Tracing the traces of doxa: Socialization and internalization in Kampung Pentigraf Indonesia

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Tracing the traces of doxa: Socialization and internalization in *Kampung Pentigraf Indonesia*

Melania Shinta Harendika[1,2]*, Aprinus Salam[2], Sudibyo[2]
[1]Universitas Brawijaya, Jl. Veteran No.10-11, Malang, Indonesia
[2]Universitas Gadjah Mada, Bulaksumur, Sleman, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Abstract

This study scrutinizes the personal and collective doxa in *Kampung Pentigraf Indonesia* (The Indonesian Pentigraf Village or KPI), a community started by Tengsoe Tjahjono. This study applies Bourdieu's theory of the field of cultural production as the frame to observe how Tjahjono's personal beliefs, or personal doxa, are spread to the members of KPI and hence converted as collective doxa. This study uncovers how Tjahjono's values shape the community dynamics by exploring socialization and internalization practices in KPI. The findings show that the personal doxa rooted in Tjahjono's symbolic capital reinforces social structures in KPI, where his power drives the community's practices. This study emphasizes the role of social sanctions in preserving the community's principles to guarantee that the Pentigrafs written by the KPI members obey the rules. Moreover, the study discovers how vertical and horizontal interactions in the community contribute to social reproduction, allowing KPI standards to be passed down to new members. This study contributes to understanding how literary communities play a role in cultural production, proposing insights into the dynamics of symbolic power and the practices of socialization and internalization in a minor but highly organized, creative setting.

Abstrak

Kata Kunci:

Bourdieu; doksa; dominasi simbolik; Kampung Pentigraf Indonesia; pentigraf; produksi budaya

Menelusuri jejak doxa: Sosialisasi dan internalisasi dalam Kampung Pentigraf Indonesia

Penelitian ini mengkaji peran doksa pribadi dan kolektif dalam Kampung Pentigraf Indonesia (KPI), sebuah komunitas penulisan kreatif yang diinisiasi oleh Tengsoe Tjahjono. Menggunakan teori arena produksi budaya oleh Bourdieu sebagai kerangka berpikir, penelitian ini mengamati bagaimana keyakinan pribadi Tjahjono, atau doksa pribadi, ditularkan kepada anggota KPI, yang pada akhirnya menjadi doksa kolektif. Dengan menganalisis proses sosialisasi dan internalisasi dalam KPI, penelitian ini mengungkap bagaimana nilai-nilai Tjahjono membentuk dinamika komunitas tersebut. Temuan penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa doksa pribadi, yang berakar pada modal simbolik Tjahjono, memperkuat struktur sosial dalam KPI, di mana otoritas dan legitimasi budayanya mendorong aturan dan praktik komunitas tersebut. Penelitian ini menyoroti peran sanksi sosial dalam menjaga standar komunitas, memastikan bahwa penulisan Pentigraf mematuhi pedoman yang telah ditetapkan. Selain itu, studi ini menjelaskan bagaimana interaksi vertikal dan horisontal dalam komunitas berkontribusi pada reproduksi sosial, sehingga memungkinkan nilai-nilai KPI diwariskan kepada anggota baru. Penelitian ini berkontribusi pada pemahaman tentang bagaimana komunitas sastra berfungsi sebagai arena produksi budaya, menawarkan wawasan tentang dinamika kekuasaan simbolik serta proses sosialisasi dan internalisasi dalam lingkungan kreatif yang kecil namun sangat terstruktur.

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* Corresponding author:
harendika@ub.ac.id

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1 Introduction

Kampung Pentigraf Indonesia (the Indonesian Pentigraf Village or KPI) is a phytigal (Gaggioli, 2017; Saputra, 2023) community that combines both physical and digital settings. Pentigraf is a mini-fiction that has a precise structure, that is a three-paragraph short story (Indradi, 2018; Musyaiyadah & Indrayanti, 2023; Saputra et al., 2022) which is produced by KPI and initiated by Tengsoe Tjahjono in 2016. At the time being, KPI has more than 3.000 members on Facebook. This community also communicates in the *Paguyuban Sastra Tiga* (PASTI) WhatsApp group. KPI has been established for eight years and has produced ten anthologies, showing that this community is consistent in its productivity.

Though initially developed and popularized within the Indonesian literary circle, mainly through the KPI community, Pentigraf has started to gain traction among educators and writers outside this circle, indicating its potential for broader adoption. While not yet internationally recognized as a formal genre, its structure and creative discipline have made it more than just a stepping stone toward writing longer works like short stories or novels. Instead, it has evolved into a distinctive form, offering its artistic challenges and merits. Some Pentigrafs have gained attention in national anthologies such as *Papan Iklan di Pintu Depan* (2018) and *Nama-nama yang Dipahat di Batu Karang* (2021), both of which highlight the emotional depth and literary sharpness achievable within the Pentigraf format. As a literary innovation rooted in local creativity, Pentigraf represents a compelling example of how regional literary practices can contribute to the broader field of literary studies.

In cultural production, the position of literary works is influenced by the level and type of consecration, the variety and quantity of audience, and the economic benefit (Bourdieu, 1983). This position is fluid because the influences change over time (Boschetti, 2006; Fowler, 2021; Van Maanen, 2005). Likewise, this position is inseparable from the doxa and habitus of the agents who create the literary work (Hurtado, 2010; Šebek, 2022; Takwin, 2009). Doxa means the beliefs, values, and practices taken for granted as truth in society, as Bourdieu (1977, 1983, 1984, 1986, 1987a, 1989, 1990) affirmed. Doxa is all that is considered natural and unquestionable by community members. Investigating the doxa in KPI is noteworthy in discovering how symbolic power operates and how specific standards are conserved as accepted (Bourdieu, 1989). Bourdieu (1987b, 1987a, 1992) also states that doxa is inseparable from habitus, which refers to the ways of thinking, feeling, and acting that result from individual socialization in an environment. Habitus shapes the practices and perceptions and is also structured by the environment (Bourdieu, 1984).

Bourdieu does not openly distinguish the personal doxa from the collective one. However, this study uses these terms to search how individual beliefs, or personal doxa, impact broader community norms or collective doxa. Personal doxa indicates the principles internalized by people, whereas collective doxa means the beliefs recognized by a social group. Personal doxa can be assumed to be collective doxa when individuals' beliefs align with the groups. Personal doxa can be transmitted to a group and seen as a collective doxa through internalizing standards accepted as natural and expected because of continuous reinforcement from their environments. Societies such as family, school, religion, media, and government can strengthen doxa by repeating principles accepted as fact (King, 2016; Snook, 2009). Constant doctrine and socialization through these societies confirm that entities accept and support doxa (Lamaison & Bourdieu, 1986; Wacquant, 2013). Societal force to follow dominant rules and beliefs reassures individuals to align their principles with doxa.

Several studies concluded that Pentigraf is an appropriate model for training literature writing. First, a survey by Shofa & Saputra (2021) entitled *National Pentigraf as Citizenship Education Innovation for Millennial Generations* claims that Pentigraf is helpful as a teaching innovation to

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invite students to crystallize the values of diversity throughout Pentigraf writing. Second, research by Indradi (2020) shows that Pentigraf can motivate novice writers to express their thoughts. Third, a study titled *Javanese Pentigraf as Self-healing Efforts during the COVID-19 Pandemics in Lidah Wetan Surabaya* (Ernawati et al., 2020) shows that Pentigraf can be a therapy to fight nervousness because of COVID-19 Pandemic. Fourth, a study by Saputra & Meilasari (2020b) determines that Pentigraf writing has been performed by writers outside the KPI, showing that Pentigraf has been extensively recognized.

While numerous studies have been conducted on Pentigraf, none have examined KPI in fiction production. This point is the substantial gap between this study and the preceding studies. Previous studies have shown that doxa shapes individual and collective behavior within social and cultural fields. In literary communities, doxa guides what is considered legitimate or valuable in producing and evaluating texts. For instance, Boschetti (2006) and Wacquant (2013) argue that doxa is central to maintaining the hierarchy and authority within cultural institutions, influencing how power is distributed and reproduced. Julien (2015) further emphasizes that doxa shapes the symbolic power dynamics in online creative communities, where members internalize norms and expectations through everyday interactions. These studies highlight the importance of understanding doxa to analyze the invisible forces that structure participation and legitimacy in cultural production.

This research adopts doxa as a key analytical lens to explore how individual beliefs, especially those held by a community leader, are transmitted and institutionalized in the KPI as collective norms governing literary practices. By applying Bourdieu's theory of the field of cultural production, this research reveals the mechanisms of social reproduction in a literary community that integrates both digital and physical spaces. The novelty of this study lies in its focus on doxa as a driving force in community-based literary production. While prior research has discussed Pentigraf as a pedagogical tool or a literary form, this study examines KPI as a structured field of cultural production where symbolic power, internalized norms, and social hierarchies shape creative expression.

This study can offer an understanding of the practices in the KPI as a field of cultural production. It may likewise support spreading comprehension of how literature creation occurs within literary groups and distributing an appropriate point of view in the study of literary communities. Furthermore, this study can contribute to the scholarly literature on understanding social dynamics in Indonesia, specifically associated with the role of KPI and the dynamics of cultural production in Indonesia.

2 Methods

This study is qualitative research because it does not bring participants into a laboratory or send instruments to be fulfilled by the participants (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Gilbert & Pasque, 2023). In this study, the researcher's reflection is essential to interpret the data and the participant's responses. In gathering the data, the questions can be added or changed; the data collection methods can be changed, and participants can be modified to adapt to the field conditions (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Moreover, several data collection methods are used to explore multiple sources, providing a detailed description of the phenomenon (Somekh & Lewin, 2005). This research data was gathered through participatory observation, interviews, and a literature review, summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Research Focus and Indicators

No	Research question	Research Focus	Indicators	Data Collection Technique	Data Sources
1	How is the founder's doxa transferred to be collective in KPI?	Socialization and internalization practices in KPI	reproduction in daily practices, the consensus within KPI	observation	PASTI WA group, KPI Facebook group
				interviews	founder of Pentigraf and KPI

The participatory observations are conducted on the interactions among KPI members through the PASTI WA group and KPI Facebook Group, as well as offline and online gatherings held by KPI. The data was documented using observation protocols (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The participatory observations address respective indicators: stability and strength of beliefs, reproduction in daily practices and community consensus, changes in practices and behavior, and member participation. To protect privacy, phone numbers and names of the contributors are anonymized, except for Tengsoe Tjahjono, the initiator of Pentigraf and founder of KPI, whose role is publicly documented. Ethical considerations are informed with formal permission requests to KPI community leader Tengsoe Tjahjono. The in-depth interviews were completed with Tengsoe Tjahjono, the founder of Pentigraf and KPI, concentrating on his principles and views related to literary work and the literary community. The interviews implemented open-ended questions, allowing the participant to express his opinions freely (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Notes and recordings were taken during the interviews.

The data analysis is as follows: (1) data for the interviews were scrutinized to find out general explanations and to pinpoint Tjahjono's perspectives; (2) data from the observations were explored to discover the practice of socialization and internalization in KPI. The data were deciphered by summarizing the findings and associating them with the literature. The data were reviewed and coded with labels to present a general portrayal. To guarantee validity, the research employed data triangulation from different sources: interviews, observation on the KPI Facebook Group, the PASTI WhatsApp Group, and the meetings recorded and published on YouTube. The ongoing discussion was made to confirm accuracy, and frequent checks on the interview and observation transcription were completed to avoid blunders while continuously matching data with notes.

Bourdieu's theory of the field of cultural production is used in this research as an analytical framework to understand how power, legitimacy, and symbolic capital operate within the KPI community. Field, doxa, habitus, and capital are employed to examine the vertical and horizontal interactions among members, the mechanisms of social reproduction, and the internalization of literary norms. Specifically, this study uses the notion of personal doxa to explore how the founder's beliefs and values influence the practices of the community and how these beliefs are accepted as collective doxa through continuous socialization and reinforcement. By observing how these processes maintain hierarchies and regulate participation, Bourdieu's framework enables a critical understanding of the cultural dynamics that structure literary production within KPI.

3   Results

In KPI, five key practices contribute significantly to the social reproduction of Tjahjono's perspective on literary standards and community engagement: (1) the implementation of writing challenges, (2) centralized editorial control, (3) motivational reinforcement, (4) peer collaboration, and (5) the application of social sanctions. Among these, the most dominant and influential practices are the writing challenges and editorial control, the primary mechanisms through which Tjahjono's personal beliefs or doxa are consistently disseminated and reinforced. These practices facilitate structured opportunities for members to engage with and internalize the community's literary norms, effectively transforming Tjahjono's standards into shared collective values within KPI.

3.1   Writing Challenges

As the founder of Pentigraf and KPI, Tjahjono initiates writing challenges in KPI as a showground for the members to drill Pentigraf writing. Tjahjono offers two types of writing challenges. The first type functions as a regular discussion stimulus for the KPI members, and the second type is a challenge whose target is Pentigraf anthology publication. An example of the first type of challenge is as follows:

Example Paragraphs:
1. *Since her husband passed away from lymphatic cancer, Murni has developed a hobby of painting. She spends her time in her late husband's workspace, which she has transformed into a painting studio. Canvases, paints, and brushes are scattered everywhere. Murni's paintings always feature the same subject: cats.*
2. *That night, she was forced to stay in an empty hut. She was shocked to find that Ambarwati's house, her lover, was so far from the nearest town. According to the carriage driver, who could only take her to the end of the suspension bridge, the village was beyond the hill, along a path cutting through the forest. The sound of night birds could be heard in the distance. It might already be midnight.*

Continue the Pentigraf. Choose number one or two. The best three Pentigrafs will receive a book from me. Continue practicing writing Pentigraf to become more skilled and proficient (PASTI WhatsApp group, June 3, 2022, at 09:23 A.M. by Tengsoe Tjahjono)

Figure 1. Example of a Pentigraf Project
[Source: Kampung Pentigraf Indonesia Facebook Group, June 11, 2020, uploaded by Tengsoe Tjahjono]
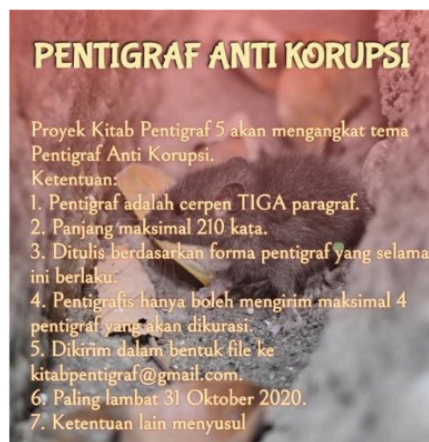
From 2016 to 2023, KPI produced ten Pentigraf anthologies. On average, KPI can produce one Pentigraf book every nine months. To prepare for the publication of these books, Tjahjono initiates organizing the second type of Pentigraf writing challenge (see Figure 1).

3.2   Editorial Domination and the Limits of Participation

In KPI, Tjahjono has a vital role as the community leader, as shown by his significant role in the editorial process. It is not easy for Tjahjono to delegate the responsibilities in the editorial process. One of the KPI members stated:

"Apologies, but may I know the current stage of progress? This has taken quite a long time. Could we repost how many people have submitted their manuscripts? I can help with editing the manuscripts if needed." (PASTI WhatsApp group, June 17, 2021, at 07:32 A.M. by +62 812-1975-4***).

The situation of the prior statement is that KPI has a Pentigraf anthology publication project, which was considered to be taking time, prompting one of the KPI members to offer assistance. An attention-grabbing finding from this occurrence is that Tjahjono did not reply to the suggestion and continued the editing process as the sole and chief editor. Ten Pentigraf anthologies by KPI reveals that only two of them involved parties other than Tjahjono as editors: in *Papan Iklan di Pintu Depan (2018)*, Tjahjono involved B.E. Priyanti as an editor and Megawati Lie as a proofreader, and in *Nama-nama yang Dipahat di Batu Karang* (2021), Tjahjono involved Windhihati Kurnai as a language editor. Apart from these two books, Tjahjono exclusively managed the editing process. Tjahjono clarified that he had to take this responsibility because the community members were reluctant to have their work corrected by fellow Pentigraf authors (Interview with Tjahjono, April 24, 2024).

3.3   Providing Motivation

At times, the KPI members felt unenthusiastic in composing Pentigraf. As the community leader, Tjahjono encourages his members to keep performing. He said, "… you must be enthusiastic. You can do it. You can do it. You can do it" (PASTI WhatsApp group, September 6, 2022, at 4:45 P.M. by Tengsoe Tjahjono). This motivational note was expressed when one of the KPI members stated that he feared his work might be disappointing. According to Bourdieu (as cited in Julien, 2015), motivation is essential in a society because it influences how agents participate in a field. There are two sorts of motivation: internal motivation, where an agent feels satisfied with their work regarding external recognition, and external motivation, where an agent seeks recognition from others.

In KPI, Pentigraf authors might have different motivations. Those with higher motivation will be more active in discussions or events. Pentigraf authors who are internally motivated will participate because they find satisfaction in the process regardless of external recognition. On the other hand, those motivated by rewards and recognition will strive to achieve literary accomplishments. This variety of activities creates different levels of contribution among members.

3.4   Peer Collaboration

In KPI, fellow members collaborate in giving feedback and teaching others how to write good Pentigrafs. One of these is shown by the following comment: "The first two paragraphs of the introduction are too lengthy for a three-paragraph piece. Try to be more daring and jump straight into the core issue. Get to the heart of the conflict" (PASTI WhatsApp group, November 23, 2021, at 09:30 A.M., by +62 815-4292-6***). This comment shows that the Pentigraf rules have been accepted as the doxa governing the field and are regarded as common sense (Bourdieu, 1977, 1987a, 1987b, 1989, 1990, 1992). The KPI members exchange their knowledge when they share writing techniques or provide feedback on each other's work. When KPI members teach one another, they exchange their cultural capital, enhancing their collective cultural capital.

This peer collaboration can also be realized when fellow KPI members show their appreciation of Pentigraf's works uploaded in the group (as seen in Figures 2a and 2b). Figure 2a shows a post by one of the KPI members, and Figure 2b shows the reactions from fellow KPI members. From Figure 2b, it can be seen that 26 KPI fellow members responded with emoticons while some others interacted through commentaries.

Figures 2a and 2b. Example of Pentigraf and responses uploaded in the KPI Facebook Group
[Source: KPI Facebook group, June 28, 2022]

In the comments, there is no judgment related to Pentigraf standards. There was simply encouraging support for the uploaded work. If observed closely, several parts of the uploaded Pentigraf can be enhanced, such as punctuation or diction that does not entirely comply with the general guidelines for Indonesian spelling. This emphasizes one of the peer collaborations in KPI, which is not always strictly tied to Pentigraf regulations but also embraces appreciation for the uploaded works. Further peer collaboration is found when the KPI members greet each other, offer encouragement, wish happy birthdays, or express sympathy when another member is grieving. One example can be seen in the comment, "Good morning, stay healthy, everyone" (PASTI WhatsApp group, September 14, 2020, at 04:58 A.M. by SL) or "Happy birthday, Mbak Siwi. May you be blessed abundantly" (PASTI WhatsApp group, October 1, 2020, at 08:34 A.M. by +62 838-0886-2***)

3.5 Social Sanctions

The rules of Pentigraf writing developed to be the standards internalized in the community. Whoever in the group fails to accomplish the principles will get the social sanctions. First, works that do not meet the standards frequently fail to pass the curation process. Tjahjono delivers several details, such as, "Why did it not pass the curation? There is no surprise, which might lie in the second or third paragraph" (in the PASTI WhatsApp group, November 1, 2021, at 10:18 P.M.) or another thought, "Why did it not pass? It does not follow the ideal Pentigraf format" (PASTI WhatsApp group, June 3, 2022, at 07:30 P.M. by Tengsoe Tjahjono).

Second, as the KPI organizer, Tjahjono frequently reviews the Pentigrafs that do not align with the established standards. These evaluations aim to improve the excellence of the works and preserve

the community standards. Those criticisms are conveyed not only by Tjahjono but also by the KPI members as follows, "Besides being demanded to produce twists that 'tear' at emotions creatively, Pentigraf has taught me to always be cautious and disciplined in following its writing guidelines" (PASTI WhatsApp group, June 4, 2021, at 09:53 A.M. by +62 853-3322-6***) and "Of course, it requires the writer's precision in choosing words to construct effective sentences" (PASTI WhatsApp group, at 08:19 A.M. by +62 822-4201-8***) (See also Figures 3a and 3b). By succeeding in this principle, it is projected that Pentigraf authors will conserve the integrity of the Pentigraf formula and obey the established rules of Pentigraf.

Figures 3a and 3b. Examples of Criticism by Pentigraf Authors
[Source: Kampung Pentigraf Indonesia Facebook Group, January 16, 2023]

Third, selected works that do not meet the standards are used as examples in online meetings (see Figure 4) to emphasize mistakes and demonstrate how to correct them. This functions as a learning opportunity for all community members.

Figures 4. An example of a Pentigraf was reviewed in the online workshop "Bengkel Sastra Tiga."
[Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WgTdv7IDA-c, January 30, 2023 at 43:46]

4   Discussion

From the results presented above, it can be perceived that there are two mechanisms to convert Tjahjono's doxa, in this case, his standards of Pentigraf writing, into the collective doxa or standards

that the members of KPI fulfill. This reinforcement occurs through vertical interaction, where Tjahjono communicates his beliefs and expectations to the members, and horizontal interaction, where fellow KPI members communicate. Both processes support social reproduction within KPI, as social class structures and hierarchies are established and maintained across generations (Bourdieu, 1984).

The interaction processes within KPI, ranging from editorial control, motivational dynamics, and peer collaboration to the imposition of social sanctions, construct an implicit social structure that reflects a hierarchy of symbolic capital among its members. At the top of this hierarchy is Tjahjono, who possesses the most substantial symbolic capital as the community founder and chief editor, granting him the authority to determine which works are published and how community standards are maintained. Members with higher participation rates recognized literary skills or aligned with the Pentigraf doxa tend to hold middle positions, gaining recognition and influence within the group. Meanwhile, less active members or those who fail to meet the established norms tend to occupy peripheral positions in the field. This stratification reflects the distribution of power and reinforces the legitimacy of specific agents over others in shaping the community's literary production.

This process of socialization and internalization aligns with Bourdieu's theory of doxa, which posits that when there are near-perfect alignments between objective order and subjective principles, the social world appears as something accepted (Hurtado, 2010; Knafo, 2015). In this case, KPI's social structure and rules are internalized, aligning with individual beliefs and values, making them seem natural and unquestioned. KPI validates and reinforces Tjahjono's beliefs as norms that its members must also follow.

4.1 Vertical Interaction: Tjahjono's Role as a Community Leader

Tjahjono's responsibility as KPI's leader is substantial in establishing and maintaining the standards of Pentigraf produced by KPI. The interactions that suggest this control are vertical interactions in which Tjahjono, the community leader, acts as the guide, supervisor, and leading assessor in the Pentigraf writing process. The manifestations in KPI demonstrate this interaction, including Tjahjono's role in setting writing challenges, serving as the primary editor, and motivating the members. The writing challenges introduced by Tjahjono become the stimulus of social reproduction because, through this challenge, Tjahjono's personal views are well-maintained and reassigned to all members of KPI. These challenges show that Tjahjono has productively transformed his doxa into a collective doxa through vertical interaction.

These writing challenges to the members of KPI reinforce Tjahjono's authority and legitimacy within KPI and enhance the cultural capital of the KPI members for several reasons. First, the KPI members believe that joining in the writing challenges involves their cultural capital in the form of literary knowledge and writing skills, as indicated in the following comment:

> *"It is not wrong to say that Pentigraf is a challenge for writers. They are crafting conflict and resolution in three paragraphs without losing the essence. Now, the number of writers and readers of Pentigraf is increasing. Reading Pentigraf is also efficient and effective, but only in a short amount of time. Readers can travel through their imagination"* (PASTI WhatsApp group, June 4, 2021, at 3.57 PM by +62 812-6204-8***)

The preceding comment emphasizes that the capability to compose a Pentigraf involves suitable literary knowledge and practical talents to create a successful story in the three-paragraph format. From this perspective, the proficiency and effectiveness of reading and composing Pentigraf signify the cultural capital of Pentigraf writers and readers. By contributing to the Pentigraf writing challenges, the KPI members will increase their cultural capital, which is meaningful for producing symbolic profit and strengthening their position in KPI.

Second, the Pentigraf writing challenges in KPI set the standards and expectations that KPI members should obey. As the community leader and the founder of Pentigraf, Tjahjono has the authority to define and reinforce the rules and standards of Pentigraf writing. In this group, KPI members who can produce and evaluate Pentigraf demonstrate that they have internalized the community's standards, which become the collective doxa. Third, the KPI members strengthen their social bonds and solidarity in the community by sharing their knowledge on Pentigraf and providing feedback in response to the writing challenges. Fourth, the Pentigraf writing challenges create social stratification based on the members' abilities and achievements. KPI members who can meet the challenges and produce high-quality Pentigraf will gain higher status and recognition, while those who have not succeeded will be in a lower position. This social stratification results from the unequal distribution of cultural capital, reflecting the agents' diverse abilities and achievements in the particular field (Bourdieu, 1986), in this case, in Pentigraf writing.

From the findings of this study, it can also be perceived that Tjahjono has a fundamental position in the editorial processes. This role is intensified because the KPI members are unwilling to be corrected by those other than Tjahjono. This situation suggests that they feel more validated when their Pentigraf is evaluated only by Tahjono. This practice also reflects the legitimacy that has been established related to Tjahjono's leadership. The centralization of Tjahjono's role in the editorial process has an undesirable consequence. His dominance limits the active contribution of other members, which can hinder innovation and growth as the KPI members feel incompetent in contributing meaningfully. This restriction can be interpreted as a manifestation of unequal capital distribution. Cultural capital, which includes knowledge, skills, and legitimacy in the literary field, is wholly focused in Tjahjono, while other members have restricted access to these cultural capitals.

Through the vertical interactions between Tjahjono and the members of KPI, such as broadcasting writing challenges, providing motivation, and editorial dominance, Tjahjono reinforces his position and legitimacy. As the community leader, Tjahjono is concerned with transferring knowledge and skills to his members. When the community members acknowledge the expertise and knowledge of their leader, it further solidifies the leader's position as an authoritative figure. In Bourdieu's view, this situation benefits not only the community leader but also the relationship between the leader and members, which is often based on the exchange of cultural capital, where the leader imparts knowledge and skills to members as a form of investment that benefits both parties (Julien, 2015).

4.2 Horizontal Interaction: Collaboration among Members

In the second type of interaction, horizontal interaction, the KPI members interact with each other. This interaction relates to socialization, where individuals absorb and internalize the norms, values, and practices that KPI embraces. From the data gathered, it is found that in the early period when KPI was started and throughout the first year of the Pentigraf anthology project, from 2016 to 2018, there were no particular guidelines related to Pentigraf. Only at the end of this period did Tjahjono formalize the Pentigraf rules in *Meneroka Dapur Pentigraf* (2018). In the second period, from 2019 to 2021, the Pentigraf rules started to be applied. From 2022 to 2023, the Pentigraf rules became more recognized, and the KPI members were progressively assertive in criticizing other members' Pentigraf. As KPI developed, so did the Pentigraf rules, which became a central topic of discussion among members when old members taught the new ones, and so on.

Tjahjono's devotedness to maintaining KPI and the familial spirit among the KPI members are the recipes to the community's existence (Ariani, 2022), which nurtures solidity among the members (Saputra & Meilasari, 2020a). This spirit reflects the significance of social capital in the community, where relationships among members are based on solidarity. This social capital is essential in

preserving the unity and distinctiveness of the community (Bourdieu, 1984). Although the interactions among the community members can result in reciprocally beneficial exchanges, there are still dynamics of power and authority that may influence how these interactions occur. The KPI members with advanced cultural capital or a more dominant position in KPI may considerably influence peer learning and teaching.

The social sanctions applied in KPI benefit social reproduction because they maintain the community's values and ensure that all members support and accept the standards of their Pentigraf quality. These social sanctions also enhance the members' cultural capital by boosting their ability to meet the community's standards. As the leader of KPI, Tjahjono possesses significant cultural capital, which permits him to use social sanctions to maintain control over Pentigraf's quality and production standards. This occurrence suggests symbolic domination because Tjahjono can decide which Pentigrafs are good and which are not. These particular sanctions also aid as a mechanism to uphold the social and cultural structure of the community. KPI members are encouraged to continue learning and adapting to the established standards through critiques and examples of unsuccessful Pentigraf. This practice also intensifies the community's distinctiveness, as members who successfully meet the standards receive recognition and appreciation. In contrast, those who have not yet met the standards are given opportunities to learn and improve.

5 Conclusion

This study concludes that the transmission of personal doxa into collective doxa in KPI is sustained through five key practices: writing challenges, editorial control, motivational reinforcement, peer collaboration, and social sanctions. These practices reflect both vertical and horizontal interactions that enable the reproduction of specific literary standards and social structures within the community. The positive side of this system lies in its ability to maintain consistency, discipline, and a clear literary identity through strong leadership and shared values. The writing challenges, for example, encourage creativity and enhance members' cultural capital, as evidenced by their active participation and the publication of ten anthologies.

However, the centralization of editorial authority in Tjahjono's figure also reveals a significant drawback. Namely, the restriction of member participation in decision-making processes. This editorial dominance can hinder innovation and limit the sense of ownership among members, as shown in their reluctance to take part in peer editing or leadership roles. Therefore, while KPI demonstrates a successful model of structured literary community-building, it also illustrates the tension between symbolic authority and collective empowerment. Future efforts should consider more inclusive editorial practices to foster sustainability and broader participation without compromising the community's literary standards.

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GENERAL COMMENTS