

Review of Pierre Bourdieu in Political Practice of Dana Punia in The General Bali Governor Election 2018

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Abstract—The regional head elections for governors and deputy governors of Bali in 2018 have succeeded in bringing I Wayan Koster and Cokorda Artha Ardhana Sukawati (Cok Ace) as governors and deputy governors of Bali for the period 2018 - 2022. Behind the victories and democratic events the election money politics to get voice support from certain candidate pairs. The political practice is wrapped in customary legality named *danapunia*. This paper aims to describe how politics and world practices are carried out and legalized using Pierre Bourdieu's Habitus Theory perspective ($M \times H$) + T = Practice. Description: M is capital, H is habitus and T is the domain or place. The method used descriptive qualitative by collecting data through in-depth interviews with selected informants. Informants were taken from representatives of the adat village and the auxiliary state of Bawaslu as institutions authorized to oversee election administration. This study produces several analyzes, namely: first, the practice of *doxa* explains and the world has sacred values, both in the teachings of Hinduism. This value shapes the mental cognition of agents and social structures in legalizing and *danapunia* in the political arena. Second, the practice of *heterodoksa* in habitus is presented by Bawaslu as an auxiliary state institution that does not have the power of formal law and the authority to carry out the oversight function of elections. Third, the practice of *orthodoxa* presented by the intervention of the PDIP political elite in perpetuating and promoting the world. Practices and worlds are supported by economic, cultural and symbolic capital resources carried out by political actors and Bali as the realm of the partial power of PDIP which is also a shaper of political and world practices.

Keywords: Bali governor general election, *Danapunia*, Pierre Bourdieu

I. INTRODUCTION

Direct regional head elections or post-conflict local elections in Indonesia were created to encourage democratic processes to be more open and fair by prioritizing citizen participation without pressure and using citizens' political rights to elect nation leaders. However, the journey of post-conflict local election has produced various kinds of problems, including the existence of a dark campaign, competition between unhealthy candidates and the practice of money politics that are difficult to avoid even emerging new political culture practices born from the social structure of society and now becoming the habitus of post-conflict local elections.

Money politics violations continue to occur in this country, especially in the implementation of post-conflict local elections, the most commonly done political elite is by giving money, basic necessities and other attributes, as an effort to attract public sympathy to vote for the people

concerned. Money politics is considered an illegal crime and is born as a political culture that occurs during the lead up to general elections. Apparently, the community considers this as something ordinary, so many people choose candidates for those who give him money or more money.

Similar but different conditions are also reflected in the practice of money politics in the implementation of the governor and deputy governor elections in Bali Province in 2018. The political elites of the governor and deputy governor candidates of Bali made political contests in order to gain votes. One of them is practicing the politicization of religious activities namely giving *danapunia* to build temples in every *banjar* of traditional villages. This social assistance is considered a *dharma* or good deed that does not violate the rules of campaign violations and is considered legal by the Bali Election Supervisory Agency (Interview Ketut Rudia).

In the teachings of Hinduism, *danapunia* is an obligation that must be practiced especially for Balinese people who have more financial ability, because *danapunia* has an understanding as a gift that is good, holy and sincere and in Hindu teachings is a command that must be practiced (Interview of Bendesa Adat Dalung: Putu Arif Wirata). *Danapunia* are usually given during the implementation of Hindu religious ceremonies such as *piodalan* or other ceremonies, or when a disaster strikes the Balinese people who are generally Hindu and also used to care for temples or build facilities for places of worship for Hindus. In addition, the world can be given to people who are affected by a disaster or are suffering from an illness. In general, the world is given by officials from government or certain organizations, meaning that it is not only limited by capable people (rich people), but actually anyone in Bali can practice *danapunia* to be able to help their fellow humans.

Adjustment of modernity requires sufficient economic resources to fulfill the lives of the community both those who deal with the physical, as well as human relations with their gods, such as the rituality of traditional and religious activities. For this reason, the momentum of post-conflict local election is often used as a battle for political elites to perpetuate power with a religious instrument named *danapunia*. This phenomenon is a necessity that occurs in social space and forms a structured political culture in Balinese indigenous peoples. Therefore, this study is interesting to analyze further with Pierre Bourdieu's habitus theory approach.

II. THEORY

The study of political and world practices in the election of governors and deputy governors of Bali in 2018 is framed by Pierre Bourdieu's concept of Habitus Theory. Habitus theory was born from the constructive concept of structuralism as a way to bridge the existentialist individualism and Levis Strauss structuralism thought that Bourdieu was unable to solve problems in understanding human behavior in society. The logic used by Bourdieu is to position the importance of seeing *parole* in the relationship between individuals and society, such as arena, capital, symbolic power and symbolic violence (Bourdieu: 2007). Constructive structuralism thinking gives birth to a theory known as habitus with the formula $(M \times H) + T = Practice$. M is capital, H is habitus and T is the domain or place. Practice is a product of relations between habitus as a product of history at the same time.

Habitus is the "mental or cognitive structure" by which people relate to the social world [1]. This mental or cognitive structure is used by actors to deal with social life. Habitus becomes a habit that continues to be realized and at a certain time is the result of life's creation, and it is action that delivers habitus in social life.

In dealing with the social world, individuals are inseparable from interaction and social space. To fulfill the conditions or acceptance socially, individuals must have capital in fulfilling interactions with their social space. Capital according to Bourdieu is the concentration of power operating in the realm. Capital consists of economic, social, cultural and symbolic. Social, cultural and symbolic capital cannot be reduced in economic capital, because each form of capital has its own specifications. But ultimately economic capital becomes the root of it all [2]. This concept is emphasized by Bourdieu that every capital undergoes transformation or conversion from one form to another, so that it can experience change. In other words, each individual can go beyond the limits of his (economic) capital, in order to increase his social class. These individuals have cultural capital and symbolic capital. By having cultural and symbolic capital, it can cover its economic capital.

Whereas the domain is a place, where the arena of habitus is used and utilized. In a domain there is a stake and strength for those who have a lot of capital and people who do not have much capital. Each domain requires individuals to have special capital to live well and survive in it.

Thus, habitus is the result of skills that become practical actions (not always realized) which are then translated into an ability that seems natural and develops in a particular social environment. Habitus produces life differences and life practices derived from the experience of individuals in social interaction. Based on the description above, the habitus understanding proposed by Bourdieu can be formulated to be the driving source of human actions, thoughts, and representations in social and political life in society.

III. METHOD

This study was conducted with a descriptive qualitative approach, which was to describe the habitus theory with an

explanation and understanding of how a person's values, knowledge and social and political actions were formed. The area or place used is the Balinese indigenous people during the 2018 governor and deputy governor election.

To achieve the expected goals, this study was conducted in two stages, namely: (a). Pre-Research Phase (desk study). In the pre-research stage, the activities carried out were mapping problems, observing the field and conducting internal discussions, photographing data on the results of previous research. At this stage donating important inputs for the next stage; (b). Stage of field research. At this stage, the acquisition of complete data and information is carried out by in-depth interviews with key informants representing formal institutions (Bali Provincial Government) and non-formal institutions (Desa Adat Bali) elected:

Table 1

No	Interviewees	Institution
1	Gede Putu Arif Wiratya	Bendesa adat Desa Dalung Badung
2	Made Suparman	Bendesa Adat Padangsambian Denpasar
3	Ketut Widya Darma Putra	Bendesa adat Desa Selat karangasem
4	I Ketut Rudia	Member of the Bali Provincial Election Supervisory Body

A. Types and Data Sources

This study uses primary and secondary data. Primary data comes from key informants conducted through interviews. Second, secondary data is carried out by analysis of various literature studies, research results, discussions and so on.

B. Data Analysis

The research data was carried out through a number of analyzes, namely: first, data reduction with sorting, concentration, simplification, rough data transformation that emerged from written records in the field. Second, the presentation of data by presenting a set of structured information that gives the possibility of drawing conclusions and taking action or simplifying information. Third, draw conclusions namely complete configuration activities or a review of the records in the field, namely testing the truth and validity of the data that appears at the study site. After having a strong foundation, the conclusion is strong and becomes more detailed so that it becomes the final conclusion.

IV. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The province of Bali is known as an area with a very unique culture and customs, unique, so it becomes a tourist attraction of its own. Hinduism is home to all activities and cultural activities and customs of the Balinese people. With this, Balinese people have survived until now.

4.1 Weak Function of State Institutions (BAWASLU) in Handling Violations of Regional Elections

The performance of state institutions and actors can strengthen or weaken the country's image. Migdal (1988)

suggests that the practice of a country is inseparable from competing political actors and causes the state to no longer be independent. In the end the state becomes weak, because the auxiliary state functions such as the Election Supervisory Board are no longer functioning optimally in dealing with electoral violations [3].

Under the banner of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), Badung Regent Nyoman Giri Prasta was mandated to be the head of the campaign team for Bali's governor and deputy governor candidate pairs: I Wayan Koster and Cokorda Oka Artha Ardana Sukawati (Cok Ace) in 2018 was considered to have involvement in distribution *danapunia* as a voice mobilization for Balinese people. In addition, Bawaslu criticized PDIP for violating Article 71 of Law No. 10 of 2016 concerning regional elections. State officials such as regional heads are prohibited from entering into the campaign team structure of the Bali governor and deputy governor candidate pair. Although the Bali provincial Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu) gave a warning to the Regent of Badung Nyoman Giri Prasta, and was followed up by holding an informal meeting of the PDIP and Bawaslu by giving an explanation and meaning of the 71 Law No. 10 of 2016 (Interview Ketut Rudia: April 2019) [4].

Although the PDIP realized that the act of including the regional head as the head of the campaign team could cause major problems and be threatened with criminal offenses, the PDIP remained dodged. PDIP believes that the regional head participating in the campaign team is not considered wrong, but which is not permitted if the regional head makes a written decision that can benefit or harm one of the candidate pairs. In this situation, Bawaslu is powerless and has no legal force to blame PDIP. In addition, this case was ridden by an influential national political elite in state power.

As an effort to mobilize votes in the post-conflict local election, the team won the campaign I Wayan Koster and Cok Ace, which was led by the Regent of Badung Nyoman Giri Prasta, carried out various strategies, one of which was giving *danapunia* to each traditional *banjar* in each regency in Bali Province. The victory of the PDIP Party such as Bangli, Jembrana, Tabanan, Buleleng and Badung. The results of research by Bandiyah (2018) on the voter behavior of Balinese citizens in determining the governor and deputy governor stated that most Balinese people choose their governor and deputy governor candidate pairs are reasons to benefit them, both in terms of economic, social and cultural. In this case, weak law enforcement by state institutions causes political culture such as the world to become a recognized reality of moral legitimacy by the political elite and society [5].

4.2 Analysis of Political Practice of danapunia in Pierre Bourdieu's Habitus Theory

Practice *danapunia* is a product that is produced from a relationship between habitus in the history of Balinese society which has long been regulated and applied according to the provisions of *adat* and Hinduism. However, according to Bourdieu (Richard Harker: 2012) that the practice of habitus is created from experience on the practices of social

and political behavior carried out by Balinese people. In addition, the practice of habitus results from the dialectics and the struggle between *doxa*, *orthodoxa* and *heterodoxa* in the activities of Balinese life.

Bourdieu interpreted *doxa* as a set of rules, values, conventions and discourses that govern the arena as a whole and have long-standing influence and are presented as common sense [1]. The set of rules is born from experience as a result of the accumulation of learning and socialization of individuals and groups within the social space through dialectical relations between agents and structures. The past that is not fully realized is considered as something natural, influencing the formation of mental structures, which at a certain stage are products of incorporation of social structures. Influence that is not fully realized is considered as something natural that is a process in the formation of habitus, namely the principle that gives birth and composes habits.

The search for habitus in the meaning of the *doxa* shows that the world has been defined in a set of rules and noble values of Balinese Hindu culture and customs. The experience of practice and the world that has been done long ago by Balinese people has shaped the mental cognition of agents to influence social structure. Social structures provide a set of values and form a new habitus that legalizes and accepts the normative political culture in the electoral system, including; village head elections, legislatures, mayors, governors and deputy governors of Bali, even the election of president and vice president of Indonesia.

Thus, Ngurah Indra Dewi [6] said that usually giving *danapunia* use temple facilities by pretending to attend *piodalan* ceremonies in certain temples. This political activity did not cause protests, because there had been a kind of mutual agreement, or vague political transactions with the need to obtain additional costs to cover the shortage of temple maintenance and such a large *piodalan* ceremony, which was usually borne jointly by traditional village *krama* or by person in charge *pura* respectively.

In the context of politics and power, Bourdieu (2007) asserts that the practice of habitus always produces a dialectical relationship between elements of *heterodoxa* and *orthodoxa*. *Heterodoxa* are *contradox* things, which try to overthrow the dominant discourse by bringing new discourse. Whereas *orthodoxa* is a *doxa* supporter in [7]. relation to efforts to maintain the legitimacy possessed by dominant discourse.

In this study, the dialectical relationship between *heterodoxa* presented by the Bawaslu of Bali Province and *orthodoxa* by the political elite of PDIP has colored habitus and the world becoming formal legal. Moreover, *heterodoxa* in this case does not have the authority and legal law that can ensnare and give sanctions for the mistakes of *orthodoxa* subjects. The intervention of the political elite's power with economic, social, political and cultural capital makes the *heterodoxa* subject powerless in carrying out institutional functions as an auxiliary state. Actors in the auxiliary state (Bawaslu) also contribute to the minimalist function of this institution, because the behavior of actors towards the influence of the power of the political elite is very difficult

to maintain both ethical independence in institutional and moral behavior of actors.

Meanwhile, the practice of habitus is also supported by the realm of Bali as a place and a permanent basis for the partial strength of the PDIP bull. At least it can be shown from nine regencies and cities in the province of Bali, there are five regional heads of districts derived from the victory of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP).

TABLE 2
NAME OF REGENTS AND MAYORS IN BALI
PROVINCE

No	Name of Regents	District/City	Political Parties
1.	Eka Wiryastuti	Tabanan	PDIP
2.	Putu Artha	Jembrana	PDIP
3.	Giri Prasta	Badung	PDIP
4.	Putu Agus Suradnyana	Buleleng	PDIP
5.	I Made Agus Mahayastra	Gianyar	PDIP
6.	I Nyoman Suwirta	Klungkung	Gerindra
7.	Gusti Ayu Mas Sumantri	Karangasem	Golkar
8.	Ida Bagus Rai Dharmawijaya Mantra	Kota Denpasar	Golkar

The support of regional heads from one political party is very important to harmonize the PDIP's political goals prepared with the one island one management system to form a local Balinese government management system that is integrated with the city district government aspired by PDIP.

Regional head actors were appointed directly by the PDIP political elite to transform and defend the realm of the PDIP base in each region. Besides that, the actor is equipped with special financial economic capital as done by Giri Prasta as the Regent of Badung and the chairman of the successful team of the Koster partner- Cok Ace. This financial source by the Regent of Badung Nyoman Giri Prasta was taken from the source of the Badung regency budget which was indeed very large compared to other districts in Bali Province, then converted as *danapunia* or social assistance and distributed to the predetermined *pakraman* village in Bali (Interview with Putu Arif Wiratya: 2019).

While other regional head actors have different duties and capital capital, such as cultural capital applied by the Regent of Buleleng, Gianyar and Tabanan. Symbolic capital such as authority, prestige, status used by the Regent of

Jembrana. All capital is driven by economic capital that has been prepared by the Badung Regent for a goal of winning the candidate governor and deputy governor of Bali 2018. Victory number 1. I Wayan Koster - Cokorda Artha Ardhana Sukawati according to Bourdieu (2007) is evidence that the actor politics can interact with habitus, and gradually habitus becomes a legalized culture.

V. CONCLUSIONS

The study of political and world practices in the election of governors and deputy governors of Bali in 2018 in the perspective of Pierre Bourdieu's habitus theory concluded the following: *first*, the practice of doxa explains and the world has sacred values, both in the teachings of Hinduism. This value shapes the mental cognition of agents and social structures in legalizing and *danapunia* in the political arena. *Second*, the practice of heterodoksa in habitus is presented by Bawaslu as an auxiliary state institution that does not have the power of formal law and the authority to carry out the oversight function of elections. *Third*, the practice of orthodoxa presented by the intervention of the PDIP political elite in perpetuating and promoting the world. Practices and worlds are supported by economic, cultural and symbolic capital resources carried out by political actors and Bali as the realm of the partial power of PDIP which is also a shaper of political and world practices.

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