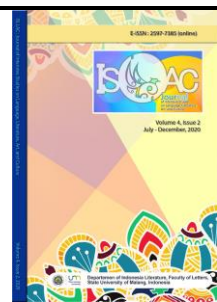

**ISLLAC : Journal of Intensive Studies on Language,
Art, and Culture**

Volume 4 Issue 2, 2020

Journal homepage : <http://journal2.um.ac.id/index.php/jisllac>



SOCIAL PRACTICES OF BOURDIEU THEORY IN JAVA OPERA FILM

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ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received: 26 Sept 2020

Accepted: 11 Nov 2020

Published: 16 Dec 2020

Keyword:

Social practice, Bordieu,
film, Javanese opera,
women

ABSTRACT

This article is written based on a case study of the Javanese Opera film. A film was produced at the end of 2006 as a requiem form of disasters that occurred in Indonesian territory. The data source is based on a cut of the film scene which is approached with the social practice model according to Bourdieu's theory. The result is a picture of a woman's loyalty as a wife who is loyal to her husband. Women are strong figures, although in practice they must accept their nature. This social practice based on Javanese culture is evident in the film media, which functions as a conveyor of information and as a means of cultural transformation.

INTRODUCTION

Literature is seen as a social institution and function of life, in the form of an imitation of nature and the subjective world of humans, which uses a language medium with benefits that are not entirely personal (Wellek & Warren, 1990). Literary work not only integrates various everyday experiences, but allows them to overcome everyday realities, and provides new realities as alternatives to real-life in society (Teeuw, 2003). Literary work as a cultural product is not an independent object (Jauss, 1983).

One of the canon literary works is the Ramayana story, especially in Java and Bali that has been developing several centuries ago. Approximately in the eighth century during the Hindu Mataram era under the rule of Prabu Dyah Balitung, kakawin Ramayana was written as a form of reception for the Sanskrit text which was composed into Old Javanese. In Stutterheim's 1925 research, the Legend of Rama also had a wide influence through Sumatra in the Banjar Hikayat which even spread to the Kalimantan region centuries ago (Von Willem Stutterheim, 1925). Also, there were Hikayat Sri Rama,

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Rama Keling, and wayang purwa plays which identified the similarities in the stories of the characters Rama in Rama Kakawin and Serat Rama written by Walmiki (Rassers, 1922). This proves the representation of Ramayana in various versions as a form of popular culture.

In the modern era, there is also an adaptation of the Ramayana in the form of a film as an artistic product that is worked on and presented to the audience. One of them is the film *Opera Jawa*, which in one scene is stated as a request for sorrow for various forms of violence and disasters in the world, especially in Yogyakarta and Central Java. Dishes based on the phenomenon of Indonesian society are presented with a touch of Javanese art and culture as a medium for conveying ideas and expression. The elements of dance, singing, and aesthetic dialogue that are thick with Javanese gamelan music are clear proofs of the beauty he delivers.

The issue of society's influence on literature and the position of literature in society is discussed with a sociological approach through the application of social practices developed by Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 2010). He sorts cultures according to the relationship between systems of thought, social institutions, and the differences between the forms of material forces on the one hand and various kinds of symbolic forces on the other. The concepts of Habitus, Capital, and Domain are the keywords for understanding the role of agents and structures.

Habitus is understood as a product of behavior that arises based on the experience of human life. The way the habitus works is through a process of internalization over a long period in each individual, then externalizing in a space with various forms of dynamic improvisation. As an inalienable part of the agency, the structure was not taken for granted. Habitus can be seen as a strategy for forms of accumulation and adaptation of habits of each human being as an agency that can emerge even without realizing it.

Capital is understood as the various aspects of the need for ownership and effort of every human being in the continuation of his life physically and non-physically. The concept of duality between structure and agency cannot be separated from the habitus which is also related to capital. The conception of capital is believed to be in four forms, namely: (1) economic capital related to money, ownership, assets, and others, (2) social capital in the form of friendship, networking conceptions, and others, (3) cultural/cultural capital in the form of skills, education, information and others, and (4) symbolic capital in the form of charisma, religion, and others. Among the four capitals, it is possible to have contact, negation, and the presence of other capital. When linked with habitus, capital has an important role and is always present together in every individual.

The realm is understood as space and opportunity within the scope of human life in the form of a social arena as a place for habitus to grip. All forms of struggle and maneuver between habitus in the struggle for meaning, resources, competition, existence, self-identity, and so on. Agencies in certain realm conditions are required to understand the system must be codified and the institutions that apply in it.

Social practice is understood as a form of mathematical equations, namely: $(\text{Habitus} \times \text{Modal}) + \text{Domain} = \text{Practice}$. The social practice of data is seen from the accumulation of processes from various forms of human habitus. The observed factors are in the form of thought patterns and behavior that are considered Habitus, then multiplied by the various assets owned. The result is that in a certain domain there can be found products in the form of social practices.

One of the interesting things is the problem of women who are presented in this film. Siti's character causes the central figure in this film from the perspective of popular

culture studies. Experts see popular culture more as a social phenomenon that deserves to be an object of research. This means that culture becomes popular because it contains elements of entertainment that are liked by many people and are easily understood by everyone and the idea of its creator is aimed at earning money (Adi, 2011). The focus of the discussion is the application of the concept of habitus, capital, and realm. These three conceptions are important elements in the discussion of forms of social practice based on the three central figures in this film. The relationship between the Setyo-Siti-Ludiro figures was specifically discussed to answer the role of women as central agents. Apart from that, it also looks at the relationship between sites in a realm, which is used to read ideology and social reality in the Javanese Opera film.

Discussion

Habitus Setyo-Siti-Ludiro

Habitus is an internal condition and can be a kind of blueprint for someone or a kind of "predetermined scenario" for life habits, even social careers if there are no external conditions that influence and can change the scenario. Some of his habitus characters are well visualized in this Javanese Opera film. These figures are Setyo, Siti, and Ludiro. Supporters in this story are not discussed in this paper. Setyo is synonymous with the character of Rama, manifested in the form of pottery craftsmen who were affected by the economic crisis. The problem of the economic crisis that hit the community had an impact on his life. His toughness in facing the economic crisis, as a form of responsibility for the head of the household who has to support his household. The routine of making and selling his pottery made his attention to his wife Siti a bit sidelined. Setyo, who lives in the village, looks very close to the harmonious life of rural people. The problem of the economic crisis that was whacking and the domination of economic monopoly by the figure of Ludiro changed everything. His economic and business life began to falter. He could no longer earn enough to support his family. As a result, he was dissolved in his problems, no longer paying attention to the condition of his family at home. Busy doing routine work from morning to night. Day by day, what was felt was getting more and more difficult, plus Siti's departure was indicated as being close to Ludiro. It can be said that because Setyo has a very loyal servant to control and investigate Siti's whereabouts. The days passed with Setyo's empty heart making him frustrated and "thirsty" with his wife's gentle caresses. Meanwhile, in another place, with the flurry of love that Siti has, she has almost defeated the loyalty she has to Setyo. This has an impact on the harmony of his household relationship with Siti.

Ludiro, who is identical to Rahwana, is the king of the village. The strong economic conditions of his family allowed him to survive the economic crisis. He dominated the economic monopoly which made conditions in his society even worse. The power and wealth he has made him increasingly rampant to dominate the market. Destruction and harassment were carried out by his subordinates to destroy business land that matched his business.

The figure of Siti, who is identical to Sinta, is Setyo's wife, who feels depressed about her life with Setyo. She is shown as the ideal wife figure in Javanese culture. A figure who obeys her husband and carries out all her roles as a housewife, such as going to the market, cooking in the kitchen, and looking after the house while her husband is away. The Javanese woman's loyalty which is shown in this film is divided into five scenes consisting of the harmonious scene between husband and wife, the scene when Setyo's business goes bankrupt, the scene when Siti is ignored, the scene when Siti

refuses Ludiro's presence and the scene of Siti's death. This is a depiction of their mutual loving and loyal habitus.

Habitus Siti began to experience changes when the economic crisis hit various kinds of temptations to approach him. Starting from the invitation to dance again as Sinta in the Ramayana show, the temptation from Ludiro who wants to make Siti his wife. When she had to leave her husband to go to earn a living, Ludiro came to tease Siti. Their mistrust cracked their household. A betrayal will result in social sanctions which will be a consequence of his actions. Ludiro, who comes from a noble family, almost managed to seize Siti from Setyo. Even though in the end Siti remained loyal to Setyo, Siti was still killed by her husband.

Setyo-Siti-Ludiro's capital

According to Bourdieu, capital determines what a person becomes and what he gets in society (Bourdieu, 2010). Capital becomes a person's means as well as a goal to achieve and maintain certain positions. Capital can be exchanged when one is considered more important than the other. Capital referred to here is economic, cultural, cultural, and symbolic capital.

In the Umbul Makmur village community in Opera Jawa, the dominant capital and the main capital owned is the economic capital. A figure with strong economic capital will control other capitals. Ludiro's character who was born into a rich family with the business he runs dominates the economic cycle in his village. With his wealth, he can influence various parties, especially the authorities, to monopolize the running of the economy in his village. Meanwhile, the figure of Setyo, whose economic capital was not that strong, especially with the economic crisis that occurred, was deeply affected. The drastic decline in income due to his pottery business that he was working on was not selling well in the market, plus the monopoly and interference and destruction carried out arbitrarily by Ludiro and his group made him even more depressed.

The cultural capital that appears in the role of a wife in Javanese culture has occurred since then until now. A Javanese cultural expert, Jacob Soemarjo, an expert on Javanese culture, said that in ancient Javanese-Hindu culture, the position of women and men was equal. Initially, in Javanese Hindu belief, Lord Brahma and Lord Vishnu gave birth to a man and a woman simultaneously so that their positions were the same. However, the myth of women's work in Javanese "manak, macak, manak" and "kitchen, mattress, well" inherent in them can be universally accepted and become the Javanese philosophy value system that has developed to date among Indonesian society regarding women. This myth grows and develops in Javanese society because the tradition that has developed until now is like that so that it is embedded in the mindset of Indonesian society which is what is shown in the film.

Cultural capital in the form of a myth in the Javanese opera film about women as wives refers to the terms "kitchen, mattress, well," cooking, macak, manak "and" suwarga manut, hell katut ". The scene that explains the terms above shows the role of Javanese women who are married. The term is familiar we hear among Javanese people, especially women. "Kitchen, mattress, well" is a term that refers to the wife's job as a housewife. The word "kitchen" means a place to cook. A good wife is a woman who can always cook and prepare meals for her family. Food items to be processed in the kitchen must be purchased in advance at the market and shopping at the market is usually done by a woman. The word "mattress" relates to a place that is usually used as a place of rest or a bed. More specifically, it relates to managing the house, looking after the house, and taking care of the children at home. "Sumur" which means a place to collect water from

the ground refers to the location of a well which is usually identical to a place to wash. Apart from taking care of the house and eating, the duties of the wives are also to clean and wash the clothes of family members. "Manak, macak, cook" is the second term that describes the myth about Javanese women as wives that appears in the film. The demands of a wife for the presence of offspring, the ability to dress up, and the ability to serve food for her husband. The responsibility of the husband is important matters outside such as earning a living is the responsibility of the husband.

Another cultural capital is the myth about Javanese women as wives are "suwarga manut hell katut". Husband as the determinant of the wife will go to heaven or hell. If the husband goes to heaven, then the wife will also go to heaven. Likewise, it means that to enter heaven, a wife must obey her husband, must be faithful to her husband because, in the end, the husband is the one who determines the fate of his wife in eternal life.

Women are strong figures. This kind of ideology was created from scenes in the Javanese Opera Film. Women may only be considered by men to have to stay and take care of the house to have a significant role. The strength of women is seen through their loyalty to their husbands (just as Siti stopped dancing as a form of her loyalty to Setyo), taking care of the house, and managing the house. They are a symbol of fertility or prosperity in the family.

Ranah Setyo-Siti-Ludiro

The domains that appear dominant in Javanese Opera are the economic, cultural, and political spheres. The division within society is based on the different ways of fulfilling economic needs and political affiliations. The cultural sphere of the small community whose livelihoods are farmers, pottery makers, laborers, and traders.

The economic sphere appears in the difference between the rich and the poor. Ludiro is a representative of a rich economic realm, with all the establishments he has dominating the running of the economy in his village. Her slaughtering business seems to be very dominating. With his wealth influencing the ruler to dominate the market, oppressing the small traders who are his competitors. This action certainly generated deep hatred from the realm of the poor economy.

The realm that shows a rural atmosphere illustrates the situation that exists in some communities, especially in Java. Competition in the economic, political, and cultural realms seems to run without rules of the game, the domination of power based on wealth described by the character Ludiro. Meanwhile, the figure Setyo and the small community in his group became victims of Ludiro's domination. Setyo, who represents the realm of the poor, really feels the injustice felt by his people, especially when the economic crisis has worsened the situation. Meanwhile, the problem of Siti's affair with Ludiro also adds to Setyo's hostility to fight the oppression she is experiencing. He gathered the strength of the oppressed group to fight against Ludiro.

The result of this stark difference between the two realms arose chaos. The resistance that was fought against arbitrariness took its toll. Ludiro's battle which is symbolized by the character Rahwana against Setyo which is symbolized by the figure of Rama can be won by Setyo.

Siti's Social Practices as a Female Agent

The social practice appears in the scene of a husband and wife who maintain each other's attitude and understand each other's character to create a harmonious family and about loyalty that must always be maintained, one of which is through the attitude

of 'tepo saliro'. As a wife, she must always accompany her husband through joy and sorrow in a simple life as proof of her loyalty. The loyalty of a Javanese woman who is willing to surrender her body and soul for her husband must be a role model, but being loyal does not mean being oppressed. They still have the mind and the ability to think which is very important in life. The scene where Setyo shows a sad expression and when he wears a half-finished mask shows the longing for Siti's presence in his life and feelings of depression after their household was not as harmonious as it used to be. Setyo is frustrated and depressed by the absence of Siti's figure by his side. He appears as a husband who feels his life is empty and empty without the presence of his wife Siti. As strong as possible Setyo as a man, but they will be weak if part of his heart, Siti, his wife leaves him. A life to complement each other in a Javanese household is very important. This means that the position of a wife plays a very important role in the balance of the family. Not only in the position of men as somah heads. But they must complement each other to create a harmonious household according to the principle of their duality.

The social practice that shows that Javanese women still have self-respect is illustrated by the scene where Siti's body is bathed in mud, then she looks at Setyo while firmly telling Setyo that she is not like an earth that is silent if its natural resources are taken, but it is like an earth that can take care of itself. Based on the Javanese cultural paradigm, the term woman is also paired with the term woman which is often interpreted as wani ditata (brave to be styled) to mean woman as a figure who always wants to be formed, but not in the sense of men who form women. This means that a woman is a person who wants to constantly develop, adapt, or be regulated by life. Moving on from a myth that developed in Java, women represent the earth as a medium for the growth of seeds, nurturers, and custodians of fruit that are ready to be harvested. A good woman is a woman who can turn barren land into fertile soil where all the seeds can grow. Women are a symbol of fertility. The loyalty of a Javanese woman who is willing to surrender her body and soul for her husband must be a role model, but being loyal does not mean being oppressed. They still have the mind and the ability to think which is very important in life.

The husband is the head of the somah (head of the family) and a wife must follow whatever orders from the husband. A wife must obey her husband because her husband leads the family. The phrase "Suwarga Katut Hell Manut" is reserved for wives. This conception has implications for the role of the husband as determining whether the wife will go to heaven or hell. If a husband can enter heaven, then his wife will also enter heaven. Conversely, if the husband has to go to hell, even though the wife has the right to go to heaven as a reward for her good deeds and deeds, then the wife loses her right to go to heaven because she has to submit or follow the husband to hell.

The roles of male and female agents based on Javanese culture are interesting in this Javanese Opera Film. The position referred to in this film is in the placement of jobs and the obligations of husband and wife. Not only in her position, but a Javanese woman who has a gentle nature will also be judged by the surrounding community for her loyalty to her husband. Education on manners in Javanese culture that has been instilled since childhood is a provision for his life as an adult. Not only women, but a man as a husband will also feel that his life is empty without a wife as his companion.

Javanese cultural paradigm towards conceptions that complement each other will bring them into a harmonious life. This is done to achieve the safety of their life. Harmony is mandatory in the process of their life. In the next section, there are several conflicts of power masterminded by Ludiro, whose power is described by the cow

slaughterhouse that Ludiro has. With this, Ludiro arbitrarily used his power. However, he is very lonely with his loneliness, which triggers his mind to have a wife by snatching Siti from Setyo's hands. With her wealth and expertise, Siti obeyed and obeyed Ludiro's orders. In this scene, Siti has a soul that can be said to be "wishy-washy" about the essence of true love. This can be due to the wealth possessed by Ludiro that makes his heart surrender.

The relationship between agents related to the practice of power in Javanese Opera operates not only in the love triangle relationship and household life of Siti and Setyo. This relationship also appears in the process of managing fundamental desires as a form of visualization of problems regarding disaster and violence. The three main characters are symbols lifted from classical Javanese wayang. Siti as a symbolization is a form of representation of what has happened to people as a result of nature, disaster conflicts, and the struggle for the holy land. She goes through three months of conflict as people fight for her body for different reasons. He says in the film, 'I am not a holy land, I am a human being'. Ludiro's character is the people who have power in the economy and the military and who abuse this power. Setyo is a symbol of representation of people who are helpless and become violent. That's the way of the world. The visualization materialized when Setyo made pottery. In Javanese culture, work related to mixing water is work done by women. Life harmony must be achieved to achieve salvation in life.

Setyo's condition with wounds and poverty triggered the rise of social resistance. The mission that was carried out was "loyalty will defeat greed" as a personal motive mixed with demands for social justice to Ludiro. Based on questions of sincerity, he led the fight against this injustice. With Setyo's persistence and hard work, Siti was able to win her heart back. However, changes continue to occur in Siti with a different attitude after being close to Ludiro. This makes the harmony of the Setyo and Siti families less and less. Of course, it was not simply without struggle, Setyo and Ludiro got involved in a fight which made Ludiro have to admit defeat, likened to the symbol of the wayang Rama and Rahwana who were at war. Because there was no significant change from Siti, Setyo tried to talk heart to heart with his wife. Described by Setyo taking Siti's heart and asking her to have a dialogue. It can also mean that Setyo has realized that the heart can change due to unexpected things.

CONCLUSION

The Javanese Opera film depicts a woman who is loyal and obedient to her husband. A wife will always serve her husband, meet all his needs and needs. Siti is shown as the ideal wife figure in Javanese culture. A figure who obeys her husband and carries out all her roles as a housewife, such as going to the market, cooking in the kitchen, and looking after the house while her husband is away. He is described as a character who works in the domestic sphere or the home environment, such as preparing all the needs of the husband, cooking, tidying the house, and so on. The position of women to work in the domestic sphere or the home environment limits their movement in the public sphere. This is illustrated through the actions, expressions, costumes, and body language of the character "Siti" as the wife of "Setyo". Everything that Siti does in the public sphere shows her responsibility in the domestic sphere, for example when Siti goes shopping at the market.

Furthermore, in the issue of the wife's loyalty to her husband, the researcher finds the meaning of the connotation that appears in the Javanese Opera film that a wife must continue to serve her husband regardless of her circumstances as a form of her

loyalty. This value system of loyalty cannot be separated from the effect of a patriarchal culture in traditional Javanese society. In Javanese culture, the wife's loyalty determines the woman's personality. If she betrays her husband, then she will get social sanctions for her actions. Siti as a wife has to do all her work and "nerimo" what happens to her. A wife must always accompany her husband in joy and sorrow in the simplicity of life as proof of her loyalty.

On the other hand, Setyo as a husband feels his life is empty and empty without the presence of his wife Siti. As strong as possible Setyo as a man, but they will be weak if part of his heart, Siti, his wife leaves him. Javanese people have the belief that they must have a harmonious life to achieve life safety. Therefore, there must be complementary lives to reach a happy ending.

Women are strong figures based on myths as guardians and protectors who are naturally at home, in charge of raising children after taking care of their husbands. The role of the husband is naturally similar to the role played by women, namely as the breadwinner. Not only that, a wife carries out her many duties without being able to avoid her natural duties. This kind of ideology was created from scenes in the Javanese Opera Film. The Javanese Opera film that adopts the Ramayana story provides an overview and affirmation of Javanese women who are known to be gentle and nerimo whatever happens to them. Even though he had fought back, in the end, he still had to accept his nature.

The film Opera Jawa, through the character Siti, has provided a picture of the Javanese philosophical value system of women as wives in terms of their position in the household, how the loyalty of Javanese women to their husbands, and how a balance of life will bring safety in the life of Javanese society. Films through their audio and video texts can depict and describe a reality about the current cultural value systems. Film as a form of mass media must be able to carry out its function as a conveyor of information and as a means of cultural transformation.

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