

## Reproduction of gender-based symbolic violence in the weaving industry: A case study of Ikat Weaving in Kediri

Diah Handayani<sup>1\*</sup>, Aniello Iannone<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Universitas Islam Negeri Syekh Wasil Kediri, Indonesia

<sup>2</sup>Vice-Coordinator, Asia Desk, Geopolitica.info, Italy

| Article information   | Abstract  |
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| Submitted: 2025-07-10<br>Revised: 2025-12-02<br>Published: 2025-12-29   | Gender-based symbolic violence in weaving industries is reproduced through informal work systems, wage disparities, and age hierarchies normalized by local culture, producing inequalities perceived as natural in informal labor contexts. This study aims to analyze symbolic violence in the Kediri ikat weaving industry across three domains working hours, wage structures, and age disparities that reproduce domination, inequality, and worker compliance. This study employed a qualitative approach using a case study design in three weaving centers in Kediri, involving 12 participants. Data were collected through interviews, observation, and documentation, and were analyzed thematically with triangulation for validation. This study identifies three forms of symbolic violence: (1) working-time exploitation through the putting-out system, subtle threats, rights removal, and dominant habitus; (2) wage inequality through gender-based differentiation, devaluation of women's labor, and elimination of bonuses; and (3) age-based inequality through uniform wages, internalized resignation among elderly workers, and bonus allocation based on proximity to power structures. This study concludes that symbolic violence in working hours, wages, and age within the Kediri weaving industry is naturalized as normal practice, thereby sustaining structural inequalities that persist without resistance or critical awareness. This study contributes to the extension of Bourdieu's theory by revealing the reproduction of symbolic violence in weaving labor, and offers practical implications in the form of wage transparency, recognition of skills equality, and fair bonus distribution. |
| <b>Keywords:</b> Symbolic Violence, Gender, Habitus, Cultural Feminism. |   |



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\*Corresponding author: Diah Handayani, Department of Communication Science and Da'wah, Faculty of Ushuluddin and Da'wah, Universitas Islam Negeri Syekh Wasil Kediri, East Java, Indonesia email: [diahhandayani.kpi@uinkediri.ac.id](mailto:diahhandayani.kpi@uinkediri.ac.id)

## INTRODUCTION

The reproduction of gender-based symbolic violence is a structural problem that operates latently through language, meaning, and social practices that are normalized within patriarchal societies. Its main issue lies in unequal gender power relations that are not perceived as violence but are instead regarded as natural and legitimate within social life. Bourdieu (1990) and Bourdieu & Thompson (1991) explain that symbolic violence occurs through the internalization of dominant norms, leading subordinate groups to unconsciously accept domination. Thapar-Bjorkert et al. (2016) further argue that such normalization renders gender inequality difficult to recognize as a form of violence. Empirically, the National Commission on Violence Against Women (2024) reports persistently high rates of violence against women in Indonesia, indicating the persistence of structural inequality. Thus, gender-based symbolic violence continues to be reproduced as it has been internalized as a social norm, thereby hindering the transformation toward substantive gender justice (Morgenroth & Ryan, 2018).

Based on a review of previous studies, research on the reproduction of gender-based symbolic violence can be grouped into three main strands. First, the internalization of patriarchal norms normalizes symbolic violence, gender domination, women's subordination, and their vulnerability to violence (Bourdieu, 1990; Vogel et al., 2024; Eger, 2021; Li, 2023). Second, the normalization of women's roles and structural inequalities within the textile industry perpetuates women's subordination and vulnerability to gender-based violence (Bourdieu, 1990; Vogel et al., 2024; Eger, 2021; Li, 2023). Third, horizontal and intergenerational power relations, as well as localized symbolic domination, generate symbolic violence that is perceived as natural and legitimate (Kabeer, 2010; Juran & Trivedi, 2015; Liang, 2024). Thus, existing studies remain largely structural and general in scope. This research addresses this gap by examining the micro-level mechanisms of gender-based symbolic violence reproduction within informal work systems, skill hierarchies, and cultural authority in the traditional ikat weaving industry in Kediri.

This study aims to analyze symbolic violence in the Kediri ikat weaving industry across three domains: working hours, wage structures, and age disparities that reproduce domination, inequality, and workers' compliance. Furthermore, the study seeks to address three main research questions: (1) How is symbolic violence related to working hours manifested through the putting-out system, subtle threats, the elimination of labor rights, and dominant habitus? (2) How is symbolic violence in wages reproduced through gender differentiation, the devaluation of women's skills, and the removal of bonuses? (3) How does symbolic violence based on age occur through uniform wage practices, elderly workers' resignation, and the monopolization of bonuses through power relations? Accordingly, this study contributes to the expansion of symbolic violence theory and postcolonial feminism while offering recommendations for fair, equitable, and culturally sensitive labor policies within the informal weaving industry.

This study is grounded in the argument that symbolic violence in the Kediri ikat weaving industry does not occur incidentally; rather, it is structurally embedded through three mutually reinforcing domains: working hours, wages, and age. In the domain of working hours, the normalization of the putting-out system and subtle threats generate workers' compliance without overt resistance. In the wage domain, the naturalization of gender-based wage differences devalues women's skills by framing them as "natural talents." In the age domain, wage uniformity disregards the capacities of elderly workers, while their resignation is used to justify the existing system. These three domains demonstrate that structural inequality persists because it is naturalized through habitus,

doxa, and social surveillance. Workers often fail to recognize domination because power operates subtly through language, everyday regulations, and seemingly neutral practices. Accordingly, this study demonstrates that exploitation is not always physical in nature, but is frequently concealed within practices that are perceived as normal and legitimate.

## METHOD

### *Research Approach*

This study employed a qualitative-critical approach with an intrinsic case study design to gain an in-depth understanding of how symbolic violence is reproduced in the ikat weaving community in Bandar Kidul, Kediri. The qualitative approach was chosen because it allows for the exploration of meanings, symbolic practices, and subjective experiences that cannot be reduced to quantitative indicators, while the critical perspective is used to reveal the hidden power relations embedded in the everyday social practices of women (Stake, 1995; Tomaszewski et al., 2020). The research was conducted in three weaving studios, Medali Mas I, Medali Mas II, and Kodok Ngorek, which were selected purposively because they represent variations in the generations of weavers, symbolic authority structures, and the sustainability of the weaving tradition in Kampung Tenun Bandar, a historical center where weaving skills are passed down matrilineally and women are the main actors in production.

### *Participants and Data Collection*

Data were collected through semi-structured in-depth interviews, participant observation, and documentation. The study involved a total of 12 participants, consisting of 9 male and female weavers and 3 individuals who served as owners, vice owners, or supervisors. Participants were selected using purposive sampling from three predetermined weaving industries, following the principle of data saturation (Guest et al., 2006) to ensure depth and diversity of information. The participant group also included senior weavers, junior weavers, community facilitators, and local cultural figures. Participant observation focused on production routines, training interactions, aesthetic evaluation processes, and subtle gestures reflecting symbolic authority and compliance mechanisms (Cabral et al., 2024). The documentation study included local historical archives, visual recordings of the weaving process, and cultural narratives related to motifs and skill transmission.

### *Research Stages*

This research was conducted through several interrelated stages. The pre-field stage began with social mapping of the weaving community, tracing local historical archives, and obtaining ethical permits as a basis for building contextual understanding and initial relationships with participants (Geekiyanage et al., 2021). The next stage was field data collection, which was conducted in parallel through in-depth interviews, participant observation, and documentation to capture the dynamics of social practices holistically (Friedemann et al., 2011). Along with this process, preliminary analysis and reflection were carried out simultaneously to identify initial patterns, tensions in meaning, and indications of power relations that emerge from the data. The final stage involves in-depth analysis and validation of findings through theme reinforcement, theoretical interpretation, and verification of results to ensure analytical consistency and reliability of research findings.

### *Data Analysis*

Data analysis followed the thematic analysis procedure proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006), starting from verbatim transcription, open coding, to the development of main themes such as symbolic authority, norms of compliance, resistance to innovation, and

hidden criticism. The analysis process was iterative and reflective, in which the researcher repeatedly linked empirical data with the theoretical framework. The themes that emerged were then interpreted using Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, symbolic capital, and doxa, combined with a cultural feminist perspective to examine how symbolic domination is reproduced and negotiated in everyday gender relations (Schofield, 2021; Uekusa et al., 2024).

### *Validity and Ethics*

To ensure the reliability of the findings, this study applied methodological triangulation, member checking, peer debriefing, and audit trails that documented all analytical and methodological decisions (Ahmed, 2024; Schlunegger et al., 2024). Ethically, all participants provided informed consent, their identities were disguised, and sensitive narratives were treated with care to avoid reproducing symbolic inequalities in the research process (Balkin et al., 2023).

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Result

#### Normalizing women workers' time exploitation in weaving industries

Working-time arrangements are often perceived merely as technical necessities. However, behind seemingly neutral regulations lie subtle forms of domination over workers. Provisions concerning working hours, production targets, sanctions, and home-based working systems may function as mechanisms of symbolic violence that primarily benefit employers. Working hours are not simply a matter of time calculation, but rather a site of power relations that cultivate compliance without overt resistance.

In the interviews, two junior workers described their experiences regarding the working system in the weaving industry. Informant Y (junior worker) stated, "If I make mistakes, my wages become lower, so I try to work quickly and accurately. It already feels normal, even though it is sometimes exhausting." Similarly, Sulistyawati (junior worker) explained, "If I work slowly, my income decreases. I try to stay focused and finish on time. Sometimes it is tiring, but I have become accustomed to it." In addition, D (male weaver) stated, "We spend the entire day weaving, then return home to cook and take care of the children. But that is our responsibility, and everyone expects it from us." These findings indicate that junior workers internalize economic sanctions as natural consequences of mistakes or slow performance. Fatigue is normalized as part of everyday routine, demonstrating how symbolic violence operates without overt resistance and perpetuates self-discipline in order to maintain income.

**Table 1**

*Symbolic Violence in Working Hours within the Weaving Industry*

| No | Main Theme                             | Symbolic Violence  | Reproduction Mechanism  | Impact  |
|----|--|--|---|---|
| 1  | Normalization of unclear working hours | The putting-out system (bringing home non-mechanical looms/ATBM) without fixed working-hour calculations is perceived as a form of "flexibility" or "convenience" rather than exploitation | There are no transparent working-hour standards; production targets apply only at the workplace | Workers lose access to labor protection, occupational safety, and overtime wages; working time becomes immeasurable |
| 2  | Dismissal threats as subtle            | Supervisors' reprimands accompanied by threats of  | Threats do not need to be explicitly enforced   | Workers operate under silent fear; even minor   |

|   |  |  |  |  |
|---|--|--|--|--|
|   | control                                    | being “reported to the owner” (risk of dismissal) are internalized as normal   | because fear has already been embedded; workers comply without resistance  | absences are perceived as fatal  |
| 3 | Elimination of overtime rights and bonuses | Workers are required to work longer hours during periods of increased demand without receiving additional compensation     | Wage, overtime, and bonus policies have historically never been provided; there is no tradition of demanding such rights | Labor exploitation becomes normalized; workers passively accept injustice  |
| 4 | Imposition of dominant cultural habitus    | Employers with strict disciplinary practices impose their work culture on workers who possess more flexible working habits | Dominant culture prevails, while workers’ culture becomes unconsciously subordinated                                     | Strict regulations are perceived as the “correct way of working”; injustice is legitimized as part of work ethic |

Source: processed by the researcher, 2025

Table 1 demonstrates the existence of symbolic violence in the working-hour arrangements of the Kediri ikat weaving industry. First, there is the normalization of unclear working hours through the putting-out system. Second, dismissal threats function as a subtle form of control that is internalized by workers. Third, overtime rights and bonuses are eliminated despite increasing production demands. Fourth, sanctions are imposed on workers for humane absences, such as illness or bereavement, which are treated as violations. Fifth, employers impose a dominant cultural habitus characterized by strict discipline upon workers who are accustomed to more flexible practices. These five themes indicate that the exploitation of working time is perpetuated through subtle mechanisms that remain largely unrecognized and are perceived as normal by workers.

Based on the findings, symbolic violence operates through the simultaneous interaction of structural and cultural domination. Structurally, it is manifested in the absence of standardized working hours, the neglect of overtime rights, and the implementation of sanction systems that criminalize humane conditions such as illness or bereavement. Culturally, the employers’ habitus of strict discipline is imposed as the only “correct way of working,” leading workers particularly women to internalize feelings of guilt when they fail to meet production targets or are unable to attend work. Dismissal threats do not need to be explicitly enforced because fear has already been deeply embedded. As a result, the exploitation of working hours ranging from 9 to 15 hours per day is normalized as a form of “flexibility” or a “natural consequence” of employment. Workers remain largely unaware that they are being dominated because power operates subtly through language, everyday regulations, and seemingly neutral practices.

### **Naturalizing wage inequality against women in weaving industries**

Wage disparities between male and female workers are commonly legitimized through arguments concerning differences in job types, skill levels, and physical labor demands. However, such arguments are not entirely neutral, as they contain mechanisms of symbolic violence that render inequality natural and socially acceptable. Work associated with women is often positioned as light, meticulous, and economically less valuable. Consequently, unequal power structures continue to be reproduced through wage systems. Thus, wages do not merely represent the value of labor, but also reflect gendered relations of domination within the industrial sphere.

**Table 2***Findings of Symbolic Violence in Wage Inequality*

| No | Main Theme  | Symbolic Violence  | Reproduction Mechanism   | Impact  |
|----|---|--|--|---|
| 1  | Wage differentiation based on physical and gender constructions | Dyeing and reek work (considered to require “greater physical strength”) are assigned to men and paid higher wages (IDR 2,250,000/month), whereas weaving work requiring meticulousness (associated with women) is paid only IDR 45,000–75,000 per piece, with monthly earnings ranging from IDR 900,000–1,250,000 | Physical strength is constructed as a natural added value for men, while women’s meticulousness is perceived as an innate ability that does not deserve equal remuneration | Female workers accept lower wages without protest because such disparities are perceived as natural consequences rather than structural injustice |
| 2  | Elimination of bonuses and overtime pay during increased demand | Rising production orders force workers to work longer and faster, yet no bonuses or overtime compensation are provided for either daily or piece-rate workers  | The urgency of meeting production deadlines is normalized as a market demand; historically, there has been no tradition of demanding additional compensation               | Workers perform extra labor without adequate compensation; piece-rate workers experience income reductions without protection                     |
| 3  | Symbolic devaluation of meticulous (feminized) skills           | Silk and semi-silk weaving require a high degree of precision and meticulousness, yet wages are only slightly higher than those for cotton weaving despite greater risks and skill requirements  | Meticulousness is perceived as women’s natural talent rather than a professional skill worthy of equal valuation with physical labor                                       | Workers, particularly women and elderly workers, fail to recognize the economic value of their skills and accept low wages as normal              |

Source: processed by the researcher, 2025

Table 2 demonstrates three forms of symbolic violence embedded within the wage structure of the Kediri ikat weaving industry. First, wage differentiation is constructed on the basis of physical strength and gender, whereby men’s work (such as dyeing) is compensated at a higher rate than weaving work, which is associated with women. Second, bonuses and overtime payments are eliminated during periods of increased demand, while the urgency of meeting production targets is normalized as a market necessity. Third, there is a symbolic devaluation of feminized meticulous skills, in which the expertise required to handle silk threads is perceived as a natural talent rather than a professional competence deserving remuneration equal to men’s physical labor.

Based on the findings, symbolic violence within the wage structure operates through processes of naturalization and devaluation. Wage disparities between occupations requiring “physical strength” (associated with men) and those requiring “meticulousness” (associated with women) are naturalized as if they reflect biological destiny rather than social construction. The elimination of bonuses and overtime pay is further perpetuated through the normalization of production urgency as an unquestionable market demand, particularly because there is no historical tradition of claiming labor rights. Meanwhile, the meticulous skills required in silk weaving are symbolically devalued by categorizing them as women’s “natural talents” rather than professional competencies worthy of proper remuneration. As a consequence, female and elderly workers internalize low wages as a normal condition, without recognizing that the economic value of their expertise is, in fact, equivalent to physical labor.

### Wage uniformity, hidden exploitation of elderly weaving workers

Age disparity in the workplace is often unrecognized as a form of structural injustice. Elderly workers are frequently positioned within the same work systems as younger workers without due consideration of their physical limitations, endurance, and productivity. Wage policies that appear neutral, such as piece-rate systems, can obscure symbolic violence by disregarding differences in capacity among workers. The resignation and gratitude shown by elderly workers are then interpreted as a reasonable acceptance of unequal working conditions. Thus, age becomes a hidden factor contributing to the devaluation of labor within industrial structures.

Interviews with weaving workers regarding age disparity revealed the following. Ahmadi (senior worker) stated, "We respect the seniors and this house because it has been passed down through the family. Even though the work is hard, we are proud to continue it." Meanwhile, Y (junior worker) said, "Sometimes the government holds design workshops. Only the seniors attend. We can only watch and hope that one day we can join." Similarly, I (junior worker) expressed, "We respect the seniors because they understand the motifs better. Sometimes they correct us gently, but it feels normal, as usual." Thus, age disparity operates through respect, tradition, and the authority of seniority, all of which are considered natural. Junior workers accept limited access to training and senior-led corrections as part of the work culture. This condition illustrates symbolic violence, as age-based power relations are normalized in everyday work practices.

**Table 3**  
*Symbolic Violence in Age Disparity*

| No | Main Theme  | Symbolic Violence   | Reproduction Mechanism   | Impact   |
|----|---|---|--|--|
| 1  | Wage standardization that disregards the productive capacity of elderly workers | Elderly and younger workers receive the same piece-rate wage (IDR 45,000). However, elderly workers are only capable of producing one piece per day (IDR 45,000), whereas younger workers can produce 2–3 pieces per day (up to IDR 135,000). Nominal equality thus perpetuates real inequality | A single piece-rate system is naturalized as "fair" because it applies equally to all workers, despite ignoring differences in physical capacity. Elderly workers rarely question the system because it is perceived as a natural consequence of aging | Elderly workers earn only IDR 700,000–900,000 per month, while younger workers earn IDR 1,500,000–1,750,000 per month. Elderly workers remain grateful despite experiencing inequality |
| 2  | Internalization of elderly workers' resignation due to limited resources        | Elderly workers possess limited material and cultural capital, leading them to accept working conditions without resistance   | Their resignation is used to justify the system as already "adequate" because elderly workers are still employed; no affirmative policies are implemented  | Elderly workers continue working merely to meet basic needs, bring their own meals, and do not demand wage increases or bonuses  |
| 3  | Differentiated access to bonuses based on proximity to power                    | Administrators and cashiers receive bonuses, whereas production workers (the majority of whom are elderly workers) do not receive any bonuses   | Proximity to the owner functions as an invisible form of capital that perpetuates unequal distribution   | Elderly workers accept inequality as a fixed rule and remain unaware of their entitlement to bonuses   |

Source: processed by the researcher, 2025

Table 3 demonstrates the existence of symbolic violence within the age disparities experienced by workers in the Kediri ikat weaving industry. First, wage standardization disregards the productive capacity of elderly workers: both elderly and younger workers receive the same piece-rate payment, yet elderly workers are only capable of producing one piece per day, whereas younger workers can produce two to three pieces. Second, elderly workers internalize resignation due to limitations in material and cultural resources. Third, access to bonuses is differentiated according to proximity to power: administrators and cashiers receive bonuses, while production workers most of whom are elderly receive none.

Based on the findings, symbolic violence within age disparities operates through the naturalization of inequality, whereby a single piece-rate system is perceived as “fair” because it applies equally to all workers, despite disregarding the differences in physical capacity between elderly and younger workers. This condition is further reinforced by the internalization of resignation: elderly workers, who possess limited material and cultural capital, accept their working conditions without resistance and even feel “grateful,” allowing such resignation to be used by employers as justification that the system is already adequate. At the same time, unequal access is legitimized, as bonuses are granted only to those who are closely connected to positions of power (such as cashiers and administrators), while elderly production workers remain unaware of their entitlement to such benefits because they have historically never received them. Consequently, structural domination continues to persist without being recognized as a form of exploitation.

## Discussion

The study on gender-based symbolic violence in the weaving industry draws three major conclusions. First, symbolic violence in working hours includes the normalization of the putting-out system, subtle threats, the elimination of labor rights, sanctions for absence, and the imposition of a dominant habitus. Second, symbolic violence within the wage structure encompasses gender-based differentiation, the devaluation of women’s meticulous skills, and the removal of bonuses under the justification of market demands. Third, symbolic violence related to age disparities includes wage standardization that disadvantages elderly workers, the internalization of resignation due to limited access to resources, and bonus distribution that benefits only those who are closely connected to positions of power. Accordingly, symbolic violence operates systematically through working hours, wages, and age by means of normalization, the naturalization of inequality, and the internalization of compliance, thereby enabling structural injustice to persist and be perceived by workers as a normal condition.

This study intersects with the issue of hidden exploitation in female-dominated, labor-intensive industries within the informal economies of developing countries (Franco-Torres et al., 2021; McCarthy, 2024). Practices of verbal correction and symbolic discipline, framed as “weaving culture,” often escape policy attention because they are obscured by tradition and social harmony (Pollmann, 2021; Dahwal & Fernando, 2024). Norms of reluctance and deference (sungkan and ewuh pakewuh) further legitimize inequality in creative economy production (Vogeley & Oetojo, 2025), reflecting challenges to SDG 8 concerning decent work (Hayes & Kleiner, 2001; Son Hing et al., 2023). This study identifies three main patterns: symbolic violence in working hours through the putting-out system, subtle threats, the erasure of rights, and the dominance of habitus; symbolic violence in wages through gender differentiation, the devaluation of women's labor, and the elimination of bonuses; and symbolic violence in age through uniform wages, elderly workers' resignation, and power-proximity-based bonuses. Thus, symbolic violence persists through cultural legitimization.

This study extends Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, doxa, and symbolic violence into the realm of traditional female-dominated craft work. Various forms of hidden domination in work hour arrangements, unequal wage structures, and differential treatment of elderly workers demonstrate how habitus is transmitted through weaving practices, shaping dispositions of compliance and aesthetic standards accepted as "the way things should be" (Chantamool et al., 2024). Doxa functions as a natural assumption that senior authority is absolute and that creativity must follow tradition, facilitating symbolic control that is internalized by junior workers (Graziano, 2025; Zhu et al., 2021). Social surveillance acts as a mediating mechanism, wherein indirect criticism is framed as a "learning process" (Zhong et al., 2023; Contreras et al., 2025). The internalization of domination is reflected in compliance, minimal critical expression, and self-censorship (Han et al., 2024). The legitimacy of senior authority is produced through feedback loops between social surveillance, habitus, and the internalization of subordination (Bourdieu, 1990; Uwen & Ukam, 2024).

This study provides an understanding that subtle domination operates through the putting-out system, covert threats, the erasure of rights, and the imposition of habitus within working hours; gender wage differentiation and the devaluation of women's labor in the wage structure; as well as uniform wages that disadvantage elderly workers and power-proximity-based bonuses within age disparity. Following Mahmood (2005), agency is not always expressed as resistance but can also be manifested through loyalty and acceptance of unequal power relations. Junior and female weavers have internalized compliance, respect for seniority, and pride in tradition. Social transformation is insufficient if it only changes material conditions (wages, contracts); it must also address symbolic and cultural consciousness (Samuel, 2013; Menéndez-Menéndez, 2014; Samuel et al., 2022). Symbolic violence demands attentiveness to seemingly neutral everyday practices that cumulatively shape domination embedded within collective identity.

Previous studies on the female weaving industry in Northeast India, East Nusa Tenggara (NTT), and Sumba have shown that the transmission of traditional knowledge simultaneously preserves culture and reproduces gender hierarchies (Varriale, 2015; Dias et al., 2020; Widiastuti et al., 2024; Krisnadi, 2024). Feminine labor often limits creativity and access to decision-making (Tong, 2018; Carrasco-Santos et al., 2024). The novelty of this research lies in mapping the intersections among symbolic violence in working hours (the putting-out system, covert threats, erasure of rights), wage structures (gender differentiation, devaluation of women's labor, elimination of bonuses), and age disparity (uniform wages that disadvantage elderly workers, resignation, power-proximity-based bonuses). This study emphasizes internal social surveillance as a key mechanism for the reproduction of symbolic violence beyond formal authority (Bardall, 2019; Pickles, 2022), while also highlighting local norms and emotional attachment to tradition. This contribution lies at the intersection of Bourdieu's theory, postcolonial feminism, and the economic anthropology of weaving crafts.

Based on the findings, several practical recommendations can be proposed. A transparent working-hour recording system should be implemented, particularly for workers engaged in the putting-out system, alongside the fulfillment of overtime rights and bonus entitlements. Dismissal threats used as subtle mechanisms of control should be eliminated and replaced with fair conflict-resolution mechanisms. In terms of wages, equal recognition should be given to both physical labor and meticulous work; women's skills must be acknowledged as professional competencies rather than natural talents. Bonuses should not be removed under the justification of market fluctuations. For elderly workers, a

proportional wage system based on productive capacity is necessary, accompanied by empowerment programs and equitable bonus distribution without discriminatory access. Local governments and MSME-related institutions should facilitate culturally sensitive labor-rights literacy programs for informal workers. Most importantly, weaving communities need to establish safe spaces for dialogue in order to negotiate fair labor practices without sacrificing their cultural identity.

## CONCLUSION

This study concludes that symbolic violence in the Kediri ikat weaving industry operates systematically through three interconnected domains. First, in relation to working hours, the normalization of the putting-out system without clear time limitations, dismissal threats as subtle forms of control, the elimination of overtime rights and bonuses, and sanctions against humane absences (such as illness or bereavement) perpetuate exploitation that is perceived as a form of “flexibility.” Second, within the wage structure, wage differentiation is constructed on the basis of gender, whereby men’s physical labor is valued more highly than women’s meticulous work, while silk-weaving expertise is devalued as a “natural talent” rather than recognized as a professional skill. Third, in terms of age disparities, wage standardization disregards the productive capacity of elderly workers, resignation is internalized due to limited access to resources, and bonuses are enjoyed only by those who are closely connected to positions of power. The central finding of this study is that structural injustice persists because it is naturalized as normality rather than enforced through physical coercion.

This study contributes to the expansion of Pierre Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus, doxa, and symbolic violence within the context of traditional craft labor dominated by women. The findings demonstrate that a habitus of compliance is transmitted through weaving practices, while doxa legitimizes senior authority and monopolized aesthetic standards. Its practical contribution lies in mapping the intersection between gender hierarchy, seniority, and economic vulnerability. The study proposes three key recommendations: the implementation of transparent working-hour recording systems for workers engaged in the putting-out system, the establishment of equitable wage schemes that recognize women’s expertise as professional skills, and the fair distribution of bonuses without discriminatory access. Local governments and MSME-related institutions should also facilitate culturally sensitive labor-rights literacy programs for informal workers.

The primary limitation of this study lies in its geographical scope, which was confined to three weaving workshops in Kediri; therefore, the findings cannot be generalized to the broader traditional weaving industry across Indonesia. The use of a qualitative method involving 12 participants also limits statistical generalizability, although the depth of the data was ensured through the principle of data saturation. Future research should expand the geographical scope to other weaving centers, such as Sumba, Toraja, or South Central Timor, in order to examine whether similar patterns of symbolic violence are present. Comparative cross-cultural studies involving Javanese, East Nusa Tenggara, and Sumatran weaving communities would further enrich understanding of the role of local norms. Quantitative research is also necessary to measure the correlation between the internalization of compliance, wage structures, and productivity levels. In addition, collaborative action research with weaving communities could be developed to design interventions aimed at deconstructing exploitative practices.

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## AUTHOR CONTRIBUTION STATEMENT

**Diah Handayani:** Conceptualization; Data Curation; Formal Analysis; Investigation; Methodology; Writing Original Draft. **Aniello Iannone:** Conceptualization; Visualization; Writing Review & Editing.

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