

Habitus and labeling of at-risk school dropout children at the high school level in Lamongan Regency

Habitus dan labelling anak rawan putus sekolah pada jenjang sekolah menengah atas di Kabupaten Lamongan

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Abstract

Children who are at risk of dropping out of school are a social problem in the field of education. This study aimed to determine the habitus and labeling of at-risk school dropout children at senior high schools in the Lamongan Regency. The theoretical framework used was the Habitus theory proposed by Pierre Bourdieu and the Labeling theory by George Herbert Mead. This study employed qualitative methods. The informants in this study were high school students or equivalent. This study found that habitus among at-risk school dropout children leads to deviant behavior and labeling. This can encourage children to drop out of school. In addition, fields and capital also do not support children in studying. Children's problems are also seen in the deviations committed both in the social and educational environment. That is what makes children have a label or nickname in society and their peer environment. This study can be used to inform government policies in the field of education, particularly in dealing with children prone to dropping out of school. In this case, the involvement of schools, teachers, parents, and the community is also essential.

Keywords: at-risk school dropout children; children's education; habitus and labeling

Abstrak

Anak rawan putus sekolah merupakan masalah sosial di bidang pendidikan. Studi ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui habitus dan labelling anak rawan putus sekolah pada sekolah menengah atas di Kabupaten Lamongan. Kerangka teori yang digunakan yaitu teori Habitus yang di gagas oleh Pieree Bourdieu dan teori Labelling dari George Herbert Mead. Studi ini menggunakan metode kualitatif. Informan pada penelitian ini yaitu siswa Sekolah Menengah Atas atau sederajat. Studi ini menemukan bahwa habitus di kalangan anak rawan putus sekolah mengarah pada perilaku menyimpang dan mendapatkan pelebellan. Hal tersebut dapat mendorong anak menjadi rawan putus sekolah. Selain itu arena dan modal juga kurang mendukung anak dalam menempuh pendidikan. Permasalahan anak juga dilihat dari penyimpangan yang dilakukan baik di lingkungan sosial maupun di lingkungan pendidikan. Hal itulah yang menjadikan anak memiliki label atau cap dalam masyarakat maupun lingkungan pertemanannya. Studi ini dapat dijadikan dasar dalam pengambilan kebijakan pemerintah di bidang pendidikan terutama dalam menangani anak rawan putus sekolah. Dalam hal ini, keterlibatan sekolah, guru, orang tua, dan masyarakat juga mutlak diperlukan.

Kata Kunci: anak rawan putus sekolah; pendidikan anak; habitus dan labelling

Introduction

Education is one of the most fundamental aspects of life. It plays a crucial role in developing high-quality human resources. These human resources are the main asset in building a nation's civilization. Without an excellent and qualified human resource, the availability of abundant natural resources, combined with advanced capital and technology resources, has not made enough contributions. This is possible through education. Unfortunately, according to the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology's (Kemendikbudristek) report in 2021, there were 75,303 children dropped out of school. Based on this data, there were 12,063 dropouts from vocational high schools (SMK) and 10,022 dropouts from senior high schools (SMA) (Annur 2021).

Indrajaya & Iswara (2014) state that education is a basic need for individuals to enlighten the quality of a nation's life. The effort to improve people's well-being can be realized through education. Education plays a role as a means of character building for a nation and country to stand out in the eyes of the world. In addition, according to Article 1 paragraph 2 of Law No. 20 of 2003, "National education means education based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, and is rooted in the religious values, national cultures of Indonesia, and one that is responsive to the needs of the ever-changing era."

Sudiana & Sudiana (2015) suggests that the higher the level of education, the greater one's knowledge and experience. Furthermore, in the workplace, the higher the level of education, the higher the wages that can be earned (Kurniawan 2010). This allows a person to obtain a decent job and avoid poverty. Higher levels of education can help to reduce the number of people living in poverty (Sutrisna & Pratiwi 2014). However, there are numerous educational issues that must be addressed as part of the process.

The main issue in education in Indonesia is the high number of children who are unable to continue their education. In fact, if we review the policy, Indonesia has implemented a 12-year compulsory education program in which every citizen should receive an education regardless of their family, social, economic, and cultural backgrounds. Several factors can contribute to this issue. According to Madani & Risfaisal (2016) study, some of the factors that cause children to drop out of school include a lack of motivation to attend school due to feelings of inferiority, an inability to socialize with their school environment, and being mocked for not being able to pay school fees. Economic incapacity in the family affects the child's ability to socialize appropriately with their school friends. Apart from that, due to the influence of friends, they were invited to play along and as a result, they frequently skipped class and did not go to class, their performance at school decreased, and they were embarrassed to return to school.

In a study conducted by Safitri (2020), dropout cases are caused by various factors, including (1) peer influence, (2) difficulty in following lessons, (3) low economic conditions of parents, and (4) lack of parental support. Furthermore, Wardani et al. (2021) study also revealed several causes of children dropping out of school, including (1) low level of parental education, (2) low economic conditions combined with increasing family burdens, (3) lack of motivation for learning, (4) unsupportive environment, and (5) poor health. Meanwhile, Syahrul (2021) study mentions that the cause of children dropping out of school is a lack of interest in school, combined with inadequate conditions in the region. Finally, Hakim (2020) study states that the most significant factor causing children to drop out of school is the absence of scholarships such as KIP or PIP.

Previous research has shown several phenomena related to school dropout among children. This is due to a variety of internal and external factors affecting the students. According to the Statistics on People's Welfare in Lamongan Regency in 2022 (Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Lamongan 2022), the school participation rate for middle and upper age groups is only 73.67%, implying that nearly a quarter of all students who should be pursuing upper secondary education do not do so. One of the factors contributing to educational inequality in Lamongan Regency is the gap between public and private schools in the field of school dropout. Public schools, particularly upper secondary schools with a large number of applicants and students, provide excellent learning facilities. In contrast, private schools lack adequate quality and facilities, as evidenced by the shortage of applicants.

The various factors mentioned above about school dropouts become intriguing when it comes to children who are at risk of dropping out, particularly those who are vulnerable to not continuing their education in upper secondary school. This is due to the habitus formed in the social environment of education, the field or area where vulnerable children pursue their education, and the resources they have. Furthermore, deviations have an effect on the labeling that society and peers assign to these vulnerable children, which can either trigger or encourage them to drop out.

Given these facts, the researchers are interested to conduct research on children who are on the verge of dropping out. The goal is to understand the habitus that is formed and whether there is a label attached to these vulnerable children. Studies focusing on this topic have never been done before. Various studies on

school dropouts focusing on the causes, effects, and influencing factors have been conducted. However, this study on vulnerable children who are at risk of dropping out of school is a new study that uncovers the habitus and labeling that these children experience, making them vulnerable to school dropouts.

Research Method

This study is descriptive qualitative research. The objective of qualitative research is to uncover facts that occur in the field and phenomena that occur in society as they are. Qualitative research is one of the descriptive studies in the form of written words or the observed behavior of individuals in society. The qualitative research method places individuals as the subject of the study. The subject of the study is referred to as an informant who is given the freedom to provide information about the reality that exists in the field but is limited according to the focus that will be studied. Furthermore, in qualitative research, the interview guide instrument is used to elicit answers from informants based on informants' thoughts and experiences via interviews.

The underlying thinking or paradigm used in this study is the non-positivist or interpretive paradigm. This is used because the qualitative research method is designed to explore and describe reality in its entirety, which is not obtained in quantitative research. The positivist paradigm views social reality as something that is constantly moving (dynamic). This social reality is nothing more than how people construct everything that happens in their lives or the values that people accept as the foundation for their behavior in their life's reality. In qualitative research, the truth of social reality is dual rather than single.

This research was conducted in a home for at-risk school dropouts located in Lamongan Regency. This area was chosen due to the presence of students in several high schools in Lamongan Regency who have economic difficulties, family problems, a lack of parental support, and certain educational stigmas. This puts them at risk of dropping out of school. As a result, it is critical to understand these children's daily routines and how they respond to the stigmas placed on them. Additionally, this is supported by data from the Statistics on People's Welfare in Lamongan Regency in 2022 (Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Lamongan 2022), which shows that the school participation rate for middle to upper-age students is only 73.67%. This means that almost a quarter of the total number of students who should be continuing their secondary education are dropping out.

The research subjects are individuals who have information and can provide data to the researchers. In this case, the research subjects are nine main informants and three supporting informants identified by the researchers. The main informants are at-risk school dropout children, and the researchers selected nine children who fit the criteria. Meanwhile, three supporting informants, who are parents or guardians, provide support and additional data on at-risk school dropout children. This study's informants are high school students in Lamongan Regency who are at risk of dropping out. The researchers used a non-random informant selection technique to obtain informants for this study, in which informants were chosen based on specific characteristics related to the research topic. This approach was chosen because the researchers needed to ensure that the chosen informants could provide the expected information about the problem under investigation. The criteria set for this study are at-risk school dropout children who have various problems in their daily lives, such as family, economic, education, juvenile delinquency, discomfort due to stigmatization, and others. They also are currently attending either public or private schools in Lamongan Regency.

The main informants were selected using the snowball method. This was used to locate additional informants among those who had already been interviewed. In practice, one method connects one subject to another in research. This method is based on the analogy of a snowball, with a small snowball that gradually rolls and collides with other snowballs, growing larger and larger. In this case, the study begins with one person or case and then spreads or expands to several people who meet the research's criteria. Then, the next respondents will be found through the relationships found by the researchers.

This sampling process continues until sufficient information is obtained. Three activities were carried out simultaneously to divide the data analysis process in qualitative research, including data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing. As a result of this research, the researchers obtained nine main informants and three supporting informants who could provide data for this research. The main informants and supporting informants differ in that main informants have in-depth knowledge of the problem being studied, whereas supporting informants are chosen based on their knowledge and frequent formal or informal relationships with the main informants. The main informants were AKA, REN, MUN, CIN, HAN, UTA, ADU, ILA, and NUN, while the supporting informants were LEN, ENI, and ALI.

Results and Discussion

The habitus of at-risk school dropout children

Habitus is a collective phenomenon that enables individuals to understand the social world, but it is not synchronized with the social structure in society at the actor level. It is also regarded as the foundation of a person's personality. Habitus is also an internal structure that is being restructured, so in practice, actors not only have the ability to choose but are also given freedom. This freedom is determined by an actor's habitus. Furthermore, Bourdieu also states that individuals have their own freedom to act, but habitus guides them and makes their actions appear "normal".

According to Bourdieu, the concept of habitus does not distinguish between social actors and the structures that exist within them. As a result, habitus can also be defined as a social structure that has been internalized and transformed into a habit that can be constantly manifested. Habitus not only produces but is also produced by social life. Bourdieu defines habitus as the outcome of what actors should think and what actors choose to do (Ritzer & Goodman 2003). In the case of students at risk of dropping out of school, we can see how their habitus in everyday life revolves around pursuing education, their motivation, and how important education is to them as individuals or actors. Furthermore, it can be seen in the subjects they study in school and the resources they have, which range from economic, cultural, social, and symbolic resources. These are revealed by several informants in this study.

The field of at-risk school dropout children

A field will form in the issue of the underlying habitus, which is called a field. The field can be referred to as a place where an actor will achieve something specific. Bourdieu defines a field or field as a battle (Ritzer 2012). In this case, several informants have different fields in achieving an education. In this subsection, we explain why informants choose individual or actor fields to achieve education.

According to the findings of this study, the choice of fields for at-risk school dropouts is influenced by family economic status, the environment of the informant's place of residence, and the informant's friendships. The chosen field determines the informant's future educational opportunities. If the chosen school field can assist the informant in achieving their objectives, then the battlefields in weaving education become feasible. However, if the chosen school field cannot adequately support and facilitate the informant, the informant will be jeopardized. This is determined not only by the school's location but also by the school's facilities and quality. According to the interviews and explanations above, four of the nine informants entered suitable and adequate fields and fields, while the remaining five entered inadequate private schools.

The modal of at-risk school dropout children

In Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice, capital exists alongside habitus and field. Bourdieu also stated that habitus is closely related to capital, as some habitus contributes to the multiplication of different types of capital. Bourdieu distinguishes four types of capital, including economic capital, cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital. Capital is associated with Bourdieu's habitus as a guide and

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classification of the field as a location in which capital operates. In the case of at-risk school dropouts, capital becomes critical to obtaining a decent education. However, when capital is not adequately met, it becomes a risk.

Resources in economic capital can be both a means of production and a financial means for individuals or actors to pursue education. Economic capital for at-risk school dropouts in this case includes school fees, pocket money, and educational facilities. Cultural capital refers to the overall intellectual qualifications that individuals or actors can produce as a result of formal education or family heritage. Cultural capital is one component of an individual's or actor's learning process through social reality as it exists in society's social structure. Cultural capital for at-risk school dropouts in this case includes parents' educational status, the value of education for children, their ability to understand lessons, as well as formal and non-formal skills and expertise.

Based on in-depth interviews conducted by the researchers, the educational status of the informant's parents varied from elementary school to a bachelor's degree. There were eighteen biological parents among the nine main informants, two of whom were elementary school graduates, three were bachelor's degree graduates, four were high school graduates, and the remaining nine were junior high school graduates. Based on the facts and realities discovered, it is possible to conclude that the informant's parents' educational level will have an impact on the child's mindset and learning patterns. In this case, the orientation given to the importance of education is also influenced by the parents' understanding of education. The higher the education level of the parents, the more the child's thought patterns and motivation to learn will be broadened and completed. In this case, habitus in school learning will emerge.

In achieving education, social capital is one of the modalities related to an individual's or actor's network or friendship. The researchers explain the modalities generated by individuals or actors in achieving social capital in both the residential and school environments in this case. Symbolic capital is a type of capital owned by individuals or actors that are intended to be recognized by a specific group in society, whether institutional or non-institutional. In the case of children at risk of dropping out of school, symbolic capital is chosen through organizations, communities, or specific groups. It has the power to recognize and change the perspective of individuals or actors. Only two of the nine informants who were at risk of dropping out of school had symbolic capital from the organizations or groups they followed. These were revealed by the informants HAN and ILA.

Habitus practice, field selection, and capital owned by at-risk school dropout children

According to research on the habits of at-risk school dropout children, these children have two characteristics. First, non-exigent, as evidenced by the capital owned by at-risk school dropout children. This ranges from middle to upper economic capital as well as cultural capital derived from parents' educational levels ranging from high school to college. In this case, the educational status of parents is considered high. They have social capital as well as educational and social capital, but no symbolic capital. This is also supported by the field, which encourages students to attend favored and elite public schools with adequate facilities.

Second, exigent, as evidenced by the lower capital owned in comparison to non-exigent. This includes economic capital from the middle to lower classes, cultural capital based on their parents' low educational status, and social capital derived from their social and educational environment. They also have very little symbolic capital. This is also supported by the field, which encourages students to attend private schools with inadequate facilities.

According to the research results as shown in Table 1, there are various types of habitus in students who are at risk of dropping out of school, ranging from laziness in studying, low learning intensity, not doing assignments, often skipping school, frequently falling behind in lessons, often requiring remedial classes after exams, being addicted to work, and hanging out with friends. In this case, it is in line with

research conducted by Arsita et al. (2022) which states that the factors causing students to drop out of school are seen as students' lack of interest or willingness to attend school, the school being perceived as uninteresting, and students' inability to follow lessons. Furthermore, the personal circumstances of students at risk of dropping out who are addicted to work frequently have a negative impact on the educational side. This is in accordance with the research by Miftakhuddin & Senen (2020) which states that students who drop out of school often believe that money is the most important thing in life. School becomes less important if the child has earned money from work.

Table 1.
Characteristics of Pierre Bourdieu's Habitus Theory in at-risk school dropout children

Charac- teristics	Infor- mant	PIERRE BOURDIEU		
		Habitus	Field	Capital
At the risk of dropping out of school (non- exigent)	REN	-Laziness to study -Low learning intensity -High intensity of skipping school -Oversleep -Often falling behind in lessons -Often not doing assignments -Being addicted to works	-Guidance and recommendations from parents who come from Islamic boarding schools -Studying at a favorite state Islamic school	-Medium economic capital. -Cultural capital based on parents' quite high educational status. -Social capital comes from networks within the narrow scope of the school environment. -Does not have symbolic capital
	MUN	-Laziness to study -Often not doing assignments -Low learning intensity -Often requiring remedial classes after exams in all subjects	-Guidance and recommendations from an older cousin. -Studying at a favorite state Islamic school	-Medium economic capital. -Cultural capital based on parents' high educational status. -Social capital comes from networks within the narrow scope of the school environment. -Does not have symbolic capital
	NUN	-Laziness to study -Low learning intensity -Often falling behind in lessons -High intensity of skipping school -Hang out habit -The wrong mindset	-Invited by friends and desire to study in the urban field -Studying at a public school	-High economic capital. -Cultural capital based on parents' low educational status. - Social capital from networks in a fairly broad scope, from the school environment, boarding houses, and villages - Does not have symbolic capital
At the risk of dropping out of school (exigent)	CIN	-Laziness to study -Low learning intensity -Often falling behind in lessons -High intensity of skipping school -The intensity of using cell phones and watching movies is high.	-Influenced by friends. -Studying at a private school	-Low economic capital -Cultural based on parents' high educational status. -Social capital from networks within a narrow scope of the school environment and neighbors. -Does not have symbolic capital

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AKA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Laziness to study -Low learning intensity -Not doing the tasks -Often skipping the class -Promiscuity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Guidance and recommendations from an older cousin. -Studying at a favorite state Islamic school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Lower middle-class economic capital. -Cultural based on parents' low educational status -Social capital from networks within a narrow scope of the school environment and neighbors. -Does not have symbolic capital
HAN	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -High intensity of skipping school -Midnight sleep habit 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Influenced by friends and recommendations from parents due to lack of education costs -Studying at a private school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Low economic capital -Cultural based on parents' low educational status. -Social capital from the networks in a fairly broad scope, from the school environment, boarding houses, and villages -Symbolic following from PSHT and Banjari organizations at the village level.
UTA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Laziness to study -Low learning intensity -Difficulty understanding the material. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Influenced by friends and recommendations from parents due to lack of education costs -Studying at a private school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Low economic capital -Cultural capital based on parents' low educational status. -Social capital from friendship relations within a narrow scope of the school environment and neighbors -Does not have symbolic capital
ADU	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Laziness to study -Low learning intensity -Often falling behind in lessons -High intensity of skipping school -Hang out habit -Being addicted to games. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Influenced by friends and recommendations from parents due to lack of education costs -Studying at a private school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Low economic capital -Cultural based on parents' low educational status -Social capital comes from friendship relations within a sufficient scope of the school and village environment -Does not have symbolic capital
ILA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Low learning intensity -Often falling behind in lessons -High intensity of skipping school -Shy to meet girls 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Influenced by friends -Studying at a private school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Low economic capital -Cultural capital based on parents' low educational status. -Social capital comes from the network in broad scope, from the school environment, and village environment to outside the city -Symbolic capital that follows from the Scouting organization that is participated at school.

Source: Primary data

According to the theory of habitus proposed by Pierre Bourdieu, habitus is formed based on the personality of each individual. The way an individual forms and determines their habitus is based on the habits they do in their daily activities. Children who grow up in a social environment with workers will develop habitus that is similar to their surroundings. They will put their work ahead of their studies. Conversely, children who grow up in a supportive environment for learning and education will develop the habit of diligent study. This means that the individual or actor is formed by what is seen and becomes the choice of the individual to do and decide something.

The concept of habitus is obtained by individuals through their experiences and knowledge. The knowledge and experiences gained by individuals are then internalized into a habit or habitus, which leads to actions taken to achieve their future. In this case, individuals' knowledge and experiences are influenced by their social and educational environment. For example, in the case of children who are at risk of dropping out of school, if an individual or actor has poor habits in learning and education, they can be considered at-risk school dropout children. This can become an internal factor for the individual or actor, particularly if it is supported by various external factors, which can have a significant impact on their future education.

Furthermore, individuals also have the freedom to act and make decisions about their attitudes. Therefore, their decisions are based on what they do on a daily basis. The duration of an individual's habitus is determined by their ability to socialize with their surroundings. Habitus can change according to the environment, and individuals will adapt to changes in their environment. For example, children at risk of dropping out of school who used to always rank high in their class and study frequently can change and become the opposite. In this study, the findings revealed that at risk of school dropout children have habits that make them vulnerable to dropping out.

Then there's the issue of the field, which is a place for individuals or actors to accomplish something. In this study, the field occupied by individuals or actors can be interpreted as the school or place where they receive lessons. According to Bourdieu's theory, the selection of this field becomes a future battleground. According to the field generated in this study, individuals choose their field based on following friends, individual desires or actors to be able to attend school in urban areas, and recommendations or advice from close family members.

In the selection of the field, it can be said that the informant does not yet have adequate knowledge in selecting the school or field where they learn and seek knowledge. This is also influenced by the informant's unfavorable environmental conditions and the habitus formed in daily life. Therefore, the selection of the school field is seen based on following friends, individual desires or actors to be able to attend school in urban areas, and recommendations or advice from close family members, rather than a good school or facilities that support learning.

Next is the concept of capital. According to Bourdieu's theory, there are four types of capital, including economic capital, cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital. There are differences between the nine informants in the two categories. In the category of students at risk of dropping out who are non-exigent, individuals or actors have economic capital from middle to upper-class backgrounds. This can be seen based on the occupation of their parents. The cultural capital is then derived from their parents' educational status, which ranges from moderate to high, indicating that their parents are well educated, ranging from high school graduates to those with bachelor's degrees. However, the social capital is relatively narrow, as the individuals or actors do not have symbolic capital, as seen from their lack of participation in organizations.

On the other hand, in the category of students at risk of dropping out who are exigent, individuals or actors who have economic capital from lower-class backgrounds. This is because the students come from less fortunate and unexpected economic circumstances, such as parents who have been in accidents, passed away, or are in debt. This is consistent with the findings of Dunne & Ananga (2013), who found

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that dropouts face unexpected economic and social circumstances, such as the loss of a primary family member, a declining economy, and shifting responsibilities.

Furthermore, because their parents have low levels of education, these individuals have low cultural capital. This is consistent with the findings of a study by Wijana & Suhardi (2018), who found that educational function in dropouts is typically due to parents with low levels of education. However, the informants' social capital ranges from moderate to broad as they obtain it from their social environment in the village and their educational environment at school. Furthermore, some informants in this category have symbolic capital from village and school organizations.

Labeling embedded in at-risk school dropout children

A label is a stigma or nickname bestowed by a group of people on someone who is thought to have deviated from societal norms. Labeling is a form of reaction from those around the individual who is labeled. In other words, definers or labelers give labels to individuals who engage in actions that are deemed negative or deviant in the eyes of others. The deviation is not based on social rules or norms, but on the reaction or sanction of their social audience. With the label attached to the individual, the person who is labeled by society develops a self-concept that has been defined by others as a deviant concept.

Giving a label to an individual, society or group can learn to play a role and assume an identity that is relevant to what they see and what they mean. Whether or not a person experiences deviation is determined by how others perceive and interpret that person. In this regard, the following labeling characteristics are embedded in children who are at risk of dropping out of school:

Table 2.
Characteristics of labeling embedded in at-risk school dropout children

Informant	Labeling at school	Deviant	Labeling at residence	Deviant
AKA	<i>Artise guru-guru</i> (The teachers' actress)	-Skipping school -Overslept in class -Not doing homework and schoolwork.	Stupid	Informant AK was labeled 'stupid' by their friends because of the label received at school.
MUN	<i>Nyelulu</i> (Crazy)	-Inadequate at something -Often ignoring when called -When speaking, fails to connect with the topic being discussed		
ADU	<i>Bolosan</i> (truant)	-Often skipping school		
ILA	<i>Bolosan</i> (truant)	-Often skipping school -Shy to the opposite sex	<i>Isinan, bencong.</i> (Sheepish, Sissy)	-Often feel shy of other people, especially the opposite sex
NUN	Sultan Akbar	- Often treats friends to eat and treats chips (currency in the game Higgs Domino)	<i>Mendem</i> (Boozy)	-Drunk and absent from school for a month.

Source: Primary data

According to Table 2, children at risk of dropping out of school are labeled differently in educational and social environments. This is due to a number of deviant behaviors they exhibit, which elicits a social audience reaction to their actions.

According to Mustillo's research, labeling can have an impact on a child's growth and development, as well as increase stress until the end of adolescence. Furthermore, Lestari A & Huda (2022) research findings describe how labeling can stifle a child's development of talent and creativity. Labeling has the negative effects of limiting a child's self-concept, limiting their interests, and inhibiting how others treat them. In Syammsinar (2019) research, labeling in the education world can affect learning achievements, motivation to learn, and students' self-concepts and interests.

Jamilah & Putra (2020) found that labeling can affect a person's behavior, with most negative labels and stigmas (such as criminal) increasing deviant behavior and becoming a self-concept. Essentially, Labeling is frequently applied to people who engage in deviant behavior and violate local community rules, values, and norms (Anggraeni & Khusumadewi 2018). Individuals who are labeled in society tend to behave defiantly in accordance with the label (Efendi 2016). Kushendar & Maba stated that the impact of the label given by society will greatly affect the formation of a child's self-concept (Kushendar & Maba 2017).

Individuals who deviate from social norms in society are a result of characters that are in contrast to social norms. This leads to reactions and social sanctions from social spectators in society, as observed in the five informants identified by the researchers. AKA, for example, was labeled as the "teachers' actress" or "parents' actress" at school and was labeled as "stupid" in the community where they lived. MUN was labeled as "nyelulu" which means crazy or stupid, and they got this label at school. ADU and ILA were labeled as a "truant" which is received at school. Finally, NUN was called "mendem" which means "Boozy" in the community where they lived and was called "sultan akbar" at school.

Labeling theory is part of George Herbert Mead's theory of symbolic interactionism in his book *"Mind, Self, and Society"* (1934), which is intended for individuals or agents who experience deviation. The labeling theory emphasizes society's perception of deviants from the perspective of the deviant individual. If a person engages in deviant behavior, they are said to be deviant. At this level, the individual will be assigned a label or nickname in the community or by a specific group. As a result, if labeling is done on a regular basis, people will accept and become accustomed to it. Through observation and in-depth interviews with the five informants identified by the researchers, it is possible to conclude that each of them has a label that corresponds to society's understanding and reaction to the deviant behavior they have shown. Label recipients will become accustomed to and accept the labeling given to them over time.

Individuals who have been labeled tend to develop a deviant self-concept as a result of the various labels they have received. This deviation usually lasts until it becomes an identity that is attached to them. In this context, labeling is a stigma that connects deviance. This happens when a person is labeled negatively.

Labeling is determined by the reactions of social groups who observe it. The label is known as primary deviance. In primary deviance, violating a norm or rule in society is something that anyone can do. Therefore, every individual has an equal opportunity to deviate, with or without justification. When primary deviance becomes a regular occurrence, the next stage is secondary deviance. This is an advanced stage in which labeled individuals tend to continue the behavior that has been associated with them, thereby strengthening the label and making their behavior more visible. Labeling has a significant negative impact on the person who is labeled. This impact is typically negative, as evidenced by five of the twelve informants in the study of children at risk of dropping out of school.

Labeling has a significant impact on an individual's behavior and identity. As demonstrated by the five informants encountered by the researchers in the above observation and in-depth interviews, it can be concluded that the labeled individual initially had a normal response, ranging from acceptance to anger, towards the social group that gave the label. Over time, the labeled individual will grow accustomed to and accept their labeling. Furthermore, society's attitude toward those with labels is generally negative.

This behavior and societal views will have an effect on the labeled individual, ranging from losing their sense of identity to receiving negative treatment in their environment, experiencing discomfort, and having a negative social identity in society's eyes.

The various labels given to at-risk dropout students can have an impact on their thought patterns and behavior. Some informants in this study also said that the negative labeling they received made them even more reluctant to study or even be in their school environment, particularly with friends who constantly labeled them negatively.

According to George Herbert Mead's theory, labeling is intended for individuals or agents who engage in deviant behavior. As a result, society views deviant behavior negatively. According to George Herbert Mead's labeling theory, each informant in this study has a label or nickname assigned by the audience as a result of their deviant behavior.

The labeling theory also has two stages, namely Primary deviance and Secondary deviance. In the first stage, the audience only gives a label or nickname at the beginning when the individual is seen engaging in deviant behavior. Meanwhile, in the second stage, the label is already attached to the individual and the deviant behavior increases. According to the findings of the study, the respondents have progressed to the second stage, namely secondary deviance. Each informant has a label or cap, which causes the deviant behavior to grow stronger and more prevalent. Furthermore, individuals have an identity that can be identified by the identity of the label or nickname that has been given to them.

The presence of labels or caps affects an individual's daily activities, which include activities in the family, social, and educational settings. Because of the negative values that have become ingrained in the individual, this impact can lead to things that prevent individuals or agents from taking positive actions. This can also have a significant impact on a person's learning motivation and day-to-day life while pursuing an education. As a result, labeling or name-calling should not be applied to students, particularly those with limited mental abilities in interacting with others.

Conclusion

At-risk school dropout children refer to a situation where a child is at risk of dropping out or not continuing their education to a higher level due to a variety of factors, including being on verge of being expelled or voluntarily leaving school. This is a common occurrence in everyday life. The tendency for a child to drop out can be seen through their habitus, the individual's field or domain for pursuing education, and the resources they possess, including economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital. Additionally, social problems in education and labeling that an individual or actor may possess, whether it be created within the school environment or the community, and reactions received from society, also have an impact on at-risk school dropout children.

This study concludes that children at risk of dropping out exhibit habits such as waking up late, skipping school, being lazy, not doing homework, and spending time playing games. The field or domain selected by the agent for pursuing education is determined by the choice of peers and people in their environment who do not consider school quality, but rather the cost and competitiveness of the school. Additionally, most at-risk school dropout children cannot afford to fulfill the necessary resources, including economic resources, as most informants cannot afford the cost of education, and some even say that they struggle to cover living expenses. In terms of cultural capital, the study discovered that the majority of parents have only completed junior high school, which has an impact on the motivation and intensity of at-risk children's learning. Social capital is only possessed by school friends and friends in the village. In terms of symbolic capital, only a few informants possess symbolic capital through the organizations and communities they participate. The study categorizes children at risk of dropping out into two categories: non-exigent and exigent.

Children at risk of dropping out of school face not only resource issues but also social and educational issues in schools and the community. These issues may include being orphaned by both parents' deaths, inheriting their parents' debts, being marginalized by their peer group, or being labeled as deviant by society. Labels applied to children who are at risk of dropping out of school can have an impact on their thinking patterns and behavior. Children at risk of dropping out of school said in this study that negative labeling made them more reluctant to study or even made them feel lazy while in school.

The findings of this study are expected to increase community knowledge and provide insights into the habitus and labels that are embedded in children at risk of dropping out of high schools in the Lamongan Regency. It can also be used as a reference for future researchers who will be conducting research in the same area. This study can be used to inform the government's educational policies, particularly those aimed at children at risk of dropping out. In this regard, the involvement of schools, teachers, parents, and the community is essential.

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