

Division of Labor between Men and Women in the Perspective of Pierre Bourdieu

Muhammad Arif Mustaqim

Universitas Islam Negeri Kiai Haji Achmad Siddiq Jember

mustaqimiainjbr@gmail.com

Abstract

The division of tasks between husband and wife could be more balanced. Wives who work in the public sector still have a double burden with household chores that are still assigned to them. This article aims to describe how the division of labor between men and women in Curah Leduk Hamlet and how the structured process of helping husbands work in the coffee plantations by women in Curah Leduk Hamlet is a fulfillment of their daily family needs from the perspective of Pierre Bourdieu. Research on the structured process of helping husbands to work in coffee plantations for women in Curah Leduk Hamlet as a fulfillment of their daily family needs uses a naturalistic interpretive paradigm. Therefore, the research approach uses qualitative methods with this type of field research. The results of this study show that women in Curah Leduk Hamlet, in practice, still do domestic work but also help men work in the public sector. In view Pierre Bourdieu, this is because the socialization of the rural environment, such as the obligation of women to obey their husbands, the duties of being in the domestic space or taking care of the household and caring for children, are still carried out by women even when they become a wife. That is what forms this tradition to date.

Keywords: *Women, Workspace, Habitus.*

Introduction

The roles of men and women after marriage are different from their roles before marriage. When entering married life, men and women have new roles, a consequence of marriage. According to Marriage Law Number 1 of 1974 Article 1, marriage is a physical and

spiritual bond between a man and a woman as husband and wife to form a happy and eternal family based on Belief in One Almighty God. Thus, apart from the new role of men as husbands and women as wives, they also have unique roles, namely as fathers and mothers when having a child.



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Muhammad Arif Mustaqim

In general, a husband acts as the head of the family whose main task is to earn a living to meet the needs of clothing, food, and shelter. The husband also acts as a wife's partner, a loyal friend who is fun and always there in times of joy and sorrow. Apart from being a good partner for the wife, the husband can also help relieve the wife's duties, such as helping to raise children, wash clothes, and do other household tasks.

The division of labor between husband and wife is sometimes still influenced by society's point of view in general; that is, household duties are the wife's responsibility, and tasks outside the home are the husband's responsibility. This perspective tends to position women to always play a role in the domestic area. Or in other words, a woman's job is to take care of household affairs, starting from taking care of children, washing, sweeping, mopping, cooking, and all other household chores.

But along with the times, a woman's role is not confined to household chores; women are seen as having the same position and function as a man. The equal work and role of women and men are commonly referred to as the concept of gender equality. Where women are seen as no longer focusing on the domestic sphere but have entered the public sphere,

they can also access various aspects of life, which are also their rights, such as education and employment.¹

As seen in traditional Javanese culture, the power of a wife in traditional Javanese society is limited to domestic matters. At the same time, the husband has to work to earn a living. But in today's modern life, in married life, a husband and wife must respect each other and share roles and not let one party dominate or obey their will and want to win alone. Husband and wife must cooperate in making decisions in the family.²

A husband and wife relationship is a relationship of mutualism or, in other words, a mutually beneficial one. When entering married life indirectly, there is a binding relationship between husband and wife. One of them is the aspect of meeting the needs of family life. Fulfilling the demands of family life is seen as the husband's main task as the head of the family. However, nowadays, many wives contribute or exchange roles with their husbands to meet the family's needs.

For example, in the Curah Leduk hamlet of Banyuwangi Village, Kalibaru, in this hamlet, many wives work in the garden to help their husbands. Every morning, they accompany their husbands by riding motorbikes to the coffee plantations under the

¹ Huzaemah Tahido Yanggo, *Fikih Perempuan Kontemporer* (Bogor: Ghalia Indonesia, 2010).

² Daldiyono Hardjodisastro, Hardjodisastro Wistodiyono, and Ferdinandus Untoro Ardi, *Ilmu*

Slamet: Merangkai Mutiara Filsafat Jawa Di Era Modernisasi Dan Globalisasi (Jakarta: PT Bhuna Ilmu Populer, 2010).

mountain's slopes. This routine is carried out every day, and they only return when it is before midday. The wife's working in the garden helping her husband is familiar to the people of Curah Leduk Hamlet, Banyuanyar Village, but this has been around for a long time and continues to exist today. The wife's habit of helping her husband with gardening has become a habit, giving rise to the word "*not good*" if you don't do it. For the wives in Curah Leduk Hamlet, Banyuanyar Village, helping their husbands work in the garden has become a habit that has been done for a long time, so that habit has been imitated or followed to this day.

In line with what Bourdieu said about habitus, a disposition system that lasts a long time and can be applied in various fields and arenas of social life.³ Habitus is also understood as structured structures (structures that organize different systems). They always include a person's objective social conditions in their repeated application, containing past experiences whose influence is readily displayed in the present. In addition, habitus is defined as a mental or cognitive structure used by actors to deal with social life. For example, the habit of eating with the right hand, which a person learns from childhood from the people around him, carries into

adulthood because he has internalized this habit in himself. So when he doesn't do it, he will be uncomfortable.

The habit of gardening wives does not mean forgetting their role as a housewife, which is a mandatory task for them. The dual roles played by wives in Curah Leduk Hamlet, Banyuanyar Village illustrate that the part of a wife working in the domestic sphere can also work outside the home or the public. The wife's work practice outside the house with coffee gardening helps her husband become something exciting to study. Because the division of labor within the family of the people of Curah Leduk Hamlet, Banyuanyar Village, is slightly different from the division of labor stated in Marriage Law Number 1 of 1974 Article 31 Paragraph (3), which limits the role of the wife. This law explicitly states that the husband is the head of the family and the wife is the housewife, the husband is obliged to protect his wife, and the wife is obliged to manage the household as well as possible. When examined, there is a gender bias in this law which positions wives (women) to play a role in the domestic sector.

There are several studies regarding the division of labor between men and women. Nila Kusuma (2021) describes the division of labor between men and women in fishing

³ Alfathri Adlin, *Resistensi Gaya Hidup* (Jakarta: Jalasutra, 2006).

households, where women take more roles as fish traders, groceries traders, pindang workers, babysitters, housemaids, and so on. The fishermen's wives did this to help the household economy. In addition, the system of division of labor still shows that women dominate in the domestic sphere, such as meeting food needs. In contrast, the public domain is dominated by men as the primary breadwinners.⁴

The same concept is also shown in research conducted by Salma Rizkya Kinasih and Indri Wulandari (2021) regarding the gender-based division of labor in Agroforestry Management in the Upper Citarum Watershed. This study found that the division of labor within agroforestry households is negotiable. Men and women have the opportunity to work together in the system. However, the introduction of gender-blind agroforestry turns women into low-paid labor. Women become subordinate and alienated by the system. In addition, women have different access and control over technology, information, and markets. These problems occur because gender intersects with factors such as culture and religion, demography, economy, formal law, social class, and politics.⁵

⁴ Nila Kusuma, "Pembagian Kerja Antara Suami Dan Istri Dalam Rumah Tangga Nelayan (Studi Di Kampung Nelayan Pondok Perasi Kelurahan Bintaro)," *RESIPROKAL: Jurnal Riset Sosiologi Progresif Aktual* 3, no. 1 (July 2, 2021): 45–57, <https://doi.org/10.29303/resiprokal.v3i1.61>.

Other research by Eko Setiawan (2017) regarding the social construction of the division of labor and wages for farm laborers shows that in the development of agriculture, the role of women tends to be less meaningful, and there is gender inequality. This matter causes the role of women to be less than optimal and seen in agricultural development. The role of women tends to be only in simple work, while the role of men in agriculture is more prominent, especially in the production process. Gender inequality is still influenced by the social, cultural, and social environment considering the role of women as second only to men. Problem Patriarchy This is one of the causes of the division of labor between men and women. It was the prevailing patriarchal system in a society where the power of men who dominated, subordinated, and discriminated against women for their body, sexuality, work, role, and status in the family and society greatly corner the existence of women. This matter also applies in agriculture, where women are given "feminine" jobs that require thoroughness, patience, and not too hard. The notion that women are weak is very detrimental because this light share of work, of course, will impact the low wages received by women workers.⁶

⁵ Salma Rizkya Kinasih and Indri Wulandari, "Pembagian Kerja Berdasarkan Gender Dalam Pengelolaan Agroforestri Di Hulu DAS Citarum," *Umbara* 6, no. 1 (July 31, 2021): 29, <https://doi.org/10.24198/umbara.v6i1.33414>.

⁶ Eko Setiawan, "KONSTRUKSI SOSIAL PEMBAGIAN KERJA DAN

Husband and wife gender relations occur in married life. Gender roles are needed to maintain family balance in carrying out family functions towards realizing family goals. Husband and wife agree to share parts and daily tasks, be responsible for their respective roles and duties and maintain mutual commitments.⁷ The role of the wife in Curah Leduk Hamlet, Banyuanyar Village, is comprehensive. They do not only take care of the household's domestic areas, mattresses, wells, and kitchen. However, they contribute to meeting the family's economic needs by working in the coffee plantations to help their husbands.

However, the division of husband and wife tasks, in general, is felt to be less balanced. Wives in the public sector still have a double burden with domestic work still on them. So that in the pattern of division of tasks, there must be flexibility to exchange roles or share tasks for completing household chores or domestic roles as well as earn a living. Suppose dividing tasks and carrying out family obligations by carrying out functions can be balanced and by mutual agreement. In that case, a harmonious marriage life will be

created, indicating successful marriage adjustments.⁸

The pattern of gender relations between husband and wife in the division of tasks or work that is balanced is illustrated by what is found in the community of Curah Leduk Hamlet, Banyuanyar Village. A husband still acts as a breadwinner to meet economic needs, and a wife works as an employee who helps the husband to fulfill the family's economy. However, the wife continues to carry out household duties which are her responsibility.

Thus, this paper aims to describe how the concept of division of labor between men and women in the Curah Leduk Hamlet Banyuanyar Village and how the process of the structured tradition of helping husbands work in coffee plantations for women in Curah Leduk Hamlet, Banyuanyar Village as the fulfillment of their family's daily needs.

Method

Research on the structured process of helping husbands work in coffee plantations for women in Curah Leduk Hamlet, Banyuanyar Village, Kalibaru District, Banyuwangi Regency as a fulfillment of the

PENGUPAHAN BURUH TANI," *Yinyang: Jurnal Studi Islam Gender Dan Anak* 12, no. 1 (June 23, 2017): 19–34, <https://ejournal.uinsaizu.ac.id/index.php/yinyang/article/view/1130>.

⁷ Herien Puspitawati, "Analisis Structural Equation Modeling Tentang Relasi Gender, Tingkat

Stres, Dan Kualitas Perkawinan Pada Program Keluarga Penerima Keluarga Harapan (PKH)," *Yinyang: Jurnal Studi Islam, Gender Dan Anak* 5, no. 2 (2010).

⁸ Sri Lestari, "Konsep Dan Transmisi Nilai-Nilai Jujur, Rukun, Dan Hormat" (Universitas Gajah Mada Yogyakarta, 2013).

daily needs of their families uses a naturalistic interpretive paradigm; therefore, the research approach uses qualitative methods with this type of *field research*. The reason for using qualitative methods, aside from the focus of the study, is the meaning of an action or what is behind an individual's actions, also because qualitative methods provide opportunities for in-depth investigations and to examine phenomena holistically. The phenomenon under study is an inseparable unit because the actions that occur in society are not caused by one or two factors but involve many interrelated factors.⁹

The data collection technique used in this study uses three methods: (1) *Observation*, namely observing and directly recording the daily activities of the people of Curah Leduk Hamlet. In this case, the researcher conducted participant observation by now participating in the activities of the Curah Leduk Hamlet community (2) *Interview deep (in-depth interview)* against the informants. The informants referred to here is the general public focusing on three families in Curah Leduk Hamlet, community leaders, and religious leaders. (3) *Documentation*, namely the collection of data related to object research, both in the form of photos of the activities of the Curah Leduk

Hamlet community and books and journals related to the research in question.

Discussion

The Concept of Division of Labor between Men and Women in The Curah Leduk Hamlet Banyuwang Village

The word relation comes from the absorption of the English language '*relation*,' which means relationship, affinity, and relationship. While using the term '*relation*' or '*relation*' means '*relationship*,' which is usually associated with kinship or the interaction of beings with one another (relationships of social beings). Therefore, if the word relation is used in the context of the relationship between men and women as husband and wife, it will mean social relations in society and the family. By quoting Rusdi Ma'ruf, husband and wife carry out social interactions in creating a harmonious and balanced family, helping each other, and exercising their rights and obligations consciously following their respective roles.¹⁰ The ideal relationship between husband and wife in married life is based on a principle: *ma'syarah bil al a'rif* (good husband and wife association).¹¹

⁹ Lexy J. Moleong, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya, 2017), 26.

¹⁰ Ahmad Arif Syarif, "Relasi Gender Suami Istri: Studi Pandangan Tokoh Aisyiyah" (UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2016).

¹¹ Mufidah Ch, *Psikologi Keluarga Islam Berwawasan Gender* (Malang: UIN Malang Press, 2008).

In creating an ideal relationship between husband and wife in married life, the husband and wife should build a positive, harmonious interaction with a peaceful mood which is also reflected in the balance of rights and obligations to each other. This is, of course, to achieve the goal of marriage, namely to create a harmonious household life *Sakinah mawaddah wa rahmah*. The spirit of a household, in line with the According to Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage contained in Article 1, "Marriage is a physical and spiritual bond between a man and a woman as husband and wife with the aim of forming a happy and eternal family based on Godhead the Almighty."

A happy and permanent marriage in Islam is called a family *sakinah mawaddah wa rahmah*, and nothing will work without trust and understanding. One is understanding that every human has potential/strengths and weaknesses. This deficiency in a person should be accepted wholeheartedly by every partner, both husband and wife, in household life because God would not have created someone without goodness in them. Weaknesses possessed by each other must be responded to proportionally to empower them in various aspects of life, one of which is the aspect of work. When their partner is in a weak condition or in a situation that requires help,

they must complement each other, cover their deficiencies, and help each other.

The people of Curah Leduk Hamlet agree that marriage is a sacred agreement between a man and a woman to form a happy family by joining two large families. This definition clarifies the notion that marriage is a contract. As an agreement, it implies the existence of free will between two parties who promise each other, based on the principle of like and like. So, he is far from anything that can be interpreted as coercion. Therefore, both the man and the woman who want to tie the knot in marriage have complete freedom to state whether they are willing to marry.

The substance contained in the shari'a of marriage is obeying Allah's commands and the sunnah of His Messenger, namely, creating a household life that benefits both the perpetrators of the marriage, offspring, relatives, and the community. Therefore, marriage is not only related to internal needs but also has external links involving many parties. As a firm bond (*mitsaqan ghalidzan*), marriage is required to produce a complex benefit, not just a mere distribution of biological needs. This definition is further emphasized by KHI Article 2 that "marriage according to Islamic law is a marriage, namely a solid contract or *mitsaqan ghalidzan* to obey Allah's commands and carry them out is worship".

The marriage contract in Islam is not for a particular time but forever. Both husband and wife must work together to maintain a calm and peaceful household, as a beautiful garden where virtuous generations grow, the successors of their parents. Because the relationship between husband and wife is very holy and honorable, and its high value follows the high value of the human being himself.¹² As said in the Java *adage* "*garwa*," a wife means his *sigarane nyowo* or a soul mate. This shows how close the relationship between husband and wife is, like a soul, where one half belongs to the husband, and the other half belongs to the wife. In building a happy and prosperous family, a woman who has been labeled "wife" first "*ngopeni*" husband, is to serve all the husband's needs with full attention.

The women of Curah Leduk Hamlet believe that a wife should not only have an attitude of obedience, obedience, and loyalty but must also submit and accept whatever her husband says. Even though sometimes the husband doesn't say or order, as long as it's for the good of the husband, the wife will do it. In forming a *sakinah* family, there are at least five aspects, namely protecting religion, souls, survival, property, and mind.

Marriage has several functions, including; (1) biological function, related to the sexual desire to produce offspring as the

next generation of the family, (2) educational function, as the first madrasah for children, and parents must provide proper education, (3) religious function, introducing and teaches related to religious issues which are the pillars of life, (4) economic function, cooperating in meeting the needs of life, (5) socio-cultural function, parents must introduce their family members to matters related to prevailing values in the local community, (6) the function of status, with a marriage, the status of people will be clear and there will be no gossip behind to avoid slander, (7) the function of recreation, the family is a place to relieve fatigue because a happy family will always be able to soothe the hearts and days of every member of his family.¹³

As the head of the family, the husband is obliged to earn a living for his family. The husband generally does public work, whether as a teacher, employee, farmer, laborer, or something else. However, at present, work in the public sphere has also been mainly carried out by a wife or even changing roles, the husband works in the domestic sphere taking care of the household, and the wife works to earn a living to meet the needs of her family.

The arena is defined as something dynamic where the realm is an autonomous force, and the struggle for positions takes place within it. This struggle is seen as

¹² Aminudin, *Fiqh Munakahat* (Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 1999).

¹³ Hendi Suhendi and Ramdani Wahyu, *Pengantar Studi Sosiologi Keluarga* (Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2001).

transforming or maintaining the realm of power. Ranks are determined by capital distribution to actors in that field. When a place has been achieved, they can interact with the habitus to produce different attitudes and affect the economy, such as taking a class in that arena. Talking about the arena, there is also a social space that should be seen at a higher level of abstraction as a realm of power. The idea of social space cannot be imposed a priori. Still, it must be understood from empirical observations, its exact style, and the configuration of its forces obtained from the available evidence.¹⁴

In social life, almost everyone is bound by a network of obligations and family rights to do a role. The role is a function or behavior that is expected to exist in sexual individuals, as an activity according to its purpose can be divided into two: *First*, public role, namely activities carried out outside the home to bring in income, this role is usually carried out by the husband. *Second*, the wife generally carries out the domestic role, namely, activities carried out in the house and usually not intended to generate income.¹⁵

Most of the people of Curah Leduk Hamlet, Banyuanyar Village, work as farmers in the rice fields and the mountainside

gardens. Looking at the village area in the *enclave* area, surrounded by coffee plantations that cover an area of 3,057,192 ha, it is undeniable that the community prefers to work as farmers because it brings high-profit prospects. Coffee plantations originally in the hands of the government, in this case, Perhutani, have now turned into people's rights since 2002, namely during the government of Gus Dur, who decided that natural wealth was intended for the people to be managed.

Coffee gardening for the people of Curah Leduk Hamlet, Banyuanyar Village, is intended for husbands as breadwinners and involves wives who work in the plantations. Of the three families that were the focus of this study, it was revealed that many wives cultivate coffee with their husbands. Apart from that, from what is seen in the daily lives of local residents, many pairs of husband and wife pass by on motorbikes from noon to evening. They ride in tandem with the position of the wife, who sits at the back over the vegetables or fruits from the harvest. This shows that the daily life of the wives in Curah Leduk Hamlet, Banyuanyar Village, apart from working at home, also works in the garden.

¹⁴ Hotman M. Siahaan et al., *Anatomi Dan Perkembangan Teori Sosial* (Malang: Aditya Media Publishing, 2010).

¹⁵ Suratman, *Kamus Lengkap Psikologi* (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 2000).

From the three expressions that can be captured above, it can be seen that the three wives continue to carry out household chores as wives in general. After they do their homework, then they go to the garden. Every morning after the morning prayer, the wives are busy with various kinds of work, from preparing breakfast and provisions to taking their children to school, especially when their children are still in elementary school, washing, mopping, and all other household chores routines. By seven o'clock in the morning, they had just left for gardening with their husbands. It's different with husbands who rarely do household chores, or in other words, and they are more likely to do work outside the home (public).

The dual role of being a housewife and a farmer for the three wives is nothing new anymore; two wives had been gardening long before they married. When they were young, both of them gardened to help their parents. Wives work in the garden at their will, not under coercion, obligation, or orders from their husbands or other family members. But based on their own volition, they have been doing this for a long time, causing discomfort when not working in the garden.

A habit is acquired due to long-term internalization in a position in the social world.

So habitus varies depending on one's place in the social world, so only some have the same habitus.¹⁶ However, the holders of the same position in the social world tend to have the same habit. As the wives work to help their husbands in gardening, they have done it simultaneously for a long time, and it causes discomfort if it is not carried out, which has become a habit that sticks with them.

The purpose of working in the public domain is to earn an income. Because Banyuanyar Village has forestry land and paddy fields that are pretty extensive, this sector dominates the payment of the population the most. Most of the income for each head of the family in Banyuanyar Village comes from the plantation sector, given the area of plantations that can be managed is around 2,873,876. Meanwhile, rice fields are not that big, and the location of rice fields is only about 137.6 ha.

The coffee harvest only occurs once a year, so they plant other crops between the coffee plants to cover their daily needs. The plants in question are pumpkin, banana, cassava, chili, and other plants that have a sale value. Making the best use of the land by planting different crops that have a sale value on the remaining land, commonly referred to by residents as *jek mergemman tangan*.¹⁷

¹⁶ George Ritzer, *Teori Sosiologi: Dari Teori Sosiologi Klasik Sampai Perkembangan Terakhir Postmodern* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2014).

¹⁷ Merupakan ungkapan dalam Bahasa Madura yang memiliki makna atau arti jangan mengepalkan

tangan. Dalam konteks aktifitas kerja yang dilakukan oleh masyarakat Dusun Curah Leduk Desa Banyuanyar memiliki makna keterbukaan menanam segala macam tumbuhan selama masih ada lahan yang produktif untuk ditanami.

Both the wife and husband only work as farmers in the public domain, so their income automatically comes only from plantations and rice fields. It is supposed to meet the family's needs for the community in general, and it is the husband's responsibility. In that case, it will slightly differ from the wives in Curah Leduk Hamlet, Banyuanyar Village, who also work to earn a living. They contribute to the fulfillment of needs by working in the garden. From the description of the three families that are the focus of this research, it can be drawn that to meet the needs of the family, it is still the husband who seems to dominate. Still, when viewed from the daily work activities of the three families, it can be seen that the share of work for both husband and wife in the garden has the same portion. Like the husband, wives also sometimes hoe, fertilize, and so on. However, behind it all, an opinion emerged from husbands that the contribution of a wife by working in coffee plantations does not affect the fulfillment of life's needs.

The division of labor that only places the wife in the domestic sphere makes the space for women to move less, but this phenomenon becomes something they are unaware of. Women feel that everything has become a woman's nature if she only works in the domestic sphere, and this has become a habit that has continued for a long time, even

today. In this way, the construct of thinking that occurs in the community of Curah Leduk Hamlet, Banyuanyar Village, especially women, is that such a division of labor is not a problem if it continues. Seeing the division of labor between husband and wife by placing women in the domestic sphere and men in the public sphere shows that this has become an ingrained habit in the people of Dusun Curah Leduk, Banyuanyar Village.

The Tradition of Working Women: Forms of Practice Through Habitus and Arena (Pierre Bourdieu)

Phenomenological and Marxist schools heavily influence Bourdieu's thinking. However, Bourdieu's thought is disconnected from the two primary schools of view because he sees that society (community) is formed through its objective and subjective structures. He sees that the subject and the outside world, as well as agency and structure, are not two things that can be separated, meaning that the issue and the outside world and agency and structure cannot be radically dichotomized. More than that, both are two aspects that are interconnected with each other in a complex process to produce social practices in society.

The objective structure is a trace of Marxism's influence, which is the basis of Bourdieu's break with phenomenology. In contrast, the subjective structure is a trace of phenomenology which is the basis of

Bourdieu's break with Marxism. The break with Marxism was caused by the view of this school that emphasized too much the economic factor as a structure that shapes humans and ignored human subjectivity as an agent. Meanwhile, the break with phenomenology is caused by the view of this school which tends to place humans as the subject that determines their consciousness and ignores the influence of social reality that appears as an objective structure. Bourdieu sees that a view that considers the concrete structure and subjective structure as a binary opposition will not be able to explain the ins and outs of society.¹⁸ Thus, to explain how structure and agent are something that influences each other and are not trapped in a linear relationship, Bourdieu uses two core concepts in his thinking, namely *habitus* and *arena*.

Bourdieu uses *habitus* and *arena* to understand how individuals or communities choose and act in their social world. Thus, these actions are the product of the relationship between the *habitus* they have and the *arena* they enter. In Bourdieu's concept, this action is called *practice*. Then how the individual can maintain his *habitus* in that *arena* is determined by the resources owned by the individual. Bourdieu calls it *modal*. So briefly, Bourdieu states a generative formula

that explains social practice with the equation: $(\text{Habitus} \times \text{Capital}) + \text{Arena} = \text{Practice}$.¹⁹

The concepts put forward by Bourdieu can be used to approach the structured process of helping husbands work in coffee plantations for women in Curah Leduk Hamlet, Banyuanyar Village, Kalibaru District, Banyuwangi Regency as the fulfillment of their family's daily needs. Therefore, it is necessary to explain in more detail these concepts to explain how the tradition of helping husbands to work came about.

Habitus is mentioned as a mental or cognitive structure used by actors to deal with social life. Actors are equipped with internalized schemes or patterns to perceive, understand, realize, and evaluate the social world. It is through these patterns that actors produce their actions and also judges them. Dialectically, *habitus* is a product of the internalization of the structure of the social world. We can imagine the *habitus* as a social structure that is internalized and then manifested. *Habitus* reflects objective divisions in class structures such as according to age, gender, group, and social class. *Habitus* is obtained due to the length of the position occupied in social life. So habits will vary, depending on the form of one's place in social life; not everyone has the same patterns, and people who occupy the same position in social

¹⁸ Richard K Harker et al., (*Habitus x Modal*) + *Ranah = Praktik, Pengantar Paling Komprehensif Kepada Pemikiran Bordieu* (Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 1990).

¹⁹ Harker et al.

life tend to have the same habits. In this sense, habitus can also be a collective phenomenon. Habitus allows people to understand the social world, but having a habitus means that social life and its structure cannot be imposed uniformly on all actors.²⁰

The cognitive structure possessed by these actors is obtained through their life journey. This means that the cognitive system is a historical product internalized by the actor and reused in his current social environment. Actors act according to the schemes in the cognitive structure formed through historical processes to perceive, understand, appreciate, and evaluate social reality. Radically, habitus (habit) can be translated as a cultural identity that belongs to an individual or community in the environment. This identity arises when the individual or community becomes a domain member, meaning they occupy a specific position in the background. In this case, women who live in a rural (environment) will have a habitus (identity) as a village woman. If the woman gets married and builds a family (environment), then she has a habit as a wife.

A village woman equipped with a cognitive mental structure has a series of schemes or patterns that they use to understand and evaluate their social world. Their scheme or pattern is the result of

internalizing the rural environment in which they live. The village forms the cognitive mental structure of a village woman by internalizing the social order that prevails within her, so that village women have a series of schemes or patterns that direct them to form their own cultural identity. The cognitive mental structure of a village woman also enables them to understand and evaluate (identify) the social order internalized by the rural environment. So that when they get married and become a wife, their cognitive structure as a village woman begins to reveal a scheme or pattern for understanding and to assess the social order in that environment. Furthermore, from this process of assessing and knowledge, they will determine what actions to take to adjust themselves as a wife living in rural area. The cognitive structure can be translated as a structure of consciousness representing a village woman's identity, formed through internalizing the values in the rural environment. The life journey of a village woman begins her cognitive structure, which she then re-forms when dealing with social reality, especially when they marry and become a wife while still living in a rural environment.

The second concept concerns the arena; in Bourdieu's idea, the social arena is seen as

²⁰ George Ritzer and Douglas J. Goodman, *Teori Sosial Modern* (Jakarta: Prenada Media, 2004).

the arena of power. This is because there is a demand to see this arena as something dynamic, an arena where various potentials exist.²¹ Therefore, the arena is an arena of power that is partially autonomous. It is also an arena where the struggle for positions takes place; this struggle is seen as transforming or maintaining the arena of power.²²

The arena is a network of relations between objective positions in a social order that exists separately from individual consciousness. The arena is not an intersubjective bond between individuals but a kind of relationship that is structured and unconsciously regulates the position of individuals and groups in society that is formed spontaneously. In their habitus, humans can live their daily lives spontaneously and have relationships with parties outside themselves. In the process of interaction with outsiders, an arena is formed, a relational network of objective positions. The arena is a metaphor used by Bourdieu to describe the condition of a structured and dynamic society with the forces it contains.²³

In addition, the arena also fills the social space. The term social space refers to the whole conception of the social world. This concept analogizes social reality to an area, and its understanding uses a typological approach.

In this case, social space can be conceptualized as something consisting of various arenas that have relationships with one another and a number of points of contact. Personal social space is associated through time with a series of arenas in which people compete for various forms of capital. In this social space, individuals with their habits relate to other individuals with different social realities that produce actions according to the arena and capital they have.²⁴ The village is a social space in which some arenas spontaneously regulate individual activities with their respective habits within them. When interacting with other people, a village woman with her cultural identity will have a specific arena that determines her position and actions in a rural environment.

Furthermore, capital here can be translated as resources owned by individuals. The individual uses these resources to fight for his position in an environment where some domains govern his actions. Bourdieu states that four types of capital are usually owned by individuals, namely economic capital, cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital.²⁵ A village woman who later becomes a wife is equipped with cultural and social capital to get her position and be accepted as part of that

²¹ Harker et al., (*Habitus x Modal*) + *Ranah* = *Praktik, Pengantar Paling Komprehensif Kepada Pemikiran Bordieu*.

²² Harker et al.

²³ Harker et al.

²⁴ Harker et al.

²⁵ Ritzer and Goodman, *Teori Sosial Modern*.

environment. Capital ownership comes with her identity as a village woman and wife.

The debate between habitus, the amount of capital owned, and the realm it enters produces a social practice or action. Social practices carried out by individuals in this social arena are related to their habits and capital. Suppose the individual has strong and sufficient capital to get his position in the environment concerned. In that case, his social practice will differ from individuals with weak capital in fighting for their position. If working in coffee plantations with wives is a social practice, then it is the result of a debate from her habitus as a village woman with the cultural and social capital that she has with her family environment in the countryside and the arenas within it, which he entered.

A village woman with a habitus or identity is also equipped with a cognitive structure that gives her descriptions or schemes for assessing her social world. He internalizes this cognitive structure from the village where he lives, and he embodies this cognitive structure in action or social practice in a rural environment where there are arenas that spontaneously regulate individual activities according to the capital that he has. When a village woman marries and becomes a wife, in which some habits and arenas shape her behavior as a wife, it will form a different behavior from the behavior or social practices

carried out before marriage, even though the difference is not too significant because it remains in a rural environment.

In a family environment with certain arenas, the cognitive structure or structure of awareness of village women who are internalized from the rural setting in their life journey along with their identity provide schemes that help them assess and understand the family environment, which they then embody. In the form of specific actions or behaviors according to their arena and capital. Meanwhile, the capital or resources these village women own are in the form of cultural capital and social capital obtained from socialization and upbringing in the rural environment before getting married and becoming a wife. He uses the cultures from the rural environment as capital or resources to support his cognitive structure in obtaining his position in the family environment. These processes produce certain social practices. These social practices occur because the habitus these village women possess differs from the habitus that underlies the arena found in the family environment. However, the difference is insignificant.

Furthermore, whether village women will maintain their habits when they marry and become a wife depends on the strength of their cultural capital, which they use to obtain their position in the family environment.

Suppose the cultural capital owned by the village women is substantial. In that case, there is a possibility that the village women will maintain their habitus as village women in the family environment; conversely, if the capital is weak, then there is a tendency for them to let go of their habitus as a village woman and replace it with the habitus another. In practice, the women in Curah Leduk Banyuanyar Village have the solid cultural capital to maintain their habitus as village women even though they are married and become a wife. Socialization from the rural environment that forms their habitus, such as the obligation of women to obey their husbands, the duties of women to be in the domestic space or taking care of the household and caring for children, is still carried out by women in Curah Leduk Hamlet, Banyuanyar Village, even when they marry and become a woman.

The tradition of helping husbands work in coffee plantations for women in Curah Leduk Hamlet, Banyuanyar Village, to fulfill their family's daily needs is also inseparable from the strong influence of social capital owned by women or wives as a result of socialization at their place of residence. The education that village people must get along, respect each other, help each other, and shape the actions and behavior of women or wives to help their husbands work even though they also understand that earning a living is the husband's duty. Helping husbands to work on coffee plantations is a manifestation of the

resources or social capital owned by women in Curah Leduk Hamlet, Banyuanyar Village.

This research shows a different approach to understanding the division of labor between men and women. Generally, the division of labor between men and women still indicates gender bias. Men still dominate the public space, while women are placed in the domestic area. Even if women work in public spaces, they are only seen as a complement, so their wages are not the same as men's. In Pierre Bourdieu's perspective, this process occurs through the internalization of values in their social environment, shaping women's understanding and manifesting in the form of action or behavior. This matter is reinforced by socialization and upbringing in their social environment, which lasted a very long time before marriage and becoming a wife.

Conclusion

Things like this align with the lives of women in Curah Leduk Hamlet, where from a constructive point of view, most women in hamlet think that whatever the men say and do is the right thing to obey. They believe it is better to follow their husband to help fulfill their daily needs rather than opening their own business. And even in socializing, women are more silent and give more space to men. Seeing it all, one of the influencing factors is a habit, which continues to be socialized in

Curah Leduk Hamlet regarding their duties and responsibilities as a woman and a wife. This is what makes women prefer to help their husbands in the garden rather than having to develop themselves, such as opening a shop. Even though in Curah Leduk Hamlet, there were also a few women who opened shops, there were very few of them and were covered by women, most of whom preferred gardening.

In Bourdieu's view, this is because everyone, in this case, the women in the Curah Leduk Hamlet, Banyuanyar Village, have the habitus of being village people. Bourdieu uses Habitus to understand how individuals or communities choose and act in their social world. Thus, these actions are the product of the relationship between their habits and the arena they enter. In Bourdieu's concept, this action is called *practice*. Then how the individual can maintain his habitus in that field is determined by the resources owned by the individual. Bourdieu calls it *capital*. So briefly, Bourdieu states a generative formula that explains social practice with the equation: (Habitus x Capital) + Arena = Practice.

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