



Women's Narration in Woman's Author in Bourdieu's Perspective

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ABSTRACT

This research explores how men portray women differently and make some problems related to the way women want to be presented in the public sphere. The novel *Perempuan Berkalung Turban* (PBS) by Abidah El Khaileqy was analyzed using a descriptive-analytical method and a practical theory developed by Bourdieu. Through this practical theory, it is clear that PBS novels written by women indirectly continue to place women in a lower class than men, which is referred to as symbolic violence, violence in narrating women by female authors, but cornering women.

Keywords: Gender, Man, Symbolic violence, Woman.

1. INTRODUCTION

After the reformation, a large number of women writers with Islamic ideologies emerged. They are affiliated with the power of religious knowledge (Udasmoro, 2017). These Islamic writers attempt to place women in a flattering perspective. They offered a quite negotiable in narrating women, although it still stuck to the existing structure (Udasmoro, 2017). One of their work is *Perempuan Berkalung Sorban* by Abidah El-Khaileqy.

Several previous studies on the novel *Perempuan Berkalung Turban* only focused on gender and feminist studies, and they believed patriarchy to be the source of the existing problems. This is evident in the articles by Botifar, Nuraeni, Qomariyah, and Darlis (Botifar & Friantary, 2021; Darlis, Wahyusari, & Indrayatti, 2021; Nuraeni, 2017). Danial's (in Hidayatullah & Udasmoro, 2019) analysis of the novel *Perempuan Berkalung Sorban* is a slightly different study that tries to examine the sides of masculinity and piety. This study is distinct from previous studies in that it examines women's narratives from a gender perspective and links them to practical theory. Symbolic power is a term used in practical theory to explain how latent violence against women still exists in this PBS novel, so reading it from a woman's perspective is necessary to analyze it more thoroughly. The symbolic violence in this PBS novel helps to legitimize patriarchal dominance by displaying certain signs that can only be analyzed using practical theory.

The discourse of women in a patriarchal society cannot be separated from the issue of gender, and of course, it is always interesting to discuss. The construction of gender by the community, which seems to be the factor that forms this difference, is often massively socialized and internalized so that in the end it is considered a natural truth and affects the behavior and standards of truth that apply in society. Bourdieu assumes that society is an arena that relates to one another (Bourdieu, 1977; Thorpe, 2009). The arena, which can be in the form of educational, political, economic, cultural, religious, and other arenas is a place for power struggles, where individuals and groups try to expand their dominance in social groups (Bourdieu, 1989; Ginting, 2019; Siregar, 2016). In the novel entitled *Perempuan Berkalung Sorban* (PBS) by Abidah El Khaileqy, the author realizes that there are still many phenomena of gender construction that are formed in the *pesantren* environment which are the background of this story, so the author feels moved to explore further whether there are signs of patriarchy that dominates and abandons violence. symbolic in Khalileqy's work?

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Gender

One social factor that separates men and women from one another in terms of thinking and treatment is gender. Gender is a worldwide cultural construct that derives from the physical body's two basic forms, which we refer

to as male and female (Klages, 2012). Culture also correlates gender with the idea that men are masculine and women are feminine. They elaborate on three roles, namely biological roles, cultural roles, and sociological roles, as males and women are viewed as masculine and feminine, respectively (Wienclaw, 2011).

2.2. Practice Theory

Bourdieu was a social scientist who wanted to explain the relationship between the individual and society (Fatmawati, 2020). According to Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1977), society is a domain that attracts each other, so it is considered an area that contains systems and relations where social struggles always occur. To understand what is meant by Bourdieu, it is necessary to elucidate some of the concepts behind this theory.

2.2.1. Field or Arena

Arena refers to something that is outside their minds which is objective. The arena is understood as a network of objective relationships between various positions in which there is a division between power and capital. This desired power requires capital which not only serves as a means but also becomes the goal of the field. Of course, the capital holders do not only rely on a large capital but also need a capital structure related to their position in the social sphere in which they live (Bourdieu, 1985; Haryatmoko, 2003).

2.2.2. Habitus

According to Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1977), habitus is a system through a combination of objective structure and history of personal, long-lasting, and changing dispositions that serve as a generative basis for objectively structured and integrated practices. Habitus refers to what is owned by an individual which is subjective because it lies in the individual's mind. Kuswandro explains more what Bourdieu said about habitus, which is a cognitive structure that mediates individuals with social reality, because of the subjective structure, habitus is formed from a person's personal experience related to other individuals who are still in a network of objective structures in social space (Kuswandro, 2016).

2.2.3. Capital

Capital is very important to the field so the field has meaning. Habitus is also related to capital because some habitus acts as a capital multiplier of capital symbolism. Capital in Bourdieu's sense is very broad because it includes: economic capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital which are used to seize and maintain distinction and dominance in the field (Bourdieu, 1977; Umanilo, 2018).

2.2.4. Symbolic Violence

Jenkins in his article tries to elaborate on what Bourdieu thinks about symbolic violence (Jenkins, 2014). Understanding the function of language as a symbol system is necessary to comprehend symbolic power and violence. Language serves as a tool for comprehending and expressing thoughts and feelings amongst people, but it also plays a hidden role that is frequently overlooked: it is a practice of power. The ideology that underlies language can be subtly and gradually instilled by exploiting its symbols. Language is made up of words that are useful for understanding, but it may also be used as a weapon of violence to justify conflict and claim the right to define reality (Bourdieu, 1989; Fatmawati, 2020; Ningtyas, 2015).

Moreover, according to Sapiro, they are three factors that work together to make symbolic violence happen: a lack of awareness of the arbitrary nature of dominance; acceptance of this dominance as acceptable; and internalization of dominance by the dominated. This functioning is at play in masculine dominance (Sapiro, 2015).

In conclusion, symbolic violence happens when those in power embrace a symbol (a concept, idea, belief, or principle) in a distorted form that acknowledges a distortion they have experienced and then uses the evaluation standards of the dominant class to judge themselves and their lives. The process of dominance involves very subtle coercion, yet the subject of the dominance is unaware that he was being forced (Bourdieu, 1989; Wahyuni, Supratno, & Kamidjan, 2019).

2.3. Symbolic Violence in Feminist Narration

Feminism must be discussed with women, and gender concerns must always be brought up when discussing feminism. Gender has traditionally been defined narrowly and is only seen as a biological function between masculine and feminine, which has an impact on how men and women are viewed in society because, the ecological aspect demonstrates that each person has a unique purpose and is quite significant in the development of gender (Weisberg, DeYoung, & Hirsh, 2011). This is what gave rise to feminism, because of injustice and demands for gender equality.

According to some feminist figures, Bourdieu's social theory has the potential to deepen and develop feminists' ability to theorize, think about, and critically develop their conceptual schema because it reproduces the binary opposition between masculine dominance and women's subordination in contemporary social life (Thorpe, 2009; Walby, 2005).

Moi (1991) attempted to adapt Bourdieu's theory. According to Moi, Bourdieu's theory has a great deal to say about feminism because it allows for a rethinking of gender as a social category and breaks down the traditional essentialist/non-essentialist divide. In addition, Bourdieu's sociological theory is regarded as being extremely helpful for feminists when using a microtheoretic approach (an approach that allows them to incorporate the details of everyday life and the most mundane into their analysis).

Moi concludes that the arena is defined as the location where the game is played in response to Bourdieu's three main ideas. the area of objective interactions between people or entities who are competing for the same interests. However, if the current field is competitive, then what will happen is not collaboration, but rather, each agent in the arena will seek power, or dominate each other, control the arena, and become an agency so that it can compel respect of other agents. A maximal amount of specific forms of symbolic capital is necessary to attain such domination (Moi, 1991, 1995).

Concerning the alleged symbolic violence in Abidah El Khaileqy's novel *Perempuan Berkalung Sorban*, the author believes that patriarchal signals are still conveyed by the author subconsciously. These messages are evident in the quotes he included in his book and will be analyzed in more detail further in the chapter after.

3. METHOD

This study employs a Practice Theory by Pierre Bourdieu. This theory provides a technical explanation of how symbolic violence affects women's narratives. The object material of this research is *Perempuan Berkalung Sorban* (PBS) (Khaileqy, 2008), which was published in 2001 and reprinted in 2008. The technique of data collection used in this study is a documentation study or library research, which is carried out by directly and rationally understanding the meaning of the text. The data analysis technique involved is descriptive qualitative analysis.

Descriptive qualitative generates data that describes the 'who, what, and where of events or experiences from a subjective point of view (Lincoln, 2017). This approach is most compatible with constructionism and critical theories that employ interpretative and naturalistic methods from a philosophical point of view and represent the belief that reality exists in a variety of dynamic and subjective contexts (Lincoln, 2017). In qualitative descriptive research, the researchers are concerned with understanding the individual human experience in its unique context.

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Based on the analysis of Abidah El Khalileqy's book *Perempuan Berkalung Sorban*, it was determined that some patriarchal symbolic violence phenomena existed and had an impact on the thinking of many characters in this PBS narrative. The norms of the *pesantren* environment, known for its patriarchal philosophy, have an impact on the symbolic violence that takes place. This further persuades the author that some of the characters in this work unintentionally and indirectly become agents who are caught in patriarchal behaviors throughout their lives and view them as normal.

Based on the findings of the review of the novel *Perempuan Berkalung Sorban*, the symbolic violence mechanism in this novel also reveals how men, who are the dominant gender, control all the customs that legitimize the interests of men, particularly in the religious system, which is a major concern in this book.

4.1. Field or Arena in Women Narration of *Perempuan Berkalung Sorban*

The setting of this novel is a *pesantren* (Islamic boarding house which students are studying both formal and religious education) in a remote village on the slopes of the mountains surrounding Yogyakarta, as is well known in the PBS novel. The female Islamic boarding school in this novel can be interpreted as a place where patriarchal ideology is commonly believed. An arena, according to Bourdieu, can be defined as a network, or configuration, of objective relationships between positions (McCall, 1992). Arenas are defined as spaces that possess their own functioning rules and power relations that are independent of political and economic rules (Bourdieu, 1989).

In the case of PBS, the arena of *pesantren* is used as a patriarchal structured space, because the *pesantren* leader and some of the *Kyai* who become teachers are all men. It cannot be concluded that all men represent patriarchy, but in this story, all male characters, except one, are patriarchal. Since most of the existing elements support the patriarchal values prevalent in the *pesantren*, patrilineal practices run very smoothly as possible, almost without any problems. Among those who became patriarchal agents were *Kyai Hanan*, *Samsudin*, an Indonesian Language Teacher, and *Reza*. Their presence confirms that patriarchy continues to have a strong influence on the *pesantren* environment, which serves as a battleground for power relations between the oppressors, namely men, and the oppressed, namely women.

4.2. *Habitus in Women Narration of Perempuan Berkalung Sorban*

Habitus refers to what is owned by an individual which is subjective because it lies in the individual's mind. The restricted and structured lifestyles of *pesantren* inhabitants are essentially the same. How do men and women in Muslim boarding schools have their distinct work schedules supported by a faith that primarily favors men's interests? as in some of the quotations below?

*"Baiklah anak-anak," pak guru mencoba menguasai suasana, "dalam adat istiadat kita, dalam budaya nenek moyang kita, seorang laki-laki memiliki kewajiban dan seorang perempuan juga memiliki kewajiban. kewajiban seorang laki-laki, yang terutama adalah bekerja mencari nafkah, baik di kantor, di sawah, di laut atau di mana saja asal bisa medatangkan rezeki yang halal. Sedangkan seorang perempuan, mereka juga memiliki kewajiban, yang terutama adalah mengurus urusan rumah-tangga dan mendidik anak. Jadi memasak, mencuci, mengepel, menyetrika, menyapu, dan merapikan seluruh rumah adalah kewajiban seorang perempuan. Oemikian juga memandikan anak, menyuapi, meny*antikan popok dan menyusui, itu juga kewajiban seorang perempuan. Sudah paham, anak-anak..."* (PBS, 12)

"Well, kids," the teacher tried to control the atmosphere, "in our customs, in the culture of our ancestors, a man has obligations and a woman also has obligations. , whether in the office, in the fields, at sea or anywhere as long as it can bring halal sustenance. As for women, they also have obligations, which are mainly responsible for taking care of household matters and educating children. So cooking, washing, mopping, ironing, sweeping, and tidying up the entire house is a woman's obligation. Likewise bathing children, feeding, changing diapers and breastfeeding, it is also a woman's obligation. Got it, kids..." (PBS, 12)

Moving on from the quote above, we can see how the oppressors impose and socialize habits that limit the space for the oppressed, such as women, in the domestic sphere. Meanwhile, the oppressors have unlimited control in both the domestic and public spheres. Furthermore, the oppressed frequently play multiple roles in their daily lives. If men only have one task, which is to work in an office to make money, women have an endless number of tasks, which include cooking, mopping, tidying the house, caring for the children, and many more. There is a culture that is built once men have the public sphere by working to earn money and women have the domestic sphere by working to accomplish everything related to the house, so that anyone with the ability to make money has total control. As a result, Annisa is the only woman who is fully aware of her potential and wishes to improve the status of women. Annisa is an agent of change who wants to dismantle men's dominance over religious practices that are misinterpreted for men's benefit as quoted below.

"Yang aneh apanya, Bu. Pak guru bilang kewajiban seorang perempuan itu banyak sekali, ada mencuci, memasak, menyetrika, mengepel, menyapu, menyuapi, menyusui, memandikan dan banyak lagi. Tidak seperti laki-laki, Bu, kewajibannya cuma satu, pergi ke kantor. Mudah dihafal kan. Mengapa dulu aku tidak jadi laki-laki saja, Bu? Aku ingin pergi ke kantor. Aku juga tidak suka memasak di dapur, bau minyak, bau bawang, bau terasi dan asap mengepul. Aku ingin belajar naik kuda seperti Rizal. Boleh kan?" (PBS,14)

"What's strange, ma'am? The teacher said that a woman's responsibilities are many, there are washing, cooking, ironing, mopping, sweeping, feeding, breastfeeding, bathing and many more. Unlike men, ma'am, she only has one obligation, go I want to go to the office. I don't like cooking in the kitchen either, the smell of oil, the smell of onions, the smell of shrimp paste and steaming smoke. I want to learn to ride a horse like Rizal. Is it okay?" (PBS, 14)

The quote above demonstrates how strongly oppressors' habits affect the oppressed, specifically Annisa, which is why in this quote, Annisa tries incredibly hard to be able to do everything that men do so that she can be regarded for her existence as a woman.

4.3. *Capital in Women Narration of Perempuan Berkalung Sorban*

This novel of PBS is everything that supports the occurrence of patriarchal practices. According to Bourdieu, capital is very broad in his perspectives, such as economic capital, cultural capital, education capital, and symbolic capital, which is represented by men's interests in interpreting Qur'anic verses that will benefit their people. In PBS, Kyai Hanan and all of the *pesantren* staff have the economic-financial capital to raise funds for the establishment of a boarding school. Moving beyond sufficient economic capital, Kyai Hanan can create the *pesantren* culture that he desires. This is what cultural capital entails that leads to educational capital.

The *pesantren* culture is, of course, profitable for Kyai Hanan and his proponents. Almost all of the male characters on PBS are patriarchal agents who use religion to practice and impose their desired habits on women as the dominant group.

4.4. *Symbolic Violence in Women Narration of Perempuan Berkalung Sorban*

There are numerous discourses in this PBS novel that contain symbolic violence, and they are as follows.

"Benar, Mbak. Habis Rizal dan Wildan boleh kembali tidur, sementara Nisa harus membersihkan tempat tidur dan membantu ibu memasak di dapur. Sementara Rizal dan Wildan masuk lagi ke kamar, katanya mau belajar, padahal Nisa lihat sendiri mereka kembali tidur sehabis shalat shubuh."

“Eh, Nisa. Orang pemalas tidak perlu dicemburui. Lagi pula Nisa kan perempuan. Perempuan itu memiliki kewajiban untuk belajar mengurus rumah tangga. Itu semua baik untuk masa depan, Nisa.” “Apa benar, Mbak May? Jika sekarang Nisa belajar mencuci, menyapu, memasak, apa masa depan Nisa terjamin? Dan jika Wildan dan Rizal enak-enakan tidur di kamar, apa masa depan mereka juga terjamin?” (PBS, 21)

“That’s right, Ma’am. After Rizal and Wildan can go back to sleep, Nisa has to clean the bed and help her mother cook in the kitchen. Meanwhile, Rizal and Wildan go back into the room, saying they want to study, even though Nisa saw for herself that they went back to sleep after the dawn prayer.”

“Eh, Nisa. Lazy people don’t need to be jealous. After all, Nisa is a woman. That woman must learn to take care of the household. That’s all good for the future, Nisa.” “Is it true, Mbak May? If now Nisa learns to wash, sweep, and cook, will Nisa’s future be guaranteed? And if Wildan and Rizal are sleeping comfortably in their room, is their future guaranteed?” (PBS, 21)

The habits of men and women that occur in the culture of the PBS novel can be seen in the quote above. Mbak Mey responded to Annissa’s anxiety about the habit by telling her not to worry and giving her support so she does not have to be jealous of laziness, which encourages Annissa to be diligent in doing domestic activities. As a result of this, it is clear that Ms. Mey is a victim of symbolic violence, as she is unaware that domestic activities are not only the obligations of women, but also of men, and that there should be equality.

“Pada kesempatan yang lain, dengan suntuk aku juga mendengarkan, bahwa laki-laki lebih terampil mengendarai kuda. Mungkin seperti lek Khudhori, bayanganku melintas. Dan barisan prajurit Afganistan yang terdiri dari perempuan-perempuan tangguh dan piawai mengendarai kuda adalah kekecualian. Lalu bukti kurang sempurna agamanya kaum perempuan adalah hak warisnya yang separoh lakilaki, tidak bisa menjadi wali nikah, tidak memiliki hak talak, hak rujuk, juga hak untuk berpoligami. Perempuan juga memiliki hukum yang berbeda mengenai shalat jum’at, i’tikaf di masjid, soal adzan, khutbah dan lain sebagainya.” (PBS, 72)

On another occasion, I also listened intently, that men are more skilled at riding horses. Maybe like lek Khudhori, my shadow flashed. And the ranks of Afghan soldiers consisting of strong women and good at riding horses are an exception. Then the proof that women’s religion is not perfect is that half of the inheritance rights are for men, they cannot become marriage guardians, they do not have the right to divorce, the right to reconcile, as well as the right to polygamy. Women also have different laws regarding Friday prayers, i’tikaf in mosques, the call to prayer, sermons and so on. (PBS, 72)

In this quote, patriarchal agents attempt to emphasize to the dominant that the skills in horseback riding are only owned by men, and Annissa unconsciously admits that by remembering his uncle, Lek Khudori is also

skilled at horseback riding. Even back then, he imagined how women could ride horses so deftly.

“Ibu pernah mengatakan, perempuan itu bagai godaan. Semacam buah semangka atau buah peer di gurun sahara. Perempuan adalah sarang fitnah, tetapi laki-laki bukan sarang mafia. Jika perempuan keluar rumah, tujuh puluh setan menderap berbaris menyertainya. Tetapi jika ia membungkus seluruh tubuhnya dengan kurungan, mata setan akan kesulitan menebak, itu manusia atau guling yang tengah berjalan. Maka selamatlah sang perempuan sampai tujuan. Bukankah mudah menipu setan. Tetapi bagaimana caranya menghadapi setan yang telah berpengalaman, yang masih menggoda perempuan dalam kurungan. Adakah strategi jitu yang harus diterapkan untuk mereka? Ibu pusing untuk menjawabnya.” (PBS, 46)

Mother once said women are like temptations. A kind of watermelon or peer fruit in the Sahara desert. Women are nests of slander, but men are not mafia nests. When a woman leaves the house, seventy demons march along with her. But if he wrapped his whole body in cages, the devil’s eyes would have a hard time guessing, whether it was a human or a walking bolster. So save the woman to the destination. Isn’t it easy to deceive the devil? But how to deal with experienced demons, who still tempt women into confinement? Is there a surefire strategy that should be applied to them? I’m dizzy to answer. (PBS, 46)

Mothers consciously tell their daughters that women are like temptations and dens of slander and that women should take better care of themselves. If a woman wishes to leave the house, she must cover her *aurat* because the devil will find it difficult to recognize a woman wearing a hijab, thus saving her from Satan’s temptations. Whereas, from a religious standpoint, the reason for covering women’s genitals is because their God ordered it, and it is hoped that the woman will receive a reward for what she does by wearing a veil. The statement that the devil will stick to women who do not wear the hijab marginalizes women, and it was said by a woman. Given this occurrence, it is reasonable to conclude that the character of Mother, is also an unwitting agent of the patriarchy. Every statement she makes for his daughter contains symbolic violence, reinforcing patriarchal systems that control all aspects of a woman’s life.

In light of the preceding analysis, it is clear that the female characters in the PBS novel are deeply rooted sociocultural products, leaving behind enduring learning. In this instance, the lesson is about the practice of male dominance over females (dominated). This lengthy learning process left its mark on Ibu, Mila, and even Annissa’s personalities. They are agents of patriarchal practices that are deeply rooted in the *pesantren*’s social environment, where women are consistently portrayed as second-class citizens. This is demonstrated by the above-mentioned quotations, in which female figures discuss women but continue to minimize their existence. This is what is known as symbolic violence, which blinds women and even legitimizes the unfair actions that are imposed upon them.

5. CONCLUSION

The conclusion is that women are now more willing to express themselves. With her critical mindset, women have sued for all gender injustices, particularly in religious rights. However, many women continue to underestimate the importance of thinking critically and criticizing every oppression they encounter, and one of the reasons for that is that the symbolic violence related to the patriarchal system remains too strong and leads to the emergence of agents of symbolic violence as a result of strong habits of past patriarchal habitus. There are still numerous gaps in the research that require further investigation concerning, i.e., how essential women are to the *pesantren* community, or how the habitus of women in the realm of *pesantren* can impact the mindset of the other character in this PBS novel.

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