



**TECHNIUM**  
**SOCIAL SCIENCES JOURNAL**

**Vol. 26, 2021**

**A new decade  
for social changes**

[www.techniumscience.com](http://www.techniumscience.com)

ISSN 2668-7798



9 772668 779000

## **Doxa and local elite habitus in the symbolic-based power struggle arena in Tidore**

**Bustamin Wahid<sup>1</sup>, Ishomuddin<sup>2</sup>, Wahyudi Winarjo<sup>3</sup>, Rinikso Kartono<sup>4</sup>**

<sup>1 3 4</sup>Doctoral Studies Program of Sociology, University of Muhammadiyah, <sup>2</sup>Professor of Sociologi, University of Muhammadiyah Malang

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

**Abstract.** This article describes a socio-political phenomenon that occurred in Tidore community during the momentum of Local Leaders Election (*pilkada*). Political phenomena do not only involve rational instruments, but also cultural and supernatural/mystical/occult dimensions being part of a mechanism for power struggle. Values, norms, and traditional leaders (nature and shari'a) are involved in a political contestation. The phenomenon of jinn and mystical/occult power is part of the capital to produce power in Tidore or in another sense; symbolic capital becomes a political mobilization strategy in Tidore. The aims of this research are (1) to analyze power and describe the process of doxa formation and elite habitus/political actors in the symbolic- based power struggle arena in Tidore. (2) to analyze and describe the strategies of the local elite in using symbolic capital in the arena of power struggle in Tidore (Local Leaders Election). This research uses qualitative method with ethnographic research. The research subjects are the indigenous people of Gurabunga, the political elite/political actors, *Sowohi*, the Sultan and people who are involved and understand the Local Leaders Election (*pilkada*). Data collection was done by interview, observation and documentation study. The researchers conduct an in-depth study so that the data can be maximal and adequate, and triangulation is carried out. Then this data was analyzed using an ethnographic approach. The theory used as an analytical tool in this research is Perre Bourdieu's Theory of Doxa, Habitus and Arena. The results of the study prove that the process of forming doxa and political habitus has a strong influence on the political practice of the Tidore people. Values, norms, customs and local beliefs of the community have an effect on the dynamics and political reality in Tidore. And symbolic capital as the most important part in producing power in Tidore.

**Keywords.** Doxa, Habitus, Symbolic-based Power Struggle

### **1. Introduction**

Democracy is metamorphosing so quickly, it's all just looking for the ideal and best model in the democratic system. Of course, democracy as a path to prosperity, there are ideas and hopes that a democratic system must coexist with local wisdom. Our democratic system in certain spaces is so different, because it is based on power and a latent political culture, needs contextualization to a democratic system, especially regarding the determination of power. Sometimes we have to admit and say out loud that the phenomenon of democracy tends to the majority vote, and minorities are those who are always sidelined in the dynamics of democracy. Another thing that has been observed is that democratic heroism goes hand in hand with the

spirit of regional autonomy, a regional spirit also becomes a new speculation of local elites blaring in their political attitudes, and sometimes causes social anomalies/conflicts.

Another thing that can be found is the political elite trying to direct the traditional leaders (*sowohi* and sultan) in the practical political space. So that there is a capitalization of cultural values, which causes a deviation from the "*suba jou*" philosophy. "*Sowohi* and sultan" should not lead to one particular political figure (customary affairs and practical politics). The use of symbolic capital, *sowohi* institutions and the sultan in the political space, in this case is the Local Leaders Election (*pilkada*). On the other hand, the fear of ghosts (*suwanggi, doti*) occurs in the political space, all efforts and misgivings occur when starting to express an attitude to contesting the regional elections. *Sowohi* seems to be a political advisor in the field of spirituality to direct all the elites and political actors.

It should be known and understood together that Tidore is a society built on the basis of social relations and sacred/mystical entities. The researchers observed that the spirit of patronage was so strong that it was an area with strong sultanate values. The three main actors in the political arena of Local Leaders Election (*pilkada*) are *sowohi*, the sultan and the political elite (candidates). Direct election (general election) is a democratic choice taken by this nation, one of the consequences of democracy itself is the conflict in the political arena, while on the other hand, alternative ideas and our democratic mentality are still not open and rational. Various ways, both transactional and mysticism and closed rationale adorn the arena/domain of democracy. We cannot deny that our political and democratic culture is still patterned by the social episodes, beliefs and culture that we have.

Meanwhile, the context of relations between elites in the continuity of democracy in Tidore is quite clear that the classification of elite groups, both political elites and traditional/sacred elites, appears to be inherent in the political space that the elite group relations are very beneficial for political interests. We can see the political facts of Achmad Mahifa's political construction (during his two leadership periods from 2005 to 2015) by mobilizing and building this sacred relationship in the political public sphere. Elites in Tidore build sacred relationships with traditional/sacred elites (*sowohi*) to pray and use mystical powers as an effort to gain power. This sign is clear that there are two major instruments between knowledge and power that are interrelated; the relationship between these elites becomes a view that political mysticism is important. In Tidore's political construction, there is no significant correlation between the values and norms stated in the incompatible "*kei se kolan*" constitution. But on the other hand, we can see that the political construction in Tidore cannot be separated from the rationality in seeing a candidate for local leaders.

Beliefs, norms, values, and traditions that are held in social life are metamorphosed into practical politics. So don't get me wrong when political practice in Tidore is conditional on a long ritual mechanism, including the influence of the world of symbols that are part of the important instruments in the arena of power struggles.

## **2. Literature Review**

In this research, the the researchers adopt Pierre Bourdieu's theory, his review of social practice is explored from doxa, habitus and arena. Researchers read that the doxa of values, beliefs and rules that become the spirit of universality of society itself. Doxa is like a space of consciousness that exists in the consciousness of thought and is part of necessity in reality. If we read from what Bourdieu has reviewed, then in the doxa space itself, there are two dialectical logics in it, namely orthodoxa and hetrodoxa. ce with an established order. Doxa evokes a sense of limits or a sense of reality." Bourdieu (1986: 471), refers to several qualities of doxa, the first is obedience to orders or rules. The order or order in question is a structure that is inseparable

from the two domains, namely the real world and the world of thought, which are accepted as undeniable truths. Both doxas are related to a person's primary perception of the world around him, cognition/mental acts involving knowledge and understanding gained from experience. Third, at the same time doxa is a form of misrecognition. Misrecognition itself is a term introduced by Bourdieu to show how this form of arbitrariness is seen as a natural, logical, or natural consequence.

Hanna (in Andreas & Rusadi, 2018) orthodoxy is a discourse used by agents who occupy a dominant position in the field. Agents in Bourdieu's terms use 'conservation strategies' to maintain the integrity of the doxa and establish the status quo in the field. While heterodoxy discourses are usually used by groups in a position of being dominated or, they will tend to use 'subversive strategies' with the aim of pressing on the repressive doxa that the dominant group seeks to exploit with arbitrariness in it.

Habitus, the alternative way of thinking offered by Bourdieu actually (he) wants to end the contradictions and disagreements of the dichotomic paradigm between the approaches of subjectivity and objectivity. Relational and become part of universal values. It is the relation of these two perspectives that is present to form the real social reality. Bourdieu's alternative is also a form of scientific response to the 'philosophy of odd action' in the style of structuralism which reduces agents to mere 'bearers' (trager according to Althusser) or unconscious expressions (as Levi Strauss) 'structures'. Meanwhile, Habitus Bourdieu wants a reality that is born from subjectivity and objectivity itself, and becomes a universal grip for certain communities. Initially Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 2016) offered the concept of habitus in public reasoning, he realized that he borrowed it from scholastic philosophy but interpreted it deeply and used it with different meanings. Although it is realized that it does not eliminate it substantially so that it does not eliminate its original meaning in the fused perspective that he (Bourdieu) has built. In short, the concept of habitus represents a "theoretical intention" to get out of the philosophy of consciousness without discarding the agent, in essence as a practical operator for the construction of objects." Bourdieu (Karl Maton, 2014) summarizes this relationship as the following equation: [(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice

There are internal and external laws of consciousness that form one another. The positional of these two also does not depend on the discourse of domination formed. Bourdieu (1986). So these two dimensions have the same influence to determine perceptions, behavior in the social realm, which is quoted by Pamungkas (2008: 19). Furthermore, Pamungkas explained that Habitus is an unquestioned human tendency, meaning that the consciousness that is internalized and externalized is really the order that is carried out by people in certain communities. Habitus is associated with and has similarities with Giddens' concept of practical consciousness, or it can also be equated with the theory of social construction (Social Construction). In short, Bourdieu perfected habitus as an internalization of disposition. So habitus is part of the process of internalizing the world around us and externalizing what is the value in terms of literacy, values and perspectives that will be issued or expressed in practical reality (interio externalization) in the Arena (field).

The researchers understand that the arena is the momentum of the regional head election itself, so that in the arena of power struggle it is certain that all instruments are directed to achieve interests. Elites and political actors certainly use all capital including symbolic capital in producing power in the arena of power struggle in Tidore. Even in the arena of struggle itself, the presence of a supernatural/mystical/unseen dimension becomes part of an important instrument, as explained by the doxa and habitus of the Tidore people, which were built in one night and have been internalized in every subject.

### 3. Method

This research uses a qualitative approach to the type of ethnographic research. The reason of using this approach is to understand deeply about the political phenomenon in Tidore which is so dynamic; the belief of the Tidore people who are so fanatical requires skills and patterns to deepen and express phenomena in the arena of power struggles. The opinion of Spradley, (2007) says that "the essence of ethnography is an attempt to pay attention to the meaning of actions from events that befall people that we want to understand. Some of these meanings are expressed directly in the language and culture that are received and conveyed only indirectly through words and deeds." Key informants have been identified by researchers such as indigenous peoples, *sowohi* (customary leaders), sultans and political elites/actors, their key informants are storytellers and epistemic partners and the information is explored through the process of observation, interviews and documentation studies which are part of the data representation. -Primary and secondary data. The data analysis was based on ethnographic analysis, namely: (1) domain analysis, (2) taxonomic analysis, (3) component analysis.

### 4. Result and Discussion

The research findings show that the beliefs and traditions of the Tidore people are very influential in the political arena. Political dynamics that continue to be guided by a fundamental perspective on beliefs and traditions. Believing in the power of ancestors and religion (*tarekat*) requires the form of traditional (*Sowohi*) and religious (*Joguru*) leaders. This awareness is formed from a philosophy of *jou suba* or conceptually people know in the cosmology of the Tidore people which is stated in the philosophy "*madafolo dzikurulah ma darfia papa se tete*" which means: tradition is based on *syara*, *syara* is based on *qitabullah*, so far as Tidore people are still wise to this belief.

So far, political awareness and realities are difficult to ignore from the values of people's beliefs. From the empirical findings by the researchers, it provides a portrait that Tidore's politics is very sensitive to customs. Therefore, it is possible that the attitude of pretense was formed as a strategic game to save political interests, apart from that, it is also realized that some individuals made an antithesis to the symbolic legitimacy of *sowohi* in Tidore, but not in the context of opposing a fundamental belief, but rather on one principles and rights of democracy freedom. Patterns and models of democracy, especially in the Local Leaders Election (*pilkada*) and Legislative Election (*pileg*) process, it is passed through one mechanism and the Tidore people's formalism. Almost all the dynamics are full of long rites and have one mystical/occult meaning. According to Bourdieu (1991), in Pamungkas (2008), cultural identity is the objectification of mental representations and the subjectivization of objective markers into the mental system of social actors, so that cultural identity has a function as power. Meanwhile, Bourdieu (2016) provides an explanation of the social process of how cultural identity is constructed as a political identity.

Political discourse is the result of a symbolic struggle, and will drag social actors into domination and subordination groups (Bourdieu 2020). If you read the phenomena that occurred in Tidore, such as the issues of *gura-gura* vs. *gam-gam*, sacred *sowohi* vs. non-sacred *sowohi* is a part of a series of symbolic battles, from that victory was born what is called symbolic power. For the case in Tidore, in the political context of producing leaders and on the other hand producing a symbolic power, in this case, magical/mystical power, there is a towering achievement of the magic and greatness of traditional leaders or *gosimo*. So, symbolic capital is one of the most influential instruments on the mobilization of political support in Tidore, the symbol "*toma loa se banari*" which means: the straight path to the truth is interpreted as the

most ideal dimension of democracy because it relies on the religious values and customs of the Tidore people.

### 5. Conclusion

Political practice in Tidore is inseparable from the values, norms, customs and beliefs of the Tidore people as the philosophy of "*madafolo dzikurullah ma darifa papa se tete.*" Including aspects of power politics, political dynamics and discourse in Tidore, it will be passed through one long mechanism and ritual. Charismatic and authoritative leaders also have influence and are used as part of the strategy in the arena of power struggles. The mystical/occult ritual process is no longer a primitive logic, but rather as a political dimension of the Tidore people which is still relevant to this day in Tidore's political contestation.

The symbol is also a power to strengthen solidarity in the political struggle, so it is certain that the symbol is not without meaning, but all of them have a high meaning and are able to give effect to the movement and power of mobilization to achieve the highest achievement in Local Leaders Election in Tidore.

### References

- [1] Andreas, F., & Rusadi, U. (2018). A Subversive Strategy Against Sexuality Doxa : Analysis Of Critical Discourse On Heterodoxa Discourse Related Parties In Court In The Constitutional Court. *Indonesia International Graduate Conference On Communication (Indo-IGCC) Proceedin*, 92–106.
- [2] Bourdieu, P (2016). Arena Produksi Kultural sebuah kajian sosiologi budaya. diterjemahkan dari *The Field Of Cultural Production*. Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana.
- [3] Bourdieu, P. (1986). Outline Of A Sociological Theory Of Art Perception. *International Social Science Journal*.
- [4] Bourdieu, P. (2020). Bahasa Dan Kekuasaan Simbolik. Yogyakarta: Ircisod
- [5] Bourdieu, P. (2020). Pertanyaan-Pertanyaan Sosiologi. Diterjemahan dari *Questions De Sociologie*). Yogyakarta: Ircisod
- [6] Faroek, Burhan. (2019). Terjemahan Mushaf Al-Qur'an Tidore-Indonesia. Yogyakarta: Tanah Air Beta-Yayasan Sadar Nusantara.
- [7] Greenfell, M. (2016). Pierre Bordieu - Key Concept. In *New Left Review* (Issue 101).
- [8] Karl Maton, dkk. (2014). Pierre Bourdieu: Key Conceptes. London and New York : Routledge.
- [9] Neuman, W. Lawrence. (2016). Metodologi Penelitian Sosial, Pendekatan Kulitatif Dan Kuntitatif. Edisi Ke 7 (Terjemahan Edina T. Sofia). Jakarta: PT. Indeks
- [10] Pamungkas, C. (2008). Papua Islam Dan Otonomi Khusus: Kontestasi Identitas Di Kalangan Orang Papua. *Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta*.
- [11] Spradley, James P. (2006). Metode Etnografi. Termehaan: The Ethnographic Interview (1979). Yogyakarta: Taira Wacana.
- [12] Wahid, B. (2018). Esai-Esai Kuasa: Diskursus Politik Lokal. *Yogyakarta: Tanah Air Beta*.