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Symbolic Power in Winning Incumbent in Regional House of Representative (DPRD) in Legislative General Election 2014 (Study at Kabupaten Manggarai Barat of East Nusa Tenggara Province)

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Abstract:

Re-elected incumbent is an interesting phenomenon in general election of regional house of representative 2014 in Kabupaten Manggarai Barat. This has the background of extrinsic symbols game. Symbols are magical forms of symbolic power or commonly known as symbolic power phenomenon. Objective of this study is to describe, analyze and interpreting review focus which consist of symbolic power being produce to win incumbent regional house of representatives (DPRD) in legislative election of 2014, the role of symbolic power build by incumbent to win legislative election, and symbolic power phenomenon in winning incumbent. This study used symbolic power theory of Bourdieu, and supported by agent-structure theory, exchange theory, network theory and rational choice theory. This study used qualitative approach with description, analysis and interpretation process. Result of this study revealed that higher symbolic power phenomenon in general election would create higher domination in winning incumbent member of DPRD in Kabupaten Manggarai Barat. Higher symbolic play would cause higher people's choice level toward legislative incumbent member. Finally, there are three point acts as conclusion, they are: the existence of symbolic power produce to win incumbent member of DPRD Kabupaten Manggarai Barat, the existence of symbolic power build by incumbent member to win legislative election and the existence of symbolic power phenomenon in winning incumbent.

Keywords: *symbolic power, winningn incumbent member in DPRD*

1. Introduction

Past legislative general election 2014 is five year contest to directly choose people's representative in regional level. In Kabupaten Manggarai Barat, legislative general election has become a momentum that attract public attention, particularly since election implementation to directly choose people's representative would won almost all incumbent members. This election has won half of incumbent members in Regional House of Representatives (DPRD), which are 12 of 30 seat. It is interesting since people in Manggarai Barat still choose old figures to sit in regional house of representatives (DPRD). This empirical reality has creating assumption that incumbent member still become favorite choice of the people.

There are several basic argument to justify this winning process of incumbent member in legislative election at Manggarai Barat, such as: *First* of all, regional physical development in Kabupaten Manggarai Barat in real time is still far from expectation, thus it showed that previously elected member in regional house of representatives has failed in doing their job. Physical and non-physical development in Kabupaten Manggarai Barat is still lacking, stagnant in nature, and did not developed in full bloom. Looking at this reality, institution that collect people representative should play their function together with other stakeholder, particularly executives of this area. Finally, inconsistency of people representatives in doing their job to attain people aspiration would be doubted by people itself. *Second*, Kabupaten Manggarai Barat is one of Kabupaten (District) in East Nusa Tenggara province that resulted from enlargement of Kabupaten Manggarai in 2003. Kabupaten Manggarai Barat is one of the region who produce lots of incumbent member in DPRD. This would be different with other regions who only had small number of incumbent member in DPRD. Other figures in Kabupaten Manggarai Barat are qualified people who give the same attention toward the region, but in reality they lost in competition with their own incumbent members.

Based on main problems above, at least we can say that incumbent members as people's representatives still haven't done their job as ordered by legislation and has not representative in nature for electoral. However, in reality they got re-elected to win the same position in power through general election. There were some reason that can be used to explain the winning incumbent members in 2014 legislative election. *First*, incumbent members are member of regional elite group who assumed to possess strong economy capital such as material capital to win the election. Elite group, businessman and other similar people where economically has strong basic to fight and won over other member. The most importance is financial power already in their hand and become the machine behind winning an incumbent member of Regional House of Representatives. Thus, there were rumour that people has been bought (provided) with variable value, with 20.000, 50.000 and 100.000 rupiahs. Other than cash provision, politician also give basic needs package, doing road improvement, irrigation project and other similar things. Those instruments were assumed to have an effective and efficient work system, since its main target is the electorate.

Second, incumbent member is a politician with political experience in political arena. The experience of an incumbent would certainly contain its subjective experiences since he would often deal with people's condition in his/her electoral area. Besides, as an incumbent, he/she already has strategic experience in an effort to win the competition. Re-election of an incumbent was also encouraged by his/her working experience. Speaking about work performance it would definitely started from personal experience. Thus, it resulted an assumption that old people always has experience particularly in reading political phenomenon and people's needs in regional area. Knowledge and experience factor would directed public opinion toward incumbent re-election process.

Third, the winning of an incumbent member would be caused by network group instruments, by building relation or by any certain relation or social acts elements. Of course, in previous period, politician has already build sort of network or relation system with electorate so it would create their opportunity to win the election. Relation could be created if there is incumbent politician who gives charity, financial aid and others. Strong network system would eventually create a harmonious relationship with the people. Incumbent with high level relation would be very easy to gain sympathy from the people. Social relation could form stability and electability level of a politician. When one maintain relationship with the people, then one would gain full support from them. This is something made by incumbent to maintain their electability level and *public trust*. In essence, social relation was built so that they could maintain good relationship and able to gain people's sympathy.

Fourth, incumbent politician also has their support due to instruments such as achievement and political party. The fact exist that position of political party is very central in such a general election. Political party disposition is not only due to legislation but also influenced by popularity and electability level of the party in the eye of electorate. There were several political party which is widely known and memorable among electorate, such as PDIP, Golkar, Nasdem, PKB, Demokrat, Hanura, PKPI which were known as political party with high electability and acceptability from electorate, particularly among people in Kabupaten Manggarai Barat. However, from all political party existed, Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP) and Golongan Karya (Golkar) are favourable among people in Kabupaten Manggarai Barat. Party existence factor were also assumed and acknowledged as major contribution for a politician.

The above reasons is the reality in political competition at local level, whereas lots of politician compete to win in every competition. Effort to win is not enough just by looking at one side only, but there are several aspect that could be utilized to attain winning or success. In Kabupaten Manggarai Barat, political competition can be felt, particularly in developing region category which needs more change. From here, author conclude that incumbent won legislative election due to situation and condition as described above. The above reason is the key to success for an incumbent to win the five year political competition. Those reasons were within Pierre Bourdieu theory which is symbolic power phenomenon.

According to Pierre Bourdieu (1991:164), symbolic power is an invisible power who can only run by involving people who didn't want to know that they are the target, or that they themselves who run it. This theory used as analysis knife to review incumbent winning phenomenon in DPRD. The fact is incumbent winning is caused by political strategies based on explicit factors, such as money, relation, knowledge, experience, *track record* and other. In short, incumbent winning is disclosed through situational and conditional facts that emerge in electoral region. These factors are seen as symbolic power. The reality is symbolic power done through symbols or using legitimate symbols commonly existed in social environment. Those symbols were applied through domination mechanism.

Symbolic power emerge in what was called by Bourdieu as capital. There are several capital concept, such as economy, social, cultural and symbolic capital. Concepts regarding capital as we can see in Bourdieu rationale is that four of them become the basic when individual want to rule. Fundamentally, this capital concept become the *basic* in decomposing symbolic power. Those four capital mentioned above acts as key concept to review symbolic power phenomenon. That an incumbent in DPRD could attain support and win in general election basically would related with the concept of economy, social, cultural and symbolic capital.

These symbolic forms is working through domination mechanism so that its target object would unconsciously following them. The real domination is the other form of power system. When a politician give something toward electorate based on feedback intention that is to give their vote to choose the related politician. Therefore, this study entitled "SYMBOLIC POWER IN WINNING *INCUMBENT* IN REGIONAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVE (DPRD) IN LEGISLATIVE GENERAL ELECTION 2014 (Study in Kabupaten Manggarai Barat of East Nusa Tenggara)". This study has gone through several problematic formulation such as: How does symbolic power being created to winning incumbent member of DPRD in legislative election of 2014? What is the role of symbolic power in the winning process of incumbent member? Does symbolic power phenomenon emerge as winning incumbent in legislative election?

2. Symbolic Power Produce in Winning Incumbent Member

2.1. Aspect of Relationship between Incumbent and Electorate

Relationship aspect between incumbent member and electorate is highly influencing legislative election result. To survive with the same power they need to build good relationship with electorate. One of our source argue that “we need to maintain good relationship with constituent (electorate) since they would see our position from those relationships” (*Interview PD, March 2016*). One thing interesting in this description is that relationship between politician and community is not instantly build, but it came from continuous acts. Even when a politician has the status of family, kinship, friendship and other with certain group in society, it doesn't meant sealing the relationship. Bourdieu argue habitus concept, which is “mental or cognitive structure” that used by actor to face the social life. Actor has the internalized scheme or pattern and using it to feel, understand, realize and assess the social world (Ritzer, 522). It means, habitus concept would assured coherence in conceptual relationship between society and actor. It assured as intermediary of individual and collectivity (Haryatmoko, 2016; 40).

Relationship analysis between incumbent member and electorate is not lies only in its social status, but in an act habitus which created within social structure. Relationship always created when there is interaction space which connected individual and group. Social interaction is a reproduction mechanism of domination relationship between individuals and groups. Main purpose of every social interaction is so that it have closer political relation between politician with its political interest and lay people in general. Therefore, relationship would born from acts activity often done and within context of certain interest.

With this basic, social relationship aspect is an action or movement pattern which structurized in social world. A politician could win in an electoral region due to its existed relationship within the community which already integrated and totally formed. Therefore, proper relationship aspect would become the basic target of winning of an incumbent member in legislative election of DPRD in Manggarai Barat. Thus, relationship in itself was never seen from its familial, kinship and other label, but it is a practical act (not always conscious) which would be translated into a natural looking ability and developed in certain social environment. One of the important proposition in here is that less smart people in forming relationship with the people, would be hard to attain their heart and vote of the people. Political and social world is walking hand in hand and contributing to one another. In political interest, individual and groups could play social role in order to attain its goals. Social life described in a space with several dimension that grounded in differentiation and distribution principle. Agents positioned in each place and determined by two dimension, which are firstly, its possessed capital, and secondly, according to whole capital composition weight (Haryatmoko, 2016:44).

It can no longer argued that by placing relationship status in anyone, a politician had actually bind every one to oblige and ensuring the people of its existence as a trustworthy candidate. Everywhere politician would use any opportunity in visiting home to home and village to village in order to bring them closer with the community. Thus, they could be said as a trustworthy candidate in the future. Relationship aspect would go beyond interpretation concerning social status, such as kinship and family relationship. Winning problem of incumbent in analysis of relationship aspect has go beyond general understanding, that is that incumbent winning is only limited to its social relationships. However, these relationship is the social practice or action activities which act as basic of the structure. Action practice done by an agent toward the structure should be done continuously.

2.2. Effect of Charity toward Electorate

Act in giving charity is political activity. Particularly when this kind of act is used for power. This activity is normally used by politician to gain electorate support. Practice in giving help and charity toward electorate is a common thing within political arena in regional area. Support always measured by what has been given toward the people.

In community of people in Manggarai Barat, any effort such as mentioned above has already done by every candidate of regional head, and also by those who wants to become people representatives in legislative. In real, they would give charity in the form of plants, trees and others as one form to make them closer with the people/electorate. This kind of act is part of their concern toward agriculture but also contain very clear political indication. Every person has orientation and concrete goal from any act they have done. Also there are other ways, such as said by incumbent member of Manggarai Barat II election area:

- They have common affair among the people, thus I would also participated, such as: buying rice. When they have trouble to collect some fund for their activities, then I would gladly help them. When they ask me to fight for availability of drinking water, I made it happen. So more less is like that (*Interview PNFT, February 28 2016*)

Symbolic investation in the form of charity such as mentioned by Bourdieu is an effort to gain social acknowledgment. We do know that strategy implemented by actors would highly depend on how much money do they possess also capital structure in his position within social range. This thought is in line with political phenomenon in legislative election regarding the winning of several incumbent members. Of course, the winning of an incumbent would be connected to its capital ownership. The form of charity for the people as the target would highly depend on its capital. Larger capital owned and given toward electorate would brought higher enthusiasm of the people.

Reason behind dependency toward amount of capital is because this phenomeon has already become a latent political strategy which is hard to detect and even most people would unaware of it. In Kabupaten Manggarai Barat, the problem in giving charity in regional political arena has become something of a common thing, but this would affect the political education for young generation in those areas. Since this kind of strategy would become a habitus and people would be divided into those kind of political ways.

As already explained before, that by giving something we would obtain social acknowledgement, and the key objective of this acts is so that we were accepted and acknowledge. Almost several informant admitted that giving charity is something that they normally do. By giving charity they would attain attention and political support. In Bourdieu analysis, every person or group would try to maintain

their current position, differentiating ways that no other person can do it, attaining acknowledgement and new positions. However, the fight to obtain the position and grouping is using supposition in social fight also in symbolical meaning. All these efforts has showed domination mechanisms.

Other than Bourdieu, we could also cited from encouraging proposition (*The Stimulus Proposition*) of Homans' exchange theory. It is said that "if in the past there are certain stimulus or several stimulus has cause act of the person who was given present, then the more alike stimulus of the present with past stimulus, the larger possibility of people would do a similar act" (Ritzer, 364). Just like what Homans said, this is alike with the experience in legislative election of DPRD. By referring toward political description and phenomenon in regional area, there are possibilities that incumbent candidate would do the same thing when they have to approach electorates. Practice to give something or give charity toward electorate is a stimulus for electorate so that in the future they would be directed to choose the related candidate.

Encouraging (stimulus) proposition in this definition is anything, in any kind of form, which can be used to stimulate and binding relationship between candidate and electorate. Anyone who give charity toward the people, either in individual or collective category would always contain interest and power meaning to it. This is a political hegemony which is inherent with the fact of legislative election of DPRD 2014 in Manggarai Barat. This kind of strategy still being done and practice although implicitly. Interest domination of incumbent member in political arena would always directed toward power. And power in practice would be revealed through expressions in every means or acts. Provision toward the electorate does in accord with what they need. Every gift would carry some meaning for anyone. And this gift would be remembered by electorate toward incumbent member. This gift would physical in nature and in accord with people' needs such as rice, money and others. Among people of Manggarai Barat, charity during general election has become the expected event, given that every gift is free of charge. People would receive and expecting this kind of gift since it is seldom done.

2.3. Facility and Infrastructure Investment Pattern

Facility and infrastructure investment pattern in this stage would highly determining existence of politician who run for general election. Many group would put up their influence by building infrastructure that could be used by the people and building facility which can be use together. They would build general facilities such as: bathroom, toilet, and school facilities, text books, writing books and others. Other than individual activities, there were also some activities done on behalf of certain institution. Unique fact is that sometimes the development of road project, school and others from governmental institution would involved certain interest group so that there were assumption that they also involved to succeed the project. This phenomenon is hard to read and acknowledge as just a game, but this is clearly contain political nuance when this kind of activities involving and showing off certain names. Political image and feudalistic power unconsciously inherent within these kind of political reality.

In educational sector, some people would build building facility of elementary school (SD), junior high school (SMP) and even senior high school (SMA). This was also said by our informant as follows:

- Then I presented schools in places where there are no school. That is what I made. So, in first period I build elementary school. There were only two elementary schools at that time which are SD Nampar Barang and SD Kolong Lumut. Myself together with the people build junior high school (SMP) which are SMP Momol, SMP Negeri Raka, SMP Negeri Rewas (*Interview PNFT, February 28, 2016*)

In Homans' exchange theory there is something called rationality proposition. He said: "in choosing between many alternatives acts, one would choose just one of it, the one with *value*, as the result, times with probability, to gain bigger results" (Ritzer: 366). This proposition appears and influenced by rationality choice theory. Actor who acts according with rationality proposition is to maximize its utility.

Homans' exchange approach would show understanding that problem in giving charity or help by politician would be more directed toward its final value (benefit). Every gift would always directed toward its final result, which is its benefit. What is given would be useless if it cannot used and contain no value. This is one of the strategy in building political basis of general election in regional area. Thus, we can see concrete reality where lots of facilities were build in order to attain the goals. Winning of incumbent members is highly connected toward every kind of physical development which bring benefit for the people. Homans' rationality proposition theory explains about important meaning of physical building investment to succeed the political interest. We do know that key thing from Homans' rationality proposition is benefit value. And it is clearer that this idea can be concluded from road project, school, irrigation, drinking water (PDAM) who bring more benefit value for the people. More often incumbent members put direct goal investment with benefit, then there is larger probability of electability on the particular candidate.

In political world, all of this is possible and might be fighting for by an incumbent member within framework to create political image and showing off their existence, loyalty and dedication. In the context of Kabupaten Manggarai Barat, this real fight would still become the most important part considering minimum large scale development in regional area. Road as infrastructure development still overlapping between project group interest and general interest to become scandal in this sector. Problems concerning road infrastructure development in Kabupaten Manggarai Barat is caused by low development quality and human resources involved in it. This physical development would be implemented when there is cooperation or building working partner between executive and legislative. Task function of budgeting in DPRD would always coordinating with executive institution as its implementation institution for regional programs. Both institution should work together to determine development direction in regional area. Task of an incumbent member is hardly easy to realize people's aspiration. And this aspiration would be realized when DPRD and executive helps one another in running the government.

3. Role of Symbolic Power in Winning Incumbent Members

3.1. Money as Economy Capital

An informant from election region Manggarai Barat III suggest that money politics do exist. But those playing money mostly would not playing it openly. They would share money in certain moments, such as very late at night or very early at dawn (*Interview PD, March 2016*). Or in term of other informant from the same election region who said that there is a specific actor (oknum) (*Interview DA, February 29, 2016*). This specific actor is also not clear due to money politic done by this actor is never explicitly shown and there is no clear legal act to deal with it.

The term of *money politic* as already explains by informant above is activity of giving money toward electorate. Money was given in cash toward electorate so that they would choose the particular member of Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) in Tempat Pemungutan Suara (TPS) (election booth). One of our informant stated that money politic in Manggarai Barat is not done systematically, structurally or massive. However, money politic case do exist and only involving certain specific actors. Not all of the actors related with member of DPRD. Below is citation from interview with one of our informant:

- People in Manggarai Barat would normally not yet contaminated by money politic. But this kind of politic (money) do exist with specific actors, those actors has interest to use how does people or group of people can be directed toward one choice by using (money) politic. But, in fact, pride of people in Manggarai Barat still yet identical with *money politic*. That is what I found in Manggarai Barat. If there is some people doing it, that would be specific actors with its own interest (*Interview DA, February 29, 2016*)

As being said by Bourdieu, capital is a social relation, which is social energy who exist and bringing results in competing field whereas capital would produce and being reproduce (Bourdieu: 1984, 113). Therefore, efforts of an incumbent within an arena would not only concerning its arena situational structure, but also using economy power as its measurement.

In reality and in current political world, financial capital is the largest size to be able in having a certain position. Without sufficient financial we can not win the competition in political arena. This was based on observation and reality within legislative election runs in Kabupaten Manggarai Barat in 2014. Every member of DPRD who fight and compete in the election would spend different amount of mony in each legislative election. Those cost would be use for many things such as already described above. This kind of case is an important part to build vote power within election area. If a candidate would like to win votes, then he should gather lots of mass and give them food and drink.

Various political cost would highly depends on amount of mass exist in every meeting. Generally, incumbent member would visit them in their house and having a discussion in there. At this kind of consolidation and meeting, cost were being calculated. Other reason related with large political cost is geographical condition of Kabupaten Manggarai Barat. If they want to gather some mass, thus team should bring forth their maximum effort.

Therefore, transportation cost would be needed for those members. Some observer of regional development and people's figure also admitted that the power of money still become the standard measurement for winning of an incumbent member. Concerning money politic, it is seen in legislative election of 2014 in Kabupaten Manggarai Barat. However, this is hard to detect due to its working mechanism exclusivity.

Power of money such as mention above showed that political life only works in economy context. When politician candidat who believed that the power of money is larger than in itself he would use this opportunity to attain his interest goals. Power struggle and most important position in political arena would never gone from economy or financial capital link. Thus, those in power would still in power and those powerless would oblige those with power. Power never talked separately from money. Either way, goal of every power is to attain larger economy profit. If one has spend lots of money for power, then he would take the profit through the power he possessed. Power to dominate the unfortunate group has been called by Bourdieu as symbolic power, which is power to form fact received as the right thing by saying it, and implementation of power is known as symbolic power.

Other than Bourdieu, we would also reviewing exchange perspective of Blau. Exchange concept of Blau is limited in acts which only depends on reaction in receiving gift from others, an act that would stopped immediately when expected reaction is not shown (Ritzer, 369). In other word, one would give present or reward toward one person with expectation that he would return it. Money as in political contex would also used with the same benefit. When a politician give money for the people, or in other form, there is possibility to expect response. Blau ideas in this matter is exactly similar with Homans'.

Generally speaking, common exchange done would be having extrinsic value such as money. Money has legality in exchange value. Therefore, money is taken as economy capital with certain appeal and would encourage someone to have an interest. In political concept, money is a facility to obtain support from the public (peope/electorate). Money disposition was economy capital would enable more effective and efficient political move. Money as exchange unit between agent (politician) and individual or group. Blau's opinion concerning exchange which refers in individual-individual binding and individual-group binding also similar with Homans.

Both theory, either Bourdieu or Blau, has describe that the real political process would come from economy dimension. Description about regional politic has related with description concerning political stuntedness process. Since, politic always measure from economy perspective, particularly concerning money problem. Money always become the indicator or first standard measurement so that political process were run. Money act as the symbol of symbolic power in Bourdieu perspective. Who has money then he has power. Who has money then he could exchange it to attain power and interest. Thus, there are statement that those rich would become richer, while those poor would stay poor. Money as economy capital has important role in symbolic power of winning incumbent members. So far money positioned as economy capitl which carry legal status and bring advantage toward politicians who wants more power. This fact has put money above all else concerning any political affair. Money has already penetrate people's memory to be

related with political freedom in determining political choice. When money being exchanged and worshipped, the fall of political and democracy essence has been very close. This is our greatest fear in assessing the virtue of current general election system.

3.2. Money as Political Exchange Value

This was initiated from study conducted in Kabupaten Manggarai Barat that every incumbent members spend variable amount of money to win the competition. One incumbent member in DPRD from election region of Manggarai Barat II admitted that in the second period he spend lots of money. He said:

- cost I have to pay in formal event would be more less about one hundred million rupiahs. Those money was used to buy rice, sugar, coffee and also some dishes. Since there is tradition in Manggarai to drink *tuak*, than we have to buy it. So, about more less one million and five hundred thousand rupiahs until two million rupiahs in each points. Plus minus would be about two hundred millions rupiahs. (*Interview PNFT, April 28, 2016*)

In subsequent concept, we would see money as political exchange value. That in political field, particularly in campaign and other democracy party, money would be put into central part of it. Money as *locus* of every interest and goal of every support. Without sufficient money capital, one would failed in politic. This case has become the greatest reality in national and local political context.

Cost of legislative election process is not the same in every place. In Kabupaten Manggarai Barat, budget as suggested by our informant is quite big enough. However, through the same informant, it argue that minimum cost to win legislative election in Kabupaten Manggarai Barat would be about 300 until 500 millions rupiahs. If DPRD candidate member has those budget, then he would certainly passed in legislative election. It means that money has become the last bet so that one could pass in legislative election.

Aside from the problem whether people would choose particular candidate or not, the key point in financial sufficiency during legislative election would be about 300 until 500 millions rupiahs. This reality has enabling great cost in every democracy competition. Looking back at history of politic that money is not the only important capital, but this definition has shifted along with the born of interest and power. Future regional political pattern who always rely on the money would always become particular challenge for each politician.

Nowadays, politic without money would be zero result. Economy capital such as money would always become the largest standard measurement so that legislative candidate are able to pass in this competition. The only opportunity that could be read is incumbent members. Reason why they would pass can be related with during their previous periode they have already measure how much money they are going to spend in subsequent competition. It means there are early anticipation of an incumbent to win a legislative election which is by accumulating every cost used for those momentum.

In all the people, there will be those in power and those powerless. This domination relationship would depends on situation, resources (capital) and actor's strategy. Power relation mapping can be based on capital ownership and capital composition. According to Bourdieu, economy capital is the resource that can be used as production and financial facilities. This capital is easily converted into other capital (Haryatmoko, 2016: 45). Resource such as financial capital is a product in power and domination. This description would be disclosed in political hegemony of general election in regional area of present time.

Power domination would highly depend on economy resources such as financial capital possessed. As said by Bourdieu that economy capital is the easiest to be converted into other capital (resources), such as cultural, social, and symbolic. And money is economy capital with highest structure to reach power. In current era political reality, money is the highest product value so that it would enable legitimation in every aspects. Money could also used as political exchange facilities in order to maintain every power. The conclusion would be that money as political exchange value is holding the meaning that money and politic is two separate part that give advantage to one another. The power of money is highly valued to gain power and any interest. In politic world, money is placed in larger portion. Money has been used for political position, and used for power to attain more economy benefit.

3.3. The Role of Network and Relation

3.3.1. Role of Network

In the context of general election such as described in this thesis, the role of network is highly important. Considering that network as part of political strategy which can open greater possibility of winning. Of course some candidates would not or just playing in ethnicity network, but it also use other identity, such as religion. However, so far observation and reality on the field showed that all incumbent members came from sole identity, that is a Catholic. Though in factual, majority Catholic do dominated Kabupaten Manggarai Barat. Or there are some who influenced to build network by looking at its ethnicity. Thus, people in Manggarai Barat does have the same ethnic but came from different tribes. When one incumbent could hold several tribes, there is opportunity for him to win in the election.

Network were also consist of teams. Thus teamwork is highly determining the success of an incumbent. This is said since one can't work alone to attain his goals. There should be teamwork and this teamwork would be used as incumbent members in campaign process, tour to the villages, and door-to-door. This team commonly known as success team. They would work to win one of the candidate believed or they even used and paid to help an incumbent. This is similar with statement from our informant from election area of Manggarai Barat II:

- Other than formal approach, there were also team approach. So, I form this team in each TPS. In one team I would spend about one million and five hundred thousand rupiahs or sometimes about two millions rupiahs. More less are like that. This is for each team, since one TPS only have one team. (*Interview PNFT, February 28, 2016*)

Key point of network theory would be centralized toward micro structure until macro structure. It means, in network theory, actor could be an individual or a group or a company (Ritzer, 383). The network meant in social structure can also meant in broader or smaller scales. Analysis toward this network theory would be related with problems or phenomenon in winning incumbent members on legislative election in Kabupaten Manggarai Barat in 2014. Network system such as teamwork of winning team is acknowledged as a highly beneficial political strategy. Individual should form a social network, either group of people in small or large size so that they are able to gain political participant. In this context, network build to bind the existing relationship between individual (agents) with the people. Agents would hold different interest and access toward group or the people. There are strong group and weak group. Incumbent member in the network system has already found out how much support of family and support from others.

Wide network would facilitate a legislative member to win in every competition. This has already proved in political system in regional nowadays. And it is assumed that every incumbent member should build vast network in order to stay winning. Therefore, incumbent member open the network space with whomever, without selecting anyone, without discrimination, without differentiating tribe, race and religion. Basic principle of an incumbent member is to open the network and social relationship with any party as long as it is trusted by the people and independent. Legislative election phenomenon in Kabupaten Manggarai Barat is inseparable from the role of its winning networks. Considering situation and condition of a very vast regional area, a candidate cannot work on his own to attain his goals. Thus, a candidate would form a network whether in the form of individual, team or group so that it would facilitate direct approaches to the people.

A candidate should not just rely on the power of some certain basis in order to attain support. He has to walk and open the network with other group of people in regions included in election regions. The work of success team is to open network access in each region so that in each Tempat Pemungutan Suara (TPS) they has their own team. Moreover, family relationship has great role in connecting a candidate with other regional. For example, candidate A came from region X and now region Y is also part of his region. Thus, candidate A should visit region Y to gain votes. In region Y, candidate A has several group of people that has family relationship with him, thus he would ask for their help to become his working partner. Wider network would bring higher probability in introduction process of a candidate.

Speaking about political network in Manggarai Barat, it would started by family connection, kinship, closeness and other. If a candidate has known a lot more people and getting known by more people than his moving space for political manoeuvre would be better. This kind of process should be done by every one who wants to survive in political arena. As it is said by one of our informant that it is important to be known among people particularly if one has tendency toward certain direction, such as becoming people representatives. Popularity problem still become an important matter for a candidate to gain its political support. Other than that, candidate should be able to open a wide network in regions included within its election area.

Finally, the role of political network has also become an important part to maintain and run by incumbent members so that they could regain their important position they want. Wider political network means wider effect of power on the run. As money has become the standard measurement of winning, network would also meaningful in winning incumbent members. Power would be long lasting when political network of one candidate is also wider. This is one that should be preserved in every political process in regional area nowadays.

3.3.2. Role of Social Relation

Relation can be emerge in the form of togetherness within people's environment when there is certain acts or activities which involving all side. In the context of political interest, social relation construction is an activity or act which involved anyone including community member. An informant from election area Manggarai Barat I argue:

- Building relation with the people in any affair, either talking about death affair or other problem. That was done in order to preserve relationship between me and them. And then everytime there are traditional event, or a party, when they invite me then I would be there. That is also part to build relation between people, between group, between young figures or youth
(Interview SS, March 1, 2016)

Social relationship between individual has value whereas every acts and behavior that caused by relationship would give impact toward the stakeholders. Context of legislative election for DPRD Manggarai Barat in 2014 at least would have correlation with this rationale that is there is no social act done without value. Other phenomenon concerning relation has commonly seen when there is religious event. In this context, there is always member of DPRD that present and give aid or charity. An informant suggest "then in religious events were also used well in here. This is done also to bind us to them" (Interview SS, March 1, 2016).

In social discourses that relation factor is highly influencing construction of life in every community. Social relation would become the important capital in determining political attitude. In this modern era, relationship between community would be determining the disposition of shared life. Close relationship between people would create peace and harmony. Good relation would also brought cooperation and loyalty toward others. Just like in the same context when one build good relationship with the people, thus he would be accepted as part of this community.

In Bourdieu perspective, social relation is the social capital whereas relation act as foundation for survival in community/society. Social capital in here is in the form of relation and good social relationship either individual or group of people. Such as said by Ritzer that social capital consist of valueable social relationship between individual (2011: 525).

Symbolic power in the context of relationship between incumbent member with electorate would contain some value. These values would give advantage for incumbent members. This relationship would always build to be beneficial for one party and maybe for other party as well. Relationship is not always seen from family relation, kinship, friendship or others. But this relationship could be used as a political effort or political strategy to gain support and sympathy of electorate.

Generally speaking about relation construct, it would always in the form of acts, that is act that involving both side, either incumbent member with interest or people/electorate as its objects. As described above, this kind of relationship should be used in any opportunity and in any situation. There was a habit of Manggarai people with party which would involved important figures such as politician and others. It is due to they always give charity for those in needs. This is most often strategy used by incumbent group to win some votes.

Social relationship in any context could be used to open mutual beneficial political cooperation. Looking back at rationale of social capital by Bourdieu that social capital such as relationship and others is an important factor to open dialogue and symbolic power communication would be formed. Larger relation would bring wider communication network we possessed. This is the important feature of incumbent member' political relation to attain his political interest.

The role of social relation is highly important social capital in any context. This is related with people which has strong cultural root. Social relation has become the feature or political character that was build by an incumbent in the process of winning legislative election. They would always keep their relation so that their supportive votes did not shifted. To support this kind of social capital there should be support coming from economy capital as described above. Therefore, capitals would be related to one another and lies in vital place within power process.

3.4. The Role of Inter Subjective Communication

Communicative relation between subject and object was affirmed as the domination effort which force certain group to oblige based on the meaning of those communication. Communication was done anytime and anywhere as long as this representative task was run by an incumbent. It would be highly beneficial for an incumbent if he could be re-elected through communication relation pattern between himself and the people/electorate. Communication can be done during job visitation or recess, which is the time where member would do their task in their own election area (*Interview BJ, March 4, 2016*).

Linguistic exchange is a communication relation between sender and receiver of a message, since he is a social context, there were also economy exchange involved in it. There were also economy logic such as producers and consumers, linguistic capital and market where anyone can obtain benefit either material or symbolic. In other words, speech is not only perceivable, but it is also the *sign of wealth* and *sign of authority*, which could force a domination.

Bourdieu is a thinker that aware the effect of linguistic study toward social review. Critical review of Bourdieu that was prominent enough would be related with structural linguistic approach developed by Ferdinand de Saussure and Noam Chomsky. Saussure divided language into *langue* and *parole*. *Langue* would refers to sign system, while *parole* is actualization of this sign system by certain speaker (Bourdieu, 37). Both structuralism tradition were criticized due treating language as reflection object and not as practice and power instrument.

Bourdieu had radicalized *speech act theory* developed by J.L Austin. This speech act is also known as *performative* speech (Thompson, 2007: 8). However, Bourdieu added that efficacy of a performative speech is inseparable from existence of an institution which meant required condition so that a speech could become effective. It means that effectivity of a speech would depend on who said it, and in space and time context that supported the speech quality. Authority of a speaker symbolized through language as the form of symbolic capital and legitimized symbolic power.

Language has become part of a way of life in social group and used as facilities to attain practical goals. As description during recess or job visitation is an urgent opportunity of incumbent member to meet directly with people in election area. They would meet the people and also listen to their aspiration to be forwarded to the government. This task is important enough to be run by member of Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) so that all people' aspiration would be delivered and met fast enough. This meeting has the application toward social and political practice. Meeting should be bridged by communication effort. Social communication facilities such as this would only achieved through language. Language usage in every sector either social, economy, art, academic or politic would silently directed to accomodate power domination practice.

3.5. The Role of Political Party

Political party is important in current democracy party, thus anything related with political party would stay the main choice. The same thing was said by one of our incumbent members:

- Without party we cannot become legislative candidate. Thus, that is the entrance. When we stay in PKPI party we felt lots of good and positive things in being political cadre. We would be directed to form ourselves into high moral cadre. And we would be directed into becoming a member of DPRD which could work for the people (*Interview PNFT, February 28, 2016*)

Political party is a structurized group within organization, whereas each member of it has its similar orientation, values and aspirations (Budiarjo, 2010: 404). Political party is organization that contain power meaning and interest of people within it. People involved in political party had the similar orientation, similar values, and similar interest to met its programs.

In Kabupaten Manggarai Barat, electability level of political party is quite strong from people political choice. The reason would be by seeing votes result in legislative election. We could compare legislative election votes for DPRD Kabupaten Manggarai Barat in 2009 with 2014. In 2009, permanent voter of legislative election of DPRD is 120.596 people with DPT using their vote rights is 105.040 people. Thus percentage for voter which use his rights is 87,10%. While in 2014, amount of people using their voting rights is 121.071 votes. Amount of voter using his right to vote is increasing. Particularly in 2014 where amount of voter using his voting rights is quite increasing. The conclusion so far that seen from voter using his voting rights has showed that legislative election process has improved. In 2014 voter leve used his voting rights is quite high if compared with in 2009.

There is relevant approach related with political participation in this general election, which are: *first* of all, social psychological approach. This concept refers to voter perception over the existing political party or their emotional bond of voter toward his/her party. In real time, political party that emotionally felt very close to him/her would be one that be chosen without affected by other factors. *Second*, rational approach. In this approach, choosing activity was seen as calculation product of profit and loss. Profit and loss consideration is particularly used to make decision whether they would vote or not (Prihatmoko, 2008: 46).

In conclusion, political party still an important element in winning incumbent member of DPRD in Kabupaten Manggarai Barat. Political party is the product of symbolic power to form authority and interest. Political party which has good acceptability level and have popularity among the people would be known and chosen faster by the people. Existence of political party would be highly important in determining forward movement of political system in current Indonesia. Political party is not just a political attributes that only looks for its own political benefit, but through this political party, there were those who were chosen and struggle for the common interest. Thus, people would give more trust toward political party which is more serious in fighting for common interest than political party that was only put forward their ideology and contradicted government policies using the name of the people. Political party who seriously take side with the people would be easily accepted and their candidate who goes through such a party would readily accepted. Political party in itself has its own profit loss value in front of electorate.

4. Phenomenon Emergence of Symbolic Power

4.1. Mass Mobilization Factor

Mass mobilization can be done with various ways, such as by forming success teams, basic determination, through relation, family and kinship relationship, and others. In obtaining large number of voter, an incumbent should compete with other candidates. Particularly according to an incumbent member that in election moments such as now incumbent would face many challenges.

Several important reason placed mobilization of support toward an incumbent member has create challenges. *First* of all, from their performance when they become member of DPRD in previous periode. Their struggling result would be evaluated by the people through several physical development in his election area. *Second*, this challenges came from other candidate groups. They would be reprimand in public due to their half hearted effort. This challenge would certainly emerge between candidate member of DPRD.

Mass mobilization activity is one part to win general election in democracy. In regional area, such as, mass mobilization process is a heavy duty since there will be different support and political choice. Involvement of several situational and conditional aspect has become an absolute norms for this. Therefore, some efforts would be driven with many ways. Along with rational choice theory by Coleman, in mass mobilization activity, actor would always wants his primary goal. And this primary goal is winning the election.

Actor with great resources, such as money, aid, relationship, network and other stuff would easily play those facilities to attain his goals. However, actor with limitation in resources would face a hindrance in attaining his goals. Therefore, while in pursuit of goals, we should consider about resources power in possession. Important proposition here would be more resources possessed by a politician would create more possibility to be chosen by the people.

Rational choice theory consist of actors and resources. Basic principle of this theory came from neoclassical economy. Moreover, this theory focused more on the actor. Actor was seen as human with goal or intention. It means, actor has goals and his act was directed toward effort to attain the goal (Ritzer, 357). In this rational choice theory, no matter what is the choice or what does the actor's choose. The key from theory is the fact that act was done to attain goal in line with actor's choice level. Thus, rational choice theory would refers to what has become the goal of an actor.

Other than rational choice theory that focused on the actor, it was also mention about resources. There were two main enforcer in actor's act: *first*, source limitation. Actor has different sources and different access toward other sources. For actor with great resources, it would be easy to attain his goals. For actor with smaller amount of resources, it would be harder to attain his goals. *Second*, social institution. Related with social institution that actor would be limited by institutions that watching every movement. This institutional hindrance would provide positive and negative sanction which would able to push actor to conduct certain acts and avoid other act (Ritzer, 358). Political tendency for long lasting interest and power can be done with many ways. Mobilization process with money reproduction structure, material, social aid, clothes, categorized project and others would be used so that the people would receive and choose based on strength of this material. In mobilizing mass, the tendency to play the power capital is easy. So, symbolic power would actually emerge in these kinds of phenomenon.

People would never realized that this kind of act is a system to rule through resources possessed. For voter group, anything accepted is assumed as benefit though it would demand some feedback. That is the strategy mostly used by politician to gain large number of voter that is by mobilizing mass or people as much as possible.

Finally, symbolic power phenomenon in winning incumbent would revealed itself in the process to drive this mass. And the process to drive the large mass would involve other structure that could influencing large number of people. Though moving the mass has the goal for the winning, but this process is related with how to bring this movement to life. Of course, in this matter resources, money, charity, and others would still become the measurement so that the process of moving or driving the mass is succeeded.

4.2. Pragmatic Interest Factor

In several opportunity of discussion and interview, author find something new concerning legislative election phenomenon in regional level. It is said in an interview that any process in politic particularly during campaign, door to door visitioan and other is so that their goals is pursued. From time point of view, this power is only temporary. Such as in democracy party of general election is only temporary political euphoria, and anyone would play illusion such as hypnosis to attract attention. But in essence, this interest is only a

pragmatic process. In here, political disposition and democracy party as the place to fill dominant position of group and community, thus from this dominant position it would open up a domination space.

Seen from political perspective that the winning of an incumbent cannot be separated from political effort and strategy that rooted in their political souls. Of course, as an incumbent they shouldn't lose in their political competition with novice candidates. However, sociology perspective found other reality that the winning of incumbent is highly related with social situation of its electorate.

In this analysis, author felt certain that struggling during campaign and any other visits (recess) done during election process is just political pragmatic. It means that incumbent member's interest is only so that they were re-elected, while effort to give feedback to all that is never return in maximum. There are even situation shown that in a region, a candidate can reap lots of votes, while he was unknown and seldom visiting people in the area.

This kind of phenomenon can be indicated as money politic game, in giving aid, charity and others. Electing an incumbent would generally done since they have already given something for the people. Therefore, appeared the term political pragmatism interest. Those political interest is only temporary and give impact toward lots of game practice, such as paying for votes, giving money from door to door. Such political phenomenon is only limited for those with lots of money.

This is all part of rationale of symbolic power developed by Bourdieu. Due to pragmatic interest, one could play and do anything in order to gain votes. If we were looking nowadays, who wouldn't want to be in power? Who wouldn't want social status and dominating in an institution? Those questions give birth to rationale that if anyone need power, domination and higher social status, then everything he own would be used earnestly.

Winning of an incumbent would prioritize practical strategies which would precisely targeting electorate than any other effort who didn't touch people's needs. Until now, incumbent member would maintain their common and effective ways than playing new unfamiliar ways for the people and risk to lose the election. Therefore, practical and pragmatic act would mostly done by incumbent member to reap votes from electorate. This is all the reality often occur in journey of democracy in regional areas, particularly in Kabupaten Manggarai Barat.

4.3. Political Competition Factor

Amount of legislative candidates 2014 in Manggarai Barat is three hundred and forty five (345) people. From those candidates, it is possible to enable political competition among candidates, particularly competition between novice with incumbent members. By referring to amount of DPRD candidates, in a glance we could see there is competing situation for each interest of each person. Surely, every candidates has the target to win the election, but demands to win and success would depend on his/her capacity and capital. Faced with this kind of situation, every candidates would struggle and try so that they could win. They should also known by the people they represented. This is similar with things said by an informant that we should get to know the people and the people should get to know us (*Interview PD, March 2016*).

There are several things that can be seen as indicator of winning between novices and incumbent candidates, there are: *first*, popularity become the power of each candidates to be directly elected by electorate. Popularity phenomenon on an incumbent so far is stronger than for novice candidates. Thus, there were some sort of competition between both. To improve popularity, they would need hard work and effort and political world can give enormous space for those who wish to do that. The more better known they are, the better chance for them to raise their popularity. *Second*, capital as mentioned by Bourdieu were also another strength among political competition of legislative candidates. Started from economy, social, cultural, and symbolic capital, we could see that there is similarity among them all, but economy and social capital is both very fundamental. These two capital is not always the same among novice and incumbent candidates. *Third*, public trust is also an important indicator that would give political competition as part of symbolic power phenomenon in winning of incumbent members.

Those three point mentioned above is reality that enable the symbolic power. Symbolic power would emerge through problems in political competition between legislative candidates of DPRD. Competition contain desire to attain interest and power. Every one who had interest would always want to gain power. Therefore, this arena has become the place where every symbolic power is playing to attain this interest and power. Desire to power has started to developed from psychological theory into social theory and ended in ethics theory. Basically, it says that morality expressed the desire to rule.

Finally, this analysis showed that political competition is the bud of symbolic power emergence and whereas this symbols arena were practiced to attain political interest. Political interest between incumbent members, incumbent members with novice members, and between novice members would be very strict and each individual or candidates would have to compete for their own interest. Thus, winning process during election would use anything, such as strategies, capital, spaces and time and others.

4.4. Social Class Difference Factor

From interview result and observation on the field, author found out that fund expend by an incumbent would be different, such as Rp 250.000.000, Rp 200.000.000, Rp 150.000.000, Rp. 87.000.000, Rp 50.000.000 and one person with Rp 15.000.000.000. This calculation is only temporary finding from related incumbent member concerning their winning process within legislative election of DPRD in Kabupaten Manggarai Barat.

The cost spend for this interest would depend on the amount of mass attend the election. Just as said by one of the informant "... So cost, the meeting cost about 3 million until 5 million in maksimum. It would depends on amount of mass attend the place." (*Interview SS, March 1, 2016*). Therefore, larger mass means larger cost for food and drinks.

After observing that winning of incumbent members it show description concerning its differentiation factors or social stratification within the society. In author' observation, incumbent members who won legislative election would normally came from middle-upper

social class. This indicator can be seen from several aspects: *first*, economy factor, they belong to the group with higher financial ability, aside from where their source and revenue came from. But, economically, this group does have good economy ability. *Second*, social status. An incumbent member after becoming member of DPRD means that their social status was also changing. Therefore, within the society, each people's leader in structural manner is part of upper class group. This problem is always directly proportional with the reality in regional area. Especially if we read it in political context that there is no ruler and power to be attained by lower social classes. Thus, political interest in class status would indicate that upper class would always play any part that symbolically would rule lower classes.

From study result and observation on the field class differentiation status works as indicator of symbolic power practice emergence in winning incumbent. One other finding by the author concerning economy difference and social status of the society. Electorate which commonly came from middle to lower class practically would be easy to persuade and dominated by upper class group. Voting winning would depend on stimulus being used.

For an incumbent, stable capital ownership would easily play social role in people's culture. These capital ownership is already integrated so that they could easily practicing it toward the people. Thus, symbolic power in essence is the ability whereas an incumbent would use those capital for the sake of interest and power. Voter would never understand that money, charity, material, irrigation project, drinking water project, school building, and others are the form of those symbolic power. People/community understanding would only directed toward the benefit and use of a material.

We could conclude that amount of money spend by each incumbent members would marked the strength of money which is more dominant for winning compared to other factors. Money does become the important components in initial process particularly in political campaign. To collect mass, making attributes, street banner, sticker and other would be very costly and financially would need a large sum of money. Funding mass in each meeting, funding success teams, transportation also would need lots of resources. Collecting mass means giving them food and drinks.

5. Conclusion

There are several important points acts as final conclusion of this study, those are:

1. Winning incumbent is the product result of many things done in every kind of process, either through relationship pattern, charity, and similar investment. This kind of mechanism would build to obtain full support in election process.
2. Effort placing money either as economy capital and as political exchange value, also build the network roles, relation roles, intersubjective communication roles, and political party which in fact have a central role in winning every incumbent member. Most obvious form of symbolic power would be through what we give toward others. Mostly this was unconsciously aware and misinterpreted, since one can never guess that this is the real power.
3. Problems in symbolic power emerge in the process of winning incumbent and caused by competition to gain power. Thus, in mass mobilization process, pragmatic interest, political competition, difference in social class would play its strategy and use stimulus instruments to attract voters. Therefore, in mass mobilization process, pragmatic interest, political competition, and class difference would contain the meaning of symbolic power.

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