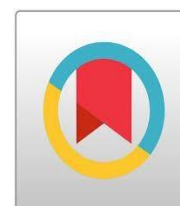


Transformation of Borobudur Temple Cultural Capital and Habitus of Buddhist Community in Krecek Hamlet (Pierre Bourdieu's Theory Analysis)



Transformasi Kapital Budaya Candi Borobudur Dan Habitus Masyarakat Buddhis Dusun Krecek (Analisis Teori Pierre Bourdieu)

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ARTICLE INFORMATION	
<p>Keywords Transformation; Capital; Habitus; Borobudur; Krecek;</p>	<p>ABSTRACT Krecek Hamlet is a Buddhist tourism village that plays an important role in promoting and preserving the noble values of Borobudur Temple. This research aims to analyze the transformation of the cultural capital of Borobudur Temple and the habitus of the people of Krecek Hamlet through the analysis of Pierre Bourdieu's theory. The method used in this research is a case study. The research results stated that Borobudur Temple as a representation of Buddhist teachings is a cultural capital. Borobudur cultural capital has a role in shaping the character and cultural identity of the people of Krecek Hamlet. The habits formed include religious habitus, togetherness, friendliness and tolerance, simplicity, respect for tradition, respect for nature, as well as traditional and spiritual leadership. The habitus of the people of Krecek Hamlet is the result of social interaction. The people of Krecek Hamlet live based on socio-cultural structures and adhere to religious values and traditional norms. The transformation of Borobudur's symbolic capital into the habitus of the people of Krecek Hamlet is performed through the process of reproducing religious culture and local wisdom. This research has many shortcomings, thus it needs to be studied more deeply, especially regarding social media and the digitization of the culture of Buddhists in Krecek Hamlet in preserving religious values and promoting Buddhist tourism.</p>
<p>Kata Kunci Transformasi; Kapital; Habitus; Borobudur; Krecek;</p>	<p>ABSTRAK Dusun Krecek sebagai desa wisata Buddhis memainkan peran penting dalam mempromosikan dan melestarikan nilai luhur Candi Borobudur. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis transformasi kapital budaya Candi Borobudur dan habitus masyarakat Dusun Krecek melalui analisis teori Pierre Bourdieu. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah studi kasus. Hasil penelitian menyatakan bahwa Candi Borobudur sebagai representasi ajaran Buddha merupakan kapital budaya. Kapital budaya Borobudur memiliki peran dalam membentuk karakter dan identitas budaya menjadi habitus masyarakat Dusun Krecek. Habitus yang terbentuk antara lain habitus keagamaan, kebersamaan, keramahan dan toleransi, kesederhanaan, penghormatan terhadap tradisi, penghormatan terhadap alam, dan kepemimpinan adat dan agama. Habitus masyarakat Dusun Krecek merupakan hasil interaksi sosial. Masyarakat Dusun Krecek menjalani kehidupan berdasarkan struktur sosial budaya dan berpegang teguh pada nilai religius dan norma adat. Transformasi kapital simbolik Borobudur ke dalam habitus masyarakat Dusun Krecek melalui proses reproduksi budaya religi dan kearifan lokal. Penelitian ini jauh dari sempurna, sehingga perlu dikaji lebih mendalam khususnya mengenai media sosial dan digitalisasi budaya umat Buddha Dusun krecek dalam pelestarian nilai-nilai agama dan promosi pariwisata Buddhis.</p>

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Introduction

Borobudur Temple is a reflection of the spiritual, cultural, and historical heritage of Buddhism. Borobudur has become one of Indonesia's tourism icons as well as a Buddhist spiritual center and educational space (Yatno, 2022b). Borobudur Temple contains extraordinary universal values consisting of three cultural landscapes, including human creation, relics that have an active role, and associative both in terms of religion, art, and cultural history (Taylor, 2023). Borobudur Temple as a Buddhist site is a source of inspiration and knowledge for the international world, including Buddhists in Indonesia. In quantity, Buddhists in Indonesia based on the 2022 databox amount to 0.73% (Kusnandar, 2022). However, there are some areas where 99% of the population is Buddhist, including Krecek Hamlet, Getas Village, Kaloran Sub-District, Temanggung Regency (Muallifa, 2023). Based on data from 2024, there are 56 houses, consisting of 74 households and divided into three RTs, with the number of Buddhists being 218 people.

Krecek Hamlet is located in a hilly area, upholding local wisdom, especially those related to agricultural and religious cycles. In terms of sociology, the people of Krecek Hamlet uphold a culture of mutual cooperation (Nugroho, 2022). Geographically, it is a remote area far from the city center. Based on information from Bhikkhu Dhammakaro published in the October 4, 2023 edition of Media Indonesia, Krecek Hamlet was once a hiding place after the events of the September 30 PKI Movement or *Gestapu* in 1965 and mysterious shootings (Petrus) in the 1970s-1980s, thus it was called *Desa Larangan* (the Forbidden Village). Behind the historical story, Krecek Hamlet which is predominantly Buddhist seeks to create a positive social environment in the religious and cultural fields (Ngasiran, 2019). One expression of the spiritual culture of the people of Krecek Hamlet is the cohesiveness of making a *puja altar* (worship space) in front of the house.

Krecek Hamlet is one of the areas that maintain the noble value of Borobudur Temple. Borobudur Temple as a cultural heritage site has a selling point in tourism (Yatno, 2020a). The proximity of Borobudur Temple to Krecek Hamlet is used as a discourse in developing Krecek Hamlet into a Buddhist-based tourist destination. This article aims to analyze the transformation of the symbolic capital of Borobudur temple and the habitus of the people of Krecek Hamlet from the perspective of Pierre Bourdieu's theory. Pierre Bourdieu is a French sociologist. His main points of thought include cultural capital, social capital, symbolic capital, and the concept of habitus, as well as symbolic violence (Arismunandar, 2009). For Bourdieu, science is not only understood in a methodological sense, but also sociologically, and science in the sociological sense according to Stenmark is social practice (Moch Najib

Yuliantoro, 2016). In exploring sociological phenomena, Bourdieu created a set of rational thinking tools and tried to bridge the gap between theory and practice, capital, habitus, doxa, and symbolic violence (Costa, C., & Murphy, 2015). Capital is a resource that plays a role in creating social construction. According to Bourdieu, capital can be divided into four, including economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital.

Cultural capital for Bourdieu is understood as a socio-cultural competence relevant to knowledge, such as skills and intelligence (Ningtyas, 2015). Bourdieu sees that largely, social behavior is a social construction influenced by education (Edgerton, J. D., & Roberts, 2014). Bourdieu's cultural capital is not just knowledge and skills, but also a form of symbolic power that influences social interaction and identity construction. Cultural capital also acts as social reproduction (Sutopo et al., 2018), where social structures and hierarchies are maintained from one generation to the next. In the context of society, cultural capital plays a role in shaping the norms, values, and practices of social groups. One of the shapers of cultural capital is habitus.

The concept of habitus has a long history. Referring to Aristotle's thinking, habitus is related to hexis (Malikail, 2003), while Emile Durkheim said habitus is related to collective consciousness (Öztürk, 2020). Bourdieu's habitus refers to Ponofsky's opinion that culture is not just a general code and particular thoughts, but more than that, habitus is a series of basic schemes that are appropriately assimilated. The concept of habitus arises from the empirical need to understand agent behavior, structures, and social conditions. Habitus is understood as a system of dispositions that are durable and changeable (Setton, 2002). Furthermore, habitus can be understood as the implications of certain societies in the past and become trends in the present and future. Habitus is a habit and an agent of continuity that can be a force of change (Grusendorf, 2016). Research with Bourdieu's theory analysis has been conducted by (Pratami et al., 2019) with the title 'Breastfeeding Model in Madurese Viewed from Culture Capital and Lifestyle According to Pierre Bourdieu', which Pratami's research is more directed at cultural capital and lifestyle in Madurese society in breastfeeding. Another research is by (Thorpe, 2010) with the title 'Bourdieu, Gender Reflexivity, and Physical Culture: A Case of Masculinities in the Snowboarding Field', which analyzes gender and masculinity in Bourdieu's perspective. Whereas in this research, Bourdieu's cultural capital and habitus are used to analyze Borobudur Temple and the people of Krecek Hamlet. Borobudur contains elements of Buddhist literature that are narrated on reliefs (Munandar, 2004). Bourdieu's thinking also affects the world of literature, where literary theory can be comprehensively articulated in a case. According to Anna Boschetti,

Bourdieu's method is an explanation of anthropological sociology theory based on the concepts of individualism and interactionism (Ahearne, J., & Speller, 2012). Although there are many criticisms regarding Bourdieu's literary theory, Bourdieu's thoughts can still be used to analyze science, both in a social and epistemological context by regulating the opposition between science and literature (Speller, 2011). Based on this description, Bourdieu's theory is used to analyze the cultural capital of Borobudur Temple and the habitus of the people of Krecek Hamlet.

Method

This research applied a qualitative method with a case study approach. Case study methodology acts as a framework that facilitates the process of evaluating and analyzing various complex issues (Heale & Twycross, 2018). A case study approach was used by considering the uniqueness of the Krecek Hamlet community, which the majority of them are Buddhists, who uphold local wisdom values and strive to develop Krecek Hamlet into a Buddhist-based Tourism Village. The subject of this research is the Buddhist community of Krecek Hamlet. Data collection was conducted through interviews, observation, and documentation. Interviews were carried out with people and religious leaders, observations looked at the phenomenon of daily life and religious practices, while documentation was taken from archives and data on the activities of Buddhists in Krecek Hamlet. The data validity tests used were source triangulation and technique triangulation. The analysis technique referred to the Miles and Huberman interactive analysis model, including data reduction, data presentation, conclusion drawing, and data verification as revealed by Sugiyono (Asipi et al., 2022).

Result and Discussion

Borobudur Temple Cultural Capital

Borobudur Temple is a representation of Buddhism that contains moral values. The construction of Borobudur Temple was based on strong beliefs and scientific advances (Yatno, 2022a). Science for Bourdieu is understood as cultural capital that is integrated as a durable, objective system and social practice (Moch Najib Yuliantoro, 2016). Bourdieu's thinking is used to discuss the history, culture, and symbol value of Borobudur. Judging from the historical context, Borobudur was built during the reign of King Smaratingga of the Syailendra Dynasty around the eighth century. The construction of Borobudur used sophisticated architectural techniques in its time (Muhammad, 2023). In its development,

Borobudur underwent various transformations, including being buried, rediscovered, restored, and recognized in 1991 as a world heritage site by UNESCO (Gunarto, 2007). This shows that the history of Borobudur is not only about the greatness of architecture and building art but also about the perseverance and commitment of the community in protecting and maintaining cultural heritage.

In a cultural context, Borobudur is a capital teaching of morality, art, and science. Borobudur is a multivalent monument, with many interpretations of meaning including Borobudur as a stupa, multi-storey palace (*prāsāda*), cosmic meru mountain, and mandala (Long, 2007) (Suamba, 2015). Overall, Borobudur symbolizes the Bodddhisatva's descent into the world and the Bodddhisatva's journey to enlightenment. A.J. Bernet Kempers states that Borobudur, Buddha, and the universe penetrate each other, where the mandala and the path of the Bodddhisatva are interconnected as depicted in ornaments, reliefs and stupas. In Buddhist theory, circling Borobudur up to the top stupa symbolizes the Bodddhisatva's path to enlightenment, the manifestation of Buddhism forming a mandala pattern (Julia Gifford, 2011). The Borobudur mandala symbolizes Buddhism, the transition of the state of self to the essence of self or Buddha. This is symbolized by the shape of Borobudur square of six floors and a circle of three floors, which the top floor is the central stupa surrounded by 72 Buddha statues each sitting in a hollow stupa. Borobudur Temple is a formal and universal model of the path to ultimate happiness (Shiah, 2020) (Kwee, 2012).

The structure of Borobudur consists of three levels of Buddhist cosmology namely *Kamadhatu*, *Rupadhatu*, and *Arupadhatu* (Yatno, 2020a). *Kamadhatu* is located at the bottom, representing the world of desire. The *Kamadhatu* relief is a symbol of the law of karma or the law of cause and effect. *Rupadhatu* is located in four galleries above *Kamadhatu* which represents a symbol of the world of form, illustrating that humans are beginning to break away from desire, but are still bound by form and shape. The reliefs depict *Jataka* stories, narrating the life story before becoming a Buddha; *Avadana*, narrating stories of virtue; *Lalitavistara*, narrating the life story of Sakyamuni Buddha, and *Gandavhyuha*, narrating Sudhana's spiritual journey in search of ultimate wisdom. The *Arupadhatu* is located on three circular terraces above the *Rupadhatu*, symbolizing humanity that has graduated from all forms and shapes to enlightenment. This section has smaller stupas surrounding the main stupa symbolizing the attainment of Nirvana.

The structure of Borobudur is a cultural capital embedded with noble socio-cultural values (Sutaba, 2019). The cultural capital contained in *Kamadhatu* includes social awareness and moral ethics education. This can be seen from the description of the law of

karma, narrating suffering due to greed, hatred, and ignorance, and narrating happiness due to good deeds. This relief also depicts scenes of the socio-economic life of the community, such as trade, agriculture, and village life. Borobudur's cultural capital is an ethical and moral education for the community, where past social norms are still in harmony and can be used as a reference in shaping human character today.

The *Rupadatu* section is a cultural capital that contains spiritual values and philosophical knowledge such as self-control, contemplation, and worldly renunciation. The spiritual value of *Rupadatu* can be seen from the reliefs of *Lalitavistara*, *Jataka*, and *Avadana*. *Lalitavistara* narrates the life of the Buddha who exemplified the attainment of enlightenment through self-control. *Jataka* and *Avadana* emphasize good deeds and karma, and these cultural capitals are virtues that are valued in social life. Philosophical knowledge is depicted in the *Gandavyuha* relief where Sudhana's spiritual journey becomes an important factor in the process of achieving enlightenment.

Arupadhatu cultural capital is the highest spiritual dimension. *Arupadatu* is a cultural capital symbolizing silence in an effort to achieve enlightenment and total liberation from worldliness. Cultural capital can be divided into three forms; first, embodied conditions such as religious values, culture, knowledge, skills, and norms; second, objectified conditions such as cultural objects; and third, symbolized conditions such as titles and education levels (Jatmiko & Abdullah, 2021). Cultural capital in sociology is social reproduction, referring to the maintenance of knowledge and experience from generation to generation through the education system. In this case, it can be said that Borobudur as a cultural object is a center of knowledge, and the transformation of Borobudur values affects people's lives, especially the Buddhist community of Krecek Hamlet in the fields of religion and tourism.

In the field of religion, there are activities such as puja rituals and holiday celebrations, while in the field of tourism, the community constructs Krecek Hamlet into a tourism village characterized by Buddhism. Borobudur cultural capital plays an important role in shaping the cultural identity of the people of Krecek Hamlet, besides that it also strengthens solidarity and social cohesion. The people of Krecek Hamlet believe that Borobudur as a cultural heritage contains noble values that are still relevant to be applied to life today, such as mutual cooperation, meditation, religious rituals, and traditional rituals. The proximity of Krecek Hamlet to Borobudur is an opportunity to improve welfare. One of the icons of Krecek Hamlet is the Buddhist altar in front of the house with a Borobudur stupa roof.

It can be said that the existence of Borobudur affects the habitus of the Buddhist community of Krecek Hamlet, where the mindset and behavior adopt the cultural norms and

values implied in Borobudur. It can be said that Borobudur provides educational symbolic capital, a source of inspiration, a source of knowledge, and cultural identity. Education not only functions to transfer knowledge but also shapes cultural identity and social values, as happened in Krecek Hamlet where the character of the community has a religious attitude, an attitude of preserving ancestral values, and respect for nature to form a habitus.

Habitus of the Krecek Hamlet Community

Habitus reflects the socio-cultural characteristics of a society, where habitus is a structure that forms and is formed (Murni et al., 2016). The Krecek Hamlet community adheres to Buddhist values implied in Borobudur. The formed habits include religious habitus, togetherness, friendliness and tolerance, simplicity, respect for tradition, respect for nature, as well as customary and religious leadership.

1. Religious Habitus

Buddhists in Krecek Hamlet develop religious habitus by implementing Buddhist values, such as loving-kindness (*metta*) and wisdom (*panna*). In addition to carrying out religious activities in the monastery, Buddhists in Krecek Hamlet also perform puja at home. Puja is a form of respect for Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha (Temon, 2021). Commonly, puja is performed indoors, but Buddhists in Krecek Hamlet have a habit of performing puja outside the home. This becomes a habitus, where behavior and ways of thinking are constructed by their experiences and environment. This can be seen from the collective attitude in making a puja altar outside the home. The altar is an object of worship for Buddhists. The front prayer altar consists of three parts, including the foot part in the form of a square base foundation and rectangular support pillars, the body part in the form of a rectangle with one open side as a place for the Buddha statue and offerings such as incense, water, and flowers, and the head or roof in the form of a stupa like in Borobudur. The prayer altar outside the house is in front of the house. Prayer activities outside the house reflect closeness to nature and the surrounding environment. This activity aims to strengthen faith, spirituality, and inner peace. The prayer altar in front of the house is not only a place for prayer but also a symbol of the religious identity of its residents. The prayer routine in front of the house has become a habitus of the Buddhist community of Krecek Hamlet. This activity is sacred, and the altar is a sacred space like a monastery or temple. A depiction of respect for sacred space can be seen in the *Karmawibhangga* relief panel 124 as follows.



Figure 1. The *Karmawibhangga* relief panel 124

Figure 1 shows a relief that narrates the worship of a stupa or *Chaitiyavandana* (Santiko, 2012). The worship of a stupa is a worship practice explained in the Mahaprinibbana Sutta regarding respect for holy places (Saputra, E., & Noor, 2024). In this ritual, Buddhists make offerings, meditation, and contemplation of the noble qualities of the Buddha. This indicates a transformation of values, where the ritual practices of Buddhists in Krecek Hamlet in front of their houses are a reflection of the daily life practices of Buddhists in the past. The transformation of values from relief to modern life shows the continuity between culture and spirituality. The symbol of the Borobudur Temple relief is a visual book (Yatno, 2020b), while the practice of worship in front of the house is a manifestation of Borobudur values in the real world.

2. Habitus of Togetherness

The habitus of togetherness is seen in the collective behavior of the community. The collective behavior movement of Krecek Hamlet is a symbol of harmony and identity. An interesting thing in Krecek Hamlet is the dualism of the sacred and the profane. The sacred element is seen from the altar of worship, and the profane element is seen from the discourse of building Krecek Hamlet as a tourism village. One of the uniqueness of Krecek Hamlet is the existence of a meditation place, the Curug Hermitage. Although currently, the condition of the hermitage waterfall still needs to be rehabilitated, the solidarity of the Buddhist community of Krecek Hamlet in efforts to build, promote, and preserve the hermitage waterfall is very high. The depiction of the habitus of togetherness in Krecek Hamlet is a reflection of the values of Borobudur Temple as seen in the *Karmawibhangga* relief panels 24 and 30 as follows.



Figure 2. The *Karmawibhangga* relief panels 24 and 30

Figure 2 panel 24 narrates mutual cooperation in cleaning the *Chaitya* (sacred building), and panel 30 narrates teamwork in building a wooden house (Santiko, 2012). This shows that the community builds a structure through teamwork and mutual cooperation. Mutual cooperation and togetherness are the character values of the Indonesian nation (Mazid et al., 2022) which are in line with the *Upali sutta* (Sukarti, 2023b). The relationship with the development of Buddhist tourism villages lies in the similarity of the principle of togetherness by integrating local culture and spirituality. Buddhist Tourism Villages can be used as a reflection of Buddhist teachings on virtue, karma, and social harmony.

3. Habitus of Friendliness and Tolerance

The habitus of friendliness and tolerance of the people of Krecek Hamlet can be seen from their open, friendly, and respectful attitude in welcoming guests from outside the area. This is in line with the statement of the Head of Krecek Hamlet that there are often guests from outside the area. The guests are not only from Buddhist circles but also from non-Buddhists. The friendliness of the people of Krecek Hamlet in welcoming guests is a manifestation of implementing Buddhist teachings, such as respect, sincerity, respect for differences, and compassion. The habitus of friendliness and tolerance is a reflection of behavioral patterns that have taken root in the lives of the people of Krecek Hamlet. This habitus is a form of interaction between local people and tourists which is a manifestation of Buddhist teachings as implied in the *Karmawibhangga* relief panel 79 as follows.



Figure 3. The *Karmawibhangga* relief panel 79

Figure 3 reflects the values of friendliness and tolerance. Although there is no clear concept of tolerance in the Borobudur relief, panel 79 reflects friendliness seen from the social interactions of the people standing, likened to guests and the people of Krecek Hamlet, and two priests giving advice can be interpreted as two different beliefs. Still, friendliness and tolerance are firmly held by the community, thus creating social harmony in Krecek Hamlet. This behavior is in line with the *Upali Sutta* which states that an attitude of tolerance does not make one's religion low, but through the tolerance of religion that one adheres to, it shows only nobility (Sukarti, 2023a). Buddhist teachings indicate attitudes of mutual respect and cooperation as a form of implementation of *metta* or love for all beings.

4. Habitus of Simplicity

The habitus of simplicity is seen in the majority of the people of Krecek Hamlet who work as farmers, by maintaining their survival depending on nature. The concept of simplicity is reflected in a lifestyle that is not excessive, tends to have a simple consumption pattern, and focuses on basic needs such as food, shelter, and clothing, as the principles of Buddhist beliefs that emphasize the principle of living without material attachment and emphasize more on inner happiness. In fulfilling daily life, the people of Krecek Hamlet utilize agricultural products while maintaining the balance of the natural ecosystem for the next generation. The description of the habitus of simplicity is narrated in the *Lalitavistara* relief panels 67 and 68 as follows.



Figure 4. The *Lalitavistara* relief panels 67 and 68

The *Lalitavistara* relief narrates the life journey of Gautama Buddha. Panel 67 shows a scene of Prince Siddhartha shaving his hair and panel 68 shows Prince Siddhartha changing his royal clothes into a robe (Santiko, 2012). Panels 67 and 68 are symbols of simplicity where Prince Siddhartha leaves the luxury of the kingdom. Prince Siddhartha realizes that true happiness is not found in material wealth, but rather in a deep understanding of the self (*atta*). In Buddhism, simplicity is one of the ten obligations of a king (*Dasa Raja Dharma*) listed in the *Jataka* book (Lamirin, 2024). The concept of a simple life is also implied in the *Sigalovada Sutta* (Haudi et al., 2021). Simplicity is one way to achieve inner peace.

5. Habitus of Respecting Tradition

The habitus of respecting tradition is an important part of the life of the Krecek Hamlet community. This attitude is formed from the collective understanding of the community regarding the importance of preserving cultural heritage. Tradition is the basis for the formation of local cultural identity and values, as well as a strength in facing change. Traditions that are still carried out and preserved by the Krecek Hamlet community include *merti dusun*, *nyadran*, and *ruwat sukerta*.

The first tradition is *Merti Dusun*. This activity is an annual activity as a form of gratitude and thanks to nature. *Merti Dusun* is one of the Javanese heritages (Pujiati, 2020). *Merti Dusun* is still preserved by the Javanese people, especially the rural communities. Supriyadi stated that *Merti Dusun* is not only interpreted as a form of respect for nature but more on the function of nature in protecting humans. Thus, the people of Krecek Hamlet need to protect nature and live in harmony with nature (Budiyono, 2023). The *Merti Dusun* ritual is not only an annual routine but also has

influenced the way of thinking and acting. *Merti Dusun* has become the habitus of the Krecek Hamlet community which is in line with the values of Borobudur.

The values formed include spirituality, simplicity, and togetherness. Spiritual values are seen from the integration of Borobudur values in everyday life. The value of simplicity is seen from the attitude of gratitude for what nature has given and learning to live with what is owned while maintaining the balance of nature. The value of togetherness is seen from the attitude of helping each other and sharing among the people of Krecek Hamlet. The tradition of *Merti Dusun* is in line with the symbolic values of Borobudur as narrated on panels 122-123 of the *Karmawibhangga* relief as follows.



Figure 5. The *Karmawibhangga* relief panels 122-123

Figure 5 panel 122 narrates the activity of going to the fields and preparing food, while panel 123 narrates the good deeds of giving and prosperity (Santiko, 2012). This shows that past life is a reflection of the life of the farmers in Krecek Hamlet. The tradition of *merti dusun* is a symbol of prosperity and a form of gratitude to nature.

The second tradition is *Nyadran*. *Nyadran* is a Javanese tradition to honor ancestors and ask for blessings from God Almighty. This tradition is a tradition of pilgrimage to ancestral graves. When carrying out this tradition, the people of Krecek Hamlet flock to the graves carrying food. The food is carried with *tenong* (container made of bamboo). One *tenong* contains snacks, drinks, and fruit, while the other *tenong* contains *tumpeng* (cone-shaped) rice, vegetables, and side dishes. When they arrive at the grave, they pray and eat together. *Nyadran* activities in Krecek Hamlet are attended by monks, tourists, and the community. The series of activities includes meditation, art activities, and Dharma discussions with guests or tourists. *Nyadran* in Krecek Hamlet is open to the public, meaning that if there are ancestors buried in Krecek Hamlet, they can follow this tradition. The *Nyadran* tradition is carried out in the month of *Rejeb* in the Javanese calendar which has the meaning of respecting ancestors, besides, it is also an educational space for the younger generation (bimasbuddha.kemenag.go.id). The younger generations as cultural heirs are

obliged to maintain and preserve culture. The *Nyadran* tradition in Krecek Hamlet is one of the icons that has a selling point for tourists. The *Nyadran* tradition in Krecek Hamlet is a *Nyadran* of peace, where Buddhists and Muslims carry out this activity simultaneously.

The *Nyadran* tradition contains symbolic values which in Bourdieu's language are called symbolic capital, where cultural symbols strengthen social and cultural identity as well as strengthen social ties in the community. The *Nyadran* tradition is a reflection of respect for ancestors as well as strengthening spiritual ties. Various offerings in the *Nyadran* ceremony symbolize a form of gratitude and asking for blessings of safety. *Nyadran* is symbolic capital that functions as identity, legitimacy, and social networks. Viewed from the context of the Borobudur symbol, the *Nyadran* tradition is in harmony with the *Karmawibhangga* relief panel 138 and the *Jataka* relief panel 92 as follows.



Figure 6. The *Karmawibhangga* panel 138 and the *Jataka* relief panel 92

Figure 6 explains that the *Karmawibhangga* relief panel 138 narrates the activity of giving alms, and on the relief, there is the writing *kucaladharmabhajana* which means the ashes of a holy figure (Santiko, 2012), while on the *Jataka* relief panel 92 narrates the activity of visiting a tomb (Anandajoti, 2020a). This indicates that the *Nyadran* activity is a reflection of the life of past society that is in line with Buddhist teachings, as stated in the *Sigalovada Sutta* that one of the obligations of a child is to pray for parents or ancestors who have died.

The third tradition is *Ruwat Sukerta*. *Ruwat Sukerta* is a tradition carried out in the month of *Suro*. *Suro* is the name of the first month of the Javanese calendar which is considered sacred with spiritual practices. Before the arrival of Islam, the Suronan tradition had existed since the Majapahit era. Buddhists interpret the month of *Suro* as a sacred time to practice *Dhamma*. The month of *Suro* for Javanese people is often associated with the legend of Aji Saka, where Aji Saka is a symbol of knowledge associated with the origin of Javanese script. Buddhists of Krecek Hamlet interpret the month of *Suro* as a month full of

spiritual meaning, wisdom, and knowledge. In welcoming the month of *Suro*, Buddhists of Krecek Hamlet on the 1st (first) day of the month hold a *metok* (welcoming) event by holding a *Kenduri* or *Slametan* (thanksgiving) at the Ngudi Mulyo Pendopo which is continued by reading *paritta* (Buddhist prayers). On the 15th of the month of *Suro*, an ancestral *ngekol* event is held, namely the *pathidana* activity or sending ancestral prayers. In the ancestral *ngekol* event, there are offerings such as *tumpang* rice, side dishes, vegetables, and fruits. In the month of *Suro*, the people of Krecek Hamlet carry out the *Sukerta Ruwatan*. *Ruwatan Sukerta* is a ceremony to cleanse oneself from *Sengkala* (bad luck). In 2024, the *Ruwatan Sukerta* procession was held at the Krecek Hamlet Hall which is adjacent to the Dhammasarana Temple. The participants of the ritual are open to the public, and attended by monks and Buddhists. Participants in the *Ruwatan Sukerta* wear white clothes as a symbol of purity and holiness. After the chanting of the *paritta* and prayers, the procession continues to the Buddha Bhavana courtyard which is located not far from the temple. In the procession, the people of Krecek Hamlet bring offerings of earth alms. After the procession, it continues with the *Ruwatan Sukerta* shower. The shower tradition is believed to have the power to cleanse oneself from all diseases and bad luck. The peak of the *Ruwatan Sukerta* is the tradition of *larung pakaian* (washing clothes away) or what is known as *larung sengkala* (bad luck), followed by Javanese art entertainment such as *Jaran Kepang*. In this *Ruwatan Sukerta* ceremony, the Sangha Bhikkhu gives *Dharma* advice containing life advice and the meaning of *Suro* culture in Buddhism (porosjakarta.com). The *Ruwat Sukerta* tradition in Krecek Hamlet is in line with the values of the *Lalitavistara* relief panel 94 and the *Jataka* relief panel 41 as follows.



Figure 7. The *Lalitavistara* relief panel 94 and the *Jataka* relief panel 41

Figure 7 shows that the *Lalitavistara* Relief panel 94 narrates when the Hermit Gautama meditated and achieved enlightenment (Anandajoti, 2020b). This is a depiction of self-purification and eliminating bad influences which is in line with the concept of

self-purification in the *Ruwat Sukerta* in the month of *Suro*. The *Ruwat Sukerta* tradition has the meaning of getting rid of bad luck or bad karma and hoping that the people of Krecek Hamlet will prosper as narrated in the *Jataka* relief panel 41 about prosperity and agricultural products. The traditions of *Merti Dusun* and *Nyadran* are in line with the noble values of Buddhism implied in the *Sigalovada Sutta* (Andanti, Maria Fransisca, Sutikyanto, 2024), where the traditions carried out by the Buddhist community of Krecek Hamlet have been integrated with religion and local cultural wisdom.

6. Habitus of Respecting Nature

The habitus of respecting nature can be seen from the taking of holy water from three sources before Waisak. This tradition is not only a part of religious rituals but also forms the social-spiritual habitus of the people of Krecek Hamlet. Water in Buddhism is a symbol of purity, humility, and self-purification. Water is a source of life, and the Krecek Hamlet community utilizes water from three sources in their daily lives, including the *Tlago*, *Kenci*, and *Dongglagah* springs. The activity of taking water is a series of Waisak activities that were previously carried out by scattering flowers at the graves of ancestors. The tradition of taking water from these three sources has the meaning of respecting nature, where water is seen as a gift from nature that must be appreciated and maintained. This tradition reflects the ecological and spiritual awareness of the Krecek Hamlet community as implied in the Borobudur symbol of the *Jataka* relief panel 107 as follows.



Figure 8. The *Jataka* Relief Panel 107

Figure 8 shows the *Jataka* relief panel 107 which explains the activity of humans taking water from several water sources (Anandajoti, 2020a). This emphasizes that humans need water to maintain their survival, as well as the Krecek Hamlet community who respect nature by carrying out the tradition of taking water from three water sources before Waisak as an expression of gratitude to nature. This

is in line with the values contained in the *Vanaropha Sutta*, where water, plants, and living things in it are an ecosystem that needs to be cared for and its existence maintained (Yatno, T, Ngadat, Putranto D, Siswoyo, 2024) (Dwiyono Putranto, Ngadat, Tri Yatno, 2024).

7. Habitus of Pride in Local Identity

The habitus of pride in the local traditions of Krecek Hamlet is seen in the traditional clothing when celebrating holidays or traditions, such as *Waisak*, *Merti Desa*, *Nyadran*, and *Ruwat Sukerta*, where Buddhists wear traditional Javanese clothing. Javanese clothing reflects cultural identity, and the people of Krecek Hamlet are aware of caring for and maintaining ancestral heritage. The tradition of wearing traditional Javanese clothing is a symbol of harmony between Buddhism and local culture. This shows that the people of Krecek Hamlet respect cultural heritage. Traditional Javanese clothing in the context of ceremonies and rituals has a sacred value. The people of Krecek Hamlet try to express cultural identity through traditional clothing to strengthen the sense of togetherness and collective identity. A depiction of pride in local identity can be seen in the following decorative reliefs.



Figure 9. Decorative Reliefs

Figure 9 shows that in the past, traditional clothing was held in high regard, as the people of Krecek Hamlet wear traditional Javanese clothing in religious activities and traditional ceremonies as a form of preserving tradition and pride in local culture. Traditional clothing is one example of the wisdom of the Indonesian nation that needs to be maintained and preserved to minimize the negative effects of globalization (Raharja et al., 2022).

8. Habitus of Customary and Religious Leadership

The habitus of customary and religious leadership can be seen from the figure of *Mbah* (Grand) Sukoyo. *Mbah* Sukoyo once served as the Head of the Hamlet who had charisma. *Mbah* Sukoyo's charismatic leadership was not only based on knowledge or formal position as the Head of Hamlet, but also his wise attitude in spirituality and ability to guide the community in carrying out religious and customary traditions made *Mbah* Sukoyo a figure that is attached to the Krecek Hamlet community. This habitus reflects that customary leadership is considered the guardian of cultural heritage, which ensures that ceremonies, rituals, and local wisdom continue to be carried out following the teachings of the ancestors. The figure of *Mbah* Sukoyo is not only a cultural preserver but also a figure who cares about nature. The movement to plant Banyan trees in gardens and on riverbanks is one real manifestation of concern for nature. This can be seen from the award certificate from the government to *Mbah* Sukoyo as an environmental conservation figure. The figure of *Mbah* Sukoyo is used as a symbol of the Krecek Hamlet community, such as posters on the sports field using the icon of *Mbah* Sukoyo. This is in line with the value of the Borobudur symbol on the *Karmawibhangga* relief panel 56 as follows.



Figure 10. The *Karmawibhangga* Relief Panel 56

Figure 10 narrates the people respecting the community figure (Santiko, 2012). This is in line with the people of Krecek Hamlet who respect and emulate the characteristics of *Mbah* Sukoyo in building a village that is in line with the noble values of the *Cakkhavati Sihanada Sutta*, where a leader does not discriminate, protects, and sets an example of virtue to his members (Haudi, 2022).

Pierre Bourdieu's Theory Analysis

Bourdieu's theory of habitus is very relevant to analyze the social structure in Krecek Hamlet. The habitus of Krecek Hamlet community is reviewed from Bourdieu's perspective

as follows; first, the habitus here reflects the important role of religion in everyday life. Religion is not only used as a spiritual guideline but also as a reference for the formation of norms and behavior. One of the habitus formed in Krecek Hamlet includes the collectiveness of making a prayer altar in front of the house and performing prayer as a tradition. This behavior is not only a religious expression but also a mechanism for strengthening solidarity between Buddhists in Krecek Hamlet. In Bourdieu's perspective, the form of the prayer altar in front of the house using the Borobudur stupa symbol is a cultural reproduction. The formed habitus is not only a sacred symbol individually but also a symbol of the identity of the Buddhist community, besides strengthening the solidarity of Buddhists. This activity is one of the cultural capital that is inherited and manifested in the form of collective action.

Second, the habitus of togetherness in Krecek Hamlet can be seen from the culture of mutual cooperation, such as making altars in front of houses, cleaning the environment and temples, building the Curug Hermitage as a place of meditation, and jointly promoting Krecek Hamlet as a Buddhist tourism village. This habitus is formed from collective experiences passed down from generation to generation, where people always help each other in social, economic, and spiritual activities. This togetherness is not just an action, but has become a deep value and is passed down continuously. Third, friendliness and tolerance are formed from interaction patterns that emphasize the importance of harmonious relationships between individuals, including welcoming guests in a friendly manner and not distinguishing between religions. The attitude of tolerance in Krecek Hamlet is a reflection of openness to differences. Habitus encourages the creation of harmonious and peaceful coexistence amidst religious plurality. Fourth, the habitus of simplicity is reflected in the lifestyle of the people of Krecek Hamlet. Simplicity is not just a concept, but a reality where the majority of people work as farmers, going to the rice fields early in the morning on foot or by bicycle without a luxury vehicle by bringing simple supplies from home and using livestock manure for fertilizer. The values of simplicity are also seen in the simple house buildings. Simplicity for the people of Krecek Hamlet is not a compulsion, but a way to maintain balance with nature and strengthen social relations. This is what becomes a habitus, formed from the economic and social conditions of the community.

Fifth, the habitus of respecting tradition is reflected in the attitude of the community to respect and preserve religious and traditional rituals. This habitus is one way to maintain harmony with nature, ancestors, and the community. The habitus of simplicity in Krecek Hamlet is closely related to respect for tradition, such as the *Merti Dusun* and *Nyadran* traditions which are important moments for the people of Krecek Hamlet in showing respect

for their ancestors, such as the *Kenduri* (thanskgiving) tradition as a form of gratitude to nature and social harmony in society. Both traditions are educational spaces for the young generation to understand the roots of history and the values of togetherness. Bourdieu emphasized that this habit is not just a mechanical action, but an expression of internalizing the traditions that have been formed through a long history. Thus, through tradition, social harmony can be strengthened.

Sixth, the habitus of respecting nature is reflected in daily practices, such as protecting the environment, respecting natural resources, and involving natural elements in traditional rituals, for example in the procession of taking the Holy Water from three different springs before Waisak. Water is a symbol of life, self-cleansing, and the balance of nature. In this procession, religious leaders together with the community perform special prayers and rituals before bringing the holy water to the place of worship to be used in the Waisak ceremony. Bourdieu sees this as one form of habitus formed by the material conditions and relationships of the community with its environment. Thus, the habitus of respecting nature is not only a hereditary tradition but also reflects ecological awareness that has been embedded in the mindset and collective actions of the community.

Seventh, the habitus of pride in local identity is reflected in the awareness of the Krecek Hamlet community in maintaining local wisdom, one of which is wearing Javanese traditional clothing in religious and customary ritual activities. Pride in preserving culture is a form of respecting the value of cultural heritage symbols, such as when celebrating *Merti Dusun* and taking the holy water of Waisak using traditional clothing such as *jarik*, *kebayam beskap*, and *blangkon*. In Bourdieu's perspective, traditional clothing is not just a ceremonial attribute but also represents the values of simplicity, politeness, and collective identity that are passed down from generation to generation. This habit is not just a mechanical action, but rather part of the habitus that is internalized in everyday life, where cultural expression becomes a way for people to understand and strengthen social ties. This habitus shows that traditional clothing is a symbol of the cultural identity of the Central Javanese people.

Eighth, the habitus of customary and religious leadership in Krecek Hamlet is reflected in the role of leaders who have a central role in maintaining social values, and become public figures in thinking and acting. Leadership here is not only structural but also symbolic, as *Mbah Sukoyo* once served as the Head of the Hamlet who had charisma. *Mbah Sukoyo* became a respected figure because of his wisdom and determination in maintaining tradition and community harmony. The figure of *Mbah Sukoyo* became a symbol of leadership rooted in local values. In Bourdieu's perspective, this kind of leadership habitus

is formed from a long-standing social structure, where leadership values are not only inherited through formal positions but also through social legitimacy obtained from wisdom and dedication to the community. With the presence of a leader figure like *Mbah Sukoyo*, the people of Krecek Hamlet are able to maintain a balance between modernity and tradition, maintain social harmony, and ensure that cultural and religious values remain the foundation of life together.

Based on this, it can be said that habitus in the context of Krecek Hamlet is a system of mutual agreement that is durable and can be changed according to the times. The people of Krecek Hamlet reproduce various cultures that become habits, such as religious practices, attitudes of togetherness, friendliness, tolerance, simplicity, respect for tradition and nature, pride in local traditions, as well as customary and religious leadership, which are part of the social structure that influences changes in society. The formed habitus becomes a mechanism for maintaining the sustainability of culture and social cohesion of the people of Krecek Hamlet amidst the changing times.

Conclusion

Borobudur Temple as a Buddhist religious site and world heritage has a strong cultural capital. Cultural capital refers to non-material assets such as knowledge, education, tradition, and symbols in society, while habitus is a pattern of action and thought in a certain community environment. The cultural capital of Borobudur temple is reflected in the Buddhist spiritual values and religiosity that are articulated through the reliefs, architecture, and structure of the temple. The transformation of Borobudur's symbolic capital into the habitus of the Krecek Hamlet community is carried out through the process of reproduction, including changes in the social, cultural, and economic context, for example, the discourse of building Krecek Hamlet into a Buddhist tourism village. According to Bourdieu's perspective, the cultural capital of Borobudur temple experiences a transformation of spiritual and religious values into global cultural capital that has economic and tourism dimensions. The habitus of the Buddhist community in Krecek Hamlet is formed by a combination of Buddhist religious values, local traditions, and agrarian life. Borobudur cultural capital strengthens the religious and spiritual habitus of the Krecek Hamlet Buddhists, conversely, the habitus of the Krecek Hamlet community helps reproduce and maintain Borobudur cultural capital through active participation in religious practices and preservation of traditions. This transformation shows the interaction between cultural capital and habitus, where both influence and strengthen each other in the social context of Krecek

Hamlet. The author realizes that this research still has many shortcomings, including being limited to the conceptual aspects of cultural capital and habitus, and not exploring social dynamics, such as the challenges faced by Buddhists in the digitalization era. Based on this, it is necessary to study social media and the digitalization of the Krecek Hamlet Buddhist culture in preserving religious values and promoting Buddhist tourism.

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