

HABITUS AND CAPITAL CONCEPTS IN THE ARENA OF POTTERY PRODUCTION AT PEJATEN VILLAGE

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ABSTRACT

Pejaten is one of the villages located in Tabanan regency, Bali. Historically, Pejaten village has been known as the center, the largest, and most complete pottery craft industry in Bali. The existence of Pejaten village as pottery manufacturer is not only known by the Balinese people, but it is also popular overseas. The potential of this pottery business has become the main source of local economy and their expertise in making those handicraft objects has been passed down through generations. This is an interesting phenomenon to study since, in this globalization era, the potters are still able to survive economically despite the fact that they still use traditional equipments. Meanwhile, in other regions, many similar industries have fallen. This study aims to examine how traditional potters in Pejaten village survive from the progress of times, how their strategies are carried out, and what benefits they get in keeping both their business and culture alive are. The theoretical approach used in this study is Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and capital theory. The results of this study indicate that the potters' habitus obtained through doing the inherited culture between generations indirectly influences the formation of their cultural capital. The possession of cultural capital in the form of knowledge in manufacturing pottery objects influences their mindset, and that making pottery is a sub-obligation that they must do as an effort to preserve the culture inherited from ancestral traditions.

Keywords: Habitus, Capital, and Pottery

INTRODUCTION

Pottery is a form of culture possessed by human in their socio-cultural system. The social and cultural life of traditional societies are closely related to various activities such as rituals and traditions/ cultures. Pottery production in Pejaten village has a close bond to the community members and their traditional life. In traditional societies, socio-cultural activities are carried out together in groups. It is worth noting that the making of handicraft items is not only a traditional art which has been inherited from previous generations, but it is also an understanding of the existence of pottery in the cultural life of a society.

The cultural life of the pottery makers, or potters, in Pejaten village has historically been known as an industrial center. The time when the pottery production, or pottery production, was started in Pejaten village is still unknown. This is because the culture of pottery production that they do is inherited from many generations in the past. However, the progress of pottery crafting began to show since 1980s, the same year when Pejaten village society began to recognize technology in the making of their potteries.

In the early production of potteries in the Pejaten village, as what the informant said, the villagers made these handicrafts for functional objects to be used for their daily needs such as a container. At that time, the community tried to make household furniture such as jugs, *paso*, *anglo*, and others. The process of manufacturing potteries was done using traditional techniques called *pengelilidadan* (or binding). Besides working on objects for household furniture, they also made objects for religious rituals. The existence of Pejaten village is quite unique, as this village is not like any other villages in Bali. The uniqueness of Pejaten village is because it does not have paddy fields to work on, and there are only empty fields with a clay texture. Since Pejaten village does not even have any paddy fields, the *Subak* and *Pura Ulun Suwi* system cannot be implemented (an interview with Mr. Kuturan on May 13, 2018).

With such condition, the people who live in the village must work outside their area as odd laborers to fulfill their daily needs. However, thanks to the skilled hands of the villagers, there are those who try to utilize the land in their environment to be processed into handicrafts, including potteries. Therefore, they are able to create objects in the form of potteries, which was originally manufactured to meet the needs for containers. However, as the time goes by, the making of potteries is increasing and widely known by the public. The development of potteries made from clay is finally visible and it gets the attention from the government of Bali province and they provided assistance in the form of press printing equipment for producing roof tiles. With the introduction of such equipment, the people who used to work on potteries were starting to work on mass-produced roof tiles.

The pottery makers have switched their tradition to create mass-produced objects (such as roof tiles) because the prospects for the development and sale of roof tiles are more profitable as seen from the results and production speed. The development of potteries in Pejaten village did not stop there as it was estimated by the local community in 1983, that a French guest came to the village and taught the villagers how to make fine ceramic objects (or stoneware ceramics). As a result of learning, a modern ceramic business was established in Pejaten village (interview conducted with *Perebekel* from Pejaten village, July 17, 2018).

With the advanced development of ceramics production in Pejaten village, the existence of pottery, a work of art with aesthetic values, has also become a cultural identity as well as an economic source for the villagers. The phenomenon of the development of potteries is inseparable from the problems that occur in the field such as the increasing of modern products that have better materials and more attractive designs. This problem is mainly faced by those (the potters) who still survive in the making of pottery in spite of using various traditional tools. Some of those who preserve this pottery tradition do not want to switch to making mass-produced products like the others. As a result, it raises a fundamental question on how the cultural mechanism was carried out by those who preserve the tradition, so that they still exist to continue making potteries in the sector of tradition until now.

Based on that fundamental question, the problem of the study is aimed at examining how traditional pottery makers in Pejaten village still survive in the midst of the times, what strategies are implemented by makers in order to survive, and what the benefits of preserving the culture of pottery production in the Pejaten village are.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Habitus is the "mental or cognitive structure" with which people communicate the social world (Ritzer, 2012: 581). In relation to the social world, an individual is inseparable from interaction and social space. To qualify socially, individuals must have capital to fulfill their interactions and social spaces with others. Capital, according to Bourdieu, consists of economic, social, cultural, symbolic capital. For example, those who are public intellectuals must have a good habitus in reading books, in order to get good cultural capital (knowledge and discussion). By having a book habitus and cultural capital, an intellectual person can compete and survive in the academic arena. The arena is a kind of competitive market in which various types of capital (economic, cultural, social, symbolic) are used and utilized (Ritzer, 2012: 583). Thus, it can be said that the arena of traditional pottery production and the social practices in that arena of the same industry in Pejaten village consisted of several individuals and it becomes a picture of the different habitus and capital of the local community.

In addition, habitus is also defined as a mental or cognitive structure that is used by actors to deal with social life. Habitus is imagined as an internalized and realized social structure. The example of habitus is something we often do like eating using our right hand, which everybody learns from his childhood or from the people around him and it is carried over into adulthood. It is similar to what happened in the arena of pottery tradition, the villagers have been accustomed to seeing, studying, practicing, or working on making pottery since they were children and finally it has become a habit until adulthood. Making pottery is an obligation that must be done, and it becomes a habit because it has been internalized in every potter. Therefore, it can be said that habitus is a social structure that is internalized and it becomes a habit that continues to be realized.

Habitus existing at certain times is a creation of a collective life that lasts for a relatively long historical period. Habitus produces and is produced by social life. It is the action that leads to habitus and social life. According to Bourdieu, habitus merely "proposes" what people should think and what they should choose to do otherwise (Ritzer, 2003: 523-524).

Pierre Bourdieu also defines habitus as being related to the conditions for the existence of a class. He believes that disposition systems are time-resistant and can be inherited, the formed structures, which will then function as structures that form and create habitus. Thus, habitus is the result of a skill that becomes a practical action (not always realized) which is then translated into an ability that is naturally related and develops in a particular social environment. Habitus produces different lifestyles and life practices which are derived from the experience of individuals in their interaction.

The second principle, based on his description above, the definition of habitus proposed by Bourdieu can be formulated as a source of actions, thoughts, and representations. These include several principles, including habitus as cognitive and affective dimensions that are manifested in the disposition system (Harker, 2009: 13).

Habitus can also be said as a dialectical process of "structured structures and structuring structures." Therefore, on the one hand, habitus plays a role in creating social life. On the other hand, habitus is also shaped by social life (Ritzer, 1996: 405).

In the third principle, it can be said that habitus is seen as a product of history. Bourdieu argues, "The habitus, the product of history, produces individual and collective practices, and hence history, in accordance with the schemes engendered by history" (Ritzer, 1996: 405). Thus, habitus is the result of learning and socialization from either individuals or groups, and sometimes it is also influenced by the past.

In the fourth principle, habitus works under the level of awareness and language, beyond the reach of introspective observations or control by the wishes of the actor. Most people who still strongly maintain customary values (including the traditional pottery makers) will always accept a tradition as a given, ancestral messages that is as always true and need not to be debated anymore. Habitus also provides strategies for individuals to cope with various situations that are constantly changing, through past experiences, so habitus functions as a matrix of perception, appreciation, and action. In conclusion, it can be said that an action is not always influenced by awareness and obedience to the rules, but habitus also gives direction (as encouragement as well as dissuasion) for individuals to act. Thus, habitus gives freedom for actors to improvise, be free, and be autonomous.

Finally, habitus allows the construction of social actors' theories of production and the logic of action where habitus is a factor which explains the functioning logic of society. In this perspective, socialization becomes a form of integrating class habitus. Apart from the concept of habitus, the continuation of Bourdieu's thought is about capital. The capital enables individuals to get opportunities in their lives. There are several kinds of capitals, such as cultural capital (knowledge), economic capital (money), social capital (network), and symbolic capital. Capital can be obtained if a certain individual has the right habitus in his life (Wattimena, Reza AA. 2012).

Capital

Capital is usually associated with the economic concepts. However, through the concept of Pierre Bourdieu's thought, the understanding of capital is apart from economic concepts like Marxian's. According to him, a capital is the scope of an individual's ability to control the future of oneself and others. Within the capital, there is a scope of differentiation on the basis of capital ownership and the composition of capital. Thus, this approach has a relationship with the so-called an arena (or a sector) which later it is a force in which there is an effort to struggle for resources (capital). On the one hand, habitus is the basis for the formation of the arena (sector). On the other hand, the arena (sector) becomes the locus for the performance of habitus.

As quoted Haryatmoko (2003: 11), capital is accumulated through investment. It can be given to others through inheritance, and capital can provide benefits in accordance with the opportunities owned to operate its placement. According to Haryatmoko, the actors occupy their respective positions determined by two dimensions: firstly, it is based on the amount of

capital owned, and secondly, it is based on the weigh of the capital's overall composition. The ownership of capital by individuals in an arena will affect the position or placement of actors in an arena to win their social struggle.

From the explanation above, the capital in the concept of Pierre Bourdieu can be classified into four groups: a), economic capital includes various production equipment in the form of machinery, land, labor ownership, money that can easily be passed on from generations, b), cultural capital includes all intellectual qualifications produced through formal or informal education in the family, c), social capital is the whole that refers to the ownership of social networks (individuals or groups) in relation to other parties, and d) symbolic capital includes all forms of prestige, status, authority and legitimacy (Fashri, 2007: 98).

From the above opinions, it can be explained that society in social aspect always consists of various assets in an arena (sector) of social struggle. Thus, capital must always be in an arena (sector) so that the it has powers that give meanings. In addition, between habitus, arenas, and capital can always be linked directly and aimed at explaining social practices.

Pottery Tradition

Pottery is a tradition and a handicraft sector in the Pejaten village. Pottery includes objects made from clay that are burned at a certain temperature. Generally, it is cut from its combustion temperature, and pottery includes soft combustion or often called earthenware ceramic with temperatures below 1,050 Celsius (Yumarta 1982: 11; Astuti 1994).

The development of traditional pottery production in Pejaten village is the result of human activities and is a cultural heritage from their ancestors whose functions follow the development of times. It began from the making of objects created by humans for practical purposes in everyday's life. The products which were produced vary from very simple forms of household appliances, to very complicated objects and shapes with symbolic values and meanings depending on the spiritual functions.

Pottery products were created as a human effort to overcome the difficulties in their life, especially related to the demand of containers that had a practical function to store certain things. (Sumijati Atmosudiro, 1994: 302).

For that reason, the art of pottery production in Pejaten village still persists until now with its traditionalism and it becomes one of the skills for locals. Pottery production develops due to the influence coming from outside the village, so it has economic value as well as a source of income for local residents. Pottery production in Pejaten village is believed to have developed naturally because of the direct and honest expression of the works of skilled potters. The continuation of the pottery's existence in the cultural production arena in Pejaten village is inseparable from the habitus and the capital owned by the local society.

RESEARCH METHODS

In accordance with the problems regarding this study, methodologically, it uses a qualitative approach. More specifically, the operational approach of this research uses an enographic approach. The main objective in this study is to analyze how the influence of habitus on the formation of various capital for the potters in the Pejaten village, which influences the perseverance and existence of pottery production, in the social arena (sector). The location of this research is in Pejaten village, Tabanan regency, Bali. Data collection techniques used in this study were observation, in-depth interviews, individual experience data, and documentation. This is based on the assumption that most of the activities in the realization of pottery products from this tradition are based more on the potters' skills inherited by past generations, so that the activity and existence of pottery production are indirectly influenced by the habitus owned by the potters from a process of intergenerational learning. The influence of habitus owned by these potters has shaped cultural capital (knowledge) of everything related to the pottery production and potters. From the cultural capital they have, it will be then converted into other forms of capital. Therefore, the sustainability of pottery production activities in Pejaten village is inseparable from its habitus, capital, and arena (sector).

THE RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH AND DISCUSSIONS

Habitus and Capital: A strategy for the existence of traditional potters

As what has been explained in the introduction, Pejaten village is not an agrarian village like other villages in Bali. The existence of that condition has forced the locals to be able to survive and adapt to their environment. Responding to such natural conditions, some creative villagers try to process the plastic clay into handicraft objects known as a pottery. From a long period of time, historically, pottery production in Pejaten village has been going on for a long time as a cultural tradition which has been passed down from generations. During the process, knowledge in the form of skills, values, and beliefs related to pottery production are transmitted through an intergenerational educational process.

In Bourdieu's language, the actions of the citizens in Pejaten village as potters and their ability deal with such social environmental situations indicate that they have treated their habitus as a developed mental or cognitive structure, as an activator, and an action to do something. Habitus is imagined as an internalized social structure that is realized. In this case, habitus becomes a source of action, thought, and representation (Kleden, 2005: 361-375).

The civilizing process carried out was in action or an effort to inherit information, in the form of learning from the senior potters (the parents or elders) to the next generation (children or teenagers), as an effort to pass down technical knowledge on how to produce pottery. This process is through cultural transmission. Tilar (1999: 54) stated that cultural transmission is considered as an attempt to convey a number of knowledge or experience to be used as a guide in continuing the cultural relay.

Based on the observation, the transmission process carried out by potters in Pejaten village is the imitation, identification, and socialization activities. Imitation is imitating the behavior of the surrounding environment. First, of course, imitations are made by potters in their family environment, in this case they follow all actions or behavior and obey the teaching given by older generations, the action in question is related to making pottery. This can happen because there is an awareness of the older generation (parents) to inherit their skills and knowledge as a provision for the next generation to be able to live independently.

Indirectly, the actions carried out repeatedly by older potters result on the formation of habitus for future generations. Then, they they accept the learning throughout their life journey. In Bourdieu's habitus, the potter is a product of history, a habitus created at certain times throughout the course of history. "Habitus is a historical product that produces individual and collective practices, which are in line with the schemes described by history." (Bourdieu, 1977: 82 ; Ritzer and Goodman, 2010: 581).

In this case, the traditional potters in Bali have been practicing for a long time and they have become a system or device of disposition that lasts long and is obtained through repeated trainings. That is the process of forming behavior that was originally a children's habit to help their parents process clay to be made into handicrafts, and it has unwittingly formed their habitus. Even now, they still work in the same field.

The process of shaping the behavior of the potters in Bali is formed from the history of each individual in the form of habits during childhood and it has been internalized in them in informal training activities in which there are rules, norms, and values that must be obeyed. Because of the obedience of these potters, what once had been a rule became a habit that had been internalized. Thus, it can be said that habitus is a social structure that is internalized so that it now becomes a habit that continues to be realized.

The social life practices of potters in Pejaten village come from their habitus and they are represented by the embodiment of pottery products, and their skill has successfully shaped the potters' habitus. Those kinds of potters are people who have the ability to create and develop creative ideas and, at the same time, able to realize their works. Habitus is not owned by everyone because it requires a long journey and skills.

The habits and actions carried out by traditional potters in Pejaten village have formed their capital in the form of knowledge and skills in processing clay to be made into various interesting and aesthetic handicraft objects. The four capitals mentioned above are the concepts of Bourdieu Pierre's thoughts. This is certainly very supportive in the continuity of the pottery production in Pejaten village. All of the capitals owned by the potters certainly become a

supporting dimension in the management of pottery production. With the cultural capital owned by the potters, the pottery production has a supporting capital for its optimal and "steady" existence.

The traditional potters in Pejaten village have a varied collection of capitals. The variation in their capital's existence is influenced by differences in life trajectories that last from birth to adulthood. The difference in the collection of capital also shows either a success or a failure in choosing the capital accumulation strategies during the struggle in developing habitus. The most influential collection of capital owned by traditional potters in Bali is cultural capital because it is what makes them survive until now.

By having the ownership of cultural capital in the form of knowledge related to pottery production, it makes them have cognitive power. Besides, using their creative abilities, they can develop in the social space to 'win' on the arena. The practices are carried out not only to preserve culture, but also to increase their capital, which in turn is related to raising class and position in society.

From those facts, it can be pointed out that the inheritance of cultural capital (knowledge) in pottery production and the potters community in the Pejaten village is actually a long journey, which the actions taken by senior potters have indirectly shaped their habitus. Informal education carried out between families has functioned as a cultural mechanism in the effort to maintain and learn, as well as to continue or preserve the cultural heritage of pottery production until now. That knowledge has formed successive generations who are discipline, diligent, creative, and responsible. The efforts in learning the cultural transmission of traditional pottery production make the individuals become obedient, useful, and productive. Thus, the results of the learning process have formed a generation that has independence and they can compete in the social arena in their culture of pottery production in Pejaten village.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the results of the research and discussion above, it can be concluded that existence and persistence of the pottery production and its tradition in Pejaten village are closely related to the cultural awareness of the elderly pottery makers who inherit the knowledge through a learning process and it is carried out informally. The learning process is through the intergenerational cultural transmission, with a process of imitation in the form of young pottery makers assisting their parents in making pottery after school. The activities carried out repeatedly throughout the course of their life history have indirectly formed their structure of habitus and it has been internalized in them.

Knowledge, in the form of skills in producing pottery, become a cultural capital for individuals (potters). With the ownership of this cultural capital, they can survive in the arena of traditional pottery. Therefore, the structure of habitus which is owned by potters has formed the cultural capital for the supporters of this traditional craft. With the ownership of cultural capital, the potters create other forms of capital, so they can occupy a position in their arena of social struggle. This is as evidence that the process functions effectively as a cultural mechanism in order to maintain the continuity and existence of the art of pottery production in Pejaten Village.

Based on the results of the research, it is suggested that the parties involved and those interested in maintaining traditional culture can adopt the strategy implemented by the potters in Pejaten Village by applying their expertise and skills through intergenerational inheritance. This can be implemented by fostering pottery production centers in their respective regions, so that the cultural heritage from the ancestral traditions can be maintained and preserved.

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