



Surabaya Arts Center: A Formation of Musical Orchestration Taste in Balai Pemuda (Youth Hall)

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Received 2021-02-11; accepted 2021-07-28; published 2021-12-01

ABSTRACT

This research aims to understand how taste can be formed and developed from a musical arts community called Pusat Olah Seni Surabaya (POSS). This community always holds practices in musical arts in the Balai Pemuda area. The study applied Bourdieu's concept of thinking about taste. Pierre Bourdieu first revealed this concept in his book "Distinction: A Social Critique of Judgement of Taste", which explains how a person's social strata can be judged by which society he or she comes from and refutes a notion that pure subjective truth will never exist because the truth will always be dialectical. The findings show that by using Pierre Bourdieu's aesthetic taste, formed through the aspects of habitus, capital, and the realm contained in this phenomenon. The researcher sees POSS activity attempt to build a taste for music orchestration as a form of resistance from the lower class to upper-class culture.

KEYWORDS

Habitus;
Capital;
Domain;
Taste;
Subculture

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1. Introduction

Surabaya Arts Center, known as *Pusat Olah Seni Surabaya* or abbreviated as POSS, is one of the communities formed to accommodate the skills of the people of Surabaya in the field of arts. In 2014, this community accommodates almost all existing arts, such as music, dance, and painting at the beginning of its establishment. However, gradually, this community is more focused on accommodating people's skills in music. Afterwards, it becomes an identity known by the people of Surabaya that POSS has currently accommodated musical arts skills for children to adults. This community also has one of the routine activities that still consistently runs until these days; namely acoustic music practice held every Sunday afternoon at 3 pm at Balai Pemuda (Youth Hall) building, located on Jalan Pemuda Gubernur Suryo No.15, Embong Kaliasin village, Genteng subdistrict, Surabaya city, East Java province. Although the activity itself has not been registered as an official community by the Surabaya city government, this activity has great support from Surabaya artists who are members of the Surabaya Arts Council or *Dewan Kesenian Surabaya* (DKS). Therefore, this activity becomes one of the mainstay activities for this community. Initially, the music arts activities applied in this community focused on the genre of classical music, as stated by one of the founders of the POSS community who concurrently became the current chairman of the community, Mr. Heru Prasetyo, that the genre of classical music is one of the music that has the most systematic tone structure compared to other genres such as dangdut, pop, jazz, and so on, which the kinds of music are more into spontaneity and improvisation. His statement was also supported by Shinichi Suzuki, stating that classical music is one of the theoretical and systematic music lessons that is easy for all ages to learn, even for toddlers who are just learning the violin and piano as their first instrument (Henke 2021). Therefore, the learning application of music art in this community focuses on the reading of the beam note partitur derived from classical music works such as Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven.

The fundamental reason this community learned classical music is also strengthened by the background of its establishment initiated by former music teachers who are members of the Surabaya Pop Orchestra (*Pop Orkestra Surabaya* or POS), which was already known by the Surabaya music community in the 2000s. According to Mr Heru Prasetyo, the current chairman of the POSS community, POS is already known as one of the classical musicians' associations from academia, such



as the graduates of Jogjakarta Institute of the Arts (Institut Seni Indonesia or ISI Jogjakarta) and Wiltaktita College of Arts (STKW). In fact, POS is able to compete with other classical musicians such as the Stradivari Orchestra and Surabaya Symphony Orchestra (SSO) in holding orchestral concerts in the city of Surabaya (Saputra and Haryono 2021). Because POS has the principle that classical music performance can be enjoyed by all circles, so more or less, this principle is reused in the POSS community in its activities that are always open to the public and are social. Gradually, the teaching of music in this community changed into a musical character that is more flexible, or which, in this case, the author means by musical orchestration. Provided with the understanding of community members on the reading of beam notes and the learning methods, which are colossal, it became common that popular songs are re-arranged to become a new work that can be played by acoustic instruments such as violin and guitar. Usually, the songs learned by this community are harmonized by Surabaya's ongoing activities. For example, in August, community members will learn independence songs to be re-arranged for orchestral formats, such as the songs of Mars *Bambu Runcing*, Tanah Airku, and Indonesia Pusaka. This is done to add insight and songs repertory so that the members can replay the arrangement when they are invited to perform in many events to celebrate independence day every August 17.

Unlike the Surabaya music community in general, which applies periodic payments for its members, the POS or Surabaya Arts Center does not require its members to pay any wages to the music coaches. Therefore, this community is very open and free for anyone who wants to join, especially for people who want to learn classical musical instruments such as violin, guitar, saxophone, trumpet, and flute. Even if there are members who do not have any instruments but want to join regular exercises, then this community will voluntarily provide the required musical instruments until the member has their own musical instrument. From some facts about the POSS community that have been explained succinctly, a big question arises, that is, how this community survives with all the conditions that exist amid the current modernization of the dialectical city of Surabaya. It can be said that this community has been inconsistent with the initial purpose, which is accomodating arts activities in Surabaya, shifting to focus on music arts development in Surabaya area, precisely in the Balai Pemuda area, one of the strategic places in Surabaya to reflect the centre of arts in Surabaya city (Sumiyani 2020). Additionally, this community has not been registered as an official community under the auspices of the Surabaya city government. Therefore, researchers are interested in uncovering this question in terms of contemporary cultural studies. Researchers assume that there is a taste for music orchestration in the Surabaya Arts Center (POS) community, and this does not simply appear as a cultural phenomenon. An important thing to note, music orchestration is a development of the classical music genre that seeks to adapt to the situations and conditions of modern society. Classical music comes from the Latin word *classicus*, which is the population of Rome at the highest class. By definition, the classic included here is a style of music originating from Italy which later spread to several other European countries such as Germany and France, ranging from the early 18th century to the 19th century. Classical music includes the 'serious' art of music that is the opposite of 'popular' music (Apple, 2003). Some classical music can prove these works such as Giacomo Puccini's *Nessun Dorma* from *Turandot*, which can only be displayed in a large building, whereby the condition of the audience that must be solemnly listening to this music without any sound, is an opposite to the music of Didi Kempot's *Layang Kangen* that gives freedom to the audience to express the song he performs by standing and dancing to the rhythm of the song until it completed (Elianih 2020).

2. Method

The study applied Bourdieu's concept of thinking about taste. Pierre Bourdieu first revealed this concept in his book "Distinction: A Social Critique of Judgement of Taste", which explains how a person's social strata can be judged by which society he or she comes from and refutes a notion that pure subjective truth will never exist because the truth will always be dialectical. The book also explains how a distinction emerged as a form of criticism to judge a taste; according to Bourdieu, a taste itself is a product of the relationship of a person's habitus, capital, and the arena in which he originated (Blunden 2021). Habitus can be interpreted as the mental structure a person uses to deal with social life. Every human being certainly has their own pattern to understand the relative social world and within a certain period of time (Räsänen and Kauppinen 2020). Habitus is formed through



the process of internalization and becomes the source of one's actions. Habitus uniformity in a group is the basis of a lifestyle in a society that creates certain tastes, beliefs, and practices that characterize one particular class (Blunden 2021). In the social sciences, habitus is social values lived up by humans and created through the process of socialization of values that last a long time so that it settles into a way of thinking and behaviour patterns that persist in the human being themselves. A person's habitus is very strong that it affects their physical body (Thapan 2020). In addition to Habitus, the taste is also influenced by capital. In contrast to Karl Max, who insisted that all social and cultural conditions in the world are influenced by economic materialism (Motadel and Drayton 2021), Bourdieu saw that capitals could also refer to aspects of culture (education, intelligence, speech acts, dress style), social aspects (relations, friends, communities), symbolic capital (awards, titles, achievements) (Breinholt and Jæger 2020). Thus, these aspects can be such influence for someone who owns it, and someone having only a little composition from these aspects will have different tastes compared with people who have complete capital compositions. And in understanding capital, for Bourdieu, it is not always related to materials, but there are also ideological things that can be capitals such as cultural, social, and symbolic aspects (Holmqvist 2021).

The capitals expressed by Bourdieu, although it has a very broad definition and covers material things and various untouched attributes, it has cultural significance, such as prestige, status and authority (Fabiani 2020). In this case, cultural capital can cover a wide range of properties, such as education and language. For Bourdieu, capital acts as a social relation contained in a system, and this term can be expanded into all forms of goods, both material and symbolic, without any distinction that presents itself as something rare and worthy of being sought in a particular social formation (Calderon Gomez 2021). Of the various capitals in oneself, there needs an accommodation to apply this attribute. Therefore, such accommodation is then Bourdieu called a realm or arena. The conception of the realm referred to here is not as a place that has a fence around, but rather leads to the realm of power (Gilleard 2020). This is due to the demand to see the realm as something dynamic (Sholikhati, 2017). The realm is always defined by the system of objective relations of power that exists between social positions corresponding with the system of objective relations that exist between symbolic points: artwork, artistic manifestos, political declarations, and so on. The structure of the realm is defined at a given moment by the balance between points and between capital and habitus (Umanailo 2020).

The arena is a realm of power that is partially autonomous and also a realm in which there is a struggle for dominance. This struggle is seen as transforming or maintaining the realm of social status power determined by the ownership of a person's special capital located within that realm. When positions are achieved, they can interact with habitus to produce different postures (body-acts, prizes depositions.) and have a distinct effect on the economic "position-taking" in that realm (Koch 2020). And in the end, the relationship between Habitus, Modal, and Arena will create a social class that can be traced in various aspects, one of which is about taste. Thus, it is impossible if a person's tastes are pure of their own will. The taste will always have to do with the social class that is composed of how habitus is made, the capital gained, and the arena obtained (Israel 2021). An example of the application of the concept of taste is the development of *koplo* music, which is currently on the rise among the people of Indonesia. At first, *koplo* music is a form of resistance from the villagers who are not able to enjoy or attend the famous dangdut concerts in the Rhoma Irama era. Therefore, many plagiarisms of dangdut works are performed by amateur singers by adding elements of *koplo* music (Raditya 2021). Because these singers did not have any balanced capital to create new work and the risk was quite large at that time due to the contestation of recording production that applied strict requirements, thus, the luck of *koplo* music was at stake by doing dangdut music works that were already famous for live performances, in the villages. However, from the 20th century until now, *koplo* music turned into a worldwide genre with the presence of famous singers such as Via Vallen and Nella Kharisma, who made the former assumption, which *koplo* music is low-key music, began to diminish (Sundari 2021).

This phenomenon of *koplo* music proves that cultural products are not absolute but relative by involving various factors. Applying Bourdieu's understanding of taste is done by paying attention to aspects of habitus, capital, and his realm. In fact, the taste is formed by something born in the society, not just by a subject awareness (O'Brien 2021). Based on the fact that people who are always listened to *koplo* music that the type itself has been widely accepted and got an exclusive place in every



performance, it will be difficult for someone not to like *koplo* music, this is certainly regardless of the positive and negative factors of *koplo* music itself (Widyana, Rahmawati, and Fadhli 2020).

This study also applied the genre of music as one of the objects of research, where the genre of classical music is an early discussion attached to the POSS community to create a new genre that by researchers here is called music orchestration. As explained before, the main focus of the POSS community in the development of music art is the genre of classical music, with the learning and application of beam notes as the initial capital. Therefore, books of classical music theory such as Suzuki and mazaz become the main reference in developing classical music in the community. However, gradually, the genre of classical music in this community began to be developed into a subculture that has a taste for all orchestral formats, so the community slowly conducts various experiments involving various genres of music such as keroncong jazz, classical, pop, even reggae. And the experiment conducted in this community is considered successful in lifting the name of POSS among classical music lovers in Surabaya; it is increasingly interesting to see this community going social and independent, which is clearly very different from other music communities in Surabaya in general. Even this community was able to raise the genre of classical music, which is exclusive, absolute, and can only be enjoyed by the bourgeoisie, into a genre that can be developed and acceptable to both bourgeois society and proletarian society.

3. Results and Discussion

From the notion of classical music that has been explained earlier, it can be assumed that this genre is initially something affordable by upper-class people, so that its spread throughout the world is hardly acceptable, especially by lower-class people who prefer to fight the classical music genre with folkloric genres which describe their identity as the lower society in a better way (Valjanen 2021). Even in modern Indonesian culture, classical music is still considered "expensive music" because the capital to learn and do it is difficult to afford, such as purchasing violin instruments as well as its music theory that is not in accordance with Indonesian culture. Thus, this is one of the things that Mr. Heru Prasetyo wants to change, in his capacity as chairman and one of the founders of the POSS community who explained that the genre of classical music is possible to be affordable and friendly for all groups, even he thinks that classical music is possible to do for free and can be reached by various communities without having to look at social status. This is in line with what Marx aspired to be that the melting of social status is one of the solutions to preserve culture (Phelps and Vandome 2021).

The principle put forward by the community chairman here hints that the concept of habituation has been formed since POSS was formed. His answer seems giving a positive review of classical music, and there is no way someone would give such review if they do not have background insight related to the world of classical music. It is known that Mr. Heru Prasetyo is one of the alumni of Wiltaktika Art College in the field of classical music arts with a major in violin instrument, then after graduation he continued his career in classical music and actively became a member of the Surabaya Pop Orchestra (Pop Orkestra Surabaya/POS). Until the dissolution in 2012, he still hung around with several former POS players to establish the Surabaya Arts Center community. Therefore, if applying Bourdieu's thought, Mr. Heru Prasetyo has a dominating habitus in the POSS community today, because habitus in a group can tend to lead to someone who dominates and influences the group (Jolles, King, and Killen 2020).

Habitus elements can be found in each member of the POSS community. For instance, in their regular activities every Sunday afternoon, gradually the movements of the members' bodies have always been stimulated to bring classical music instruments to learn various songs from classical to modern together. Moreover, this is possible to happen, seeing the majority of members are students of private classical music lessons, there are even some members who study privately to the coaches in the POSS community so that members are habituated to their circumstances in learning and practicing the music. The habitus of these members is also not separated from where the members of the POSS community come from. From nobles to commoners, each has their own life background that shapes their habitus in this community. One of the community members, named Jawa Nur Alam, a 6th grader from the Jolotundo sub-district, has a rural family background that is far from the luxury element of classical music (Figure 1). Since Jawa himself has a relationship with the people in the POSS community, the community provides violin instrument facilities for free. From that moment,



habitus is formed in himself to master violin instruments. The practice in Balai Pemuda (the youth hall) area every Sunday afternoon was never missed until now. This is what led him to become a young violinist from Surabaya, competing for the children who received classical music education from private lessons and formal schools.



Fig. 1. Researcher (Yoongjun Young) is interviewing several POSS members

According to Bourdieu, Habitus is a product of history with an orderly and purposeful pattern following the goal that yields a particular action, but without any conscious intention to achieve such results (Fitzpatrick 2020). To correlate with, the documentation shown in the Figure 2 was the Performance of Jawa Nur Alam during the celebration of national music day published in Jawa Pos newspaper March 10, 2019 edition; the concept of habitus reviewed was born from Jawa's experience leading to a practice that something is familiar and can be done anytime and anywhere by anyone. His own appearance presents his situation as a member of rural society, wearing a t-shirt with a piece of cloth on his shoulder and barefoot. With this kind of appearance, he dared to play a work of classical music which is not normally performed unless by professional classical music players. Thus, it becomes a unique occurrence for a mass media to capture this moment in an article due to its extraordinary context among commoners, but not for Jawa Nur Alam itself.



Fig. 2. A documentation of the performance of a member of the POSS community on the music's day and the celebration of the birth of W.R Supratman (Source: Jawa Pos newspaper on 6/6/2019)



Habitus that has been found in this community can eventually shape the 'personality of the actors in it, from how they behave using their minds and their thoughts that are automatically imprinted in their gestures (Lavoie and Wardropper 2021). As was stated before, habitus is able to create his in every cultural actor observable through what they do as body language that blends with social conditions. As an example from a Heru Prasetyo, the chairman of POSS, wherein leading orchestration exercises in the POSS community, he always showed his who are insightful and experienced in the field of classical music, so that in the implementation of activities, almost no member who seeks to take the dominance of Mr Heru's power in leading POSS, because they understand that the hexis shown he cannot compare with the habitus of each member of the community. Although Habitus is born under certain social conditions, it can be transferred to other social conditions because habitus itself is transportable. For example, in the community of Surabaya Art Center, the teaching of music applied is a genre of classical music, and the ability to read the partitur of the beam notes is one of the ideal methods used. However, this is not entirely a conclusion in answering the problem of the absolute and final condition of music art. There could be a new breakthrough that can change the initial concept of this community along with the era development. And this condition has begun to appear in this community where several genres of music such as keroncong, reggae, and jazz have entered into a new habit in the community. Thus, some songs from such genre are rearranged into orchestral works that can be used as rehearsal material for classical musical instruments, and this is what makes music art in the POSS community begin to adapt its work to other genres without having to eliminate its existence as a forum to learn classical music.

This POSS community also applies the concept of capital. This concept refers to the capital prepared to build the community. When researchers interviewed several community members holding practices in Balai Pemuda (the youth hall) area, they revealed that this community was a part of a social community, which means that the capital to build this community is voluntary and not pushy. However, capital, in this case, is understandable as something complex, not limited to economic aspects only. So the main capital built in this community is the dominance owned by POSS community music arts teachers because the background of the community chairman is a classical music teacher who has dominating experience and knowledge about classical music. However, this initial capital gradually shifted considering the outgrowing social conditions in the community, such as the role of the student parents letting his child as a member of the community and providing financial support to develop this community, as well as the influence of relations among particular musicians who gave new perspectives such as an insight of keroncong music that emerged when the POSS community was invited to enliven the of Surabaya keroncong concert at Balai Pemuda (the youth hall) in 2018.

An important thing to remember is that the economic element is not the only capital that drives the POSS community. There are other capitals developed in this community, such as cultural capital, social capital, as well as symbolic capital. For example, the picture above shows documentation of one of the POSS activities published in the Jawa Pos newspaper on June 16, 2019 (Figure 3), to look deeper, there is a clear cultural element in the documentation where there is a living-learning environment between teachers and students, seen in accordance with the reality in the field where music arts education is one of the important capitals to develop the POSS community. Then, social capital related to the relationships is cultivated by this community to the wider community, then printed mass media such as Jawa Pos see POSS community activities as phenomenal activities. There is even a symbolic capital presented in the community, where its members have had achievements in music such as performing in the events of art performances or so on, so it becomes a separate motivation for new members to imitate old members who have been successful in music. It is necessary to look back on how the capital builds this community to provide a significant transformation over the last four years. A researcher revealed in one of the scientific papers that Indonesia is currently in need of actors who have natural habitus who are able to provide a positive transformation of what they have to an increasingly modern and insightful social group. For example, there are several capital transformations that occur in this music orchestration practice activity by POSS, including transformation from aspects of cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital.

From the aspect of cultural capital in this POSS community, especially when conducting music orchestration practice, there is an effort to create a culture of reading beam note partitur. This can be proven how all kinds of music that will be studied by this community are rearranged into a form of



beam notes that can be learned by community members, thus hinting members to learn to become a prima vista first to become a famous musician. Then from the aspect of social capital, since the day when the community was originally formed, it already has many relations related to the development of classical music in Surabaya. As stated by Mr. Heru, this POSS community is a revitalization of the existing community, namely Pop Orchestra Surabaya (POS). Although the POS community has officially been disbanded since 2014, that does not mean the relationships that had been built in the POS community disappeared. One of the pieces of evidence that can be felt today, the implementation of orchestration practice by POSS has so far not experienced significant external problems, quite the contrary, and this community has always received positive support from classical music activists, even the Surabaya Arts Council (DKS) provides a strategic location for the POSS community to carry out its activities at Balai Pemuda (the Youth Hall) area. The two aspects of capital that have been described before will not run smoothly without regard to the symbolic capital aspect of this POSS community. This can be found in the instructors who are involved in POSS activities. They are experts in the field of classical music, even some of them have had experience joining a national orchestra group, so they more or less are able to provide a transformation for the members to become famous musicians like their instructors. In understanding how habitus and capital work in the POSS community, it takes an accommodation that, in this case, is a realm or arena. According to Bourdieu, the Realm is a network of relationships between objective positions in which the consciousness is separated from the awareness and will of the individual. Thus, it can be interpreted that the realm is a structured relationship between the positions of individuals and groups in the order of society that is formed spontaneously.



Fig. 3. Documentation of POSS activities every Sunday afternoon published in newspapers (Source: Jawa Pos newspaper dated 6/6/2019)

To correlate with this research, the POSS community has built an art arena at Balai Pemuda (Youth Hall) area in Surabaya, precisely to the south of the red and white building terrace. This can be proven by the existence of art activities that are consistently held by this community by considering the habitus of community members who mostly have a background in music art that can be autodidacts, as well as social capital built by this community that is built from the awareness of each member of the community to help the activities of this POSS community, which has created a continuous struggle to turn Balai Pemuda (Youth Hall) Building into an ideal and integrated area for the community. History records that the Red and White Building of Balai Pemuda Surabaya (the Youth Hall) is one of the Dutch colonial heritage buildings that had become a byword of the people of Surabaya when it would be demolished and replaced with a new art building in the early 2009. This building was formerly named "De Simpangche Societeit", an elite entertainment venue for Europeans living in Surabaya. Then at the time of Indonesia's independence, this building became the headquarter of *Pemuda Republic Indonesia* or PRI (the Youth of the Republic of Indonesia). Currently, the Youth Hall serves as an office, art gallery, and multipurpose area rented for various activities.



Moreover, along with the era development, the Youth Hall building is seen as an ideal location for the development of the POSS community. When viewed using the concept of the Bourdieu realm, Balai Pemuda (the Youth Hall building) accommodates the competition between their habitus and capital owned by each individual, in which case the members of the POSS community seek to dominate their habitus and the capital they have from which they come from and how they learn musical instruments. Therefore, it cannot be a certainty if the genre of classical music will be a reference in developing this community. It has become a separate subculture in this community that uses open spaces in learning classical instruments that are automatically very far from the idealistic value of classical music that tends to be played in a closed hall because it is exclusive to certain groups of people. Additionally, the condition of this realm is ultimately one of the important factors in the formation of musical orchestration tastes for the Surabaya Arts Center community (Figure 4). Finally, seeing the relationship between habitus, capital, and the realm of the Surabaya Arts Center (POS) community, can give rise to tastes that are able to show a characteristic of this community. Simply, the orchestration of music in this community can be understood as the result of cultural practices arising from the habitus combination of diverse members, complex capital, and the accommodating realm, which tends to be open without judging the aesthetics embraced by what this community learns. And it is a unique fact that this community is able to create a popular taste of music orchestration that is able to be well received by the members of the community and able to work as a taste that can change the paradigm of exclusive classical music into a piece of popular music that can be enjoyed by all groups of society.



Fig. 4. The location of routine activities of POS (Surabaya Arts Center) community in the Youth Hall area

4. Conclusion

The musical orchestration taste built by the Surabaya arts community seeks to counter the general public's assumption of classical music, and this taste is formed structurally and has patterns interconnected each other by using the concept of Bourdieu about taste which is created from habitus, capital, and realm. The musical orchestration taste created by this community is not absolute and final. It will still be a dialectical taste as this taste was born as the development of classical music, which is exclusive, into a genre that is open and free to be enjoyed by all people, it could even be that this taste can adopt the bourgeois culture, which seems expensive and classy, to be a part of popular culture that blends in the culture of the lay community, to be open and free. In the end, this research still needs some further research because the analysis studied in this study still focuses on the aspect of taste formed from the members of the Surabaya Arts Center community itself. Meanwhile, there are still many aspects that can be studied to answer the existence of this community that is able to survive till the day this article was written, such as the aspects of reception or representation of classical music re-arranged by this community. This surely can be useful research to answer the conditions of contemporary culture and literature, since to analyze and explain a phenomenon, the research object must be seen as a dynamic and complex matter.



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