

Reconstruction of Urban Community Identity in Social Environment and Discourse of Power in Public Space; Overview of post-sultanate Buton Culture in Baubau City

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Abstract

Background and purpose: This study aims to analyze the form of social identity reconstruction in urban communities in Baubau City, Indonesia in expressing their social identity in power discourse in public spaces during the Buton Kingdom/Sultanate period and after integration into the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Social identity refers to the ancestral philosophy of *Kaomu*, *Walaka*, and *Papara* to be constructed in today's modern society as a characteristic of urban identity.

Methods: The method used in this research is qualitative descriptive, using social construction theory or sociology of construction from Boerdeau, Derrida's deconstruction, and Foucault's theory of power, discourse analysis. This study is interdisciplinary in nature to explain the problem. There were 12 informants, 3 of whom were key informants obtained by purposive sampling.

Results: Since the integration of the Sultanate of Buton into the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), the people classified (caste) from *Kaomu*, *Walaka*, and *Papara* have created a new arena or public space as a space for the reconstruction of social identity and new power relations for the urban community. The *Kaomu-Walaka* as an elite are transformative-innovative by packaging the ideology of power in government (executive,

legislature, and political parties). While the *Papara* as a subordinated community choose a form of reconstruction of social identity paradoxical resistance. The philosophy that is used in building society and the region is internalized by the values of the teachings of *bhete yi tombula* (the human who emerges from bamboo).

Research implication: This is a differentiator and characteristic of a cultured city community with noble values that are still maintained within the framework of community and regional development in general.

Keywords: Social Identity, Social Environment, Construction, Power

1. INTRODUCTION

The people of Butonese during the sultanate era had three social structure constructions namely, *kaomu*, *walaka*, and *papara* (Rudyansjah, 1997; Apurines *et al.*, 2018; and Hasmar, 2020). The three structures, *Kaomu and Walaka*, are 2 elite communities that control the sultanate system, while the third structure is the *papara* or the people or the general public. Some mention 4 strata or standen, namely; *kaomu*, *walaka*, *papara*, and *bhatua* (Deurloo *et al.*, 2003; Ligtoet, 1878; and Schoorl, 1983). However, some argue that *bhatua* (slaves) are categorized into *papara*. *Kaomu* and *walaka* are categorized as Wolio people, while *papara* and *bhatua* are not included as Wolio people. *Papara* and *bhatua* are considered to have no origin with the founder of the Buton Kingdom. The Royal Government or the Sultanate of Buton (*Sarana Wolio*) calls *papara gharib*, a word from Arabic which means foreign. The *papara* people come from outside the Wolio Palace with unknown origins (*kamia*). As for the *bhatua*'s, this group is actually still part of the *papara*. However, the *bhatua* community is a *papara* society that has been degraded, due to being unable to pay debts, violating customs, and other fatal mistakes, as well as being prisoners of war. The structure of power in the kingdom is held by the two upper classes, namely *kaomu* and *walaka*. The *kaomu* is a group that is considered direct descendants of Wa Kaa Kaa, the first Queen of the Buton Kingdom. At the same time, the *Walaka* is descendants of *Si Panjonga*, who are the second class in the social structure of the kingdom/sultanate.

The problem occurred when the transformation of social structure, power, and public space from the sultanate into the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia in 1949. Public space became a new social arena for the three local Butonese communities to express their identity, through a process of reconstruction of social structure and power (Basta, 2018; Ingram *et al.*, 2019; and Suaib *et al.*, 2019). The integration of the Sultanate of Buton into the Unitary State of the Republic of

Indonesia caused the local communities of *kaomu*, *walaka*, and *papara* in Baubau to experience a change in social structure habitus, self-identity, and power relations.

The dynamics of social change caused the three local communities *kaomu*, *walaka*, and *papara* to compete for power, influence, and political position and had to adapt to the new public space as an arena of identity contestation which gave rise to turbulence and competition, struggle, and rivalry for new identities and power in the public space. A new pattern or typification of power rivalry emerged, where after integration into the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia in *koumu-walaka*, they did not only face vis and vis but also had to fight for influence with the rivalry of *papara* with all their awakening, improving their quality and resources in the current context. The transformation causes local power discourse to contract in a direction that is more open, tolerant, permissive, and competitive.

This research seeks to reveal the form of social identity reconstruction in the discourse of power relations through the means of language or text reproduced by *kaomu*, *walaka*, and *papara* as capital and symbolic instruments to gain power in the social arena. Describes the exit and marginalization of *papara* in power texts, as well as resistance to domination and hegemony of the two local elite *kaomu-walaka* communities in the former Sultanate of Buton.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Social Construction of Identity Construction Basis

The construction of identity referred to in this study is the social construction of reality (Social Construction of Reality), in the process of construction identity contestation and power relations take place. Social construction is defined as a social process through actions and interactions in which individuals or groups of individuals continuously create a reality that is subjectively owned and experienced together (Bourdieu, 2018; Huang, 2019; Joseph, 2020; Srivastava, 2020). This contestation is often referred to by Bourdieu as social practice. Important concepts in Bourdieu's practice theory are habitus, arena/field/field, symbolic power, capital, and strategy. This theory is rooted in a constructivist paradigm that sees social reality as a social construction created by individuals, who are free human beings. Individuals become determinants in a social world that is constructed based on their will, which in many cases has the freedom to act outside the control limits of social structures and institutions. In social processes, humans are seen as creators of social reality that are relatively free in their social world (Bourdieu, 2018; Huang, 2019; and Joseph, 2020).

Habitus

Habitus is in the actor's mind, and the environment (field, arena) is outside the actor's mind. Dialectic or reciprocal penetration between objective and subjective structures or between structure and agency is an attempt to get out of the impasse of structure and agency, what Bourdieu calls 'practice'. Practice, according to Bourdieu, occurs between individuals or social groups, in the process of internalization-externality and externalization-internality, in which this practice must be analyzed as a result of interaction between habitus and field (arena). Bourdieu's theory of the dynamics of *habitus* and arena is not a vacuum but a field/arena, which is constituted by the struggle for positions (Bourdieu, 2018; Wiegmann, 2017; and Joseph, 2020).

Habitus is a cognitive structure that mediates individual and social reality. Individuals use habitus in dealing with social reality. *Habitus* is a subjective structure that is formed from individual experiences in relation to other individuals in a network of objective structures that exist in social space. The cognitive structure provides a framework for individual action in daily life with other people. In this interaction with other people or outsiders, a realm (arena) is formed, which is a relational network of objective positions. Habitus also includes one's knowledge and understanding of the world, which makes its own contribution to the reality of that world. Habitus includes all social relations and meaning (Bourdieu, 2018; Huang, 2019; Joseph, 2020; and Wilterdink, 2017).

Language/Discourse Instruments of Construction of Identity and Power

Identity construction is obtained from social and cultural structures and originates from how language/discourse or text is used. Language becomes the breath in the construction of self, social, and cultural identity. Discourse or text is very important for the formation of the construction of individual identity and social identity. and has a large influence on social control and the formation of social structures (Amoussou & Allagbe, 2018; and O'Halloran, 2022). Bourdieu analyzes language using three basic concepts: habitus, domain, and modal. The language used in human communication activities is human habitus itself. A language practice or discourse is produced by habitus, to be precise, language habitus, namely dispositions to produce, understand, evaluate, and use language appropriately in various conditions. Habitus includes language, which acts as a symbolic system and capital. The use of text or discourse in identity construction contestation is not just a communication tool. Language is not only part of transmitting messages but also a symbolic instrument/mechanism to gain power and maintain its domination/power. Text or discourse can be used for domination practices, movement tools, and perpetuating power. Through the production of discourse, it can be revealed about the relations of power, domination, and inequality are practiced, reproduced, or opposed by

written texts or conversations in social and political contexts. Discourse Analysis is a social constructivist approach that believes that world representation is linguistically discursive, meaning is historical and knowledge is created through social interaction.

Language is a complex communication relationship, linguistic exchange, and symbolic power relationship between the speaker and the interlocutor. Related to language as habitus, language is formed by habitus which has a role as an instrument of symbolic power. Language is capital for power. Language is never value-free. The recipient of the message will perceive the intent differently. Every word and expression has an antagonistic threat that is reflected in a way that only the sender and receiver of the message understand. According to Bourdieu, in every conversation, there are those who dominate and are dominated. Language. The language contains mechanisms to seize or maintain power (power), domination, and hegemony. Likewise, language as capital and habitus, apart from being a power mechanism, is a symbolic instrumental system that includes structures that are structured, structures that are structured, instruments of domination.

Economic capital plays an important role because it can be converted into other capital, namely language as symbolic power. Economic capital is not always dominant. Social capital is actually the dominant capital and can be exchanged with other capital, namely language. Language practice never occurs in an empty space but in a realm (Bourdieu, 2018; Huang, 2019; and Joseph, 2020).

The Relationship between Habitus, Arena, Capital, and Power

Habitus cannot be separated from habitus (situation of social organization) and ownership of capital (modality of power). Bourdieu also stated that habitus is closely related to capital (capital) because some of these habitus act as multipliers of various types of capital, namely economic capital, social capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital. In fact, it creates symbolic capital. Capital is seen by Bourdieu as the basis of domination and legitimacy.

Symbolic capital is capital that can be exchanged and carries a position that can give rise to power, namely the power to represent the legitimate social world or symbolic power. Those who control the four capitals in large numbers will also gain great power. Thus, capital must exist in a realm (arena) so that the realm has powers that give meaning. Someone who controls capital with adequate habitus will dominate the arena and win the social battle because in the arena there is always a social battle.

Doxa and Ortodoxy

Apart from *habitus* as a source of legitimacy, Bourdieu sociologically elaborates on the idea of *doxa*. *Doxa* is a direct obedience relationship formed in practice between *habitus* and the corresponding arena (realm), and is something taken for granted from the world that flows from the mind (Bourdieu, 2018; Huang, 2019; Joseph, 2020; and Wilterdink, 2017). The suitability of *habitus* with the logic of the field is due to the presence of *Doxa*, the unwritten rule of the game - which underlies practices in the field. *Doxa* in this case is a form of symbolic power.

As social space is always moving, in *doxa* there is a world of discourse struggle between heterodoxy and orthodoxy. *Doxa* consists of a set of beliefs that inform the shared *habitus* that operates within the field. *Doxa* in this case is the result of conquest through performative and normative statements which are often expressed and represented through influential elements within the Domain, which places the arena as a world with its own rules and laws (*nomos*), discursive forms (*logos*), normative beliefs (*illusion*), historical social conditions (*epoch*), expected actions and behaviors and challenges. Heterodoxy is an opinion (discourse) that seeks to give a negative assessment of *doxa*, while orthodoxy is a discourse that continues to try to defend (increasingly justify) *doxa* (Bourdieu, 2018; Huang, 2019; Joseph, 2020; and Wilterdink, 2017).

Doxa takes its form as a symbolic power that mediates various forms of capital accumulation (cultural, economic, and social). This power is exercised through habits, mechanisms, differences, assumptions, and power, and its legitimacy is in the misrecognition of the arbitrary character of historical social emergence and reproduction (Bourdieu, 2018; Huang, 2019; Joseph, 2020; and Lyke, 2017).

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study uses a qualitative descriptive method using Bourdieu's theory of social construction, Derrida's deconstruction, Foucault's theory of power, and discourse analysis and is interdisciplinary in nature. The use of this theory is expected to explain the complexity of social construction contestation, self-identity, *kaomu*, *walaka*, and historical exposure to power discourse in public spaces in the former Buton Sultanate of Baubau City. Analyzing discourse or power discourse to find out the *habitus* of social construction, identity, and power of *kaomu*, *walaka*, and *papara* through the production and reproduction of text or discourse. This method is used to gain an understanding of the phenomena, symptoms, ideas, values, norms, or events that are found. In addition, qualitative research uses logical thinking with facts or data or information, then formulates it into theory and draws conclusions. Observation, and library research (Creswell, 2007; David, & Sutton, 2011; and Bergold, & Thomas, 2012).

There were 12 informants, 3 of whom were key informants. Informants were determined using a purposive sampling technique, which this technique includes people selected on the basis of certain criteria made by researchers based on research objectives. The right informant is an informant who truly has the capability because of his experience and is able to articulate his experiences and views on something questionable related to *kaomu*, *walak*, and *papara* in the area of the former Sultanate of Buton, Baubau City (Creswell, 2007; and David, & Sutton, 2011).

Researchers use the constructivism paradigm as a research method paradigm (Creswell, 2007; Patton, 2002, 2005; and Djafar, et al., 2021). This research views all theoretical knowledge production in this case social construction, identity, and discourse built by *kaomu*, *walaka*, and *papara* as communication behavior and political practice. Using language as the main means of representation, reconstruction of identity, and discourse of power. Discourse or knowledge produced is never a neutral or objective phenomenon, but a matter of positionality, a matter of where people speak, to whom, and for what purpose. Discourse is obtained later from historical data and public discourse.

Discourse production is the center of attention in this study in order to reveal the social identity construction habits of *Kaomu*, *Walaka*, and *Papara* in power relations and their changes in building a shared consensus at the beginning of the formation of the Kingdom/Sultanate of Buton, and the period of integration into the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). Attention to the production of texts or discourses that develop based on a historical approach, in order to obtain an overview of social structure, identity construction, and the power contestation of *kaomu*, *walaka*, and *papara*. The resulting text or discourse will be seen not only from linguistic elements but also relates to context. The aim is to open the ambiguity that exists in the discourse. dynamics of changes in social structure, construction of self-identity, and power relations of *kaomu*, *walaka*, and *papara*.

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSIONS

Reconstruction of Community Social Identity and Power Relations; *Kaomu*, *Walaka*, and *Papara* teachings from *bhete yi tombula*

The reconstruction of social identity and power relations of *kaomu*, *walaka*, and *papara* was formed from the production of imaginative texts *bhete yi tombula* (the appearance of a princess magically from a bamboo stick named *Wa Kaaka Ratu* or King of the Kingdom of Buton and her genealogy later became the *Kaomu* community). This imaginative discourse is the key social practice that created the initial power structures/power practices in Buton. Just like the text of *to-manurung* (man descending from the sky) which forms a power structure in Bugis-Makassar (Rismawidiawati, 2017) or in texts of Malay folk tales such as *Hikayat Malim Deman*, *Hikayat Raja Muda*, and

Hikayat Malim Dewa, all three of which contain sacred marriages (*hirogami*) episode of heaven and earth marriage, between earth humans and heavenly princesses. Through this text or language, the genealogy of the contestation of social identity construction in the discourse of power relations in the early period in the Wolio Kingdom can be traced. In the traditional phase, it appears that the Butonese ethnic elite developed the concept of political symbols. The symbolic political tradition is contained in the imaginative text *bhete yi tombula*. A concept to legitimize the power of the ruler. Socially, the concept of *bhete yi tombula* was later translated by the elite, in this case, *kaomu-walaka*, as a pattern of mutual protection, job description, and power distribution, patron-client.

The text of *bhete yi tombula* was able to be practiced in the arena by *kaomu* and *walaka* against *papara*, because they had the skills and mastery over episteme and were able to make the text a capital and symbolic force to manifest power in the arena. This is supported because *kaomu-walaka* as a community has shipping skills, connections or social networks of friendship, extensive experience with the outside world, merchant and shipping networks, and as an iron sand mining entrepreneur has maritime social-cultural capital and economic capital of buying and selling mining products. become habitus and political power to transform and manipulate social, cultural, and economic capital in the arena, then substituted into symbolic capital or symbolic power.

Besides that, the mythos of *bhete yi tombula* as an episteme was built by *kaomu-walaka* to become a habitus of knowledge that is constructed through text or discourse. The ability to use knowledge by *kaomu-walaka* as an initial power strategy in Buton is in line with what Foucault said that power is strategy. Power as a strategy works since someone wants to know what Foucault calls the episteme (Martin, 2022; and Graham *et al.*, 2017). Power seems to operate in the three groups along with the strong differences that arise from the use of episteme, which is power came into being because of thinking activity and possession of knowledge. *kaomu-walaka* created differences between *Wolio* people and non-*walaka* people (*kamiana*) to produce many differences to *papara* who are not *Wolio* people so that through the *kamiana* differences power emerges. Power cannot be separated from episteme - knowledge. Power produces knowledge and knowledge is shaped by power. In other terms, Foucault refers to knowledge as an episteme, which is an authoritative form of knowledge or knowledge that has been established as the meaning of a particular situation in an era (Martin, 2022; and Graham *et al.*, 2017).

Revealing the construction of power relations in the knowledge myth of *bhete yi tombula* can also be done by using the archaeological and genealogical methods of Foucault because archeology and genealogy

allow one to find the condition of possibility, and seek to bring out new and systematic descriptions, of meanings and new quality ideas for narratives. the power that has been built. Every historical object that changes cannot be interpreted from the same perspective so discourse is always discontinuous (Martin, 2022; and Graham *et al.*, 2017). Genealogy of the discourse of *bhete yi tombula* from the objective fact of the conditions with domination played in the feel for the game by *kaomu-walaka*. The *kaomu-walaka* as an elite class during the period of the sultanate practiced domination games through textual discourse on the mythos *bhete yi tombula* - humans who appeared or were born from yellow bamboo to the *papara*, who were actually the owners of the land of Buton and the initial owners of power long before *kaomu* and *walaka* migrated to Buton. Through origin story - genealogy and virtues over others. Stories about Chinese lineage, Arabism, and the *ahlul* bait of the prophet Muhammad, SAW this value is actually an epistemic capital that *kaomu-walaka* has to make them more different and distanced from the *papara*, and the *papara* don't realize that they are cooperating with their power and allow differences to occur is the practice of power that *papara* is not aware of.

The narrative of *bhete yi tombula*, as stated by Derrida, is logocentrism, in which text is always present and considered to have absolute meaning, cannot be challenged and interpreted differently, whereas, in reality, every assumption is always contextual, assumptions always create social constructions, identities, and power relations. Understanding it requires a process of deconstruction of the assumptions in the text which are only accepted as traces that can be traced in the trajectory of history. Detaching the text from its context so that we can find new and more contextual interpretations with the present (Westoby, 2021; Hart, 2020; and Mendie & Udofia, 2020). The discourse that is built in the narrative of *bhete yi tombula* who discovers *Wa Kaaka* is *walaka* is not *papara*, in the discourse is distorted and not presented in the narrative, but is framed or marginalized by inviting him simply to accept what is the *kaomu-walaka* consensus. The narrative of abandonment or delay (to defer) and removing or distinguishing (to deference) the *papara* as an unimportant person in the narrative, as a person who is late and is only presented with a story.

There is a blurring process in the consensus narrative, the narrative is only told within the framework of the big narrative-logocentrism, without ignoring the small narratives that have a variety of differences (Westoby, 2021; Hart, 2020; and Mendie & Udofia, 2020). The narrative above contains the creation of differences and power relations, legitimizing the coercion and power of the *kaomu-walaka* community to ignore and exclude *papara's* identity in the text of power in Buton. The omission of narratives about *papara's* existence as native and early inhabitants of the country is not mentioned or narrated in the social arena, *Papara's* narrative is not present in the public space by the power

of language habitus packaged by *kaomu-walaka*, language turns *papara* into another, removed and distorted from public narratives. *Papara* is negated from the narrative of power in the public space, because *papara* does not have enough social capital, time, or opportunities to enter the arena to negotiate his power in the realm of praxis. This negation occurs while in the capital they have the power of numbers, local history, and economy, as farmers who control the food production sector, but only because the *papara* do not have the ability to transform capital or social capital through language habitus into symbolic power in the public space.

Another reason *papara* is subordinated in power relations to the people of Buton is that if *papara* sees that he has equal and balanced power, controls and owns the agricultural and plantation sectors, and is skilled in this matter as the working class, why is the economy unable to become capital for *papara* to power, the reason that can be found is because *papara* does not have an episteme capable of moving or transforming social, cultural and economic capital into symbolic power for power in the power arenas of *kaomu* and *walaka*.

Papara does not have mastery skills in knowledge and technology to compete in the social arena. This weakness carried over during the kingdom and then the sultanate, until now. They still have *papara* power at the *kadhie* (village) level, but do not have access to power and power rights in the center of the kingdom/sultanate. *Papara's* existence is not shared in the power of Buton/Wolio, because *papara* is not Wolio, but someone else in terms of blood and lineage. Blood ethnicity, family, and religion are the most powerful tools to gain legitimacy for political support or power. In the early days, the consensus of the Wolio *kaomu-walaka* Kingdom created a difference (to difference) for Wolio people and not Wolio from *Kamiana*. Construction of identity in the text or discourse of *papara* power is increasingly powerless in accessing power in *Wolio*.

Apart from *bhete yi tombula* as a language habitus and also as *kaomu's* capital, *walaka* builds his power relations over *papara*, there are also doxa or teaching values and beliefs about the supernatural and humans who have supernatural powers that grow and form social and cultural structures among *kaomu*, *walaka*, and *papara*, so that *papara* accepts the *bhete yi tombula* discourse as a value or belief whose truth is unquestionable. *Doxa* or spiritual-religious values and social, cultural, and economic capital constructed by the people of *Butonese* at that time and were used by *Kaomu-Walaka* as their symbolic capital and symbolic power to exercise their power over *papara* in the arena through the *bhete yi tombula* discourse. *Kaomu-walaka* is able to carry out and process the narrative of *bhete yi tombula* into doxa so that it is able to give birth to or create *papara* direct obedience, which is formed in practice between habitus and arenas. *Kaomu-walaka* is able to practice

between habitus and corresponding arena (realm), and something taken for granted from the world that flows from the paparazzi's mind (Bourdieu, 2018; Huang, 2019; Joseph, 2020; Wilterdink, 2017). The suitability of habitus with the logic of the field is due to the presence of the episteme *bhete yi tombula* as *doxa* – the unwritten rule of the game - which underlies practices within the field.

Doxa in this case is a form of symbolic power. mediating various forms of capital accumulation (cultural, economic, social). This power is exercised through habits, mechanisms, differences, and assumptions, its power and legitimacy reside in the misrecognition of the arbitrary character of historical social emergence and reproduction. As social space is always moving, in *doxa* there is a world of discourse struggle between heterodoxy and orthodoxy. In the early days of the Buton kingdom, there was no world discourse battle between the *kaomu-walaka*, and the *papara* who existed in the realm of orthodoxy only against the power of Kaomu-Walaka. Texts or discourses of resistance (Heterodoxy) emerge after paparazzi learn from old, lame habits.

Reconstruction of Community Social Identity from an Islamic Religious Perspective, and "Murtabat Seven of the Seven" as Orthodoxy

When the kingdom of Buton/Wolio changed to a sultanate due to the acceptance of Islam, the *kaomu-walaka* reconstructed their social identity in the form of an innovative transformation. *Kaomu-walaka* still uses the old values in a new model, namely by substituting the text *bhete yi tombula* into the "Murtabat Seven" doctrine. If the *bhete yi tombula* text explains the separation and differences between *kaomu*, *walaka*, and *papara*, then the doctrine or *doxa* of "Murtabat Seven" narratives shifts from difference/diversity to unity. There are still differences but they are seen as a unit that cannot be separated and complement and support each other. This philosophy provides insight into the people of Butonese about the importance of the relationship between *kaomu*, *walaka*, and *papara*. These three elements are likened to the human body which consists of *kaomu* as the head, where the good brain is bright because it always receives the light of divine light. *Walaka* is a body; the heart contains the sacred heart because there is a place where the balance of justice is issued. *Papara* as an accomplice has outward power. The *bhete yi tombula* narration was replaced with the narration of *poromu yinda saangu poga yinda koolota* (together, not one, divorced, there is no gap) which strengthens and defends the *doxa* about the primacy of Malay and Chinese lineages, shifting to the text of the virtues of the lineage of the Prophet Muhammad, SAW and the ahlul bait, the primacy of Islam as religion and *tasauf* "Murtabat Seven".

The habitus of *bhete yi tombula* is re-described and packaged in an explanation of the spirit of Islam - especially with the new *doxa*, the *bhete yi tombula* episteme becomes orthodoxy by giving reinforcement to the *bhete yi tombula*, *doxa* with *sufistic* codes and *tasauf* "Murtabat

Seven”, that *bhete yi tombula* is a social thesis about a summary of local knowledge about the nature of the process of creation and human existence with the symbolization of the letters alif (menhirs, the bamboo stalk where *Wa Kaaka* appears) and ba (*lioni*, the hole where the bamboo grows). The “Murtabat Seven” was then practiced by *kaomu-walaka* to become a tool or structure of power replacing the terminology *bhete yi tombula*. This knowledge is restricted and strictly confidential only for *kaomu-walaka*, and closed to *papara*. The *papara* was closed off and was not given space to study or master the “Murtabat Seven” sufistic sufism. *Papara* is increasingly marginalized and made different in terms of lineage, and religious knowledge. Islam became a political force by entering into the political structure of power of the Butonese with the promulgation of the “Murtabat Seven” as the constitution of the Buton sultanate (Purwanto, 2018). Writing and producing manuscripts or books about islam with the interpretation of the authorities. The *Wolio* people, in this case, the *kaomu-walaka* people, are increasingly able to package language as a tool of their power. Language habitus, modality, and domains are produced far beyond the knowledge capabilities of the paparazzi.

Contemporary "Papara" Identity Reconstruction and Resistance

Kaomu-walaka reconstructed their social identity as an elite or ruling class in causal relations in Baubau by linking and re-raising the issue of power based on the Kingdom and Sultanate period. The pattern of transformative-innovative social identity reconstruction was maintained from the kingdom/sultanate period to integration into the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), but each of the three communities chose a different way. Continuing to maintain patronage relationships and choosing to revive old values with new interpretations and packaging. *Kaomu-walaka* reflects on and transforms power relations, and finds innovative forms of power relations based on the power of the Kingdom and the Sultanate, while *papara* as the subordinated party of power relations in *Wolio* since the days of the kingdoms and empires chooses a pattern of paradoxical resistance or resistance but still uses values (*doxa*) which are rooted in culture and are progressive towards the awareness of hegemonic power relations inherited from the Kingdom and Sultanate of Buton. *papara* is their pattern of power in causal relations in Baubau today.

The moment of integration into the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) and its peak reforms are suspected to be the most favorable and conducive arena for the *papara* to build a new habitus. This momentum is used by the paparazzi as stated by Foucault to choose a disciplinary power strategy relationship to minimize and avoid power relations over authority to punish and control the *papara* repressively, as in sovereign power which has been practiced by *kaomu-walaka* so far. *Papara* tries to do a hegemonic counter by normalizing power praxis in

various social relations in Baubau. However, the old power is still transforming into the new power of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia in the field of government and so on. According to Foucault, power is not something that is achieved and then stops, but is exercised in various relations and continues to move.

The opening of the democratic spigot for the direct election of regional heads by the people has regenerated the strengthening of local elites in the social structure of the Butonese people. The *kaomu-walaka* aristocratic group in political parties and government bureaucracy still shows its dominance in Baubau City (Hasaruddin, 2020). Research shows that political parties and bureaucracy are used productively by *kaomu-walaka* groups as a bridge to gain power, namely, regional heads, and a political strategy of domination is needed in the process of seizing power (Qudratullah & Nawawi, 2014).

Papara chooses a form of paradoxical resistance in which they are resistant or against only hegemonic power practices in Butonist social structures, but they do not want or reject the existence of old social classifications. Old resistance texts were reproduced by the *papara*, history which has progressive values or spirit of the *papara* community is then packaged in symbolic resistance carried out through discourse (rituals) to physical resistance, which is then supported by resistance tools from groups of highly educated youth and paras. puritan (pure) Islamic youth elite as can be seen in *papara* katobengke. The reproduction of the meaning of courage and struggle about *parabhela mancuana* who became the determinant of the creation of the Wolio/Buton Kingdom was brought up again in *Papara's* contemporary narrative, as a form of resistance to local elites, while at the same time emphasizing the determinant role and presence of them in the vortex of power in Buton/Wolio. Produced through stage plays and social media Youtube and other social media groups. The use of social media and social groups returning to using the name katobhengke, previously the name or identity of the katobhengke people as an attribute indicating lowly identity, slaves, and so on are now being revived with full confidence, peace, and pride with the name katobhengke. The values and ideology of katobhengke have returned to being the values used to evoke the spirit of struggle and a surge of identity. Previously, they tried to remove the katobhengke identity and replace it with the name *Lipu* people or country people or country residents, which according to them means equality or similarity and alignment as citizens of the country in Buton. *Papara* is not as revealed by Tasrifin (2013) or Mas'ud (2015) who try to leave their old identities by looking for new identities, but in fact, they are actually returning to make their original identities with new and progressive interpretations. The resistance is not to fight or avoid their original identity, instead, they revitalize their identity, fight their cultural stereotypes with their own interpretation through public discourse about the original *katobhengke*, through traditional rituals which they

continue to preserve as the momentum for the revival of the original katobhengke.

Papara resistance is thought to have arisen when the initial consensus of the kingdom through the discourse on the folklore of La Mando papara. The narrative of La Mando, the narrative of the *Khawasi* poem, and the *Tuturangi* ritual that accompanies the *Mangaru* dance which is thought to have appeared at the beginning of the formation of the Buton kingdom will remain in the paparazzi's memory and have become a folk tale about the papara's caution and resistance to Wolio's discourse on power. The La Maindo narrative contains a power relation between the papara and the Buton/Wolio people, in this case, the *kaomu-walaka*. The *Wolio* people are dangerous and you have to be careful with them. People are beautiful and graceful, but dangerous and deceptive. This La Mando text reveals that the *papara* had been aware from the beginning of Wolio's hegemonic power, they were aware that they did not have the power or social capital to access balanced power in *Wolio*, while they were people who were invited to join and promised to share power in a consensus of power, instead what happened was they were deceived and gave themselves up to be conquered.

The resistance of the Katobengke people reflects the assertion of social identity reconstruction over the practice of power. The reconstruction of *papara* katobengke's social identity can be seen in how they resist social cultural practices and power practices. Their terminology of resistance can be seen from a wide variety of actions and behaviors at all levels of their social life (individuals, collectivities, and institutions) and in a variety of different settings, including political systems, entertainment and literature, and workplaces (Hollander *et al.*, 2004). Resistance varies greatly by behavior and setting. However, in general, it can be said that the mode of resistance can be in the form of physical or material (material or physical), including using the body or other material objects. In addition, resistance is manifested in the form of language and symbolic behavior. The *Khawasi* text is a poem sung to accompany the *Mangaru* war dance which tells about the might and contribution and central role of *papara* katobengke as a source of power and original rulers long before the consensus was on the formation of royal power relations in Wolio through their leader *parabhela mancuana si jawaangkati*. *Khawasi* is a means or tool used by *papara* katobengke to convey and store original and real stories about who they are and who actually hold power. To support the truth revealed in the *khawasi* poem, is supported by evidence in the form of artifacts that refer to and strengthen the truth of the poem. *Parabela mancuana* became the reason for the community to become an empire by killing "*dungku cangiya raja tobe-tobe*" for disobeying to join forces to build the Wolio Kingdom.

Rituals of *Tuturangi* are used as a means of identity reconstruction. Through *Tuturangi* the social structure of identity is clarified and is a means of clarifying the identity of their ownership and inseparable connection with the country or customary land where they live which contains resistance to the dominant identity, as well as at the same time expressing their differences from others. *Tuturangi's* move is also a means of Papara's resistance to the power elite's program to relocate their residence outside their customary land with the transmigration program.

In addition to these old factors, the contemporary factors that have motivated the *papara* resistance to continue until now are the reproduction of the local elite's stigma against their identity as backward, slave, poor, stupid groups of people, as well as customary taboo factors, such as the prohibition on marrying elites, taboos on pilgrimage, may not be the same as the physical characteristics, clothing, and materials of the local elite houses. These factors cause the Katobengke people to fight as stated above or as a form of counter-hegemony against the elite through traditional knowledge discourses supported by Katobengke people who have been economically, educationally, and politically established (achieved status) (Tahara, 2013; and Dirman, 2015).

New intelligence emerged which was played as a resistance to the episteme of power, economic capital by traveling, etc. and they succeeded in building economic capital overseas such as in Sumatra, Kalimantan, Maluku, and Papua. Likewise, those who remained living in Buton or Baubau began to build economic capital strength, not only farming but also trying to control the distribution of agriculture and other processes by entering markets in Baubau. They are no longer just a working class, but a class of entrepreneurs. to exercise their power.

Papara began to produce symbolic power and economic power through social media groups and YouTube. The democratization space is used as an arena for open resistance discourse conflicts Mas'ud, (2015). Tahara (2013), their rivalry against the stigma of local elites, and the reproduction of stereotypes about Katobhengke as a low-class, unskilled worker, and so on, stereotypes are reproduced into a symbolic discourse of power. Mas'ud, (2015) revealed the stereotyped political nuances reproduced by the *kaomu-walaka* group against the katobhengke people as the *papara* group on various occasions. The *kaomu-walaka* group as the dominant class makes a distinction to the Katobengke people as a lower-level or dominated group. This distinction refers to the physical characteristics that distinguish the *kaomu-walaka* group from the *papara* Katobhengke (Awat & Agustin, 2020). The reproduction of these stereotypes is empirically internalized in the symbolic discourse of the politicization of power by certain groups as an effort to maintain power, privileges, and prestige through the discourse

of "stereotypes" of the Katobhengke people who are dirty and smelly, stupid, strong eaters, wide legs, and slaves (*batua*). Even up to the current democratization period, the *kaomu-walaka* group continues to reproduce this discourse. On the other hand, as a group that is dominated or stereotyped, *Papara* Katobhengke is constantly trying to negotiate against the definition given to them by the *kaomu-walaka* group. The form of resistance for this marginal group is in the form of maximizing the democratic space of the state in the national government system, which has implications for the regions, resistance through education, resistance using state/military symbols, and resistance through political channels as spaces for negotiating the status of *papara* Katobhengke within the structure of Butonese society (Tahara, 2013; Dirman, 2015; and Awat & Agustin, 2020).

Papara Katobhengke who is in the government's bureaucratic elite space appears to be a mediator between the traditional elite rulers and the Katobhengke community in Baubau City. Behind this resistance, they already have social, cultural, and economic capital as the principle of mutual reciprocity (Tahara, 2013; Dirman, 2015). Katobhengke, like mutual cooperation in ritual activities, building a new house and helping each other's families in the field of continuing children's education. In this regard, they carry out passive and physical resistance to the domination of traditional elites by trying to build economic, educational, and political resource capital. Related to this, three *papara* Katobhengke elite forces emerge, namely traditional Islamic Katobhengke, pure Islamic Katobhengke, and modern elite Katobhengke who reject the label of slaves over themselves from customary and religious norms (Amir, 2013; Tahara, 2013; Dirman, 2015; and Abdullah, 2019).

Furthermore Tahara, (2013); and Dirman, (2015) that Katobhengke's resistance occurred as a result of the unfair treatment of traditional elites from the Sultanate to the New Order era. The reformation of *papara* Katobhengke's resistance reflects the struggle against injustice, rejection of logocentrism narratives that contain hidden ideologies, narratives hegemonic public narrative, affirmation of identity, revitalizes old values, and is packaged into new identities. *Papara's* resistance to old doxa is not something new, perhaps replicating old resistance that once existed and then mixing it with contemporary references. Resistance to social dynamics and power in Buton at the time of sultanates, such as the resistance of La Ode Abdul Ghaniyu which was influenced by the *Wahhabi* Puritanism movement in Saudi Arabia, but in the and La Ode Abdul Ghaniyu submitted to inclusiveness. In addition, the resistance of Said Raba and Langkaririy represented support for the *doxa* tasauf "Wurtabatiah-Murtabat Tujuh" against heterodoxy Said Alawi who wanted exclusive Islamic puritanism which is also supported by the internal forces of *kaomu-walaka*, but this movement failed and was won by inclusive Islam from Said Raba and Langkaririy. The internal dynamics were unable to change or defeat the doxa of inclusive Islam

which is characterized by the Murtabat Seven tasauf. The distrust of the Katobengke people towards the narrative of the traditional elite gave rise to three forces of the Katobengke elite: the inclusive (traditional) Islamic Katobhengke, the puritanical Katobhengke Islam (intolerant, exclusive, rigid, pure, reformist), and the modern Katobhengke elite to jointly reject the label of slaves to themselves. Apart from that, the loosening of elite symbolic violence regarding kadie status (village area) and customary taboos also gave the *papara* a place to fight.

Heterodoxy versus doxy between *kaomu-walaka*, and *papara* exists in the ideological resistance of local elites. *Papara* Katobengke's resistance to hegemony includes superstructure aspects including elite ideology, sara patanguna: *Pomaa maeka* (mutually shy), *pomaa maasiaka* (love and love each other), *poangkaa Angkata* (raising and respecting each other), *popia piara* (caring for and protecting each other), and the four values give birth to a sense of brotherhood, unity, and oneness. The four value concepts above are bound in one philosophy, namely the *bhinci-bhinciki kuli* philosophy. *Bhinci bhinciki kuli* means tolerance between people which does not seem to reflect reality as it is. *Papara* Katobhengke carried out resistance through counter-hegemony against elite philosophy. This is done through the myth of heroic identity through the philosophy of patasingku patawala which means the four corners of the compass and we are the only sub-ethnic who speak *Pancana* and are believed to live and cannot be far from the Wolio Palace at any time, because we are believed to have the strength and ability to be mobilized to save the Keraton. Buton as the capital of the kingdom and sultanate of Buton, if the security of the Buton Palace is threatened. This philosophy means the relationship between the *papara* Katobengke as a unit as the Buton people and the Wolio people who cannot be separated like the *kaomu-walaka* relationship, as well as patawala patasingku, the inseparable relationship between the *papara* and kaomu-walaka, in applying and acting in everyday life (Tahara, 2013; and Dirman, 2015).

Furthermore, heterodoxy versus doctor in the aspect of religion gave birth to progressive groups who wanted to change traditions from inclusive groups who maintained traditional and customary values, who considered the relationship to be hegemonic and had to be reinterpreted as a strategy to strengthen their resistance solidarity by adopting values and teachings of puritanism. intolerant of hegemonic culture. The resistance aspect of science and technology, they have the ability to adapt knowledge and traditional skills to modern fashion and architecture and then the traditional elite need their skills in the fashion of building new houses or government buildings as a form of erasing cultural traces (traces). In the tragic New Order era, the traditional Kabhaleko and Bidha clothes were destroyed by the government, but since the reform took place, new traditional clothing motifs have appeared which can be seen in every wedding or other ritual activity in

their community. This is a form of resistance to the feelings of the traditional elite and they have the same civilization as the elite (Tahara, 2013; and Dirman, 2015).

The discourse on the revival of the Katobngke people was the election of one of the original sons of Katobengke La Kamba, in 1999 from the Justice party, winning 620 votes. Then in 2004, 11 Katobengke people appeared as legislative candidates. At that time La Kamba, moved to the Crescent Star Party (United Nantions), which at that time was the basis of the aristocratic family group and won a fantastic vote of 1950 votes. The appearance of La Kamba, as a member of the Baubau City (in Regional People's Representative Assembly) for the Bindang Month Party (UN) is a form of resistance against the dominance of other groups who always regard the Katobengke people as a marginalized community in the Baubau City area (Afandi *et al.*, 2019).

Political implications, the Katobengke people have entered the elite political space, in the world of parties, and the legislature, and for the first time in history, the Katobengke people have become sub-district heads and villages in their own area. The traditional elite who control the political scene in Baubau City appear to be more persuasive towards the Katobengke people, because it is related to the direct election of people's representatives. The Katobengke people changed their status (Kamiya), namely the use of the title maa Laode (father of the nobility) in front of their name, then present-day stratification emerged with indicators of economic progress and education (Tahara, 2013; and Dirman, 2015).

The occurrence of elopements between elite women and Katobengke men as a form of resistance to customary taboos and endogamous marriages was maintained and ethnic exogamous marriages developed between them and non-Butonese tribes as a strategy for expanding the network of kinship relations for the Katobengke people themselves. Third, the infrastructure aspect, changes in livelihoods from farmers to the service sector where they have shown their adaptive abilities, traditional to modern technological skills originating from the status of land ownership or *kadie*. Thus, economic capital originating from the sale of land in Baubau City is the main force in creating other resource capital. Ritual performing arts as a strategy for strengthening solidarity. Discrimination on land ownership or *kadie* of the Katobengke people was relaxed with the birth of Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA) No. 5, 1960. The abolition of the status of sultanate land strengthened the status of Katobengke land ownership and loosened the symbolic violence of the traditional elite regarding their status as servants, and agricultural laborers among the traditional elite. Apart from that, there is also the emergence of today's stratification, increased education, economics, and politics, changes in the character of introverts to extroverts, and the persistence of customs such as traditional art, technological adaptation,

and ritual traditions. Another thing is the emergence of religious progressive groups in Katobengke (Tasrifin, 2013; and Dirman, 2015).

Elites who occupy government positions use the philosophical slogans *yindayindamo karo somanamo lipu*, which means sacrificing themselves for the interests of the region. Since then, since the reform took place, the Katobengke people have begun to show distrust of these slogans, but more to the historical aversion to the stigma of traditional elites. The refusal of the Katobengke people was a reaction against the restraining elite and they began to use the power of traditional knowledge which refers to the myth of the origin of identity and the philosophy of *patasangku patawala* as well as traditional knowledge of astronomy and meteorology. The predicates of Katobengke *Inaa laode* and *Maa Laode* (foster hosts for the *Kaomu* nobility) are used as a counter-discourse about their central position in *Kaomu's* life as foster hosts and educational and moral genetics madrasas for *kaomu* to learn and behave stoically, patiently, sincerely, and humbly. The reproduction of elite traditional stereotypes and taboos imposed on the Katobengke people is a source of resistance through discourses on identity myths, and the charisma of traditional leaders Parabela Mancuana (Tahara, 2013; and Dirman, 2015).

5. CONCLUSION

Indonesian society is united from several cultures into one nation (the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia or NKRI), each entity and cultural symbol identity is still divided into modern times when it is a feature of urban society. This fact is found in urban communities in Baubau City. The Sultanate of Buton (in this study the Ex-Buton Sultanate) which integrated itself into the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia in this finding became an arena for the *kaomu*, *walaka*, and *papara* (castes) to fight over and create a new arena or public space as a space for the reconstruction of social identity and new power relations of the community urban areas in Baubau City.

The construction of *kaomu-walaka's* social identity as a local elite in the people of Baubau City is transformative-innovative, namely packaging the old ideology of power into a new form by being active and controlling the government, legislature, and political parties. Meanwhile, *Papara* as a subordinated community since the time of the kingdom/sultanate of Buton and the period of integration into the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), chose a form of reconstruction of the social identity of paradoxical resistance. Against/rejecting the old, hegemonic values or ideology of power, at the same time still accepting the old social structure divisions, but with new reinterpretations and interpretations. The current hegemonic power relations in urban society originate from the production of texts/languages or discourses on the two ideologies of *bhete yi tombula* (man who emerged from bamboo) during the early days of the

formation of the Buton Kingdom and the “Murtabat Seven” texts during the Buton Sultanate. The two texts as habitus are practiced by *kaomu-walaka* through language practices, cultural practices, and power practices with the support of capital and arena and doxa become symbolic power (symbolic power).

Acknowledgements

This study is purely self-funded, as one of the requirements (final study) for the doctoral program. As an emphasis, this study is free from the ties of other parties (funding institutions) so that there are no conflicts of interest in the future.

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