

THE RESILIENCE OF BALI TRADITIONAL POTTERY CRAFTSMEN OF PEJATEN VILLAGE IN THE GLOBAL ERA

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ABSTRACT

Pottery craftsmen in Pejaten Village still survive producing traditional pottery amid changes in their socio-cultural space. This study aims to analyze the reasons they persist in the realm of traditional pottery crafts today. This study uses the paradigm of critical thinking with a qualitative approach that views social reality as something that is intact, complex, dynamic, full of meaning with interactive symptom relationships. This research, analyzed by the generative structural theory of Pierre Bourdieu. Theory to explain the practice in the realm of pottery crafts in Pejaten Village. Bourdieu made a generative formula about practice, namely: (Habitus x Capital) + Domain = Practice. The results of this study indicate the survival practice of these pottery craftsmen by applying the habitus cutting strategy, in the form of intergenerational skills through informal education between families. Habitus they have internalized in individuals and make them have cultural capital. Ownership of cultural capital can be converted into other forms of capital, but the ability to convert capital cannot be done by all individuals, even though they grow and have a similar habitus. This is influenced by cognitive abilities, reasoning power, episteme, and individual experiences. This results in a class structure in the realm. Ownership of habitus and cultural capital is not sufficient to survive in this realm. Other capital ownership is needed, such as: economic capital, social capital, and symbolic capital. The results of this study can be used as a reference for developing the cultural sustainability of the traditional heritage between generations in responding to the changes that have occurred in the social space for pottery handicrafts in Pejaten Village today.

Keywords: sustainability, habitus, capital, traditional pottery craftsmen.

INTRODUCTION

The cultural life of the Pejaten Village community has historically been known as the center of the pottery industry in Bali. They have been making pottery crafts from generation to generation. The pottery craft in Pejaten Village was challenged in the 1970s, with the entry

of various furniture made of aluminum and plastic, this had an effect on the decreasing demand for pottery objects. In response to this, the provincial government of Bali provided assistance in the form of press printing equipment which could produce mass products in the form of roof tiles and brick press. Pottery crafts have shown progress since the 1980s, and have attracted traditional pottery craftsmen of Pejaten Village to switch to work by utilizing modern technology because of the promising results (interview with Prebikel Desa Pejaten Alita Wijaya, May 7, 2018).

The entry of technology amid the increasingly sluggish demand for traditional pottery objects caused the craftsmen of Pejaten Village, who originally worked in the realm of traditional pottery handicrafts to split, some chose the modern ceramic route (high burnt) and on the other hand many switched to the tile industry (pottery modern). In the midst of these choices there is a group of craftsmen who persist in the realm of traditional pottery crafts. Their persistence is a form of obedience to the ancestral message passed down from generation to generation, through stories or stories between generations that "the descendants of Sangging must continue to work in the field of Sangging". The speech has internalized the individual (craftsman) and has become a truth that must be carried out as responsibility for the orders of its predecessors. This phenomenon is interesting for a more in-depth study that focuses on understanding and explaining why the traditional ceramic craftsmen of Pajaten village still persisted in the realm of traditional pottery crafts in the ancient era.

According to Tjidera (1984: 8), soroh / klen Sangging is a person who is skilled in sculpting, painting, drawing, making sacred statues or statues. People with special skills include Balinese fine arts, mysticism, literature, Hindu religious teachings and negotiation (Balinese architecture). The position of Sangging in Balinese society has a high social status because Sangging is a chosen people who have special skills and not just anyone can have it.

The development of these handicraft activities has received support from the local community. Support in the form of using pottery objects in their daily lives. With the support of the local community, the activities of traditional Balinese pottery craftsmen continue. The handicraft products he creates make practical objects, but designs have been developed to suit market needs. Cultural production carried out by the Pejaten Village community is an active process that confirms its existence in social life. In this context, in general, the

livelihoods undertaken by the people of Pejaten Village are quite diverse, but most of them live as pottery craftsmen.

Most of the people in Pejaten Village work as pottery craftsmen. This is related to the environment in Pejaten Village which does not have rice fields. Evidence of the absence of paddy fields in the area is the unknown subak system (a community organization that handles the irrigation system in Bali) and the absence of Pura Ulun Swi (a place for worshiping Dewi Sri). With such circumstances, forcing people who live in this domain to take advantage of the existing natural potentials by processing materials such as plastic soil into various handicraft objects. At first pottery objects were made for personal gain, but over time pottery objects began to become commodities. In the Bourdieu language, the actions of the Pejaten Village community as craftsmen and being able to face such social environmental situations, they have treated their habitus as a mental or cognitive structure that is developed as a driving force and action to do something. Habitus is imagined as a social structure that is internalized and manifested. Habitus is a source of driving action, thought, and representation (Kleden, 2005: 361-375).

The development of pottery handicrafts in Pejaten Village is not only limited to fulfilling practical needs, but has become a commodity related to the ownership of craftsmen's capital and has the opportunity to open new jobs. The ownership of various assets of each individual (craftsman) is not the same, even though they have habitus and live in the same social space. This is influenced by cognitive factors, reasoning power, episteme, and experiences of each individual. These differences lead to a class structure in the social space in Pejaten Village. Those who have capital in the realm, easily regulate the course of production. Those who are in the lower class have the only way to survive and be useful to the owners of the capital.

The difference in capital ownership creates a class structure in the social space in Pejaten Village. This is influenced by the low ownership of the craftsmen's cultural capital. On average, they only received elementary school education. This affects the ownership of their capital. The relatively small capital ownership of pottery craftsmen makes them struggle to have various assets in the realm. The pottery artisans in Pejaten Village not only compete with fellow craftsmen, but they also compete with craftsmen who have various assets. The persistence of traditional pottery craftsmen is a practice of craftsmen's life with minimal material capital, by having a strategy to be able to maintain their business in a social space that has undergone changes.

METHODOLOGY

This research is designed as a cultural studies as the idea of Barker (2005: 515), cultural studies is an interdisciplinary field of inquiry that studies the production and cultivation of meaning maps and concentrates on issues of power, in the practice of meaningful life formations. human. Referring to Barker's ideas, this research focuses on efforts to understand and explain the ideas, ideas, thoughts and truth behind the actions and behavior displayed by the traditional Balinese pottery craftsmen of Pejaten Village. This study uses the generative structural theory of Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu's theory attempts to link his theoretical ideas to research based on everyday life. Bourdieu's theory is formulated: (Habitus x Capital) + Domain = Practice. This formula replaces every simple relation between individuals and structures with the relation between habitus and realms involving capital. This study uses a cultural studies approach with a qualitative analysis method.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Passing of Habitus Between Generations of Pottery Craftsmen in Pejaten Village

The making of traditional Balinese pottery crafts has taken a long journey from a cultural tradition. Making pottery that takes place through a process of inheritance between generations. Especially in the tradition of craftsmen who are defended, passed on, and continued. Knowledge and productive skills in making pottery are passed down from generation to generation through the process of socialization and culture. Knowledge of pottery making has been embedded in each traditional pottery craftsman in Pejaten Village.

The inheritance socialization applied by traditional Balinese pottery craftsmen in Pejaten Village is through the transmission of traditional cultural values that contain skills, and shown by the craftsmen, in the form of productive abilities in their activities. Skills are not abilities that are innate (ascribe), but abilities of productive skills that are learned through a process.

The practice of continuing the traditional culture in making pottery is included in social practice, as argued by Bourdieu (in Fashri, 2014: 106) stated that social practice is everything that is observed, experienced, and exists outside of the social actor, with dialectically dynamic movements. is a disclosure of everything that has been internalized to become part of the social actor. The traditional pottery making has become the forming of the pottery craftsman habitus as the only skill and work undertaken as revealed in the following interview.

“..... We got the skill to make pottery from our parents. They trained us from childhood to make various forms of pottery objects... ”, (interview, with Katuran, May 3, 2019).

The interview excerpt above illustrates that the practice of making pottery is taught by parents to children, the practice is interpreted as an attitude that is manifested in an action. The existence of supporting factors, in the form of environmental conditions and available facilities, influence these practices, and make them have knowledge. The result of knowledge makes them "know". Learning and training from their parents has made them have skills, expertise, and have been embedded in them and become identities that must be maintained. The extension of the habitus to the handicraft social space in Pejaten Village, in the form of pottery making skills is carried out by senior craftsmen through socialization with informal learning within the family. The craftsmen show the socialization of inheritance in the form of productive abilities in pottery making activities. Skills are not abilities that are innate from birth (ascribe) but abilities of productive skills that must be learned through a learning process that is shown in the picture below.



Figure: The inheritance of the habitus by learning while playing, the generation of pottery artisans

Photo: Artayani, 2019

Socialization through the inheritance of skills between generations in the craftsmen of Pejaten Village is not only the inheritance of skills that are passed down from senior craftsmen, but also through storytelling that is passed down from generation to generation. As the

descendants of Sangging, they must continue to pursue the Sangging field. He believes this is an effort to avoid bad things, and for those who obediently work in the Sangging field, undoubtedly never lack in material form. Trust and confidence in these utterances have been embedded and become a truth. They, as the Sangging generation, have the responsibility to pass on the ancestral message and it was revealed in the following interview.

"... my parents told me that the skill of making pottery is a legacy of our ancestors and because we are from the Sangging family, we need to learn this skill as a provision for life ..." (interview with, Ni Made Netri, May 9, 2018).

The interview excerpt above implies that the learning process through information obtained from stories and information is used as a belief and knowledge that is born from the understanding process of traditional Balinese pottery craftsmen, in analyzing the surrounding environment which is supported by their cognitive abilities. The concept of behavior applied by pottery craftsmen refers to behavior in understanding the surrounding environment and processing it into adaptive information according to the goals they expect (developed from Spink, 2007: 257).

The learning process that is carried out through cultural transmission related to the activity of making pottery crafts through the process of imitation, identification, and practice without them knowing it has formed patterns of behavior and ways of thinking that remain in the next generation of pottery craftsmen. The process of learning through values, norms, and rules that must be obeyed. Emphasis on internalized values and norms produces a socio-cultural and a sense of play (feel for the game) which creates various movements and is adapted to the games that are often performed. In this case, what is meant by the game is a learning process related to pottery making which is done by the older generation to the younger generation. Fashri, (2014: 15) in Bourdieu language, this is a habitus as a result of internalization of the social world structure or internalized social structure.

The pattern of continuing the traditional culture related to the activity of making pottery crafts is carried out by craftsmen by: First, the continuation of the habitus through learning carried out in the family through socialization between parent and child. Second, inheritance is done by telling the tradition that is owned repeatedly between generations, so that indirectly it has formed knowledge in each individual. Third, through training for generations in the form of action, seeing, imitating, and practicing. Fourth, by finding information among the craftsmen so as to form a collective habitus as a strengthening of knowledge. Fifth, the making of pottery

handicrafts through formal education because education can increase knowledge and indirectly affect the ownership of individual capital (craftsmen) in the realm.

In the Bourdieu language, learning carried out by craftsmen is the application of the habitus as a historical product that is formed after humans are born and interacts with society in a certain time and space. Habitus is not innate naturally, but is the result of learning through nurturing and socializing in society. The learning process is very subtle and unconsciously appears as natural (developed from Harker, 2009: xix).

The Formation of Capital for Traditional Balinese Pottery Craftsmen

The definition of capital according to Bourdieu, has a difference in terms of its definition and form with capital which is commonly known in economic terms. General capital is contained in the terms market and economy and can drive the pace of the economy further developed, in the form of material in the form of money or goods. In contrast to the notion of capital in Bourdieu's point of view, capital in this point of view refers to the behavior or something that is owned by humans which originates from within (Harker, 2009: 25).

Bourdieu's definition of capital is very broad and includes all goods, both material and symbolic. These capitals can be classified into four groups, namely: (1) Economic capital, including the means of production (machinery, land, labor), and ownership of income in the form of objects, (2) Cultural capital (information capital, competence, skills, education), (3) Social capital refers to social networks owned by individuals and groups in relation to other individuals who have power, and (4) Symbolic capital, which includes all prestige, status, authority, and legitimacy (Bourdieu, 2015: 162) .

The four capitals mentioned above are of course very supportive of the cultural production activities of pottery making in Pejaten Village. The four assets owned by the craftsmen are a supporting dimension in the management of the pottery making. The cultural capital possessed in the form of knowledge and understanding in working activities becomes supporting capital for the steady existence of making pottery handicraft objects maximally and capital must exist in a realm. So that the realm can have powers that give meaning. The relationship between habitus, realm and capital is directly linked and aims at carrying out social practices. The characteristics of capital are associated with the habitus scheme as a guideline for action and classification and the domain in which capital operates. Meanwhile,

the realm is always surrounded by objective power relations based on the types of capital combined with habitus.

The traditional Balinese pottery craftsmen in Pejaten Village have various collections of capital. The variations in the availability of their capital are influenced by differences in life trajectories that last from birth to adulthood. The difference in the collection of capital indicates a success or failure in choosing the capital accumulation strategy they choose in developing habitus in the realm of their struggle. The capital ownership of the Pejaten Village craftsmen based on field observations and in accordance with the distribution of types of capital mentioned by Bourdieu, is very compatible with the craftsmen's social space in Pejaten Village and has an effect on their survival in producing traditional Balinese pottery crafts, namely:

Cultural Capital for Pottery Crafters in Pejaten Village

Cultural capital in Bourdieu's sense is related to the overall mastery of various knowledge that can be produced through formal education and family inheritance. The ability to present oneself in public, ownership of high value cultural objects, knowledge, and certain skills resulting from formal education, certificates that include a bachelor's degree (Bourdieu, 2015: 101). In connection with the definition of cultural capital, the ownership of skills in making various pottery objects is a representation of the intellectual abilities of craftsmen with regard to aspects of logic, ethics and aesthetics. The cultural capital possessed by the Pejaten Village craftsmen is based on legitimized knowledge, that the skills and skills possessed by the craftsmen are the ability to make pottery handicrafts which are obtained from generation to generation through the learning process carried out in the family since childhood.

The ownership of cultural capital of the traditional pottery craftsmen of Pejaten Village, is not only in the form of skills and knowledge, but ownership of cultural capital is also the nature of the craftsmen (individuals) such as: courtesy, always being open to guests who come, how to talk, and always keeping promises in thing of completing his craft orders. They do this not only to fellow craftsmen, but to consumers who come to their workshops. This is a cultural capital which is the innate character of each individual to attract consumers to come and order handicrafts, so that a good relationship is created between craftsmen, craftsmen

and consumers. This intertwining is one of the factors and influences the sustainability of the traditional pottery business in Pejaten Village.

Economic Capital of Traditional Pottery Crafters

Economic capital is a resource that becomes a means of production and a means of finance. Economic capital is a type of capital that is easily converted into other forms of capital. This economic capital includes the means of production (machines, land, labor), material (income and things), and money. All types of capital are easy to use for all purposes and are passed on from generation to generation (Harker, 2009: 16).

From observations and interviews in the field, it was found that the economic capital ownership of craftsmen was not the same. This is influenced by their ability to raise capital and also the ownership of capital they get from family inheritance. The strategies for collecting economic capital for the craftsmen are very diverse, namely: borrowing capital from the owner of the capital, making loans to relatives, some developing businesses with their savings capital. For craftsmen who have economic capital from family inheritance, they look more advanced in developing their business fields. The ownership of economic capital affects the running of traditional pottery craftsmen in Pejaten Village. Craftsmen who have economic capital in the form of inheritance easily manage the production of pottery in their social sphere

Social Capital of Traditional Pottery Crafters

The notion of social capital in Bourdeu's generative theory refers to the social networks they have (individuals or groups) in relation to other parties who have power and symbolic capital. Symbolic capital includes all forms of prestige, status, authority and legitimacy they get in the arena of cultural production in the social sphere (Fashri, 2007: 98-100). In Bourdieu's language, social capital is relationships and networks. These relationships are a useful resource in determining the reproduction of social positions (Haryatmoko, 2003: 12).

In the cultural context of making pottery handicraft objects in Pejaten Village, from the results of observations and interviews with informants in terms of building social networks with other individuals, the craftsmen build a network. This network is not only with fellow craftsmen, but also builds social relationships with consumers, business people who have capital, borrowers and government officials. The goal is to build strong relationships and get them a position in running their craft business. To be able to have a strong network among

the crafters to build an emotional bond to those who feel strengthens their position. The ability to build relationships in forming networks is not shared by all craftsmen. Of course, this is influenced by the ownership of cultural capital through cognitive abilities, reasoning power, episteme, and the length of individual trajectories (craftsmen) in their social domain. Craftsmen who have this ability have indirectly formed symbolic capital and made it symbolic power, so that the strategies adopted by craftsmen who have symbolic capital usually maintain ownership of their various capital, inheritance to future generations, thus indirectly regulating the course of production and controlling realm of social struggle.

Symbolic Capital of Traditional Pottery Crafters

Haryatmoko (2003: 11-12) states that symbolic capital refers to the degree of accumulated prestige, fame, consecration or honor, and is built on a dialectic of knowledge (*connaissance*) and recognition (*reconnaissance*). Symbolic capital is inseparable from symbolic power, which is power that makes it possible to obtain an equivalent of what is obtained through physical and economic power due to the special effects of mobilization.

The symbolic capital possessed by each individual (craftsman) traditional Balinese pottery clearly has nothing in common. Owned symbolic capital is not symbolic power. The symbolic asset that pottery artisans have is everything they use and use. Symbolic capital is usually inseparable from symbolic power. The symbolic capital of pottery craftsmen in Pejaten Village is seen from the level of education and goods they have. In this regard, the cultural production arena for making pottery crafts in Pejaten Village is formed from an arena structure, and in it there are positions of individuals (craftsmen) who make cultural products. They meet in the arena and compete in practices that result in cultural production. Traditional Balinese pottery craftsmen are individuals who are controlled by the habitus and are supported by the capital and strategies used, so that they can compete in the arena of cultural production. The higher the craftsmen's capital ownership in the realm, the wider their ability to win the battlefield, so that indirectly those who have this ability can easily control the course of production and master other craftsmen.

The symbolic capital ownership of the pottery craftsmen in Pejaten Village, from the results of the research, found that one of the elder traditional figures (senior craftsmen) had control over various capital and had obtained his position in the community. The control of various capitals is obtained from his inheritance and his ability to convert the assets he owns.

Thus, those who have symbolic capital are craftsmen who are able to convert the ownership of capital obtained from the results of their business. The ability to convert their capitals can be seen from the ownership of various objects, such as movable and immovable property, ownership of cultural objects, and their ability to send their future generations to higher education. This has an indirect effect on certificate ownership, network expansion, and social position placement in society. Ownership of capital as a result of the ability to convert the capitals they get for those who have capital from family inheritance is easier to have a position in the social sphere, because the capitals they get are already there and it only remains to convert into other forms of capital.

The four capitals mentioned by Bourdieu are of course very supportive of pottery-making production activities in Pejaten Village. The four capitals support the management of pottery making. The cultural capital that is owned in the form of knowledge and understanding in working activities becomes supporting capital for the sustained sustainability of making pottery to its full potential. Capital must exist in a realm so that it has powers that give meaning. The relationship between habitus, realm and capital is directly linked and aims to explain social practice. The characteristics of capital are associated with the habitus scheme as a guide for action and classification and the domain in which capital operates. And the realm is always surrounded by objective power relations based on the type of capital combined with habitus.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of research as well as discussion and analysis with the theory used, the following conclusions can be drawn: First, the production of traditional pottery making by craftsmen in Pejaten Village, indirectly its existence is maintained and steady due to the existence of a developing and formed habitus in society from generation to generation between generations. The habitus of pottery craftsmen in Pejaten Village was passed down through socialization between families by training the generations from an early age. Second, there is a belief among traditional pottery craftsmen in Pejaten Village, especially those of Sangging descent that they remain diligent and obedient to work in the Sangging field.

The beliefs that they have also influence the survival of this traditional pottery. Third, the results of the informal learning process have formed a habitus to become pottery craftsmen and become cultural capital and skills related to the activity of making handicraft

objects made from clay. Their cultural capital can be converted into economic capital. This capital conversion is possible because pottery objects have become commodities and there has been a development of capital, and fourth, control of capital in the realm of pottery artisans in Pejaten Village who has control over various capital easily controls the capital of other craftsmen, thus affecting the sustainability of the production of this craft. in the sense that craftsmen who are low in control of capital will continue to have dependence on the owner of symbolic power and position in the social sphere. This has an effect on the sustainability and survival of traditional pottery handicrafts in present-day Pejaten Village.

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