

TAU MAPPAKKA: STIGMA OF PEOPLE WITH PHYSICAL DISORDERS, SOUTH SULAWESI, INDONESIA

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Abstract

This article examines Tau Mappakka: Stigma of people with Physical Disabilities in the District of Bone, South Sulawesi, Indonesia. In Indonesia, there are so many cases involving individuals with physical disorders. This is the case in one of the Tau Mappakka communities, where individuals with physical disabilities have been stigmatized by the community. The formation of a stigma against Tau Mappakka is comprised of three processes, one of which is the interpretation process. At this point, the community interprets Tau Mappakka's physical abnormalities as the consequence of violating accepted norms, which are classified as deviant behavior. Second, Tau Mappakka appears to be a human curse at this point in the definitional process, when the community interprets the disabilities of people with physical disabilities as a form of their deviant behavior. Exiled Clan, Curse Man, Crab Man, and Poor Man are stigmas. In addition, Tau Mappakka's response to stigma consists of two components: self-acceptance and resistance to social and cultural stigma in the form of growing solidarity and the development of a work ethic. This study employs a qualitative methodology.

Keywords: Tau Mappakka, People with Physical Disabilities, Stigma, Response

1. INTRODUCTION

God created humans with their own individual assets and weaknesses, so nobody is born perfect. Similarly, for those with physical limitations. Disability is referred to as in society. In daily life, persons with disabilities are typically referred to as "disabled people" or as "people with disabilities." They are viewed as unproductive members of society unable to fulfill their duties and responsibilities, so their rights are frequently disregarded (Irwanto, 2010: 1).

They are frequently subjected to insults, derision, and other forms of discrimination daily; they are also described as "garbage," useless, and providing an unsavory view of the social order formed by "normal" individuals (Slamet Thohari, 2007: 33). This sad stigma cannot be separated from the history of disability, which is often distinguished by exclusion, discrimination, and stigmatization; in other words, historically, people with disabilities cannot be separated from society's perspectives and negative treatment.

In the Study (Ro'fah 2015: 10), it is explained that historically, among the Greeks, sick people were regarded as inferior, and that in the Republic, Plato recommended that superior and inferior children be placed in "mysterious unknown places." This response was in fact inseparable from the culture of the Greeks and Romans, who always venerated physical purity and the strength of their bodies, so that imperfections and abnormalities in body shape had to

be eradicated because they were deemed incompatible with their culture. This can be seen in the culture of Spartan citizens, who have a tradition of displaying their newborn babies to the city elders, or "Gerousia," to be judged on the perfection of their body shape. Babies who do not survive the physical examination because they are disabled or ill will be left to die in a place known as "Apothetai" Ro'fah also explained that the Roman culture is said to have a tradition of "killing" infants. In other words, weak, ill, or disabled infants are promptly disposed of by being washed away in the Tiber.

Disease types and incidence vary by culture, and each culture perceives and treats disease differently (Lupton 2012:89). Nonetheless, all societies have what is known as the "systems theory of disease" to identify, categorize, and explain disease. Foster and Anderson (1978:46) identify three fundamental theories of illness: personalistic, naturalistic, and personalistic. Personalistic theories of disease attribute illness to agents such as sorcerers, phantom witches, and ancestral spirits. The naturalistic theory explains disease in impersonal terms; for instance, the naturalistic system attributes ill health to bodily fluids resulting from an unbalanced diet. Considering the preceding explanation, the physical abnormalities suffered by persons with physical disabilities are as follows: Personalistic theory, specifically the curse of ancestral spirits, is the foundation of Mappakka. Therefore, the body deformities of several people in Ulutau Hamlet are in the public eye, particularly for those who see them for the first time, which will give rise to a negative stigma based on the developing belief that they are cursed humans. The residents of Ulutau Hamlet refer to this physically handicapped individual as Tau mappakka. People with physical disabilities in Ulutau Hamlet embrace this moniker more than "crab man."

The human body must be viewed as a social construction that varies and changes based on spatial and temporal differences. In social identification, the physique is a crucial factor. Not only is our existence in a particular location dependent on the presence or absence of our body in that location, but the characteristics of the body can also be utilized to explain a person's existence. In addition to being a symbol, the human body serves as a tool for meeting life's requirements. Everyone is vying to maintain their health to participate in their activities. It is true that the body becomes an icon in social processes within a society, so it is uncommon for humans to compete to better their bodies. The physically handicapped natives of Ulutau Hamlet are in the spotlight because they are distinct from other humans.

The stigma associated with normal or abnormal individuals, such as tau mappakka, does not inherently exist in society. (Tahara, 2010: 23) A multicultural society based on the same ethnicity is still described based on their position or history within their own ethnic community. Negatively labeled minority communities will be excluded and regarded differently, even if only in one eye. Stigma that originates from prejudice generates stereotypes for each social stratum, resulting in the emergence of social strata in which the labeler believes he is superior and treats them unjustly as "the minority" As a result, it is common to discuss resistance practices that begin because of a combative spirit for equality among humans on this planet.

Mappakka continues to consume stigmas with a negative connotation. Bad stigma gives rise to cases that, like or unlike tau mappaka, must deal with it, such as employment discrimination,

bullying, and the most recent news that has become a popular topic of discussion in Ulutaue hamlet. Reportedly, a mappakka woman was unable to marry her longtime partner, even though they had been in a relationship for a considerable amount of time. Unfortunately, the parents of the groom were already aware of the limitations of their child's companion, who has a physical disorder (mappakka). Most the women's families, tau mappakka, encountered the groom's family at the time of the event, causing the wedding procession to stall. Nikka Soro ceremony was canceled because the groom's family was unwilling to tolerate the absence of the bride and her family. This is just one example of the stigma that people with physical disabilities, also known as tau mappakka, face. This is a problem for them both physically and psychologically. Therefore, researchers are interested in unearthing additional information about Tau Mappakka for anthropological study. Mappakka's Physical Abnormalities.



The Picture of Tau Mappakka's hand

In South Sulawesi, specifically in Ulutaue Hamlet, Mario Village, Mare District, and Bone Regency, Mappakka is a finger disorder. The term mappakka is a term or moniker used by the local community to refer to them. Mappakka means branched in the Bugis Bone Sinjai language, so in this context it refers to branched digits. Several family members in the hamlet have both Mappakka feet and Mappakka digits; they have inherited this condition for generations. Starting with the eldest and ending with toddlers. Some of their offspring and grandchildren have normal fingers (Faridah, 2018:60).

The medical term for mappakka is Ectrodactyly. Ectrodactyly is a limb malformation characterized by a deep median fissure. The term ectrodactyly derives from the Greek ectroma (abortion) and daktylos (finger). This is an uncommon congenital condition. Patients with ectrodactyly have deformities not only in their hands but also in their feet. In contrast to normal humans, who have five digits, ectrodactyly sufferers have only two to three fingers on their hands and feet. In addition, ectrodactyly is frequently accompanied by hearing impairment. Ectrodactyly can be caused by chromosome 7 mutations that result in deletions, translocations, and even inversions. Moreover, this genetic disorder is reportedly inherited (Faridah, 2018: 67).

This disease's severity differs considerably between patients. This condition can affect multiple digits on either one or both hands or feet. In addition to the absence of digits, mappakka is distinguished by abnormal finger spacing and the absence of specific bones. Mappakka has no effect on victims' intelligence or lifespan. They can live a normal and active existence. However, corrective surgery may be necessary in some instances. Mappakka is an uncommon genetic disorder. According to research published in *Frontiers in Pediatrics*, the estimated incidence rate is 1 in 90,000–150,000 newborns (Faridah, 2018: 82).

Mappakka sufferers must endure their entire lives with these congenital defects. According to a report by the World Health Organization (WHO) on the prevention of injury and disability, although people with disabilities vary from country to country, the fundamental problems remain the same: stigma, discrimination, and barriers to access, such as transportation, access to school and work. Consequently, individuals with disabilities tend to have poorer health, lower educational attainment, less economic participation, and high rates of poverty (Bryant, 2013: 33).

1.1 The Body as a Symbol of Social Status

Since the beginning of the 19th century, the human body has become an essential component of anthropological investigations. The body's significance in anthropology can be attributed to four factors: (1) Discussion of philosophical anthropology regarding human ontology The embodiment of the human form is inevitably placed at the center by this theme. (2) The origins of humans can be traced back to mammalian species that relied on natural constraints to develop culture. Since the Victorian era, studies of evolution in anthropology (social Darwinism) have developed, which have contributed to the study of the body. The body was a significant indicator of social status, family position, age, gender, and religious matters in premodern society.

As the body serves as a social marker, Tau Mappakka's physical abnormalities are increasingly associated with a lower social status. Humans construct a normal and ideal body as a standard against which other bodies can be compared. Like Tau Mappakka, whose physical condition is considerably superior to the norm? A person with branched fingers and toes must be a distinct kind of individual than usual. This has a major impact on one's existence and social standing. In addition to being the center of attention, they are considered to be deviated from ideal or normal body construction; their body shape is an "abnormal" body shape.

Those who have a physique conforming to the ideal body structure will be praised and elevated to the top of the social hierarchy. Those who do not fall into this category will be insulted in the current context, which is body shaming, where people will make fun of their body shape and use them as gossip fodder until they are relegated to a lower status because they are used as a standard for attractiveness.

In popular culture, the body is frequently perceived as a medium or instrument for material pleasures. The image of a beautiful, attractive, and sexual body is frequently associated with hedonism, pleasure, and appearance, giving birth to the notion of the body as the "visible self." Mike Featherstone explained that because of the proliferation of consumer culture, including

advertisements, television, movies, and other popular cultural products, the body has acquired the image of a commodity. The proliferation of body care products, fitness centers, and personality institutions bolsters the notion that the body is an asset or cultural capital. People whose bodies are not in accordance with the general concept of the ideal will have differences and will not be discriminated against.

1.2. Stereotypes and Prejudice of Tau Mappakka

A stereotype is an unbalanced evaluation of a social group. This conclusion is reached due to the propensity to generalize without differentiation. Stereotypes are determined by sentiments and emotions, not by ratios. Barker (2004:415) defines stereotypes as overt but simplistic representations that reduce individuals to a series of exaggerated and typically negative character traits. A representation that interprets others with influence.

Tau mappakka are categorized as aberrant due to their physical differences with other people; consequently, they are discriminated against or treated differently. This results in them frequently being subjected to derision and bullying behaviors such as ridicule, which causes their lives to become so unsettling that it gives rise to negative stereotypes about them. Social prejudice is an evaluation of a group or an individual that is predominately based on membership in that group, i.e., social prejudice is directed at a person or group of people who are distinct from the prejudiced person or group. Social prejudice has the quality of preferring and disliking the object of prejudice, and this condition will influence the actions or behavior of the prejudiced individual.

According to Mr. Amran, one of the physically disabled individuals, Tau Mappakka, is deemed to have physical limitations, which results in a negative evaluation. In social interaction, they will be limited in everything that contributes to the prevalence of negative stereotypes about them. Fundamentally, prejudice and stereotypes are immutable mental images, manifested in the form of a negative evaluation of the outgroup and a positive evaluation of fellow in-group members. Rigid stereotypes of outgroups will result in intense prejudices. Consequently, prejudice is viewed as an extension of stereotypes (Purwanto, 2006: 24).

2. THE PROCESS OF FORMING THE TAU MAPPAKKA STIGMA

Culture is derived from the Sanskrit word buddhayah, which is the plural form of the word buddhi, which means "buddhi" or "reason." Thus, culture can be interpreted as something associated with logic. Culture is the "power of the mind" in the form of imagination, purpose, and taste (Koetjaraningrat, 1964: 77). Definition of culture:

Culture is derived from the Sanskrit word buddhayah, which is the plural form of the word buddhi, which means "buddhi" or "reason." Thus, culture can be interpreted as something associated with logic. Culture is the "power of the mind" in the forms of imagination, intent, and emotion (Koetjaraningrat, 1964:78). Culture can be defined as something that is common in the minds of a particular group of people; it alludes to the social environment.

Spradley, in his book *The Ethnographic Method* (2006: 5), cites the opinion of Marvin Harris

regarding culture, stating that the concept of culture is manifested in various patterns of behavior associated with certain groups of people, such as "customs" or "ways of life" of society. In addition, Koentjaraningrat (1964:80) analyzes seven cultural elements: tools and apparatus, livelihoods, social systems, language, arts, knowledge systems, and religion. In addition, culture as an object of anthropological study has three facets: a) culture as a code of human behavior, b) culture as human behavior itself, and c) culture as the consequence of human behavior.

From the above description, we can conclude that culture is a way of life in a society that produces creativity, taste, and intention in the form of a system of ideas, activities, or specific objects. Therefore, culture encompasses all aspects of a society that pertain to its members' daily existence. In contrast, stigma is derived from the English language and refers to a blemish or flaw. According to Goffman (quoted in Gade, 2016: 3), stigma is a label or negative perception of a person by others. Goffman's concept of stigma refers to individuals with disabilities who do not receive total social acceptability. They are individuals who are looked down upon and who are susceptible to being looked down upon.

Stigma is a type of social reaction in which an individual or group is ostracized, excluded, disqualified, or dismissed from social acceptance. Based on the preceding analysis of the concept of stigma, it can be concluded that stigmatization is the process of designating individuals based on their perceived differences from "normal" people. This is also explained by the International Federation Anti-Leprosy Association (Febrianti, 2012: 11), which states that people tend to be prejudiced against certain views of people who are different, causing stigmatization and discrimination. To examine social stigmatization in greater depth, it is necessary to consider not only community assessments, but also the assessments of individuals who are stigmatized or self-assessments regarding perceptions and responses to this stigma.

Stigmatization is the social process by which a marginalized person is labeled as aberrant or reprehensible. Stigmatization refers to a series of negative behaviors, incorrect beliefs, and concerns associated with a schizophrenia diagnosis that influence how others perceive this syndrome. Stigma occurs because individuals have a variety of attributes and characteristics derived from their social identity, but in certain contexts, devaluation occurs. In the meantime, according to Schied and Brown (2010), stigma occurs when several interrelated components are present. The formation of a stigma against physical or mappaka abnormalities is comprised of the following three phases:

1. Interpretation Process

In general, interpretation is recognized as the process of providing opinions, impressions, ideas, or theoretical perspectives on a particular object that are based on profound notions and influenced by the interpreter's background. At this point, the community interprets the physical abnormalities exhibited by tau mappakka because of violating accepted norms, which are classified as deviant behavior. People believe that Tau Mappakka's physical condition is the result of a misfortune for violating an agreement that their ancestors believed in.

Society does not stigmatize all norm violations; only those norm violations that are interpreted

by society as a deviation of behavior can result in stigmatization. Based on the preceding explanation, the community interprets any physical abnormality or mappkka because of norm violations, specifically broken commitments.

2. The process of defining

At this juncture, individuals whose behavior is deemed deviant are defined. After the first phase, which entails the interpretation of deviant behavior, the process of defining individuals whose behavior is deemed deviant by society follows. It is believed that Tau Mapakka are deviant individuals who have broken a vow. At this point, when the community has concluded that the disability experienced by people with physical disabilities, or mappkakka, is a form of their deviant behavior, a definition of Tau Mappakka as a human curse will manifest.

The Mappakka have been taught a human understanding of what a curse is. Tau Mappakka is not merely an ordinary physical deformity; it is founded on the community's shared belief in cause and effect. "Human curse" is an affirmation of the definition to know that a cursed person in society is a person who is not good, so they receive a stigma, i.e., an imprint or negative perception from others. Tau mappakka is defined differently by the community because diverse body shapes are interpreted differently.

3. Acts of Discrimination

Discrimination is an action, behavior, or attitude employed by an individual or group to marginalize other groups. Typically, a group with a larger population engages in discriminatory behavior against a group with a much smaller population, or what we typically refer to as a minority. These actions, behaviors, and attitudes are provoked by the significant differences between the two groups, which can be differences in race, ethnicity, religion, culture, and social standing. Allowing discrimination to go undetected will lead to conflict. The discriminatory mindset is the belief that one's education is far superior to that of those who are different. Allport (1954:51) explains that discrimination only occurs when individuals or groups are denied the equal treatment they seek. It occurs when we exclude outgroup members from our neighborhoods, schools, workplaces, or country. According to Allport (1954:36), discrimination generally has more direct and severe social consequences than prejudice. Allport (1954:20) asserts that customs are not effective agents of discrimination because only individuals can experience hostility and engage in discrimination. Eliminating discrimination tends to diminish prejudice. The absence of discrimination in employment, housing, and the military has fostered a more tolerant ethnic attitude (Allport, 1954: 494).

At this stage, the community discriminates of mappakka both consciously and unconsciously. Discriminatory acts in the community contribute to the formation of stigma. Different treatment is not necessarily the result of a causal relationship. The treatment of people in Mappakka differs from that of the rest of society because they are viewed as different due to their bodily shape and because they are cursed humans. It is not surprising that they feel alienated and find it difficult to get along with others because they are stigmatized by society. Failure of the social process and interaction between the stigmatizer and stigmatized can contribute to the formation and persistence of stigma. Tau mappakka, who is stigmatized, or the people who give the stigma,

do not acculturate appropriately, so there is a divide between the normal and abnormal groups. In addition, tau mappakka's exposure to discrimination has resulted in the development of the following stereotypes:

a. Sequestered group

People with physical disabilities, or tau mappakka, who reside in the community of Ulutaue are immigrants who were expelled from a village in Mangarabombang, Sinjai Timur, and South Sulawesi, Indonesia. Tau Mapakka eventually relocated to a village that was sparsely populated at the time. Pakkacong and his four siblings shared a home in Ulutaue Hamlet. People with physical disabilities who reside in Ulutaue Hamlet are not village natives, but rather self-exiled migrants who were expelled from their homeland. The residents of Ulutaue hamlet have granted Ruki and his sibling's permission to reside in the village until now. The origin of their existence in Ulutaue Hamlet has earned them the reproach of exile; in other words, the residents of Ulutaue Hamlet fear they will transmit these physical abnormalities and do not want them to exist.

b. Curse Man

People truly believe that God and the spirits of their progenitors are responsible for the appearance of Mappakka physical abnormalities. The community considers Tau Mappakka's physical deformities to be a curse, a manifestation of the vengeance of certain spirits or God upon humans. Curses are a common belief among certain Bone District residents. This belief is a psychological phenomenon in which humans exhibit anxiety by relying on God and good spirits. Thus, they fear that the spirits will become enraged and cause them pain whenever they feel fear. As a result of the discovery and study of tau mappakka, also known as lobster claw syndrome, modern medical knowledge indicates that tau mappakka disease is caused by a deficiency of chromosomes in a gene because of certain environmental factors.

People believe that tau mappakka is a curse from the all-powerful God; ancestral spirits who have passed away curse their descendants for their crimes. These offenses are deviant behaviors that sufferers engage in. Contrary to societal norms and laws, deviant behavior refers to a person's actions, reactions, or behavior in response to the environment. Additionally, deviant behavior is interpreted as a condition or behavior that is contrary to the social norms from which it was learned (Siahan, 2009: 72). In social life, all human actions are constrained by rules (norms) that dictate how to act and behave in accordance with what society considers to be desirable. In the relationship pattern known as social interaction. In addition to the existence of another party (God and the Ancestral Spirit), the individual (the individual with) is one of the parties. These parties influence one another, resulting in the formation of certain personalities. This process of mutual influence includes elements that are deemed improper and undesirable. A person receives a curse from God and the Ancestral Spirit if he or she possesses this element considered to be evil. This deviant behavior is the cause and consequence of tau mappakka's existence. According to the beliefs of those with physical impairments, Tau Mappakka and the Ulutaue hamlet community are responsible for their plight. There are two variations of this form of deviation: the curse incurred for breaching a

promise and the sin incurred for violating pamali or taboos.

Tau mappakka believe that the physical condition they suffer comes from the curse of their deceased ancestors. The ancestors of tau mappakka were fishermen who often went to sea to get fish to eat and sell so they could make ends meet. For the sake of the safety of their ancestors, they were entrusted with making an agreement with the authorities or God so that they would be given safety, the request was granted by God, but with the condition that there are territorial boundaries that they cannot reach while sailing. Pakkaccong's parents violated the agreement because they underestimated their parents' advice. Pakkaccong and his four siblings were born with abnormalities in their forked hands and feet.

There are two versions of the etiology of tau mappakka which are not much different. This is due to the law of cause and effect. What we plant is what we will reap because of breaking promises and interrupting other people. This can lead to disaster in this life. It is a law of nature that all the consequences for our actions will be commensurate with the rewards. Belief in ancestral spirits and the will of God is a belief that has been passed down from ancient times and has become a common ground. Tau mappakka in the process of his presence came from a negative perspective because he broke promises and did pammali. This is the result of the emergence of a negative stigma that labels them as outcasts to cursed humans or often referred to by the public as crabmen. It is this perspective that initiates the emergence of negative stigma which will hinder and give rise to conflicts in tau mappakka's life.

c. Crab Man

The community has dubbed the tau mappakka stigma "Crab Man" due to the crab-like appearance of the stigma's limbs and legs. People compare the shape of a tau mappakka's body to that of a crustacean. In addition to having a body shape resembling a crab, they also marry within their own families, resulting in the same physical condition as the others. Due to the extremely noticeable physical differences, many people look down on them until some of them marry into their own families, leading the community to believe that this disorder is also caused by family marriages. Damage to the DNA or RNA genetic material present in the cell nucleus and mitochondria leads to DNA or RNA mutations, the cause of genetic disease, a noninfectious disease. In most cases, genetic diseases are transmitted to progeny and are not contagious. Until the manifestation of the disease or disorder, a person with a genetic disease or disorder is typically oblivious that a DNA or RNA mutation has occurred in his body. Due to the necessity of detecting or analyzing genetic material in specific laboratories, genetic disease causes are notoriously difficult to identify (Karwita, 2009: 34).

d. The poor

Labeling the impoverished is another form of stigma they frequently face. In addition to their various physical conditions, they also lead average lives. This is owing in part to the negative attitudes of those who discriminate against them. It is difficult for them to make a livelihood. They are considered wealthy or impoverished. This becomes a social stigma because their inability to acclimate to their work environment is a result of their physical abnormalities. People distinguish them for them to exist within their constraints.

4. Socio-Cultural Response to Tau Mappakka

1. Acceptance of Stigma

Acceptance of stigma refers to the condition in which individuals with physical disabilities embrace the stigma they receive from others. This acceptance does not necessarily result from adjusting to the conditions of their environment, but rather from the inevitable rationality of life they must endure to accept the stigma associated with the physical maladies they endure.

Most crab-finger individuals confess to having been hopeless, depressed, and suicidal in the past. Some of them came to embrace their physical condition over time. They strive to be patient, powerful, resolute, diligent, and optimistic regarding their future. They accept themselves not as an impediment to leading a normal life, but as a potential for forming relationships with others. They believe that abnormalities in the fingers and limbs, as well as economic incapacity, are gifts from Allah SWT. According to them, suffering provides disguised benefits, including physical strength. Tau Mappakka possesses an extraordinary physique. They are always working; they never appear exhausted at work. Selian translates to Physical Immunity. Ruki stated that when they were young, they tumbled from a tree but were unharmed. In addition, they claimed that sharp objects could not harm them or splinter their extremities.

Tau Mappakka believes that despite their physical deformities, they maintain a respectable status in the minds of others; at least other people in their vicinity require the assistance of a dukun for treatment. This study discovered that crab finger people have non-medical healing abilities for ailing people that are not only well-known in their own village, but also in neighboring villages. Some villagers consider them to have more reliable skills than medical services. According to Tau Mappakka, due to physical abnormalities in the digits and toes, other people view them as knowledgeable. The performance of rituals by humans is an adaptation to the neighboring natural environment. Rituals are frequently associated with various cultural elements; in other words, rituals and people's daily lives are intimately related. Because ritual plays a prominent function in society (Turner, 1969:92–93).

Mappenre lise tasi is a customary ceremony that is typically performed in Ulutaue Hamlet. This ritual is performed on the shoreline of the Ulutaue Mappanre hamlet, lise tasi, whose name derives from the Bugis language: ma'ppanre (to feed), lise (contents), and tasi (sea), or is subsequently interpreted as a ritual of giving sustenance containing sea. The purpose of this ceremony is to nourish the sea with offerings of colorful rice (white, yellow, and black), eggs, banana leaves as a dessert, si'ri leaves, and folded one-thousand-rupiah bills. Through this ritual, it is anticipated that Pajjagata will grant the fishermen safety and good fortune.

The residents of Ulutaue Hamlet believe that this ritual is led by Tau Mappakka, who possesses supernatural powers in addition to his ability to treat diseases. It is believed that Ruki, Kamitting, and Pakaccong can also communicate with sea guardians.

2. Resistance to Stigma

A response is a reaction, response, or answer to a stimulus that already exists (Purwodarminto, 2006: 23). A stigma response can be defined as a reaction, or a person's response to stigma as a stimulus. Stigma, which is defined as a stimulus, can elicit various responses, such as loss responses. The response to a loss includes denial, wrath, bargaining, depression, and acceptance. Tau Mappaka has multiple responses, from a sociocultural standpoint, to accepting society's stigma.

a. Increasing Solidarity

Solidarity refers to the nature (feelings) of solidarity, the nature of one feeling (such as fate and the emotion of being loyal to friends), and the nature of solidarity itself. Moreover, loyalty to one's friends entails feelings of unity, accord, common interests, and solidarity. From these feelings derives the nature of tolerance, which can feel each other, demonstrates tolerance toward others, and is willing to lend a hand or help when required.

According to Doyle Paul Johnson (1994:167), solidarity refers to a relationship between two or more individuals or organizations. The relationship is founded on shared moral sentiments and convictions and is strengthened by shared emotional experiences. Soejono Soekanto (2012:65) defines solidarity as cohesion or the capacity to unite members of a group, association, social class, or social caste. The numerous members of these groups or classes then compose society or its components. This social solidarity generates similarities, interdependencies, and shared experiences that serve as ties for collective parts such as families, organizations, and communities. In conclusion, solidarity is an awareness of a sense of unity, a sense of cooperation, and a sense of caring as a part of or member of a group, community, social class, or the same social caste. Tau Mappaka is an individual with a physical deformity consisting of forked hands or forked legs. They share the same residence. In Ulutau Hamlet, the stigma people with physical disabilities face makes them the topic of discourse and the center of attention, particularly when they are first encountered. Tau Mappaka responded by strengthening their unity. They are not embarrassed to gather in front of one of their homes and tell stories openly. The greater their confidence, the more they choose to conceal it. Tau Mappaka acclimates himself to bolstering one another, maintaining solidarity despite the stigma that appears in half of their eyes, particularly considering how many individuals are outside Ulutau Hamlet. Efforts are made to prevent them from being carried away by their emotions and drifting into stigma by maintaining their group cohesion, i. e. working together.

b. Work ethic

The Tau Mappaka work ethic was also shaped by the stigma that crippled their lives: "cursed people, poor people, like crabs." This prejudice required them to go the extra mile to meet all their needs. Because they had to adapt to their environment, they had to work diligently to make a living. They adhered to work-ethic values, such as discipline and honesty, so that society would give them other ratings, so that the people who employed them would not do random things, and so that it would be advantageous when they traded their marine catch.

Tau Mapakka truly adheres to a work ethic to sustain their existence. To endure the stigma that denies their existence, they demonstrate this response. Clifford Geertz defines the work ethic as "a lifelong disposition toward oneself and the world."

5. Conclusion

According to community folklore, Tau Mappakka is a migrant community in Ulutaue Hamlet that married and had children and descendants before settling in an Ulutaue Hamlet at the far end, near the coast. Tau Mappakka is considered a genetically transmitted physical disorder. There are two versions of the underlying cause of this physical disorder. The first is the consequence of a curse placed upon a fisherman named Tampa for breaking a promise his progenitors had made. In contrast, the second version asserts that tau mapakka exists because of pammali⁴ performed by expectant women who blaspheme by declaring that they feel elevated in comparison to other people. The origin of Tau Mappakka's existence as an "exiled person and a" curse imparts a negative stigma. This is one of the precursors to the development of a negative connotation against tau mappakka, along with their physical condition, which is notably distinct from that of humans in general. People who observe forked hands, which resemble crab claws, are repulsed and fearful of approaching because they believe the condition is contagious.

The response of Tau Mappakka to discrimination by society varies greatly, with some accepting it and others attempting to conceal it using instruments such as hand gloves. In addition, tau mappakka possesses unique skills, such as immunity, supernatural powers, and the ability to conduct traditional ceremonies with the utmost confidence. This motivates some Tau Mappakka to be adaptable to other people.

6. Notes

¹Kawing Soro is a term used to describe a marriage that occurs prior to its registration with the appropriate agency. This marriage occurs after the application.

²Sasajen is a dish consisting of food, flowers, etc. that is served or offered to a specter (spirit) in a religious or other traditional ceremony with the symbolic intent of communicating with supernatural forces.

³Pajagatta is a term used to describe the spirits that the people believe protect the sea.

⁴Pammali is a prohibition that has been imposed by the progenitors to prevent disaster.

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