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SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE TOWARDS STUDENTS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE EXISTENCE OF THE STEREOTYPICAL FRAMES OF LECTURERS AND STUDENTS IN THE HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM IN INDONESIA

Suardi¹, Andi Agustang², Jumadi³

¹Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar

^{2,3}Universitas Negeri Makassar

¹suardi@unismuh.ac.id, ²andi.agustang@unm.ac.id, ³jumadi@unm.ac.id

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ABSTRACT

Symbolic violence towards students has implications for the lecture system. It is fulfilled by the dominance of the habitus and the mastery of the accumulation of social, cultural, economic, and symbolic capital as the social practice in the education system. The purpose of the study is to analyze the fundamental factors of symbolic violence against students, the mechanism of the existence of stereotypical frames of the lecturers and students, and the design of empowerment for students to avoid symbolic violence from lecturers. The study uses a case study qualitative research approach in which the determination of research informants is by purposive sampling based on informant criteria (key, key informants, and additional informants). The focus of the research is on symbolic violence, stereotypes, and empowerment. The research instrument is the researcher himself as the main instrument for collecting data through interviews, observations, data documentation, data reduction, data categorization, data display, and concluding. The techniques used to test the validity of the data is the triangulation techniques, which are time triangulation and data source triangulation. The results show the occurrence of symbolic violence against students in which lecturers committed symbolic violence through lecture contracts, lecture schedules, lecture material, lecture methods, and the assessment of student learning outcomes. The violence from the lecturers to the students is done through the production, distribution, and reproduction of the specific images or stereotypes for lecturers and students. The positive stereotypes are given to lecturers and negative stereotypes to students. The design of empowerment is done through social learning that takes a long time by using bottom-up strategy, critical theory, and the value of class equality. Students and lecturers act as actors to lead changes in students (single learning), and in the lecture system (double-loop learning).

BACKGROUND

Violence is a term that refers to an event that is terrible, frightening, painful, or even deadly. The current phenomenon of violence has colored almost all aspects of social life, from politics, culture to education. Various cases of violence occurred throughout 2017, including humanitarian tragedies and crimes of religious minority Rohingya women (Thontowi, J.2013, Yumitro, G. 2017, Fernandes, I. 2017), violence against children (Sutrisminah, E. 2019), violence against wives in the household (Jannah, HF 2002), and violence against women in the public domain (Subhan, Z. 2004), violence against students in schools (Amini, YSJ 2008), and violence or bullying at school (Nanang Martono, 2012). These cases show that power is a severe problem. However, the above cases are phenomena of physical and psychological violence whose forms are easily recognized, and their impact is easy to observe. Still, many parties are not aware of other forms of violence that almost always occur every day; this form of violence is "symbolic violence."

Pierre Bourdieu (1993) explains the concept of symbolic violence as the mechanism used by upper-class groups that dominate the social structure of society to "impose" ideology, culture, habits, or lifestyle on the lower class groups that they dominate. Symbolic violence is reproduced in daily interactions (Khanal, P. (2017). Bourdieu's theory discusses symbolic power (Loyal, S. 2017). As a result, the lower classes are forced to accept, undergo, practice, and recognize that the top-class habitus is the proper one for them. In contrast, the lower-class way is the habitus that should be "thrown away." Habitus means the habit or appearance (Bourdieu in Fashri, Fauzi, 2014: 93), or equipment for certain substances, as stated by Aristotle, in Bagus Takwin (2003), regarding the existence of division. Habitus that has been so strongly embedded and settles into physical behavior is called Hexis (Wattimena, R. A 2012). Symbolic violence is a model of cultural and social domination that takes place unconsciously in people's lives, which includes acts of discrimination against groups, races, ethnicities, or certain genders (Hasfi, N. 2011).

The mechanism of symbolic violence is manifested in various ways, such as through the development of the stereotype. The stereotype is the process of generalizing the whole class (Wood, W., & Neal, DT 2009), assigning values to something (S Sukmono, FG, & Junaedi, F. 2014), and stereotyping as the practice of using language as a discourse strategy (Eriyanto, 2011). It is the process of labeling an identity by producing, distributing, and reproducing discourse. The discourse that is produced, distributed, and reproduced is a positive and negative stereotype because stereotypes can be in the form of negative and positive (Go, FP 2013). Stereotypes can be carried out by actors or institutions that have power, knowledge, and capital (social capital, cultural capital, economic capital, symbolic capital) in a field where the accumulation forms a social practice. The production, distribution, and reproduction of discourse carried out by the dominant class with all the resources they have. The discourse of each level is interconnected in social practice simultaneously.

Symbolic violence occurs in students and lecturers. It is based on the results of observations, documentation, and interviews of researchers at several universities in South Sulawesi, Indonesia, in 2018. The author sees various social phenomena that indicate the embryo of symbolic violence in the context of the discourse of positive and negative stereotypes, namely (1) there is status stratification where the lecturer has high-level status, and students have low-level status, (2) there is a positive stereotype for lecturers and a negative one for students, (3) the existence of class domination, where the lecturers are in the dominant class, and the students are in the dominated class, (4) the symbolic violence of coercion, the ideology, and habitus of lecturers towards students,

and (5) the existence of the discourse in which the lecturer is viewed as the smart generation and the student is as the critical generation.

The social stratification in the education system that divides the position of lecturers and students is the factor in the formation of social classes, which places lecturers as the dominant class and students as the lower class. The existence of different classes causes different habitus between lecturers and students, giving rise to different stereotype labeling. Lecturers have more social capital, cultural capital, economic capital, and symbolic capital than students, which force students to follow the lecturer's habitus (symbolic violence). Through stereotype labeling, lecturers and students each produce, distribute, and reproduce discourse with disparities in social capital, cultural capital, economic capital, and symbolic capital between lecturers and students. Lecturers are viewed as the "smart generation" icon, and students are considered as the "critical generation" icon.

Many mechanisms or methods are used by upper-class groups to enforce their habitus, one of which is through the creation of positive and negative stereotypes. The mechanism of the coercion of the dominant class habitus against the class that is dominated is accepted unconsciously by the dominated class. In other words, students, as the lower class, are forced to follow the dominant class (lecturer). Symbolic violence like that happens at Muhammadiyah University Makassar.

Several theories serve as analytical tools to analyze symbolic violence in the context of the discourse of the stereotype, such as (1) Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus x social capital + domain = social practice (Bourdieu, 1990) and (2) Jhon Friedman's theory about social learning. Social learning is a typical form of learning that is unspoken and informal (Polanyi, 1966). Social learning consists of three mechanisms of empowerment, namely (a) social practice of time, strategy, theory, and values, (b) agents of change that learn from each other, and (c) single or double loop learning (Friedmann, J. 1973). Other theories used are (3) Michel Foucault's theory of power-knowledge relations in knowledge networks, discourse regulation, compliant social bodies and discontinuities (Foucault, 1972; 1977; 1978; 1980), to understand the discourse and the need to understand power networks in social relations, Foucault (2003a), and power relations (Mills, 2003).

Practically, relevant researches on the theme of symbolic violence, both in national and international contexts, have one form, which is the violence carried out only at the school level. The studies include researches by (1) Powell, B., Smith, GD, & D'Amore, A. (2017) concerning symbolic violence through favorite music that is listened to students in learning, (2) Nairz-Wirth, E., Feldmann, K., & Spiegl, J. (2017), regarding symbolic violence against students from the working class to achieve higher education, (3) Quinones, JA (2017), about symbolic violence against students committed by fellow students, (4) Reynolds, C. (2017), regarding symbolic violence towards students in learning, and by (5) Magera, E., & Simega, B (2017), regarding violence against students through teaching. The various publications show the study of symbolic violence around the school, which is ontologically limited to relations problems in the school arena. The research that will be carried out is at the university education level that is conducted through the analysis of symbolic violence, contextual discourse, and the stereotype of lecturers and students. The symbolic violence is carried out by lecturers through the production, distribution, and reproduction of discourse in the form of framed stereotypes. The research produces findings that are "original."

Some significant contributions of the paper include (1) contribution to the focus of research, namely symbolic violence against students in the lecture room and (2) contribution to theory, namely (a) the vacuum of Bourdieu's theory of seeing positive symbolic violence. Symbolic violence can be positive if the actor uses it as motivation to

fight the forming of the new habitus, and ultimately towards more positive change, by optimizing the capital owned. (b) The vacuum of Michel Foucault's theory in seeing dialectics of discourse is not just the context of the discourse. Discourse dialectics can occur if every actor who produces, distributes, and reproduces the discourse (thesis/orthodoxy), gets the challenge (antithesis/heterodoxy) (Bourdieu, 1977), and forms a new discourse that is called a mix-doxy. The final contribution is (3) the contribution of sociology's body of knowledge to a more comprehensive understanding of symbolic violence, which is not only seen from the micro-level (lecturer) but also from the macro-level (university or policy).

The study explains the symbolic violence occurs to the negatively labeled students, with participation and empowerment that can lead to change to become more empowered. The basis of the writing is (1) social background, which is a change in society that is more fanatical towards lecturers and discriminatory against students, (2) intellectual background, namely the construction of a movement towards change in class equality between students and lecturers in the class, which is both learning through the mission of change and empowerment and (3) research background, namely (a) the vacuum of Bourdieu's theory in seeing positive symbolic violence. Another research background is (b) the vacuum of Michel Foucault's theory in seeing the dialectics of discourse, not just the context of discourse. Discourse dialectics can occur if every actor who produces, distributes, and reproduces the discourse (thesis/orthodoxy) gets the discourse challenge (antithesis/ heterodoxy) (Bourdieu, 1977), and forms a new discourse that is called the mix-doxy.

RESEARCH METHODS

The study uses a qualitative research approach that is a case study of sociology education students at the University of Muhammadiyah Makassar. The research sampling technique is done by purposive sampling by directly selecting research informants based on the criteria of the informants who are expected to answer or providing information about what the researchers need. The focus of the research is symbolic violence, discourse expectations, framed stereotype, and empowerment. The research instrument is the researcher himself as the main instrument who uses tools in the form of interview guidelines, observation guidelines, and recording devices. Data collection techniques are done by using interviews, observation, and documentation. Data analysis is done through several stages, which include data collection, data reduction, data categorization, data display, and concluding. The data validity technique used is the triangulation techniques, which are time triangulation, and data source triangulation.

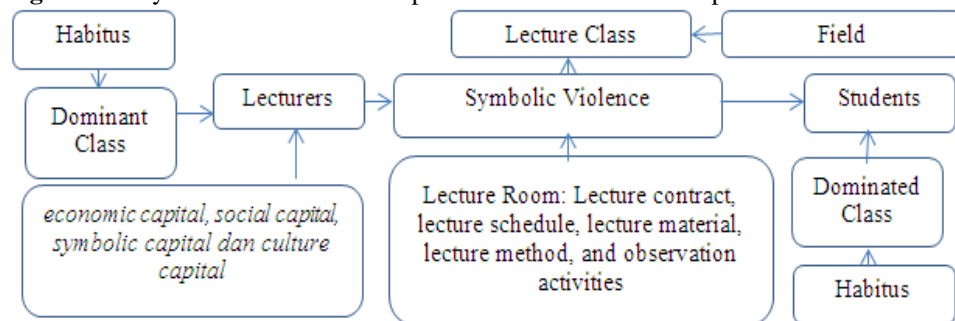
DISCUSSION

Symbolic violence towards students in the lecture system

Students and lecturers are entities in a tertiary education system. Both elements cannot be separated from one another. However, students always get symbolic domination and violence from lecturers. Kirkby, J., Kirkby, J., Moss, J., Moss, J., Godinho, S., & Godinho, S. (2017) state that domination tends to produce cultural reproduction. The practice of domination and subordination can occur in the academic field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) and pedagogic actions (Watkins, M. 2017). According to Kovacs, J. (2017), the mechanism of domination can be applied to academics, such as the one in the lecture hall. The dominance of lecturers in the lecture room through the mastery of economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1984). It is because lecturers have more accumulated financial wealth compared to students. The mastery of social capital because lecturers have a vertical network with the structure of study programs, faculties, and universities. The mastery of cultural capital is because lecturers have accumulated knowledge from the level of education that has been obtained, which affects the way of speaking, appearance, association, and the lecturer's self-conduct. The mastery of symbolic capital is because lecturers have higher prestige compared to the students.

The different level raises the status and social stratification of lecturers. Symbolic power is an investment to dominate (Bourdieu, 1992). Actors in dominant positions tend to maintain their place, and dominated actors tend to look for strategies to improve their position (Bourdieu, 1993). The actor's position is determined by the amount and relative weight of capital (Bourdieu in Ritzer and Goodman, 2007). Capital accumulation as a determinant of class domination, in the arena of Bourdieu's struggle (1984) and the battlefield of habitus (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), encourages a strong sense of entitlement to privileges (Xu, C. L. 2017) between lecturers and students. Capital contributes to symbolic violence (Huot, S. 2017). The domination in the classroom gives the power to the lecturer to commit symbolic violence to students. Various forms of symbolic violence committed by lecturers to students in classrooms are (1) symbolic violence in lecture contracts. The lecture contract is essentially an agreement of rules that must benefit lecturers and students. In reality, the lecture contract only serves lecturers because hidden, symbolic violence exists in the form of coercion of lecturer habitus, i.e., lecture contracts, is more focused on lecturers, not on students. The rules to attend the lecture on time, attendance, and neat clothing are only for students but do not apply to lecturers. (2) Symbolic violence in the lecture schedule occurs if the schedule determined by the head of the study program, faculty, and the university is changed by lecturers following the rules and lecturers' habitus. Changes in lecture days, lecture hours, and lecture rooms based on the days, hours, and rooms desired by lecturers must be accepted by students even though they are different from students' habitus. (3) Symbolic violence in lecture material occurs when lecturers deliver lecture material that is not based on semester learning plans (RPS) that have been mutually agreed upon between lecturers and the head of the study program. Lecturers only give lecture material following the wishes, mastery of the material, and lecturers' habitus without regard to the range of learning in the semester learning plan (RPS). Lecturers in the class only tell life experiences, do not master lecture material, convey information that is irrelevant with lecture material, and force students to master particular material to be studied. (4) Symbolic violence in lecturers' learning methods occurs when lecturers provide lecture material using learning methods that are considered reasonable and are mastered by lecturers, without regard to student characteristics and lecture material that may require variations in lecture methods, which are appropriate to student characteristics and lecture material. Lecturers teach students only using conventional methods that are understood by lecturers, such as the lecture method, which is only part of the teacher-centered learning approach, not student-centered learning. (5) Symbolic violence in observation activities occurs when lecturers force students to take part in observing activities that are considered lecturers to be part of the lecture system even though it is not relevant between observational activities and planned semester learning (RPS), between observation locations and taught subjects, and between the quality of observation activities with the costs incurred by students.

Figure 1.1: Symbolic violence and capital accumulation in social practices of lectures



Symbolic violence to students is not only the one that leads to negative things but also leads to positive things. Students have an awareness of the dominance of lecturers in

lectures. Student awareness is transmitted to other students who have the same condition. The accumulation of class awareness from various students makes anti-domination movements, in the form of the rejection of multiple forms of symbolic violence committed by lecturers. The rejection is voiced directly to lecturers through social media. Student resistance leads to responses from various lecturers, students, and leaders of the study programs. They do not agree with all forms of symbolic domination and violence, which finally ends the symbolic power. It is what is called positive symbolic violence.

The mechanism of symbolic violence in the contestation of discourse on the stereotypical frame made by lecturers to students in the lecture system

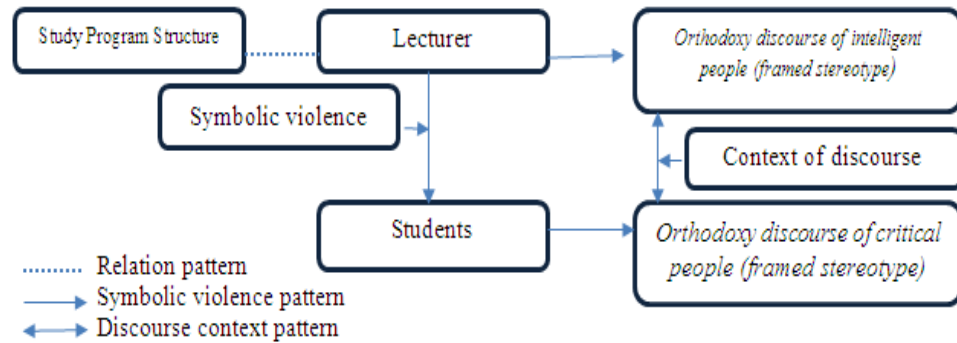
Various forms of symbolic violence that are received by students raise class awareness of students to resist the dominance of lecturers in the lecture system. It has implications for the relationship between students and lecturers in fighting over the supremacy and power struggle, according to Quinones, J. A. (2017). Students who resist the domination and symbolic violence committed by lecturers do the production, distribution, and reproduction of knowledge in the form of the discourse. Foucault, in Jorgensen and Phillips (2002), asserts that the lesson creates "truth effects." The image is framed in a positive or negative stereotype between lecturer and student in the social practice. Expectations of the discourse will result in zero-sum games, namely canceling one another out (Salman, 2012).

There is no knowledge without power, nor can there be power without knowledge (Foucault, 1972; 1977; 1978, 1980). Foucault, in Nurlaelah, S. (2017), states that power works in the process of power formation. Power itself spreads everywhere (power is omnipresent) (Foucault, 1980); it does not belong to the state (Foucault, 1977). Power flows by itself throughout society in knowledge networks (Neal, 2009). Power focuses on how to regulate human life at the level of the mass population (Rabinow, 1984; Foucault, 2008; Neal, 2009), so to study discourse must pay attention to aspects of language use (Foucault, 1972).

The discourse that is produced, distributed, and reproduced again by students is that students must be critical as heterodoxy (antithesis) discourse, which is a resistance to the Doxa discourse, namely "lecturers who have power." It is then strengthened by the orthodoxy discourse (thesis), which is "a lecturer is intelligent people." A critical student does not want to bow to the dominance of lecturers in lectures. On the other hand, lecturers also conduct the production, distribution, and reproduction of the image, which states that lecturers must be intelligent, and do not allow students to explain anything to lecturers. The fight between orthodoxy and heterodoxy discourse between students and lecturers raises a new discourse as a synthesis of orthodoxy with heterodoxy, namely a mix-doxo. It is a discourse, which is formed by lecturers, leaders, and students, which states that lecturers and students have the same position and need each other.

Although students have different habitus and different mastery of capital from the lecturers, students continue to fight the discourse in the realm of classrooms, as an arena of struggle for domination. The discourse battle between lecturers and students continues as a dynamic battle in the education system at the tertiary level. All of that is done to fight over the dominance in social practices. The determinant of the perpetrators of symbolic violence is determined by the dominance that originates from the accumulation of habitus multiplied by capital, which is added to the realm (field) as a social practice, such as the one founded by Pierre Bourdieu. Symbolic violence patterns, power relations, and contextual discourse patterns in the framed stereotype can be seen in the following figure:

Figure 1.2: Symbolic violence patterns, power relations, symbolic violence patterns, and contextual discourse patterns



Empowerment design for students in higher education so that they do not get symbolic violence from lecturers

With the presence of symbolic violence against students, a form of empowerment is needed for victims of symbolic violence to have the power to continue the dynamics of lectures dominated by lecturers' habitus. The design of the empowerment is the design of social learning empowerment that requires time, strategy, values, theory, and agents of change that are mutually learning and lead to single or double-loop learning, as suggested by Jhon Freidman. The empowerment of students requires a very long time to give students an understanding of the various forms of domination, symbolic violence, and capital accumulation needed in pursuing higher education. The empowerment strategy used is a bottom-up strategy that is involving students in empowerment, namely through students' participation in providing an understanding of symbolic violence. The value that becomes a reference in student empowerment is the value of equality between lecturers and students, which seeks the way to create change (Wisarja, IK, & Sudarsana, IK (2017). Indonesian education requires transformative education (Tilaar, 2012), which makes students as friends. The theory that is the basis of empowerment is the critical theory that seeks the way to empower students to change classes that are dominated by lecturers in society. The agents of change are students and lecturers who learn from one another without dominance. The final expectation obtained from empowerment is done through the existence of single or double-loop learning. Students should have the power and capital accumulation, or changes in the education system without symbolic violence.

CONCLUSION

The fundamental factor of symbolic violence towards students is the dominance of the habitus and the mastery of the accumulation of social capital, cultural capital, economic capital, and symbolic capital of lecturers. Lecturers commit symbolic violence through lecture contracts, class schedules, lecture material, lecture methods, and assessment of student learning outcomes. The mechanism of symbolic violence between lecturers and students is through the production, distribution, and reproduction of the discourse, by giving positive stereotype to lecturers, and a negative one to students. The design of empowerment is done through social learning that takes a long time, by using bottom-up strategy, critical theory, and the value of class equality between students and lecturers, to lead changes in students (single learning) and on the lecture system (double-loop learning).

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