



# Habitus and Capital: Strategy for Surviving Traditional Pottery Craftsmen Pejaten Village in Bali



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## Abstract

This research aims to analyze the reasons and their practices persist in producing traditional pottery. It was used the paradigm of thinking critically by implementing Genealogy methodology as an effort to search for the relations of knowledge and power hidden behind their decisions, persist in the pottery craft tradition. This was analyzed using the generative structural theory of Pierre Bourdieu and the power-knowledge relation of Michel Foucault. The results of the study show that the survival of traditional pottery craftsmen in the Pejaten Village because they have internalized habitus that has been passed down from generation to generation and becomes a cultural capital in the form of knowledge, in making pottery objects. They can convert this cultural capital into other forms of capital. Their survival practices are also influenced by traditional figures (senior craftsmen) through the discourse making traditional pottery should not be abandoned as an effort to preserve ancestral cultural heritage. The practice of survival of the crafters not only preserves traditional culture but there is hidden knowledge behind the practice.

## Keywords

capital;  
craftsmen;  
habitus;  
sustainability;  
traditional pottery;

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## 1 Introduction

The cultural life in Pejaten Village community has historically been known as the center of the pottery industry in Bali. Making pottery objects is not yet known with certainty, the local community began working to make pottery. This is because the culture of pottery making has been passed down from generation to generation. However, the development of earthenware vessels showed its progress since the 1980s. This is due to that year, the people had already applied technology in making their crafts. They get help from the Bali provincial government in the form of press printing equipment to produce pottery objects such as tile products and brick press.

The technology entry in the midst of the increasingly sluggish demand for pottery objects leads to the crafters who originally worked in the realm of pottery tradition. Some choose the path of producing modern ceramics (high burnt), on the other hand, many are turning to the tile industry (modern pottery). In the midst of these choices, there is still a group of artisans who persevere in the realm of traditional earthenware crafts. Their survival is a form of obedience to ancestral messages that are passed down through generations through speech or intergenerational stories, that '*sangging* descendants must continue to work in the *sangging* field'. The utterances, have been internalized in each individual (crafters) and become a truth, and they must do it as a sense of responsibility towards the commands of their predecessors as an effort to preserve traditional culture. *Soroh/klen sangging* mentioned by [Tjidera \(1984\)](#), that people who are experts in sculpting, painting, drawing, making statues or sacred statues. In this case, people who specialize in special skills include Balinese art, mysticism, literature, Hindu religious teachings and *perundagian science* (Balinese architecture). *Sangging's* position in the Balinese people has a high social status, because they are chosen people who have special expertise and not just anyone can have it.

The beliefs on traditional craftsmen of *soroh/klen sangging* captured by traditional figures (senior craftsmen) who have various capital in their social domains become hidden knowledge as power. As it is mentioned by [Haryatmoko \(2016\)](#), that the mastering and development of individual capital and habitus by Bourdieu is mentioned, occurs in one domain. The realm, in this case, refers to the community environment including all its activities. The development of capitalism in the realm then creates a conception of practice, as a form of unification space between agents and structures. Social practices or practices are the results of the unification of habitus as well as capital and realm, having seen from the existence of the community in maintaining traditions related to pottery-making activities. So that pottery becomes the dominant employment sector.

The development of craft activities gets support from the local community. Support in the form of the earthenware items uses in their daily lives. On the support of the local community, the activities of Balinese traditional pottery artisans continue to the day ([Ariputra & Sudiana, 2019](#)). In this case, the craft products create not only make practical objects but, the designs have been developed towards the design of products that are tailored to market needs. This has become an arena of cultural production in the realm of making handicrafts made from clay. Cultural production carried out by the community is an active process that confirms its existence in social life. In this context, in general, the livelihoods which are cultivated are quite diverse but, most of them live as pottery artisans. More details about the society's livelihoods in Pejaten Village can be seen in the following Table 1.

Table 1  
The main societies livelihoods of Pejaten Village

No	Type of work	Male	Female
1	Farmers	27 people	17 people
2	Farmworkers	35 people	20 people
3	Migrant workers	-	2 people
4	Civil servants	142 people	155 people

5	Home industry crafters	1.015 people	1.015 people
6	Breeder	7 people	-
7	Private midwife	-	5 people
8	TNI	9 people	-
9	POLRI	16 people	-
10	Retired PNS/TNI/POLRI	72 people	3 people
11	Small and medium businesses	582 people	433 people
12	Alternative medicine services	3 people	-
13	Private lecturer	5 people	-
14	Architecture	7 people	-
15	Employees of private companies	235 people	250 people

Source: Pejaten Village Profile, 2017

Table 1 shows the livelihoods of the people in Pejaten Village, who mostly work as pottery craftsmen. This is related to the environment which does not have paddy fields to work on. Evidence of the absence of paddy fields is the unfamiliar *subak system* (a social organization that handles the irrigation system in Bali), and also the absence of Ulun Swi Temple (a place of worship worshipping Goddess Sri). Unlike conditions, forcing people who live in the realm, take advantage of the existing natural potential by processing materials in the form of plastic soil (clay) in their yards into various handicrafts. Initially, pottery items were made for personal use, but over time the objects created by the community began to become commodities.

Atmosudiro (1994), stated pottery was created as one of the human efforts to overcome the difficulties in his life, especially related to the demands for a container that had a practical function, as a place to store various food ingredients. Couteau (2003), stated that driven a need with the skills of human hands to create forms of craft on an ongoing basis that causes the craft, become thick and direct in their lives. Therefore, the presence of arts and crafts cannot be separated from the needs of everyday human life. In Bourdieu, the actions in Pejaten Village community as craftsmen able to deal with such social-environmental situations. They have treated their habitus as a mental or cognitive structure developed as an activator and act to do something. Habitus is imagined as a social structure that is internalized and realized. In this case, habitus becomes a source of action, thought, and representation (Kleden, 2005).

The development of the pottery handicrafts is not only limited to meeting practical needs but has become a commodity-related to the ownership of the capital of the craftsmen and has the opportunity to open new jobs. In this case, the ownership of various capital from each individual (craftsman) is not the same. Although, they have habitus and live in the same social space. This is influenced by cognitive factors, reasoning power, episteme, and the experience of each individual. The difference has given rise to the class structure of the craft social space. Those who have a variety of capital easily manage the course of production in the realm, while those who are in the lower classes, the only way to survive is obedient and useful to the owner of a cypress who has the power of various capital (Pattiasina *et al.*, 2019; Putri & Rahyuda, 2020).

The difference in class structure in the craft social space is influenced by the low cultural capital ownership of the craftsmen. On average they only have an elementary school education. This impact on ownership is other capital. This phenomenon captured as hidden knowledge by traditional figures who have symbolic power. It is an effort to strengthen their power. This is done through the discourse of '*pengajegan*' (preservation) of ancestral heritage so that it does not become extinct. The craftsmen are trained and after being skilled. They are utilized as labor in the workshop. What was discussed by these figures, get a positive response from the artisans of traditional pottery? This is because as long as they survive making pottery handicrafts. Their traditions have been able to improve their lives, especially in fulfilling the family's economy. Thus, all discourses developed by traditional figures have been considered as a truth by the craftsmen of Balinese traditional pottery.

The action taken by the traditional figure is not something wrong. The action is indeed true as an effort to preserve traditional culture. However, on the other hand, there is hidden knowledge as a practice in winning the battlefield. In Foucault's language, power is everywhere, however, it is not owned by anyone. Because it is a tactic, strategy, and maneuver technique that can be used by anyone, anywhere, including in the realm of the struggle for traditional Balinese pottery as a truth. Truth is something in the world produced by many forms

of coercive relations or disagreements about, the prohibition of working on crafts that involve modern technology (developed from Foucault's thought in [Haryatmoko, 2002](#)).

Coupled thoughts of traditional Balinese pottery artisans to the truth as a place for power to take place and also a place for knowledge to be formed. Discourse is produced by the phenomenon that is developing in their environment. It is increasingly possible for those who have the power to form new discourses. With the discourse that is always exhaled. This matter will indirectly limit the views of Balinese traditional pottery artisans and lead to the way of their respective minds, that continuing traditional activities as an obedient attitude, in maintaining the heritage of tradition so that it remains 'steady' (sustainable), which is inherited hereditary between generations as a truth. The activity of producing pottery is not difficult to do because they have habitus and grow in the same social environment. This has made the culture of making traditional pottery in Pejaten Village still ongoing.

## 2 Materials and Methods

This study was designed as a cultural studies research (cultural studies). [Chris \(2005\)](#), cultural studies is an interdisciplinary field of study that studies the production and planting of maps of meaning, concentrating on power issues in the practice of interpreting life formations and human. Referring to Chris's ideas, this research focuses on efforts to understand and explain the ideas, thoughts, and truths behind the actions and behaviors displayed by the parties involved in the survival of Balinese traditional pottery. For this reason, the strongest theoretical roots in this study are to use the generative structural theory of Pierre Bourdieu and the power-knowledge relation of Michel Foucault. The choice of approach will ultimately influence the methodology used. Following Foucault's line of thought, the approach used in this study uses a poststructuralist approach with genealogical methodology, which aims to determine the relation of the power of knowledge in the realm of earthenware vessels in Pejaten Village. As for Bourdieu's theory, this research was carried out by looking at the results of a cross between habitus, capital, and the realm that had implications for the position of the craftsmen in the arena of social struggle at the present time.

## 3 Results and Discussions

### 3.1 *Habitus as a practice of continuing cultural traditions*

The pottery-making tradition carried out by artisans as a life skill, which they have passed down through generations through a process of learning between families. The skill mastery activity in the social space of pottery has taken place during the history of their lives. Their expertise is supported by the existing natural environment with an abundance of material in the clay form.

In the context of this study, the practice of continuing cultural traditions in the making of earthenware vessels is included in social practices such as, stated by Bourdieu in [\(Fashri, 2014\)](#), mentioned, social practice is everything that is observed, experienced, and exists outside of the self of social actors (interior). The dialectical dynamic motion is the expression of everything that has been internalized becomes part of the social actor. The making of the pottery which has been a tradition has formed the habitus to become a pottery maker as the only expertise and work they do, as revealed in the interview as follows:

'... the skill of making pottery, we got from our parents. They trained us since we were young in making various forms of earthenware items ... ', (interviewed with Pan Sri, 03 May 2019).

Excerpts of the interview give an illustration that the practice of making pottery has been taught by parents to children. In this case, the practice is interpreted as an attitude that is manifested in an action. The existence of supporting factors in the form, environmental conditions and available facilities affect the practice of the craftsmen, make them knowledgeable. The results of this knowledge make them 'know'. Learning in the form of training from their parents makes them have the skills, expertise, and has been embedded in themselves into a self-identity that they must maintain. In this defense instilled beliefs spoken for generations, that the

descendants of Sangging must continue to work in the Sangging field. Because with them working in the Sangging field they are sure, there will be no shortage in material form. The discourse is revealed in the interview as follows:

‘..... making pottery is a work of ancestral heritage because I am a descendant of Sangging, and a message from the ancestors that, we must continue to work in fields related to sangging activities. Thus, we will undoubtedly not be lacking in the material form ...’ (interviewed with Ni Nyoman Sutri, 08 May 2018).

In Foucault’s language, the basis of the philosophy of belief, a belief is considered to be a truth by the craftsmen of Balinese traditional pottery who are descendants of Sangging. They are seen to have contributed to the formation of individual and collective knowledge, that is the structure of the meaning of an era formed from a set of various regular knowledge about many things, among others, about the world, science, and philosophy that are specific to a group of people (Foucault, 1997). While in the Bourdieu language, the basic philosophy of belief owned by the Sangging is very instrumental in the formation of habitus. The concept of habitus becomes a social value or norm that is lived by humans and is created through a process of socialization of values that lasts a long time. Finally, it settles into ways of thinking and behavior patterns that persist in humans.

In this case, the habitus of Balinese traditional pottery artisans in the form of productive expertise it has as a driving structure to take action in social life practices is carried out without realizing it. Habitus is a potter of pottery crafters of Bali that has structured itself. In this case, their habitus as perception and response to the surrounding environment by means of culture in making pottery through the learning process. In context, the making of objects of traditional Balinese pottery is done by pottery artisans in Pejaten Village. In the process of acquiring skills, structures that are formed in the form of expertise in making pottery turn into forming structures, that is, in the form of training practices through long-lasting learning. Thus, habitus refers to a set of dispositions that are created and formulated through a combination of objective structures and personal history relating to what is received by each individual. In the sense, that habitus is a shared experience. That is shared by individuals as a subject even though each individual has a uniqueness which then becomes a characteristic of the habitus itself (Fashri, 2007).

Continuing habitus in the social craft space in the form of skill in making pottery is done by senior craftsmen through socialization with informal learning in the family. The inheritance socialization was shown by the craftsmen in the form of productive ability in the activity of making pottery. These skills are not abilities that are innate (ascribe). However, the ability of productive skills that must be learned through a learning process. The ability of productive skills possessed by pottery producers is generally learned from their childhood from their parents. Parents in teaching skills always accompany their children, so that the process of socialization is felt like an arena of play by their children. Indirectly this form cultural capital in the form of knowledge in individual self. The training activities appear in Figure 1.



Figure 1. Inheritance of intergenerational habitus

In the Bourdieu language, the learning carried out by the craftsman is the application of habitus as a historical product that is formed after humans are born and interacts with society in a certain space and time. Habitus is

not natural or innate but is the result of learning through nurturing and socializing in society. The learning process is very smooth, unconscious, and appears as a natural thing (developed from [Harker et al., 2009](#)).

In the context of this study, it can be concluded that the formation of habitus owned by the artisan's pottery is *first*, habitus obtained from repeated training and is a system that lasts long. *Second*, habitus owned by artisans is a structure that has been formed by previous social conditions, so that habitus can be stated to be born from certain social conditions in which it is reproduced (structured structures). *Third*, habitus is a structured disposition that functions as a framework that gives shape to one's perception, representation, and actions, so that habitus is also a structuring structure. *Fourth*, the crafter's habitus is transposable, meaning that even though habitus is born from certain social conditions. Habitus can be transferred to other social conditions. *Fifth*, habitus owned by artisans is an act of spontaneity and unwanted conscious but the birth of the habitus, emerged from the underlying historical background so that habitus can also be stated to be preconscious. *Sixth*, habitus owned by the craftsman is not a submission of certain regulations. However, habitus is regular and patterned. The habitus ownership of pottery craftsmen indirectly influences the ownership of various capital in the social space in the form of knowledge that they make into cultural capital and can be converted into other forms of capital.

### 3.2 Ownership of various capital as sustainability

Understanding capital according to Bourdieu has differences in terms of understanding and form with capital commonly known in economic terms. The capital which is commonly known in terms of markets and economics is something that can drive the pace of the economy which is further developed in the form, 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 possessed by humans whose origins are from within themselves ([Harker et al., 2009](#)).

Understanding capital according to [Bourdieu \(2011\)](#), stated this capital can be classified into four groups, namely: (1) Economic capital, including means of production (machinery, land, labor) and ownership of income in the form of objects, (2) Capital culture (information capital, competence, skills, education), (3) Social capital refers to the social network owned by individuals and groups in relation to other individuals who have power, and (4) symbolic capital, covering all prestige, status, authority, and legitimacy. The four capitals mentioned, Bourdieu is certainly very supportive of the cultural production activities of pottery making in Pejaten Village. These four capitals are supporting the management of the making of earthenware vessels. Its cultural capital in the form of its knowledge and understanding of the work activities. It becomes a supporting capital for its 'steady' sustainability (preserving), making pottery objects optimally. Thus, capital must be in a domain so that the domain has powers that give meaning. Habitual relations, domains, and capital are linked directly and aim at explaining social practices. The characteristics of capital are related to the habitus scheme as a guide for actions and classification and the domain of the operation of capital. Meanwhile, the realm is always surrounded by the objective power relations, based on the types of capital combined with habitus.

In connection with the notion of cultural capital, ownership of skills in making various earthenware objects is a representation of the intellectual craftsmen's abilities related to aspects of logic, ethics, or aesthetics. Cultural capital owned the village craftsman, based on the knowledge that has been legitimized by the community in general as a form of such actions. They carry out practices that are carried out not only to preserve culture. Another thing is to increase the capital used to raise the class. It is done by training their generation to be obedient people who produce ethos in the form of tenacious, hard-working, disciplined, and diligent as a provision for independent living. The survival craftsmen in making Balinese traditional pottery with the development of cultural capital ownership was carried out by the traditional leader. The action was taken by the figure, by training their relatives to make pottery objects of tradition. Their actions in developing the cultural capital that they actually possess are part of the constellation in the form of structures in the development of ideas in the form of actions in a personal system. Includes the motivation and goals of a person who remains steadfast in the realm of making Balinese traditional pottery.

They did because of ownership of cultural capital in the knowledge form and experience in the field of earthenware vessels, that they knew pottery objects were still in demand, pottery was made a commodity for them. Thus, to develop their ideas, they utilize the workforce of craftsmen who have expertise but, low in

ownership of economic capital and social capital. The ability of this traditional character, in reading opportunities is influenced by cognitive abilities, reasoning power, and life experiences. By utilizing the power of these craftsmen, they have been able to win the realm of struggle in the social space of handicraft, by expanding their craft business and being able to absorb labor from their environment.

Thus, in fact, the traditional figure has developed his knowledge into power in the sense that he has symbolic power in the realm of his craft. People who are in the influence of symbolic power do not feel that they are controlled. This is because the symbolic power is done subtly and looks natural, that is, with training and learning. So, people who already have the ability to become workers, and in return for the activities they do this traditional figure, give rewards in the form of wages. This, of course for them (crafters) is an appreciation and gratitude for the work they do, and can be used as an addition to the family's economic income. In Bourdieu's language, it is stated that actors have capital from which, the practice can be made possible. Capital is a set of sources of power and it can really be used. In this case, the term capital is used to map power and power relations in society (Bourdieu, 2011).

The accumulation of ownership of economic capital in the social space in Pejaten Village pottery was obtained through various sources. The ease in converting economic capital into other forms of capital is easier for those who have symbolic power to own their capital, so that, those who are in this realm are quicker to convert their capital. The capital ownership of artisans is influenced by history, habitus, and the capital they carry. With this, differences in the ownership of capital in the craft social space. There have been class domination that affects the dependence on the 'power-holder' capital giver, so that, both the capitalists from individuals or institutions, have established a relationship of attraction. Their positions are determined by the size of the ownership of capital in the arena. The ownership of habitus and economic capital is the trigger for the survival of the craftsmen in making Balinese traditional pottery in Pejaten Village.

#### 4 Conclusion

Based on the discussion on habitus and capital: as a strategy of survival of artisans in Pejaten Village producing traditional pottery can be drawn the conclusion, that their resilience in the realm of making pottery traditions is inseparable from the habitus passed down through generations between generations, through cultural transmission with the learning process informal between families. Continuation of the habitus carried out by senior craftsmen and traditional figures who have legitimacy in their social environment by developing a discourse that the offspring of *sangging* must continue to work in the *sangging* field. Thus, it means that there are beliefs that cause them to remain in the realm of traditional crafts. The craftsmen also have a habitus that has been internalized in themselves as cultural capital in the knowledge form and skills. The mastery of this knowledge was developed by them in cultural activities as pottery artisans. This, which is influential in the development of pottery objects in the current tradition is created as a commodity object. In a sense, earthenware objects have been converted into the form of economic capital which can then be converted again into other capital forms. The practice makes them have various positions of capital in the arena of social struggle. This happens in line with what was stated by Bourdieu that the actor has capital from which practice can be made possible.

In this case, those who succeed in the social space of craft are individuals who have personally trained to become individuals who have consistent principles in life, especially, those related to ethos, values, social norms that have been internalized in them. This makes them have the ability to capture phenomena that are developing in their social space. With their experience, reasoning power, and cognitive ability and through the mastery of knowledge, they managed to position themselves as a person who was trusted and had symbolic power in his social domain. This indirectly affects the continuity of the traditional pottery handicraft at Pejaten Village to present.

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