

## Bringing in Bourdieu's theory of Practice: Understanding Community-Based *Damar* Agroforest Management in Pesisir Krui, West Lampung District, Indonesia

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### Abstract

*The purpose of the study is to analyze social and cultural practices of repong damar agroforest among damar cultivators in Pesisir Krui, West Lampung, Indonesia. Drawing upon the writings of Pierre Bourdieu, I use qualitative approach to examine dialectic relationships of three core of Bourdieu's concepts: habitus, social fields, and capitals in repong damar agroforest practices. The study was carried out in three villages, selected based on historical differences of their dammar cultivation. The villages are Pahlungan, Panengahan, and Penggawa Lima Tengah villages. The study employed qualitative approach by adopting ethnography method. The findings reveal that social and cultural practices in managing repong dammar agroforests have established and developed sustainable local ecological, social, cultural, and economic institutions. In some extents, Bourdieu's theory of practice enriches conceptual framework of understanding social and cultural practices in wider institutional and cultural contexts. In addition, the theory creates an avenue for comprehensive analysis of human actions in different social worlds.*

**Key words:** *repong damar*, duality of structure-agency, *habitus*, social fields, capitals.

### 1. Introduction

When one visited the Pesisir Krui *damar* (*Shorea javanica*) agroforests for the first time, he would view that these forests covering a huge area along the southwestern coast of Sumatera island in the province of Lampung are natural forests like other forests in Sumatera island. But, he would surprise to the fact that he is in an agroforest system, which has been cultivated, conserved and sustainably managed by the indigenous Pesisir Krui people since the second half of 19 century. Without doubt, then he might conclude that Pesisir Krui *damar* agroforests probably exemplify a sustainable community-based forest management. Recently, the satellite images indicates that there are approximately 55,000 ha of this mature *damar* agroforest in Pesisir Krui Krui (Fay *et al.*, 1998).

The excellence and the uniqueness of *damar* agroforest system in Pesisir Krui have been well documented in many studies. Torquebiau (1984), Mary and Michon (1987) and Michon (1993), for examples, have similar conclusions that *damar* agroforest system does not only sustain the livelihoods of the Pesisir Krui people; but it also conserves biological values, enhances biodiversity and maintains ecological functions.

Several studies also have documented benefits of *damar* agroforest system. From natural conservation point of view, for example, *damar* agroforest system affords environmental benefits. The forest-like structure of agroforest allows the conservation of large part of natural forest biodiversity (de Foresta and Michon, 1994). As far as mammals are concerned, Sibuea and Herdimansyah (1993) recorded that almost all mammal forest species are present in *damar* agroforest (at least 46 mammal species including 17 species protected by Indonesian law). Density of the primate population (macaques, leaf monkeys, and gibbons) in the agroforest is quite similar to those observed for natural forests. In addition, Thioly (1993, p. 341) observed that at least 92 bird species present in this land use system. From economic perspective, this agroforest system provides a wide range of source of income to the household cultivators, their neighborhood and the actors along *damar* trading chain (Levang, 1989; Dupain 1994; Bouamrane, 1996).

*Damar* trees provide regular cash income from the harvesting and sale of *damar* resin. Fruit trees comprise almost a quarter of the tree community, although not in monthly basis, also provide additional cash income. According to de Foresta and Michon (1997), per hectare of mature *damar* agroforest provides annual farm income ranging between Rp 1.65 million (no fruiting season) or US \$ 165, and Rp 3.84 million (in fruiting season) or US \$ 384.

However, the most of studies still relatively do not inquire empirical phenomena about how local people build and develop various sustainable institutions which support their sustainable social, cultural, economic and ecological practices? I propose that repong *damar* agroforest practices carried out by local people are influenced greatly by broader institutional, and socio-cultural contexts. It might be very important proposition for researchers that human actions are not influenced by either objective structure or subjective (cognitive) structure, rather is a product of dialectic relationships between them (see Bourdieu, 1977). It is the primary baseline proposition for analyzing actors' social practices. In addition, how is Bourdieu's theory of practices employed in understanding traditional repong *damar* agroforest practices?

## 2. Objective of the Study

The main objectives of the study were: (1) to analyze specific mechanism of how local people developed various local institutions which supported their sustainable *damar* agroforest practices; (2) to examine Bourdieu's theory of practice in understanding traditional *damar* agroforest practices.

## 3. Theoretical Framework

Social reality in Bourdieu's view is a process of dialectic of the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 72). From his various works, it reveals that Bourdieu has tried to develop theoretical model of social practices which minimizes dichotomy of objectivism and subjectivism (Jenkins, 1992). For Bourdieu, social practices should be posited as the primary inquiry for social scientists in analyzing social reality. To pursue his goals, Bourdieu proposed three of core theoretical concepts – *habitus*, capital, and field- in explaining social practices. Dialectic relationships among *habitus*, fields, and capitals produce agents' social practices as Bourdieu illustrated in an equation: (*Habitus* x Capital) + Field = Practice (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 101). In this study, I elaborate the three of Bourdieu's core theoretical frameworks in analyzing social, cultural, economic, and ecological practices of *damar* cultivators in repong *damar* agroforest.

Firstly, the concept of *habitus* is employed to explain how objective structure and subjective perception impact upon human action. The concept can be explained as a set of regulatory schemes of thought and action, which are to some extents, a product of prior experience. In Bourdieu's (1977, p 72) own words, *habitus* constitutes “ a set of durable, transposable dispositions “ which regulates mental activity to the point where individuals are often unconsciously aware of their influence. In similar point of view, *habitus* concept is an avenue of explaining how social and cultural messages shape individual's thoughts and actions. The *habitus*, basically, is thus not wholly structured, though it is still remains strongly influenced by historical, social and cultural contexts.

The second important theme in illuminating Bourdieu's theory is capitals. For Bourdieu, the term of capital simultaneously represented both a power relationship and a power resource. People's lived experiences (*habitus*) derive from relative endowments of different forms of capitals, which in turn, define their historically evolving positions within social settings. Actors exchange and accumulate capital in the course of everyday social interaction. Bourdieu (1986) described forms of capitals in four categories: economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capitals.

Bourdieu's (1986) perspective on the forms of capitals offers two observations that inform analysis of everyday politics. First, given unequal distribution of capital in any given context, social interactions tend to reproduce existing power relationships even as incremental change occurs. Second, the forms of capital are convertible such that cultural capital might produce increased income (Wilshusen, 2012). In other words, Bourdieu considered social capital is a mean of access to other types of capitals.

Relating to economic capital, Bourdieu (1986) defined that economic capital refers to income and other financial resources and assets. It is the most liquid capital in that it may be more readily converted into other capitals (Rudd, 2003).

Its potency in the *damar* agroforest, for example, is manifested in the capacity of individuals to access land, micro credit, means of production and distribution, equipment etc. Economic capital, however, is not sufficient to buy status or position rather it relies on the interaction with other forms of capitals.

Meanwhile, in Bourdieu's (1986) view, social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 119). Social capital exists as a set of lasting social relations, networks and contacts. Investing in social capital acts as a kind of strategy which further serves as a mechanism to exchange other capitals. In other words, for group members social capital facilitates ownership of collective capital. Social capital is manifested in relations and networks which are useful resources in determining and reproduction of social positions.

Bourdieu, working with various colleagues, developed the concept of cultural capital in the early 1960s in order to help address a particular empirical problem—namely, the fact that “economic obstacles are not sufficient to explain” disparities in the educational attainment of children from different social classes (Bourdieu & Passeron 1979, p 8). Bourdieu argued that, above and beyond economic factors, “cultural habits and...dispositions inherited from” the family are fundamentally important to school success (Bourdieu & Passeron 1979, p 14). Bourdieu maintained that culture shares many of the properties that are characteristic of economic capital. In particular, he asserted that cultural “habits and dispositions” comprise a *resource* capable of generating “profits”; they are potentially subject to *monopolization* by individuals and groups; and, under appropriate conditions, they can be *transmitted* from one generation to the next (Lareau and Weininger 2003).

Cultural capital has three subtypes: embodied, objectified and institutionalised (see Bourdieu, 1986, p 47). Embodied cultural capital consists of both the consciously acquired and the passively "inherited" properties of one's self (with "inherit[ance]" here used not in the genetic sense but in the sense of receipt over time, usually from the family through socialization, of culture and traditions). Cultural capital is not transmissible instantaneously like a gift or bequest; rather, it is acquired over time as it impresses itself upon one's *habitus* (character and way of thinking), which in turn becomes more attentive to or primed to receive similar influences.

Objectified cultural capital consists of physical objects that are owned, such as scientific instruments or works of art. These cultural goods can be transmitted both for economic profit (as by buying and selling them with regard only to others' willingness to pay) and for the purpose of "symbolically" conveying the cultural capital whose acquisition they facilitate. However, while one can possess objectified cultural capital by owning a painting, one can "consume" the painting (understand its cultural meaning) only if one has the proper foundation of conceptually and/or historically prior cultural capital, whose transmission does not accompany the sale of the painting (except coincidentally and through independent causation, such as when a vendor or broker chooses to explain the painting's significance to the prospective buyer).

Institutionalized cultural capital consists of institutional recognition, most often in the form of academic credentials or qualifications, of the cultural capital held by an individual. This concept plays its most prominent role in the labor market, in which it allows a wide array of cultural capital to be expressed in a single qualitative and quantitative measurement (and compared against others' cultural capital similarly measured). The institutional recognition process thereby eases the conversion of cultural capital to economic capital by serving as a heuristic that sellers can use to describe their capital and buyers can use to describe their needs for that capital.

The currency of such capital forms has more to do with their symbolic appropriation than with their possession. In other words, the characteristic of capital is that it is based on mutual cognition and recognition (see Bourdieu, 1980; 1986; 1998a). This is how it acquires a *symbolic character*, and is transformed into symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). It is used by Bourdieu to explain the ways in which capitals are perceived in the social structure. "Symbolic capital ... is nothing other than capital, in whatever form, when perceived by an agent endowed with categories of perception arising from the internalization (embodiment) of the structure of its distribution, i.e. when it is known and recognized as self-evident" (Bourdieu 1985, p 204).

In term of symbolic capital, Bourdieu draws a parallel concept between symbolic capital and legitimate capital; because it is symbolic capital that defines what forms and uses of capital are recognized as legitimate bases of social positions in a given society.

The effectiveness of symbolic capital depends on real practices of social interactions or relations. In that case, symbolic capital cannot be institutionalized, objectified or incorporated into the *habitus*. It exists and grows only in intersubjective reflection and can be recognized only there (Siisiäinen, 2000).

Bourdieu linked *habitus* and capital to the concept of “field.” In Bourdieuan language this concept relates to a structured space of forces and struggles, consisting of an ordered system and an identifiable network of relationships that impact upon the individuals’ *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1986). Fields are arenas of struggle in which actors attempt to accrue or control various resources such as economic, cultural and social capitals. It captures formally institutionalized relationships based on explicit codes or rules as well as non-formalized, customary relationships structured by cultural norms or practices. The dominant or subordinate positions that individual and group actors hold within a field are determined by their relative endowments of the various capitals. Indeed, the struggle for possession of capitals therein indicates the uneven distribution of available resources. As a result, the character and configuration of fields constantly shift as power relationships between dominant and subordinate actors or agents in increasing and/or maintaining agents’ position in a given society. In other words, even though both dominant and subordinate actors may challenge one another for resource control, they all tacitly accept that the “rules of the game” and that certain forms of contestation are legitimate while others are not (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Swartz 1997). Strategies are thus employed by individuals to distinguish themselves from other groups and place them in advantageous position via the effective utilisation of capital (Rudd, 2003).

To the extent that the concept of field represents institutional and cultural contexts, it addresses the concern that dominant presentations of social capital detach networks from wider political economies, class structures, and ideologies (Perreault, 2003). Bourdieu’s theory of practice ties all three core concepts together such that actors’ dispositions (*habitus*) not only reflect their lived experiences but also depend on changing capital endowments and the boundaries of fields, including rules of the games. In term of the study, elaborating Bourdieu’s theory of practice in analyzing human actions provides broader understanding of how actors (in this case: *damar* cultivators, *damar* collectors or traders, and *damar* labourers) interact within their social world in obtaining and controlling various resources.

#### **4. Research Methods**

##### **4.1. Selecting Area of the Study**

In order to ensure that the research goals can be reached properly, selecting area of the study has to represent existing phenomena of the *damar* agroforest. The study was carried out in three villages of West Lampung district, namely Pahlungan, Panengahan, and Penggawa Lima Tengah villages. The method of selection of the villages was based on historical *damar* cultivation differences and current local people activities. First, Pahlungan village is the oldest village where the most of local people cultivate *damar* agroforest system. The village is characterized by daily social, economic, cultural and ecological activities which represent to *damar* agroforest spheres. Second, Panengahan village is characterized by dual agricultural activities, namely, wet land rice production and *damar* agroforest systems. Third, Penggawa Lima Tengah village is represented by social, economic, cultural, and ecological transformation from *damar* agroforest to cash crops cultivation such as rubber and palm oil.

##### **4.2. Data Collected and Capturing**

The study employed the participant observation, in-depth interview, and the qualitative documents methods. The participant observation is a qualitative research method that necessitates direct contact with the subjects of observation. In this method, the researcher was involved in the one continuum ranging from total involvement on the one hand and total observation on the other. The researcher observed various objects as follows: (1) physical environment such as village infrastructures and facilities, and settlements, *repong damar* agroforest area, land use patterns etc; (2) individuals and their daily activities in production and distribution of resin *damar* based on their cultural and social contexts; (3) materials and tools used in managing of *repong damar* agroforests; (4) various social, economy, cultural and ecological practices in managing their *repong damar* agroforest. In-depth interviewing was the predominant mode of data collection in this study. After a lengthy uninterrupted period of preliminary interviews, the researcher prepared a detailed open-ended interview schedule, and on the basis of it, conducted in-depth interviews with the respondents or informants. Open-ended interview touched various aspects such as informants’ experiences, opinions, feelings, and knowledges relating to *damar* agroforests; and detailed interview relating to informants’ background and demography.

In the qualitative document study, the researcher used a variety of non-personal documents which are relevant with research goals. Data from secondary sources were obtained largely through the analysis of various documents relevant to the study. These include institutional reports, records and papers which provide baseline information for the study, various journal and research reports relating to *damar* agroforests and local government publications. The institutions from which the secondary data were collected are local statistics office, agriculture office, and forestry office. Also information was obtained from reports and files found at local Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) which concern with *damar* agroforest. These various documents were used to amass the relevant and required data.

#### 4.3. Data Gathering Process

First of all, the data gathering process was started by mini tour with local people to ensure that location, informants, and existing phenomena were relevant with the research goals. The researcher was assisted by three local junior research assistants who mediated the researcher in familiarizing with local people. In the mini tour activities, the researcher together with research assistants conducted preliminary in depth-interview and observation to obtain preliminary data for formulating interview guide as well as observation guide.

Second, preliminary data gathered through mini tour activities were used as means of grand tour activities. Participant observation, in-depth interview, and focused group discussions (FGD) were employed to deepen meanings of *damar* agroforest practices. Third, by employing qualitative analysis method, researcher together with research assistants as well as local people made consensus regarding with the meanings of every single activities and materials relating to *damar* agroforest systems.

#### 4.4. Data Analysis and Interpretation

Data analysis and interpretation in this study employed qualitative content analysis and qualitative case study analysis methods. Content analysis is described as a process of identifying patterns and themes of daily experiences and practices of *damar* agroforest and brings to the study: what patterns characterise local people participation in the study, and what patterns of change are reported by and observed in the participants. As a qualitative research method, content analysis plays an important role in this study as it involves detailed and systematic examination of the content of a particular body of material for the purpose of identifying patterns, themes, and even biases of daily experiences and practices of *damar* agroforest of local people. The contents of the relevant documents secured during data collection were subjected to rigorous analysis through this technique. Data gathered through participant observation and responses from the in-depth interviews were used to strengthen data conclusion.

Meanwhile, qualitative case study analysis is an intensive investigation of a single unit or an examination of multiple variables or aspects of the study. This method has been used in this study as it takes multiple perspectives into account and attempts to understand the influences of multilevel social, economic, cultural, and ecological systems of subjects' perspectives and behaviours. In this study relevant cases from the three villages were assimilated and elaborated to assess their contribution to the study goals and purposes.

### 5. Findings and Discussions

#### 5.1. History of Damar Agroforests

In many literatures, a valuable resin which has been produced and traded internationally, was the oldest natural forests trade products in Southeast Asia. The resin which has been found in pre-historic sites as if proves that gathering natural forest products has been carried out for centuries (see Michon *et al.*, 2000:19). The *damar* tree (*Shorea Javanica*) is a *dipterocarpaceae* species, native local forest in Sumatera. It reaches heights of 40 to 50 metres, and can live for 150 years. A local *damar* farmer showed many of *damar* the trees are already over 100 years old.

There is still debatable relating to time dimensions of production and distribution (trading) of *damar* resin. Historical records show that *damar* resin was traded between China and Southeast Asia as early as the tenth century when it was considered to be the best material for caulking ships. According to Michon *et al.* (2000), *damar* resin was also traditionally traded for use in incense, dyes, adhesives and even medicines. Substantial trade with Europe and America began much later, in the nineteenth century, when *damar* became an important component of industrial varnish and paint.

At this time, *damar* resin was obtained primarily from natural forests in southern and western Sumatera as well as West Kalimantan. However, by the end of the nineteenth century, local people in the Pesisir Krui are had begun to respond to the growing international demand for *damar* by developing a complicated agroforestry system that would not only supply resin *damar*, but also produce food, timber, traditional medicine and other useful non-timber forests product (Poffenberger, 2000).

Based on local opinions, motivation of local people to cultivate *damar* trees has been begun in 1850, when two of local traders, Abdul Samat and Haji Ali, met international traders in Singapura. From this meeting, Abdul Samat and Haji Ali knew that *damar* resin was the most valuable trade commodity and would prosperize future generations. At that time, the *damar* resin was obtained primarily from natural forests and has not been domesticated yet. Abdul Samat and Haji Ali then informed local people that *damar* resin should be domesticated. Data recorded by Rappard (in Michon et al., 2000) can be cited that he found 70 hectares *damar* garden around Pesisir Krui. At that time, most of *damar* trees were already over 50 years old. He concluded that the first *damar* garden was developed in 1885. This conclusion has been asserted by local people by showing *damar* trees which are already over 100 years old.

## 5.2. *Damar* Agroforests Establishment

Traditionally, *damar* agroforests in Pesisir Krui were started by converting forest, either primary forest or secondary forest, into agricultural purposes. The forests conversion is general type of local people in employing shifting cultivation model. In other parts of Sumatera or Kalimantan islands, for example, land use change after forest clearing usually: food crops farming in the first and second years, and then evolves to cash crops cultivation such as coffee, rubber, cinamon and pepper in the next years. However, in Pesisir Krui, local people convert forests as an avenue to develop *repong damar*. In local term, the succession patern of forest conversion into agricultural purposes (see Lubis, 1996) is called *darak* (dry rice cultivation), *kebun* (cash crop plantation), and *repong* (gardens which consist of various perennials trees) stages. The entire process from opening up the forest to become *repong damar* agroforest takes 20 to 25 years.

*Darak* stage is the shortest period of the succession processes. It takes one to two years when the land performs as *ladang* (dry rice and/or vegetables cultivation) in which food crops rice and/or vegetables constitute sources of household income and mainly used for household subsistence. After paddy is harvested in the first year, cultivators plant pepper, or *damar* (*Shorea Javanica*) trees, fruit trees such as *durian* (*Durio zibethinus*), *duku* (*Lansium domesticum*), mango, mangosteen, *rambutan* (*Nephelium*), and other trees which have economi-important value for additional household income such as *pete* (*Parkia specioca*), and *asam kandis* (*Garcinia spp*). In some extents, all of food crops, commercial cash crops and fruit crops are planted simultaneously. Commercial cash crops and fruit crops are expected to be the main sources of income in the subsequent stages.

*Kebun* stage is the period where commercial cash crops of coffee and pepper crops, fruits crops and *damar* trees, are intensively managed. In the stage, the land is covered by various cash crops, fruits crops and other perennial trees including *damar* trees. Coffee and pepper as well as fruits trees in some extents come to produce yields and contribute seasonal household income. Traditionally, cultivators will manage their *kebun* intensively for 8 to 10 years, and then abandon it. In this case, *kebun* then shapes gardens which consist of various valuable and unvaluable trees, a complex community of plants and animals and balance ensemble of biological processes reproducibile in the long term through its own dynamics (de foresta and Michon, 1993).

The *repong* is the final period of land use succession pattern when intimate mixtures of various tree crops come to appear and evolve to a forest-like land use system. In the plot, there are various tree crops community together with various animals and shape natural forets-like. The plot is temporarily abandoned although the owner keeps harvesting any kind of fruits and other seasonal crops as the main source of household income. Because *damar* trees (*Shorea javanica*) dominated in mature gardens, representing more than 65% of the trees community, local people called the gardens as *repong damar*. However, when the *damar* trees are mature enough to be tapped, after 20 to 25 years, *damar* resin become the main source of household income. With dominant *damar* trees which reach heights of 40 to 50 metres, various perennial crops and other trees community, and various animals, one might be thinking that these forests are natural forest, barely touched by humans. In fact, the gardens are *damar* agroforests which has been cultivated and sustainably managed by indigenous Pesisir Krui people for more than a century.

### 5.3. Bringing in Bourdieu's Theory of Practice in Repong Damar Agroforest

Integrating agency-structure is another way for social scientists to analyze social practices. In this sense, Pierre Bourdieu (1977) proposed dialectic relationships between objective structure and subjective perception through elaborating three core concepts- *habitus*, fields, and various capitals. According to Bourdieu, social practices are viewed as product of dialectic relationships between structures and agencies. The core of Bourdieu's work and his efforts to bridge subjectivism and objectivism lies on his concepts of *habitus* and social fields, and also dialectic relationships between them in obtaining various capitals such as social, economic, cultural, and symbolic capitals. Briefly, Bourdieu's theory of practice ties all three core concepts together such that actors' disposition (*habitus*) not only reflect their lived experiences but also depend on changing capital endowments and boundaries of fields.

Bourdieu (1977) started his theoretical perspectives by proposing concept of social reality which become focus of social sciences. In Bourdieuan languages, social reality is a dialectic process of internalization externality and externalization internality. In this process, objective structures and meanings of subjective structures (agency) come together. This meeting is called Bourdieu as social practices.

Relating to social practices, Bourdieu (1977) characterized: a) social practices are situated within space and time. It means, social practice as a phenomena which cannot be understood out of space and time context; b) social practices are managed and moved unconsciously or not fully conscious. Social action is a product of personal improvisation and capability to take role in social interaction. It means that Bourdieu's theory of practice stresses social interaction within broader institutional and cultural fields.

Bourdieu's generic formula of (*Habitus* x Capitals) + Fields = Practices implies that Bourdieu ties all three core concepts together such that actors' dispositions (*habitus*) reflect their live experiences but also depend on changing capital endowments and the boundaries of fields. Besides, linking *habitus* and capital to the concept of field is a Bourdieu's effort to capture the structural constrains acting upon social practices.

### 5.4. Habitus and Repong Damar Agroforests

*Habitus* possessed by agents who concern with production and distribution of *damar* resin is created as long as collective historical series. In Bourdieuan languages, *habitus* is a historical product which produced individual and collective practices conforming to schemes shaped by history (Bourdieu, 1977). It means that agents' *habitus* is a product of historical schemes that in turn produced social and cultural practices in *damar* agroforests when *damar* trees were cultivated for the first time. Those schemes has been produced and reproduced over generations since the nineteenth century.

Factors influencing on one's motivation to clear either primary or secondary forests open, for example, is caused by social environment (objective structure) and individual motives (subjective or cognitive structure). Traditional customaries and regulations of indigenous Pesisir Krui people regulate that the oldest son is obligated to have *repong damar*. Young married son for the first time has to have planning of when, where, how many hectares, or the ways to clear forests for developing *repong damar*. In this sense, social constructions in the Pesisir Krui is that there is a social environment's pressures for young married son to have *repong damar*. Here, objective structure seem to be working and motivate individuals to carry out certain social practices.

In the meantime, individual motives on developing *repong damar* indeed are related to economic and symbolic motivation. Economic motives relate to individual expectations' to gain benefits from developing *repong damar*. This phenomena supports Bourdieu's beliefs that peoples are not stupid, but they are not fully rational; they behave in a logic way. It means that they have practical knowledges. In this sense, Bourdieu tended to marginalize rational choices and freely individual motives. When *damar* cultivators decide whether their *repong* should be planted by *damar* trees, let it to be idle land, or planted fruit trees and comercial timbers, basically it shows that *habitus* as well as rational choices are working together. In one side, cultivators' cognitive processes imply that developing *repong damar* has to be based on traditional customaries and regulations (objective structures); in the other side, economic motives become other considerations for cultivators to develop *repong damar* (subjective structures). Cultivators' selective actions in *darak* stages are product of internalizing structures. Traditionally, the purposes of *darak* are aimed at fulfilling household subsistence needs, no others. This is why, cultivators' strategy implemented in the *darak* stage is just to select either food, vegetables or kinds of tubbers based on ecological suitability. In other words, internalizing structure (*habitus*) has limited thoughts and choices of actions although does not fully determine them.

Traditional customaries and regulations practiced by individuals and groups for over generations have limited the kinds of commodities of food and vegetables or kinds of tubbers to be planted in their *darak* plots. However, in some extents, indigenous Pesisir Krui people local people are trying to adapt their *darak* comodities with social and economic environment. If their *darak* location is near traditional market, they plant such marketable commodities. In this sense, cultivators decide to plant commodities based on rational choices, not only for fulfilling household subsistence need but also for obtaining additional household income. In this case, there is a dialectic relationship between objective structure and subjective kognitive.

In the contrary, cultivators really have no choice to plant kinds of dry-land paddy. They do not will to cultivate new paddy varieties although they might know that the new varieties can produce more yields. They adhere to traditional dry-land paddy that have been passed down to present generations from their *nenek moyang* (ancestors). They choose the varieties of dry-land paddy in accordance with *adat* (customary laws and regulations). The varieties are *sijanggut*, *sigabal*, *turi*, and *sibandung*. Their decision is not based on either objective structure pressure or manifestation of individual freely will. In other words, this phenomena can be explained theoretically that cultivators' decision is a set of regulatory schemes of thoughts and actions, which are to some extents, a product of prior experiences. *Habitus* is thus not wholly structured, though it still remains strongly influenced by historical, social and cultural contexts.

In *kebun* stage, however, socially constructed is categorized into three qualitatif labels; a) *merawan*, if the *kebun* plot yields benefits and fulfills hosehold monumetal needs, b) *cukoh-genok*, represents conditions which the *kebun* yields just barely enough to live on, and cannot fulfill household monumental needs, and c) *mesisil*, if the *kebun* fails to yield with the result that it cannot fulfill household basic needs and monumental needs. That is why local people will be very careful to decide everything relating to *kebun* in order that their *kebun* plots posite *merawan* category.

For the local people, the expectations farmer have of *kebun* are very great, the selection of commodities to be planted, for example, is based on rational considerations relating to economic benefits and ecological suitability. The commodities of *kebun* usually cultivated are coffee, pepper, and clove which are viewed to have a good price in market, ecologically suitable and socially accepted.

Social environment has guided local cultivators to cultivate the four of agricultural commodities such as coffee, pepper, clove and *damar* which are ecologically suitable and socially accepted. In addition, cultivators are used to cultivate these crops. It means, when local ecology is suitable, local customs have been internalized, and cultivators have cultural competencies, the farmer decisions on selecting the types of cash crops to be cultivated indicate that *habitus* is working. However, when farmer decides whether coffee, pepper, or clove to be planted, personal freedom colours individual decision. Actors might calculate the risks, sanctions, and responsibility for certain social actions carried out. In this sense, one use costs-benefits analysis in order that he can make a crucial decision. Again, although in some extents *habitus* structures possible practical strategies but does not fully determine them (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

In the stage of *repong*, selecting types of agricultural crops cultivate is based on considerations: not only economic benefits but also sustainability of household economy of the next generation. In this sense, cultivators' considerations lay on not only market orientation but also various possibilities for them to obtain routine or periodical household income for long time. For the time being, why does cultivators' *habitus* tend to plant *damar* trees in their every piece of land of *kebun*? As if unconsciously, cultivators' *habitus* tend to bring *damar* seeds when they go to *kebun*. In some extents, *damar* trees are the most important component in *repong*. The *damar* trees is very functional for claiming of land. Traditional local regulations, as stated by head of village, assert that if a plot of *kebun* is abandoned without proceeding to *repong* stage, the plot of land will become idle secondary forests area. Local customary informs that if a plot of land is abandoned without any land occupation's signs, the land can be occupied by others. This regulations cannot be employed to the land which has been planted *damar* trees although the land has been abandoned for years.

Citing Bourdieu's proposition, cultivators planting *damar* trees in their plot of land, in fact, are not influenced by freely personal motives, rather objective structural pressures which insist them plant *damar* trees in their *darak* and *kebun*. In this sense, objective structure determines social practices which in turn produce *habitus* or habitualization.



*Habitus* gives various principles for actors to make decisions on various strategies in their social world. *Habitus* just suggests for what should be thought and done but it does not determine actor's actions.

### **Social Fields: Arenas of Competition in Repong Damar Agroforests**

A field is a system of social positions structured internally in terms of power relationships. This relation separated from individual's conscious and willingness (Bourdieu dan Wacquant, 1992). Therefore, social practices of agents mostly are caused by competition in the fields to obtain specific capitals. In Bourdieuan languages the fields relates to a structure space of forces and struggles, consisting of an ordered system and an identifiable network of relationships that impact upon the *habitus* of individuals.

Fields are illustrated as a place where various capitals are used, disseminated, and competed by agents. Position of the agents in the fields is determined by amount and volume of capital they have. In the social reality of *repong damar* agroforests, there are agents who concerns with production and distribution of *damar* resin.

To make it easy, analyzing social space of *repong damar* agroforests can be started by discussion on existing three hierarchical social fields which mirror local social hierarchies with various capitals they occupy: a) social fields of producer of *damar* resin (*damar* resin production). The arena consists of *damar* cultivators based on occupying of *repong damar* plot systems; owners, tenants, *paroan* (rent *repong damar* for a half share of the yields), *sanggal* (pawners); (2) social fields of gathering or collecting *damar* resin (*damar* resin distribution or trade); *penghadang* (*damar* resin gatherers or collectors at *repong* level who buy cultivators' *damar* resin production), *cecingkau* (*damar* resin gatherer or collectors at village level who buy *damar* resin from *penghadang*), *pedagang pasar* (*damar* resin gatherer or collector at sub district level who buy *damar* resin from *cecingkau*); and c) social fields of labourers: *ngambica*, transport laborer of *damar* resin from *penghadang* to *cecingkau* or from *cecingkau* to *pedagang pasar*, *ngunduh*, harvesting or tapping of *damar* resin; *mepat*, making holes in *damar* trees for intercepting and retaining falling *damar* resin; *ngelahang*, collecting *damar* resin which spilled and scattered on the ground under *damar* trees.

Analysis of fields in social reality of *repong damar* society can be started from authority relationships among agents in the hierachical structure of production and distribution system of *repong damar*. *Damar* cultivators, for example, are agents who place sub-ordinated and marginalized position relating to bargaining of power. Their economic capitals are relatively higher than those others because of their occupation of *repong damar* assets. However, they have weak bargaining position relating to make certain about *damar* price. In this sense, position of *damar* cultivators is lower than that *penghadang* in determining *damar* price, for example. However, *damar* cultivators socially places a high status in their community because of their occupation of *repong damar*. In Pesisir Krui community, the more one has *repong damar* plots, the higher status he has in the community.

Power hierarchy in production and distribution of *damar* resin varies depended on ownership of economi capital. For example, *penghadang* has stronger power than that *damar* cultivator regarding to bargaining position of determining *damar* price. Similarly, *cecingkau* has stronger power than that *penghadang* relating to determine *damar* price and area of operation. However, *cecingkau* seems to depend on authority of *pedagang pasar* at subdistrict level in his operations. The most powerful actors in production and distribution of *damar* resin are *pedagang pasar*. They have authority to determine *damar* price in Pesisir Krui and even in West Lampung district although in some extent they have no capability for bargaining power with big trader and/or exportir. The *pedagang pasar* has authority to influence *cecingkau* as well as *penghadang*. This authority is needed in order that *pedagang pasar* can maintain and sustain *damar* resin supply. Various strategies employed by *penghadang*, *cecingkau* and *pedagang pasar*. With their own power and authority, they create special "web of social and economic trap" in order that they can hold their influence on lower classes.

In the social reality of production and distribution (trading) of *damar* resin, the fields of labourers such as *ngambica*, *ngelahang*, and *ngunduh*, posit the lowest class socially, economically, and politically. This class is always dominated and subordinated by upper classes; in this case, *pengadang*, *ceceingkau* and *pedagang pasar*. Competition among *damar* labourers lies on obtaining and maintaining social capital e.g social networks with *damar* cultivators and *penghadang* and *cecingkau* to obtain financial capital. The labourers have to maintain a good relationships and solidarities with *damar* cultivators and gatherers. By strong relationships with them, *damar* labourers can optimalize their ownership of social capital to obtaining economic capital.

The second level of social reality is map of objective structure which creates fields, and relationship among actors in competing capitals. In the field of *damar* cultivators, competition of obtaining economic capital among *damar* cultivators is characterized by enlarging of *repong damar* plots through investment, and fulfilling monumental household needs. The orientation of competition seems to be aimed at improving family status in the *damar* society. Local social construction implies that the larger *repong damar* plot, the higher social status they hold. Consequently, ownership of large *repong damar* plots also creates an avenue to accumulate symbolic capital; family's proud and honor.

In terms of *damar* resin distribution (*damar* trades), *damar* farmer has own customers to trade his *damar* resin. Meanwhile, for arena of *penghadang*, competition for obtaining farmer's *damar* resin is carried out through various strategies aimed at maintaining and even increasing the amount of *damar* resin collected. In some cases, *penghadang* can improve his social position to be *cecingkau* because of their capability for increasing economic capital. At the level of *cecingkau*, competition among them is characterized by various strategies to obtain more customers in increasing the amount of *damar* resin from *penghadang*. There are at least five *cecingkau* in one village so that maintaining relationships with *penghadang* becomes their priority. Usually, *cecingkau* lends some money to *penghadang* as an initial capital for buying farmer's *damar* resin. In the same ways, *pedagang pasar* employs strategies to make sure that *damar* resin supply from *cecingkau* maintained and sustained. Similar strategy is also implemented by *pedagang pasar* through lending some money to *cecingkau* for buying *damar* resin from *penghadang*. The strategy might create dynamic web of power relationships among *penghadang*, *cecingkau* and *pedagang pasar*.

### 5.5. Capitals and Power Dynamic Relationships of *Damar* Agroforest Practices

In the context of the study, cultural capital is manifested as a set of knowledge, appreciation, and competency relating to managing *repong damar* agroforests practices. Local intellectual competencies are determined by owning credible knowledges of *repong damar* agroforests, becoming leader of the village followers regarding to *damar* agroforest, becoming source of information of *repong damar* agroforest, and success in managing *darak*, *kebun*, dan *repong*. The more competency, the higher social status he have.

Appreciation and honor of *repong damar* agroforests are determined by cultivators appreciate and honor of *damar* trees as heritage from their ancestors, appreciation and honor of *repong damar*'s role as a main source of household sustainability, willing to sustain *damar* agroforests, and Or they allow for planting *damar* trees anytime without considering who will benefit from their yields. Emphaty to others is characterized by giving opportunities for individuals who have no *repong damar* plots to participate in obtaining financial capital in his *repong damar* so that every single person can make benefits of *repong damar* existance.

In a case study in research area, *Datuk Ali* and *Pak Habiburahman*, for example, are viewed as persons who have credible competencies, especially in seedings *damar* trees. Their *damar* seeds production in fact not only to fulfill their own *kebun* but also to meet government and private institutions' needs of *damar* seeds outside Pesisir Krui. Besides, one's competencies are determined by his capability to manage properly *darak*, *kebun*, and *repong*. *Datuk Ali* and *Pak Habiburahman* are examples of local people who have been viewed as trusted *damar* cultivators. Most of outsiders such as researchers, NGO, and others have general opinion that valid information of *repong damar* agroforests just has to be obtained from them.

Cultivator's success in managing *repong damar* basically is caused by their appreciation for *damar* resin itself. In *Pahmungan* and *Panengahan* villages, for instance, the appreciation for existence of *repong damar* is determined by prohibitions not to cut productive *damar* trees. The appreciation for *repong damar* also is showed by beliefs that *repong damar* is a heritage, not their property. Implistly, this view has consequence to moral obligation so that *damar* cultivators try to concerve existency of *repong damar*. Local people are very proud of being *damar* farmer because they have succeeded to develop a uniqe and sustainable way of managing *repong damar* agroforests. All of appreciations bring about social energy for *damar* farmers to conserve *repong damar* as an identity of Pesisir Krui people.

Fundamentally, social world of *repong damar* agroforests consist of various arenas in which involve agents who concern with production and distribution of resin *damar*. In Pesisir Krui community, there is an opinion socially conctructed relating to various classes in *damar* agroforests which reflect social structures in an arena as discussed above. According to Bourdieu (1986), social capital embodied in social networks which can be used by individual to obtain and accumulate capitals as well as social position and status.

Understanding social capital within *repong damar* agroforests cannot be separated from analyzing linear processes of land management: *darak*, *kebun*, and *repong* stages. In every stages, indigenous Pesisir Krui people always mainstream *ketulungan* (mutual cooperation) and *bebelinan* (mutual assistance) customs when they carry out such agricultural activities in their *repong* plots. The study revealed that Pesisir Krui people place trust as a basis of social relationships supported by honesty, fairness, tolerance, generosity, and concerning future. All of *damar* cultivators, collectors or gatherers *damar* resin, and *damar* labourers compete fairly in obtaining capitals. They really realize that their competition is based on rules of the games. Socially constructed that arena of production and distribution of *damar* has own rules that everyone has to adhere to these existing rules of games.

In addition, local people believe in their traditional shared values, norms and sanctions, and rules relating to *repong damar* agroforests. According to their belief, their *nenek moyang* (ancestors) have created customary laws and regulations purposely for maintaining and conserving *repong damar* agroforests. Besides, social networks play an crucial role in empowering one's social status and position in the community. *Damar* cultivators, *damar* gatherers and collectors, and even *damar* labourers develop their own specific social networks in fulfilling their needs of maintaining or improving their positions.

According to Bourdieu (1986), economic capital refers to income and other financial resources and assets. It is the most liquid and tangible capital in that it may be more readily converted into other capitals. Its potency in *damar* agroforests, for example, is manifested in the capacity of some individuals (*damar* cultivators, *damar* resin gatherers and collectors, and *damar* labourers) to purchase different types of resources. *Damar* cultivators, indeed, have worth capitals in the form of *repong damar* plots. They also have potency of economic capital in the form of seasonal fruit yields. From this potency, *damar* cultivators will be able to meet their household monumental needs in the form of financing higher formal education of their children, marriage ceremony, and even purchasing additional *repong damar* plots.

The *penghadang*, *cecingkau*, and *pedagang pasar* maintain their existence by supporting economic capitals and also social networks. For *penghadang*, financial capital and trust become their special energy to accumulate cultivators' *damar* resin. Meanwhile, for *cecingkau* and *pedagang pasar* besides financial capital and trust, they also have to provide other assets in the form of storehouse, transportation vehicles, and other equipment and tools. It is clear that economic capital on its own, however, is not sufficient to buy status or position rather it relies on the interaction with other forms of capital.

Symbolic capital refers to accumulation of prestige, honor, and attention which is based on dialectic between knowledges and recognition. Symbolic capital then is used by Bourdieu to explain the ways in which capitals are perceived in the social structure e.g. the status value attached in *repong damar* plots. The ownership of *repong damar* plots become one's parameter for obtaining honor or recognition from his society. At macro level, indigenous Pesisir Krui people are proud to be a community which conserve environment through *damar* cultivation. "When outsiders say *damar*, unconsciously they will remember Pesisir Krui. No other place except Pesisir Krui which cultivates *damar* trees" said one of local informants. Among Pesisir Krui people, there are daily idioms: "if you have no money, just talk to *damar* trees." Or "*repong damar* agroforests are my heritage, not my property." These idioms are expressions of the local people as a collective proud to *repong damar* agroforests. This is symbolic capital of the local people to get recognition from other communities.

In relations to capitals, it should be noted that the all forms of capitals (economic, social, kultural, and symbolic categories) are the crucial factors that define positions and possibilities for individuals engaged in any social field (in my case, *repong damar*). Moreover, multiple effects frequently emerges in relation to any form of capital accumulation: one capital often exchanges for another.

## 6. Conclusions

Bourdieu's theory of practices mostly is discussed in education literatures and researches. Bringing in Bourdieu's theory of practice in understanding community-based forest management, in my case *damar* agroforest management, is relatively new. From the beginning, Bourdieu rejected proposition that human action is influenced either by objective structure or subjective structure. Rather, Bourdieu argued that human action is a product of dialectic relationship between objective structure and subjective structure (cognitive structure). Bourdieu's generic formula, (*Habitus* x capital) + Fields = Practice, is a conceptual respon toward social scientists' criticisms.

From the discussion above, it implies that human action shapes and is shaped by the broader structural and cultural bounds of particular contexts. In other words, Bourdieu sees human action resulting largely from deeply inscribed dispositions informing a practical sense. In this perspective, actors, in this case *damar* cultivators, employ strategies which do not derive from rationally calculated or even conscious choices but rather stem from pre-reflective tendencies. Actors respond dispositionally but also improvise or adapt at this pre-reflective level given constantly changing configurations of opportunities and constraints. The study has already proved that in some extents, *habitus* structures possible practical strategies but does not fully determine them (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

The case of *damar* agroforest practices represents more than an example how fruitfulness Bourdieu's perspectives in understanding social and cultural practices of *damar* cultivators. In every stage of successional forest garden: *darak*, *kebun*, and *repong*, Bourdieu's theory of practice has revealed variations of human (*damar* cultivators) actions in managing *repong damar* agroforests. Social and cultural reproduction has shaped one's *habitus* and cognitive structure. Transmission of norms and sanction, ideas, shared values, knowledges, taboo and prohibitions over generations brought about habitualization of *repong damar* agroforest practices among people. Bourdieu's theory of practice provide concept and methodology in analyzing human actions based not only on actor-centered schematic but also on wider institutional and cultural contexts.

A Bourdieusian perspective on community-based *damar* agroforest management reveals the everyday interactions and negotiations among actors who concerns with *repong damar* agroforests. *Damar* cultivators, *damar* collectors or gatherers, and *damar* labourers carry out their social interactions within a social world in which various arenas operate. Directly or indirectly, daily interaction among them, both formal and informal, has create a dynamic web of power relationships. This phenomena is relatively missed in this study. For future study, understanding power relationships as a dynamic interaction among actors within an arena is a challenging research agenda. This might prove that Bourdieu's theoretical framework can be elaborated to analyze roots of practices in different social world.

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