and the respect accorded to customary leaders represent concrete manifestations of a habitus deeply rooted in social life.

Beyond shaping individual behavior, the habitus of *Sulapa Eppa* also functions as a mechanism for intergenerational cultural reproduction. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) explain that social reproduction occurs through the transmission of values, symbols, and practices that members of a society accept as natural. Among the Bugis, this transmission takes place through family education, oral traditions, customary rituals, and other social institutions. Children learn not only explicit norms but also internalize culturally specific ways of acting and perceiving the world in accordance with the values embedded in *Sulapa Eppa*. Consequently, this cultural habitus persists despite significant social transformations.

The existence of *Sulapa Eppa* as a cultural habitus demonstrates that local wisdom cannot be understood merely as a static legacy of the past. Rather, it constitutes a living structure that is continuously reproduced through everyday social practices and serves as the foundation of Bugis collective identity. Such a habitus enables the community to maintain cultural continuity while simultaneously providing space for adaptation to changing circumstances. Therefore, understanding *Sulapa Eppa* as habitus is essential for explaining how Bugis local wisdom endures and acquires new meanings within the dynamics of modern social life.

4.2 Modern Social Fields and the Transformation of *Sulapa Eppa* Values

Pierre Bourdieu (1990) conceptualizes a field as a social space in which individuals and groups interact, compete, and struggle over various forms of capital they possess. Each field has its own rules, hierarchies, and mechanisms of legitimacy that shape the social practices of the actors within it. Habitus, formed through historical experiences, does not operate independently but is always dialectically related to the field in which it functions. Consequently, changes in modern social structures inevitably influence the ways communities reproduce and interpret their cultural values.

Within Bugis society, modernization has introduced new social fields that differ significantly from traditional structures. Formal education, market economies, urbanization, information technology, and digital media have created spaces of interaction that require adaptation to emerging values. Nevertheless, these changes have not eliminated the principles of *Sulapa Eppa*; rather, they have encouraged processes of negotiation and reinterpretation to maintain their relevance to contemporary social needs. Cultural transformation, therefore, is more appropriately understood as a change in the forms of social practice rather than the disappearance of deeply rooted values.

The field of modern education is one of the most significant arenas for transforming the *Sulapa Eppa* habitus. In traditional Bugis society, the value of *macca* was understood as wisdom acquired through life experience, customary knowledge, and the ability to maintain social harmony. Within contemporary formal education systems, however, the notion of intelligence has expanded to encompass academic achievement, professional competence, technological



mastery, and digital literacy. Despite this shift in orientation, the essence of *macca* as the capacity to understand and manage life wisely remains intact. This demonstrates that cultural habitus can adapt to the demands of new fields without compromising its moral foundations.

Similar transformations can be observed in the fields of economics and global markets. The Bugis trading tradition has historically cultivated the values of *warani* and *getteng*, namely courage in taking risks and steadfastness in adhering to life principles. Within modern, technology-driven, and competitive economies, these values have undergone reinterpretation. Courage is no longer confined to physical bravery or heroism but is expressed through entrepreneurship, innovation, and participation in global markets. Likewise, steadfastness (*getteng*) is no longer understood as rigid adherence to tradition but rather as moral consistency that remains open to change and continuous learning. In other words, modern economic fields demand a balance between loyalty to cultural values and flexibility in responding to market dynamics.

Digital media and virtual spaces have also created new social fields that influence the reproduction of *Sulapa Eppa* values. Social media platforms enable Bugis cultural identity to be represented, exchanged, and negotiated beyond traditional geographical boundaries. In this context, the value of *malempu* takes on new meanings associated with informational integrity, digital communication ethics, and social responsibility in virtual public spaces. Similarly, *warani* has evolved into the courage to express ideas, defend cultural identity, and participate in increasingly open public discourse. Thus, the digital field functions not only as a space for the consumption of global culture but also as a medium for reproducing and revitalizing local identities through new symbolic practices.

According to Bourdieu (1991), every field involves struggles for symbolic legitimacy. In modern society, legitimacy is no longer derived solely from customary status or lineage but also from educational attainment, professional achievements, technological competence, and influence within digital public spheres. Such conditions encourage the Bugis community to integrate traditional cultural capital with emerging forms of capital in order to maintain strong positions across diverse social fields. In this regard, *Sulapa Eppa* serves as a moral orientation that enables this integration without rupturing cultural identity.

The transformations experienced by Bugis society demonstrate that cultural habitus is not static. Bourdieu (1977) argues that habitus possesses a generative capacity, producing new practices that remain rooted in historical experiences. Therefore, the transformation of *Sulapa Eppa* values should not be interpreted as cultural decline but rather as a form of creative adaptation to changing modern social structures. The values of *macca*, *malempu*, *warani*, and *getteng* continue to provide ethical foundations for Bugis society, although their manifestations have been adjusted to accommodate the characteristics of evolving social fields.

Accordingly, modern social fields do not position tradition and modernity as mutually exclusive opposites. Instead, they exist in a dialectical relationship that enables the continuous reproduction of culture. *Sulapa Eppa* endures as the collective habitus of the Bugis people



because of its capacity to negotiate social change while preserving its symbolic legitimacy as a foundation of cultural identity.

4.3 Cultural, Social, Economic, and Symbolic Capital in the Preservation of Sulapa Eppa

The continuity of a tradition is determined not only by the intergenerational transmission of values but also by a community's ability to mobilize its resources to maintain cultural legitimacy. From Pierre Bourdieu's perspective (1986), these resources are conceptualized as capital, encompassing cultural, social, economic, and symbolic capital. These forms of capital are interrelated and determine the positions of individuals and groups within particular social fields. Accordingly, the preservation of *Sulapa Eppa* as a form of Bugis local wisdom can be understood as the result of dynamic interactions among the various forms of capital possessed by the community that sustains it.

Cultural capital constitutes the principal element supporting the continuity of *Sulapa Eppa*. Bourdieu (1986) explains that cultural capital exists in the form of knowledge, competencies, habits, and interpretive capacities transmitted through both formal and informal educational processes. Within Bugis society, understandings of the cosmology of the four elements, the values of *macca*, *malempu*, *warani*, and *getteng*, as well as knowledge of customs and rituals, represent forms of cultural capital passed down from one generation to the next. Mattulada (1985) emphasizes that family education and oral traditions play crucial roles in shaping the collective consciousness of the Bugis people regarding these values.

The cultural capital embedded in *Sulapa Eppa* extends beyond conceptual knowledge and is manifested in everyday practices. The architecture of traditional stilt houses (*Bola Ugi*), the use of *walasuji* in customary ceremonies, deliberative practices, and respect for elders all constitute concrete expressions of internalized cultural capital. Individuals who understand and practice these values gain social recognition as guardians of tradition and are regarded as possessing moral authority within their communities. Consequently, cultural capital serves as the primary foundation for the reproduction of the Bugis habitus.

In addition to cultural capital, social capital also plays an essential role in sustaining *Sulapa Eppa*. According to Bourdieu (1986), social capital refers to networks of relationships, trust, and solidarity that enable individuals to obtain support and recognition from their social groups. In Bugis society, kinship ties, customary institutions, cultural communities, and community leaders form robust social networks that maintain rituals and facilitate the transmission of cultural values. These social bonds ensure the continuity of knowledge transmission despite changes in economic structures and modern patterns of life.

The strength of Bugis social capital is evident in the implementation of various customary rituals that continue to involve collective community participation. Marriage ceremonies, the use of *walasuji*, customary deliberations, and other cultural activities demonstrate that the continuity of *Sulapa Eppa* depends not solely on particular individuals but is sustained by deeply rooted social solidarity. In this context, social networks function as arenas for the



reproduction of habitus, allowing cultural values to remain alive while acquiring new meanings in response to changing times.

Alongside cultural and social capital, economic capital also contributes significantly to the sustainability of local traditions. Bourdieu (1986) argues that economic capital consists of material resources that can be converted into other forms of capital. In the context of *Sulapa Eppa*, economic support enables the organization of cultural festivals, the preservation of traditional houses, the publication of cultural literature, and the development of local wisdom-based education. Local governments, educational institutions, and cultural communities play vital roles in providing the financial support necessary to maintain and introduce Bugis cultural heritage to younger generations.

The growth of the creative industries and cultural tourism has likewise created new opportunities for transforming economic capital into cultural and symbolic capital. Various artistic products, handicrafts, and cultural performances inspired by *Sulapa Eppa* not only generate economic benefits for local communities but also strengthen collective awareness of Bugis cultural identity. Thus, economic capital should not be understood merely as a material resource but also as an instrument that supports the reproduction of cultural values and practices within modern society.

The form of capital that most decisively determines the continuity of *Sulapa Eppa* is symbolic capital. Bourdieu (1991) explains that symbolic capital consists of recognition, honor, and legitimacy granted to individuals or groups within a social field. This form of capital operates invisibly because it is accepted by society as natural and legitimate. Within Bugis culture, symbols such as *walasuji*, traditional stilt houses (*Bola Ugi*), cosmological colors, and the values of *macca*, *malempu*, *warani*, and *getteng* possess considerable symbolic power because they have acquired historical and moral legitimacy.

Individuals who possess knowledge of *Sulapa Eppa* and are capable of practicing customary traditions often gain respect and occupy important positions within their communities. Customary leaders, community figures, and family elders possess symbolic capital that enables them to shape collective perceptions of Bugis cultural identity. Such authority is not derived solely from formal power but emerges from collective recognition of their ability to preserve the continuity of traditions and the moral values inherited from their ancestors.

The interrelationship among cultural, social, economic, and symbolic capital demonstrates that the preservation of *Sulapa Eppa* is a complex and multidimensional process. These four forms of capital mutually reinforce one another in shaping the collective habitus of Bugis society. Cultural capital provides knowledge and values; social capital builds networks of solidarity; economic capital sustains cultural activities; and symbolic capital confers legitimacy and moral authority. Therefore, the continuity of *Sulapa Eppa* in the modern era depends not only on the strength of inherited traditions but also on the community's capacity to manage and transform these forms of capital in accordance with the demands of contemporary social fields.



4.4 Social Practices: Negotiating Between Tradition and Modernity

Bourdieu (1990) argues that social practice is the result of a dialectical relationship among habitus, capital, and field. Practices do not emerge solely from individual intentions or the determinism of social structures; rather, they arise from the interaction between actors' historically constituted dispositions and the objective conditions they encounter. Consequently, social change does not necessarily eliminate deeply rooted traditions but may generate new forms of practice that remain grounded in established cultural values. This perspective provides a relevant framework for understanding the continuity of *Sulapa Eppa* in contemporary Bugis society.

Modern Bugis communities face various social transformations influenced by developments in education, the economy, technology, and population mobility. These processes of modernization have altered patterns of social interaction while simultaneously expanding the social fields in which people operate. Nevertheless, cultural practices rooted in *Sulapa Eppa* continue to be maintained as integral components of collective identity. Such continuity demonstrates that cultural values are not erased but rather negotiated to preserve their relevance within the context of modern life.

One cultural practice that has persisted is the use of *walasuji* in traditional Bugis marriage ceremonies. *Walasuji* functions not merely as a decorative element but also embodies philosophical meanings associated with *Sulapa Eppa* as a symbol of balance and the sanctity of human life. Its presence within customary rituals illustrates how symbolic capital and cultural habitus continue to be reproduced through communal practices. Although contemporary wedding ceremonies have undergone various adaptations, traditional symbols remain preserved as sources of cultural legitimacy and expressions of respect for ancestral heritage.

The value of *macca* has likewise undergone transformation within modern social practices. In the past, intelligence was primarily associated with customary wisdom, deliberative abilities, and knowledge of local traditions. In contemporary society, *macca* has expanded to encompass academic achievement, information technology skills, digital literacy, and professional competencies. Yet, these changes have not diminished the ethical dimensions embedded in the Bugis conception of intelligence. Individuals regarded as *macca* are still expected to use their knowledge for the common good and to maintain social harmony. Thus, modernization has broadened the meaning of *macca* without disrupting the continuity of its underlying cultural values.

A similar process of negotiation can be observed in the value of *warani*. In traditional society, courage was often associated with the defense of family honor, communal solidarity, and social territory. Within modern fields, however, courage has acquired new expressions centered on intellectual and professional competencies. Entrepreneurship, innovation, participation in public discourse, and the preservation of cultural identity amid globalization have become contemporary manifestations of *warani*. This transformation illustrates the generative nature



of cultural habitus, namely, its capacity to produce new practices while remaining rooted in historically constituted dispositions (Bourdieu, 1977).

The value of *getteng*, or steadfastness, has also adapted to contemporary social dynamics. In traditional contexts, steadfastness referred to consistency in upholding principles and loyalty to customary norms. In modern life, however, it is no longer interpreted as rigid adherence to tradition but rather as the capacity to maintain moral integrity while remaining open to change. Individuals are expected to adapt to developments in science, technology, and the economy without losing the value orientations inherited from their culture. Consequently, steadfastness in contemporary society is more reflective and adaptive than a literal preservation of traditional practices.

On the other hand, certain cultural practices have weakened as a result of structural changes and shifting orientations among younger generations. Knowledge of the cosmology of the four elements, for example, is increasingly less practiced as a guide to everyday life and is more frequently understood as a cultural symbol. Participation in certain customary activities has also declined in parallel with greater involvement in formal education, professional careers, and digital culture. Bourdieu (1990) emphasizes that changes in social fields produce new configurations of habitus that shape how individuals perceive and practice inherited traditions.

Nevertheless, modernity has not entirely displaced the significance of *Sulapa Eppa* within Bugis society. The emergence of digital technologies has opened new spaces for cultural reproduction through documentation, education, and the promotion of local identity. Cultural communities increasingly utilize social media to introduce the symbols, values, and practices associated with *Sulapa Eppa* to younger generations and broader audiences. This phenomenon demonstrates that digital fields can serve as new arenas for the production of symbolic capital that reinforces the continuity of Bugis cultural identity.

Accordingly, contemporary Bugis social practices reveal a dialectical relationship between tradition and modernity. *Sulapa Eppa* does not survive through static preservation but through processes of negotiation that enable traditional values to generate new forms of practice suited to contemporary needs. From Bourdieu's perspective, such continuity results from the dynamic interaction among habitus, capital, and social fields that are constantly evolving. Therefore, modernization should not be viewed as a threat to local wisdom but rather as a space that enables cultural reproduction and transformation to proceed creatively and sustainably.

4.5 The Symbolic Power of Sulapa Eppa in the Construction of Bugis Cultural Identity

The concept of symbolic power occupies a central position in Pierre Bourdieu's thought because it explains how a system of values acquires legitimacy and becomes accepted as natural within society. Bourdieu (1991) defines symbolic power as the capacity to shape worldviews, social classifications, and collectively recognized meanings without physical coercion. This form of power operates through the social recognition of symbols, language,



traditions, and cultural practices regarded as legitimate within a community. Consequently, the continuity of a cultural identity depends significantly on the strength of the symbolic capital that sustains it.

Within Bugis society, *Sulapa Eppa* functions as a source of symbolic power that shapes moral orientations and collective identity. The values of *macca*, *malempu*, *warani*, and *getteng* are not merely perceived as principles of individual ethics but also serve as social standards for evaluating personal qualities within the community. Individuals who demonstrate intelligence, honesty, courage, and steadfastness receive greater respect and recognition. Such recognition essentially constitutes a form of symbolic capital that strengthens an individual's social position within the community.

Cultural symbols associated with *Sulapa Eppa* also play a crucial role in constructing Bugis identity. *Walasuji*, traditional stilt houses (*Bola Ugi*), cosmological colors, and spatial arrangements based on the concept of the three layers of the universe serve not only practical functions but also symbolic meanings passed down through generations. According to Mattulada (1985), these symbols represent the Bugis worldview, which places balance, harmony, and order as the fundamental principles of life. The persistence of these symbols enables Bugis cultural identity to remain recognizable despite significant social transformations.

Bourdieu (1991) further emphasizes that symbolic power operates through historically constituted processes of legitimation. A symbol derives its power not from intrinsic properties but from collective recognition and acceptance. In the context of *Sulapa Eppa*, such legitimacy is constructed through oral traditions, family education, customary rituals, and social institutions that continuously reproduce Bugis cultural values. It is precisely this process of reproduction that allows *Sulapa Eppa* to retain its moral authority amid the changing structures of modern society.

Customary leaders, community figures, academics, and cultural practitioners serve as agents responsible for maintaining the continuity of the symbolic power embodied in *Sulapa Eppa*. They possess cultural and symbolic capital that enables traditional values to retain recognition across diverse social fields. Bourdieu (1986) argues that actors who command symbolic capital possess the capacity to define meanings considered legitimate within a community. In Bugis society, the ability to understand and practice the values of *Sulapa Eppa* serves as a source of legitimacy, positioning certain individuals in highly respected social roles.

Nevertheless, modernization introduces new challenges to the continuity of traditional symbolic power. Modern educational systems, global capitalism, popular culture, and digital media generate alternative forms of legitimacy that are often oriented toward academic achievement, economic wealth, and virtual popularity. These shifts potentially diminish the influence of traditional symbols in shaping the identities of younger generations. However, Bourdieu (1990) maintains that social fields are always arenas of struggle among different forms of capital; consequently, symbolic domination is never absolute or permanent.



Under such circumstances, *Sulapa Eppa* demonstrates its adaptive capacity as a source of cultural identity. Various Bugis communities employ digital technologies to document customary rituals, promote cultural values, and introduce the symbols of *Sulapa Eppa* to younger generations. Social media platforms, cultural festivals, local wisdom-based educational programs, and academic research have become new fields for the production and distribution of symbolic capital. Thus, the symbolic power of *Sulapa Eppa* has not declined but has instead transformed in accordance with the characteristics of contemporary social fields.

Ultimately, Bugis cultural identity is shaped not merely by shared ethnicity or geographical territory but by collective recognition of the value system transmitted through *Sulapa Eppa*. This identity is produced and reproduced through social practices, cultural symbols, and historically constituted relations of power. Within Bourdieu's framework, cultural identity emerges from the interaction among habitus, capital, and field, all of which continuously evolve in response to social dynamics. Therefore, the continuity of Bugis identity depends upon the community's ability to preserve the symbolic legitimacy of *Sulapa Eppa* while adapting its cultural practices to the demands of changing times.

Accordingly, the symbolic power of *Sulapa Eppa* functions not only as a mechanism for preserving tradition but also as an instrument for constructing an adaptive and sustainable collective identity. The values embedded within it continue to serve as moral orientations for Bugis society and as foundations for confronting modern social transformations. Pierre Bourdieu's perspective demonstrates that the sustainability of local wisdom is determined not by its capacity to resist change but by its ability to maintain symbolic legitimacy through ongoing processes of reproduction and transformation.

V. CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that *Sulapa Eppa* is not merely a cosmological symbol or a cultural heritage of the Bugis people but also functions as a collective habitus that shapes ways of thinking, acting, and interpreting social life. The values of *macca*, *malempu*, *warani*, and *getteng* have been internalized through historically constituted processes of socialization and cultural reproduction, thereby serving as the moral foundation for the construction of Bugis identity.

From Pierre Bourdieu's perspective, the continuity of *Sulapa Eppa* is determined by the dialectical relationship among habitus, field, and the various forms of capital possessed by society. Modernization and globalization have generated new social fields, such as formal education, market economies, and digital culture, which encourage the reinterpretation of traditional values. Nevertheless, these transformations have not eliminated the essence of *Sulapa Eppa*; rather, they have produced new forms of social practice that remain rooted in the fundamental principles of Bugis culture.

This study also reveals that cultural, social, economic, and symbolic capital play essential roles in sustaining local wisdom. Customary knowledge, community networks, material support, and the symbolic legitimacy maintained by customary leaders, families, educational



institutions, and cultural communities enable the values of *Sulapa Eppa* to be continuously reproduced and transmitted to future generations. Accordingly, the symbolic power embedded in *Sulapa Eppa* continues to function as a source for the construction of Bugis collective identity amid the transformations of modern social structures.

The theoretical contribution of this study lies in applying Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field, capital, and symbolic power to understand the dynamics of local wisdom in Indonesia. Through this perspective, *Sulapa Eppa* is positioned not as a static tradition but as an adaptive and generative value system that continuously negotiates with various arenas of contemporary life. These findings affirm that the sustainability of local culture does not depend on its capacity to resist modernity, but rather on the community's ability to reproduce and transform its cultural heritage without losing its symbolic legitimacy and collective identity.

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