

The Importance of Habitus Changes in Community Empowerment (A Case Study of Milk and Fodder Processing in Slumut, Kumpulrejo Village, Salatiga, Central Java Province)

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Abstract

In carrying out economic empowerment, the role of actors as other parties is needed to help the community develops their potential. The role of the actor in Pierre Bourdieu's perspective consists of shared capital with habitus. This study would like to find out the relation between the success role of actors and the provision of economic, social, and cultural capital along with changes in habitus. This research was conducted in Slumut, Kumpulrejo Village, Salatiga. This location has two main potentials, namely milk and cattle fodder/concentrate feeds processing. The actors involved in economic empowerment in Slumut, Kumpulrejo Village, were the Department of Agriculture and Livestock from the government sector and the NGO Idea from the non-government sector. The two of them assist the Farmers Group of Margoraharjo 4. The research method used is descriptive qualitative with observation techniques, in-depth interviews, and document review. The results of this study indicate that although the actors have provided capital assistance, the community's habitus is difficult to change. Raising cattle is a hereditary job that forms habitus. They are content with what is now. People do not have enough effort to reach new markets and make variations in dairy products, which means they must have a new habitus. This makes it difficult for the government to support the development of milk and cattle fodder/concentrate feed processing businesses. The results of this study indicate that it is difficult for the community to change its habitus.

Keywords

Economic Empowerment; The Role of Actors; Capital; Habitus; Group

INTRODUCTION

Community and empowerment are two elements that cannot be separated from each other. This is because empowerment is a necessity for community to survive and develop for a better life. A better life according to Goulet (Suryana, 2000) includes the need for life-sustenance, the need for self-esteem, and the need for freedom.

Quoting UNDP, empowerment is a process that allows individuals or groups to gain power/strength/and or the process of providing power/strength/ability from parties who have power to those who are less or not empowered. Etymologically, empowerment comes from the basic word "power" which means strength or ability. Thus, empowerment can be interpreted as a process towards empowered. Kartasasmita

(1996) stated that empowerment is an effort to increase the dignity of the layers of society who in their current condition are unable to escape from the trap of poverty and underdevelopment.

In empowerment, the role of actors is needed to help a community finds and develops their potential. This suggests that what the community needs is the ability to identify needs, identify resources, and take advantage of opportunities (Sulistiyani, 2004). In this case, actors are needed to assist the empowerment.

In Slumut, Community Unit 03, Kumpulrejo Village, there is Farmers Group of Margoraharjo 4. This group develops the potential of cattle husbandry and its by-products in the form of milk and cattle fodder/concentrate feeds. For dairy products, the group still sells raw milk only as they are not yet able to make its variants. Likewise, the marketing of cattle fodder/concentrate feeds is still very limited as it only reaches its surroundings.

These two issues require the involvement of actors, both the government and other actors to help empower the economy of the community in Slumut, in order to increase income through dairy products and concentrate feeds. From raw milk, it can be developed into other variants such as ice cream and yogurt added with expansion of their marketing to the outside of Salatiga area. As for cattle fodder/concentrate feeds, it can be done by improving the quality and setting an affordable price for the market inside and outside of Salatiga.

The role of actors needed in economic empowerment is to develop community capacity. Community capacity development is essentially an effort to increase the community's ability to its fullest. However, having the capacity without making mental changes to move

forward from being empowered, will make the results of empowerment suboptimal.

According to Bourdieu, dialectical relations involve subjective elements such as individual mentality, individual experience structures, cognitive structures, and dialectics with objective structures. The interaction between the empowered community and the actors results in "practice". In this dialectical relation, habitus is the result of skill that becomes practical action.

The meeting of habitus with capital in social, economic, and cultural is a provision to win the arena. The arena according to Bourdieu is a place of battle or competition for power or existing forces. The empowerment arena determines success or failure in empowerment practice. The arena in question is a forum for the community to compete for the existing power. Habitus can last a long time but can also change from time to time. Habitus produces and is produced by social life, meaning that habitus is a social structure and a structured structure. Thus Bourdieu defines habitus as a system that lasts a long time and changes (durable, transposable disposition) which serves as a generative basis for practices that are structured and objectively integrated (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Habitus as a practice implies that social agents socialize with their social structures through habitus. Habitus takes its formation scheme from the objective structure or social arena, but it does not mean that habitus reproduces the total scheme that forms it, but rather is formed from community interactions in a certain space and time (Bourdieu, 2011).

For this reason, this paper wants to know how the role of actors in economic empowerment in Slumut, Kumpulrejo Village is. The role of the actor in question is an actor who performs his role to provide

capital and change habitus in economic empowerment in Slumut, Kumpulrejo Village. Changes in habitus according to Pierre Bourdieu cannot only be involved in the role of actors, but the community must also actively form a new habitus.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Community Empowerment

Empowerment is a process of providing power in the form of opportunities or chances, knowledge, skills, and materials to make the powerless become powerful or help increase the ability, capacity, and self-confidence of the community so that they have power/strength to overcome the problems they face in order to achieve a better life. According to Sumodiningrat (2000), the purpose of community empowerment is first to increase the income of the people at the lower level and decrease the number of people living below the poverty line. Second, to increase productive socio-economic activities of the community through community capacity development. Third, to develop the community capacity and to increase the capacity of community institutions. In view of those mentioned, Moeljarto (1996) states that the poor are considered empowered if they can improve their socio-economic welfare through improving the quality of human resources, increasing capital capacity, developing business, and developing joint ventures institutions. The role of the government or actors at least can help the community increase income at lower levels in the area through economic empowerment support, can develop the capacity or ability of community members in the area to increase productive socio-economic activities of local residents and increase the institutional capacity of these citizens through empowerment carried out. In the context of program financing, assistance from the government is an effort to finance the

community or is an effort made by the government in providing resources (be it capital, opportunities, knowledge, and skills) to the community so that they can increase their abilities, capacities, and their self-confidence in order to be able to overcome the problem of poverty that is being faced to achieve a better life.

According to Moeljarto (1996), the community empowerment process contains 2 (two) tendencies, namely: (1) The empowerment process emphasizes the process of giving or transferring some power, strength, or ability to the community so that individuals become more empowered. This process can also be complemented with efforts to build material assets to support the development of their independence through the organization. This tendency is called the primary tendency of the meaning of empowerment, and (2) The second tendency or secondary tendency is to emphasize the process of stimulating, encouraging, or motivating individuals to have the ability or empowerment to determine what their life choices are through a dialogue process. Sumodiningrat (2000) states that the strategy for implementing community empowerment requires concrete steps to successfully meet its goals and objectives. The implementation of community empowerment policies and programs needs to be strengthened and continued, and for that the implementation of activities needs to be placed in the right direction, which is aimed at increasing community capacity (capacity building) which has the core of providing access and improving the people's economy through economic development, strengthening human resource capacity, developing infrastructure and technology, developing community development institutions and apparatus, and developing information systems.

Economic Empowerment

Community economy is all community activities and attempts to fulfill their basic needs, such as clothing, food, shelter, health, and education. This suggests that the relationship between community economic empowerment is an attempt to increase the ability or potential of the community in economic activities in order to meet the needs of life and improve their welfare as well as the potential in the national development process. Increasing productivity, providing equal business opportunities, and providing capital injections are not enough for community economic empowerment, hence why close cooperation and partnership between the government and the people of origin themselves must be ensured.

Economic empowerment here is one of the attempts to increase the capacity of the community, both individually and in groups, in solving various problems related to improving the quality of life, independence, and welfare. According to Suharto (2005), the implementation and achievement of the goals of community economic empowerment can be achieved through five ways, namely:

- a. Enabling: creating an atmosphere that allows the potential of the community to develop optimally.
- b. Strengthening: strengthening the knowledge and skills possessed by the community in solving problems and meeting their needs.
- c. Protection: protecting people who do not have the power of a larger group to avoid unfair competition, it would be better if we could help each other.
- d. Support: providing guidance or training so that the community can develop their business, either in the form of capital or skills.

- e. Maintenance: maintaining conducive conditions to have a balanced distribution of power between various business groups within the community itself

Economic empowerment will run well if it has a system that can be used, such as assistance for capital, assistance for development, assistance for mentoring, and assistance for partnership development and strengthening business partnerships. Community empowerment itself must have a strategy so that it won't fall into failure. According to Mubyarto (2003), the first problem is funding, limited information, and the difficulty of entering a market. Second, there are still few and low capacities of human resources and community business institutions. Third, the level of productivity of the community's business is still low.

Given those problems, several strategies can be employed, which are:

- a. Increasing Access, this program is aimed to overcome funding problems in community businesses, information distribution problems for community business development, and business development for sale in the market.
- b. Capacity Building, this program overcomes the problem of increasing human resources in the community to manage their business, have skills, and be able to use technology well.
- c. Increased Productivity, this program is intended to increase the productivity of the community's economic business so that they can expand their business.

Pierre Bourdieu's Theory

Bourdieu is one of the leaders of cultural sociology. Bourdieu is also referred to as a sociologist, anthropologist, and ethnologist. His thinking was influenced by many thinkers: Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas, Hegel,

Marx, Durkheim, Max Weber, Picasso, Franz Fanon, Jeane Paul Sartre, Huserl, Sausure, Levi Strauss, Wittgenstein, Martin Heidegger, Michel Foucault, and others. From the opinions of these figures, Bourdieu developed a new thought called the method of constructivist-structuralism. Through this method, Bourdieu synthesizes a theory that emphasizes structure and objectivity with a theory that emphasizes the role of actors and subjectivity. Pierre Bourdieu uses a rational way of thinking that the objective structure and subjective representation, agents, and actors are dialectically intertwined and influence each other reciprocally. Important concepts in Bourdieu's theory of practice are habitus, field, capital, and practice.

Habitus

The existing structures in society are controlled by social actors so that they function effectively. Actors or agents don't act like those of machines that move when someone orders them. The result of the dialectical relationship between structure and agent is seen in the practice of cooperation. Habitus can last a long time but can also change from time to time. Habitus produces and is produced by social life, meaning that habitus is a social structure and habitus is a structured structure. Thus, Bourdieu defines habitus as a system that lasts a long time and changes (durable, transposable disposition) which serves as a generative basis for practices that are structured and objectively integrated (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Habitus as a practice implies that social agents socialize with their social structures through habitus. Habitus takes its formation scheme from the objective structure or social arena, but it does not mean that habitus reproduces the total scheme that forms it, but rather is formed from community

interactions in a certain space and time (Bourdieu, 2011).

Capital

Capital in Bourdieu's perspective is very broad as it can include economic, cultural, and symbolic capital used to maintain dominance. Capital must always be in every arena in order for the arena to develop. The legitimacy of actors is strongly influenced by the capital they have (Harker, Mahar & Wilkes, 2009). One capital can be exchanged for another and it also can be added to the other. For example, someone can become an economic capital by providing tools, then someone else can become a supplier of materials and processors. Hence a good interaction can be made. Further, empowerment can also be done through training to increase knowledge for the community.

Field

The arena in Bourdieu's concept is a space where social actors compete with each other for various material resources or symbolic power. This competition aims to get more resources so that there are differences between agents. This difference provides a social hierarchical structure as if this is a natural process (Lubis, 2014). The arena is an autonomous force in which there is competition for position. This position is also determined by the division of capital. Here, agents compete to get a variety of capital in the form of material and symbolic. By getting it, it can be used to achieve further success (Edkins, Williams & Radike, 2010). The arena in economic opportunity is market turnover or the distribution of goods to be traded. Here the arena is unlimited and anyone can be in it.

Practice

Habitus is formed after humans are born and interact with community in a certain

time and space. Habitus is not natural but is the result of interaction and socialization in community. It appears as something natural. In habitus, the individual is not a completely free agent and is not a passive product of social structure. Individuals as agents are influenced by habitus and on the other hand, individuals are active agents to form a habitus. Agents are formed by and form habitus through the capital at stake in the arena. Practice is a product of the relationship between habitus, arena, and involved capital in it. The success of this practice cannot be directly determined because we have to see when the empowerment process takes place and how the relationship between habitus, arena, and capital itself is.

The Role of Actors in Community Empowerment According to Pierre Bourdieu's Perspective: Ongoing Habitus, Capital, and Arena.

Role is the behavior or action of performer/actor/player and the role itself serves as function, position, or part of the position. In other institutional contexts, the role is a dynamic aspect of an institution, or representation of institutional order in this case the government. Thus, the role is the implementation of functions by the government. The definition of local government is the governor, regent, or mayor, and regional apparatus as elements of regional government administration (Law No. 32 of 2004, Article I, paragraph 3). The role of local government in community empowerment is as the implementer of the community empowerment by the Governor, Regent, or Mayor, and other regional apparatuses aimed at increasing the strength of the community's weaknesses, or preparing the community in the form of resources, opportunities, knowledge, and skills to increase the

capacity of the community in determining their future, as well as to be able to participate and influence the lives of the local communities themselves.

The community in a government has a very large role as community involvement in government activities related to policies that will be given by the government is a determinant of the success or failure of the policy. Decision-making in a policy requires the participation of the community so that the fulfillment of the rights of the community can be fulfilled. Active communities such as the existing Farmer Groups will facilitate the achievement of government targets where the benefits will also be felt by the community.

There are several ways that might be done to make the role of actors in economic empowerment work, namely:

- a. Establishment of good communication between the roles of government actors and the roles of community actors themselves. It is a habitus or custom that has been carried out by the community and the government concerned, this cannot be seen as a one-time thing and must be done continuously and consistently.
- b. Policies or decisions made must be with the approval of all actors. Enabling any input from the government or the community regarding the policies, for example by providing capital and training for the development of economic empowerment itself.
- c. All actors involved must be consistent with their roles, for example, the government provides capital and training and the community must also be consistent in participating in training and making good use of capital (Fatmawati, 2020). This is done so that the actors involved can compete in the existing arena.

d. Thus the goal of empowerment is to shape individuals and communities to become independent, including independent thinking, acting, and relying on what they do so that they can produce a habitus that exists in an arena that involves capital and produces good economic empowerment. The community itself must have the ability to think, decide, and do something that is deemed appropriate in order to solve the problems faced by using the capabilities consisting of cognitive, conative, psychomotor, affective abilities, with the mobilization of resources owned by the community.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Region Overview

Kumpulrejo is a combination of two villages, which are Suroyudan Village and Singojayan Village. At that time Kumpulrejo was still part of the administrative area of Semarang Regency. On August 1, 1993, Kumpulrejo joined the administrative area of the City of Salatiga. Geographically, Kumpulrejo Village is located at the foot of Mount Merbabu with an altitude of ± 750 meters above sea level. Kumpulrejo Village has an area of $\pm 629,030$ ha, divided into 10 Community Units and traditionally consists of several subdivisions which are Randuares, Promasan, Slumut, Ngronggo, Bendosari, Tetep Wates, Kenteng, Salib Putih, Ngemplak, Belon. The topography of Kumpulrejo Village consists of lowlands and highlands. The lowlands are located in the north to the east and the highlands in the west and south. Annual rainfall is 2,583 mm with an average temperature of $\pm 26^\circ$ C.

One of the subdivisions, namely Slumut which is the location of this research, has most of its residents as cattle farmers for their living. A lot of dairy cattle are kept in Slumut because according to residents,

raising dairy cattle is an inheritance obtained from their parents. This is also supported by the availability of grass that can be obtained easily around the village. Every house in Slumut has at least one cattle, but if the community participates in a farmer group, it is possible to have two to four dairy cattle, because through the group, you can get additional cattle. One dairy cattle in a day can produce 6-7 liters, so if you have two or more cattle in a day, they will produce 10-20 liters. For 1 liter of raw milk is only five thousand rupiahs. The community sells the milk to collectors who will come to each resident's house to collect the milk from their dairy cattle every morning and evening.

One of the farmer groups in Slumut is Farmers Group Margoraharjo 4. The main activities in this farmer group are processing cattle's milk and processing cattle fodder/concentrate feeds or additives for animal feed. This farmer group has won several championships in various competitions. This achievement has made the Farmers Group Margoraharjo 4 a role model for other farmer groups. The number of members of this group is 34 people. Their management consists of a chairman, secretary, and accountant.

Actor in Economic Empowerment in Hamlet, Kumpulrejo Village

The actors referred to in this paper are actors from outside the Slumut village community, who are also involved in economic empowerment. The actors involved in empowering the community's economy in Slumut, Kumpulrejo Village, are from the government, namely from the Department of Agriculture and Livestock. Empowerment by government actors has been around since Kumpulrejo Village became part of the Salatiga City area. The initial program made by the Department of Agriculture and Livestock was to form

farmer groups. The farmer's group was formed in 1999 and was being inactive in 2000 and then active again in 2001 until now.

Apart from the government, the community was assisted in socialization and counseling by an NGO (unknown) from 2007 to 2010. This NGO assisted in the field of biogas production and helped organize and strengthen the organization. This NGO in 2010 had discontinued its assistance in Slumut. In 2012 the NGO Idea New Zealand entered Slumut, helping to improve poverty through sustainable economic empowerment. Thus, since 2012 the Department of Agriculture and Livestock has collaborated with the Idea New Zealand NGO. The community also contributes to helping economic empowerment in Slumut. The community plays an active role by making contact with the Department of Agriculture and Livestock and related NGOs.

The Role of Actors in Increasing the Economic, Social, and Cultural Capital

In Pierre Bourdieu's perspective, economic capital is everything that includes ownership of the means of production such as machinery, land, and labor, material (income or money) (Adib, 2012). In 2009 Slumut, especially the Farmer Group of Margorahajo 4, was given by the government 10 cattle and in 2014 they were given imported cattle of approximately 14 heads.

For the processing of cattle fodder/concentrate feeds, the government provides tools with a larger capacity to process these cattle fodder/concentrate feeds so that the results are even better. Besides tools, the government through the Department of Agriculture and Livestock helps to build production houses and

warehouses so that the existing product can be stored properly.

The Department of Agriculture and Livestock also provides facilities in the form of a storage warehouse for cattle fodder/concentrate feeds and its processing factory, the warehouse has an area of 11 meters x 7 meters and a factory with an area of 9 meters x 11 meters. The total development given is around 120 million rupiahs.

Social Capital

Social capital in Pierre Bourdieu's Perspective is the total ownership of values, social trust, and social networks (Adib, 2012). Since the Department of Agriculture and Livestock has provided services in Slumut, the community can be said to have a social network. The social network that occurs between the Department of Agriculture and Livestock and Slumut community is going well. The ongoing processes foster trust between residents and the Since the Department of Agriculture and Livestock, as well as internal residents.

The community has a monthly report on the results, both the results of milking and the results of processing the cattle fodder/concentrate feeds. This is done because the relationship between the community and the government is always active and the government can continue to monitor the development of economic empowerment in Slumut. The government can monitor the development of economic empowerment by holding regular meetings and conducting socialization with the people of Slumut. The government is also ready to help if people need help. For example, some cattle are about to mate, residents will report to the Department of Agriculture and Livestock and they will come to help with artificial insemination.

For milk processing, the community also continues to be active so that the Department of Agriculture and Livestock will do as well. The Department of Agriculture and Livestock provides correct knowledge on how to milk cattle and how to process them and tries to change the people who are reluctant to be more innovative by teaching them how to make ice cream and yogurt. While in the field of processing cattle fodder/concentrate feeds, the Department of Agriculture and Livestock provides knowledge on how to use machines correctly and effectively so that they will work more efficiently and have a better result.

Regarding the marketing network, the Department of Agriculture and Livestock helps by providing a stand for the Farmers Group of Margoraharjo if there is some sort of bazaar so they can promote their products.

Cultural Capital

Cultural capital is a person's knowledge. Pierre Bourdieu also explains that cultural capital includes individual qualities, education, work, and, innate cultural similarities (Halim, 2014). Thus, cultural capital is related to the addition of knowledge so that the individual knows the group's quality for the better.

The Department of Agriculture and Livestock plays a role in its function of providing cultural capital to the group. With regular meetings by the Farmers Group of Margoraharjo 4 every first Friday, the government can find out the progress in Slumut, so that they can determine what steps to take for the Slumut community to increase their knowledge capacity.

The training that has been carried out including how to take good care of cattle in order to produce better quality and quantity of milk. The Department of Agriculture and Livestock cooperates with New Zealand

from Idea to assist with livestock services, for example when cattle are sick, residents will be aware of it.

The Department of Agriculture and Livestock also provides training on how to process milk into ice cream and yogurt. As for the processing of cattle fodder/concentrate feeds, there has been no training or socialization related to how to improve the quality so that their products can obtain permits. People are taught to use machines so that they can make additional fodder with better quality and quantity.

Habitus Community Economic Empowerment

As previously stated, the raising of livestock is an inherited livelihood. The results of this inheritance have been proven by the success of its increasing number. The community in Slumut has a good response to the existing empowerment, for example, in 2010 there were 10 cattle, now in 2021, it has become 67 cattle. Imported cattle, which were given by the NGO Idea New Zealand, were also treated very well, from 14 to 84.

The Idea NGO only lasted from 2010 to 2012, so that the breeding of imported cattle is currently being continued by the Salatiga Department of Agriculture and Livestock. Cattle given by the government and Idea NGOs are not only cared for and owned by members of farmer groups, community members outside the group can also get them. Residents outside the group can get cattle from group members by paying Rp. 600,000. The money will be kept in the group's savings. The agreement has been made since the beginning with the help of the NGO Idea. This process can go well. Thus, it's not only for group members, but community members outside the group can also benefit from the program.

The process of milking, without changing the habitus can go well. The number of cattle increases and milk

production becomes sustainable. However, in terms of product diversification, such as turning milk into ice cream and yogurt, is still difficult to be done because it is not something that they learned from their successors. In the cattle fodder/concentrate feeds processing sector, the community also shows an unwillingness to change their habits and market their products through social media or online, so the sales are limited only around Salatiga.

According to Bourdieu, the individual as a subject/agent is strongly influenced by the habitus, on the other hand, the individual is an active subject/agent to form the habitus. This subject/agent is formed by and forms a habitus through the capital at stake in the arena. While practice is a relation between habitus, arena, and involved capital in it.

The habitus of economic empowerment in Slumut has been going on for a long time and is constantly changing. People who are already accustomed to milking cattle and then immediately selling them, find it difficult to change into another variant. As stated by Budi Wahyono Jati, A.Md, Agricultural Extension worker from the Department of Agriculture and Livestock:

"Yes, the government has tried to help by providing socialization about milk processing so that it can be made into ice cream or yogurt, but it's the people who still reluctant to do so and the pandemic made it even difficult for them so they just do what they have been doing up to now".

The connection with the habitus mentioned by Bourdieu is that people are already comfortable with their current situation. The Department of Agriculture and Livestock has difficulty making development.

"We as the Agency sent by the government have tried to provide socialization so that the community can develop more and not only selling raw milk, but it's all back to each of them whether they want to change for the better or just stay in their comfort zone as of now. As for the freezer, it's not that the government doesn't want to give it, but we are also waiting for the community to take it by their own will".

In the field of processing cattle fodder/concentrate feeds, people are comfortable with their old method of selling, which is only through the mouth to mouth and with the existing quality, so it is very difficult to increase the quality and sales. This habit of not wanting to change makes it difficult for the community to develop and have better economic empowerment.

CONCLUSION

Based on this writing, it can be concluded that in economic empowerment in Slumut, Kumpulrejo Village, the roles of the actors involved are from the government and non-government sectors. From the government is the Department of Agriculture and Livestock, while from the non-government is NGO Idea from New Zealand.

Economic empowerment goes quite well because the community can develop the existing potential for the better. From only 10 cattle, now in 2021, it has become 67 cattle. Not only group members, but people outside the group can also get cattle by paying below market price. In the process of economic empowerment in Slumut, the government always provides economic capital, social capital, and cultural capital.

The problem lies in its people who don't want to step out of their old habits of milk

processing method to vary its variants such as turning it into ice cream or yogurt. Not only that, but they also show an unwillingness to change the offline sales promotion of cattle fodder/concentrate feeds to the online one through social media as it is in contrast to what has been done so far, where livestock is an inherited culture.

The government and the community continue to work together to help each other to overcome the existing difficulties. Although the habitus or customs of the community are still difficult to change, the government continues to try to approach it with socialization. According to Bourdieu, habitus can only be changed if the individual in it is willing to move personally to change. Other external factors will only help the change. Thus, it is the community itself that will determine. A challenge for community empowerment activists.

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