

Symbolic Violence Against Private School: A Case Study of New Students Enrolment System (PPDB) in Malang City

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Abstract. The new students enrolment system (PPDB) in 2017 used two ways, i.e. online and offline [8]. The effect of PPDB system influenced the amount of students enrolling in private schools decreased, even some schools collapsed. It also caused disparities of clever students (from rich families) and incapable students (from poor families). This study aims at explaining the symbolic violence caused by the policy of PPDB according to Bourdieu's perspective. The qualitative approach was used in an instrumental case study model. The data were processed through (a) data collection, (b) data presentation, (c) data reduction, and (d) verification and conclusions [7]. The findings show that (a) the PPDB system might gather the clever students in the state (public) schools based on symbolic capitals, (b) private schools became lack of competitiveness and then collapsed because the private schools became "disposal", the place for students who had less capitals. The rulers and elites sustained to hegemonize the poor. The conclusions is theoretically what happens to the private schools was a symbolic violence. Viewed from Bourdieu's perspective, PPDB is a form of symbolic violence because the government tried to impose the implementation. In the name of the symbol (score), the government and elites were able to dominate through habitus and sustained the marginalized poor students.

Keywords: *symbolic violence, new students enrolment system, private school*

INTRODUCTION

The quality of education in SMA/SMK Negeri (state senior high school/state vocational high school) is inseparable from the new student enrolment system (PPDB) imposed by the government. The PPDB system in SMA/SMK Negeri screened the prospective students who had the high national exam scores (NUN). But for some, the prospective students who had good non-academic achievements could also be accepted.

Actually, the zoning spirit of PPDB in 2017 wants to improve the quality of education in state schools, and at the same time giving a broad access to the poor. But in a fact, the entrance to the state

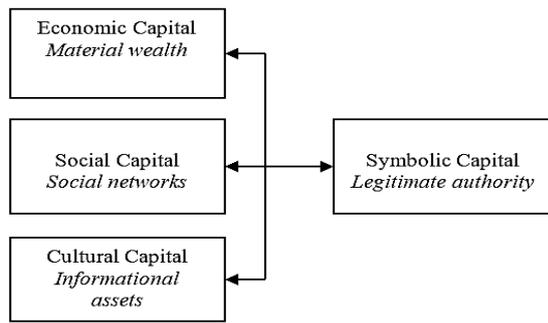
school was determined by academic capital (65%, easy for those who had good social and cultural capital) and the rest (35%) [8] was still utilized by those who had social capital, symbolic capital, economic capital, and even connection capital. That is why the SMA/SMK Swasta (private senior high school/private vocational high school) became the victims to be the oppressed, aggrieved, and defeated schools.

For Bourdieu, schools are considered as a place to socialize the habitus of dominant class. The dominant class feels that their habitus is the best and true model that all students must follow. In this way, the habitus of the dominant class can be transferred into cultural capital and it can be accepted by the school. The schools are considered as the most appropriate place to reproduce the culture of the dominant class hierarchically. Habitus is a disposition system of an agency that is able to last in a long time and can be transferred through socialization and education [1]. Through schools, the dominant class always wants to maintain its position so that other groups who want to succeed must be able to enter the habitus of dominant class. However, to enter the dominant class is not an easy job because the dominant class will still maintain its position by creating a mechanism (systems) so that the dominated class is not able to take over its position.

Bourdieu introduces four concepts of capital in social relations, namely (1) economic capital, (2) social capital, (3) cultural capital, and (4) symbolic capital. Prestige, status, authority, and legitimacy, for example, are the forms of symbolic capital and cultural capital that can be understood as representations of cultural values and people's consumption [9]. It can also be used to represent the objects of cultural value, certain knowledge, expertise from educational outcomes, and certificates (scholarship) in public area. While symbolic capital, according to Fashri, is material that has symbolic value and is culturally significant [4].

According to Bourdieu, the four capitals can be exchanged one with another. It is dynamic that can decrease or increase. The greater a person has capital, the greater the chance of converting among capitals.

Scheme 1. Capital Exchange



Source: [4]

In the field of education, Bourdieu introduces the concept of cultural reproduction, that the practice of education is always used to reproduce the dominant class for the sake of controlling the power. For Bourdieu, education is a tool to maintain the existence of the dominant class. The schools are basically used only to reproduce culture (cultural reproduction). The school helps perpetuate the economic inequality. The dominant class imposes the domination over the oppressed class to follow their attitudes and culture through the school [6]; [4]. When the schools implement the uniform, the students from upper social classe will try to distinguish themselves from other groups, for example with the different watch brands, cell phones, accessories, or shoe brands. The choice of taste is not solely related to the taste, but is largely determined by the environment and social class position in society. The social grouping also occurs in choosing the sports, music, courses, tutoring, and others [5].

Bourdieu views that symbolic violence is always within the domain of power, as a product of power. When a class dominates another class, the process of domination will produce the violence. The violence appears as an attempt of the dominant class to maintain its domination in a social structure. Thus, the power and violence are two inseparable currencies [6]. Symbolic violence is difficult to see, but it is easy to be recognized. According to Bourdieu, symbolic violence is a tool or mechanism made by elites in order to dominate the social structure (lower class) to impose the habitus in the form of ideology, culture, habits, or lifestyle. The impact of symbolic violence can be more severe than physical violence, because symbolic violence tends to dominate, force, and then interconnect with all forms of action, knowledge structures, and individual consciousness structures [11].

Meanwhile, Arendt said that power is an instrument. The existence of rules always owes to the "instinct of domination". The ultimate and greatest form of power (domination) is bureaucracy. One of the most obvious differences between power and violence, according to Arendt,

is that power always requires a sum, whereas violence in a certain degree relies on the tools, a rule that is legally unlimited. An extreme power is all against one, but extreme violence is one against all [2].

METHOD

This research is a qualitative study that is not statistical in nature but relies more on the expressions are understood and experienced by head masters (private) on the impact of the new student enrolment system (PPDB). This type of research is a case study. The study is specific and in local scale, namely PPDB in Malang city. The data analysis technique uses the model of Miles, Huberman, and Saldana (2014) following stages: (a) data collection, (b) data presentation, (c) data reduction, (d) verification and conclusion [3].

RESULT & DISCUSSION

At the end of December 2017, SMA Kristen 2 YPK Malang stopped operating. The phenomenon of closing SMA Kristen 2 YPK is not necessarily the last, it is still very likely to be followed by other private high schools. Up to the end of 2017, in Malang city, there were at least thirteen private senior high schools (SMA swasta) closed operating because they do not have any students. There are twelve other SMA swasta which are now struggling hard in order not to be closed following the thirteen private senior high schools. Meanwhile, there has never been a closure of SMA/SMK Negeri due to a shortage of students [10]. The state schools become the trend of choice for the new students to get a better education, from elementary up to senior high school level.

The implementation of PPDB is actually the form of violence for the private schools. The private schools becomes the "dumping" places for students who are not accommodated by the state, since the state only takes care of the students who pass through PPDB. The state uses PPDB as a legitimation tool to deal with better students, which it causes the poor and oppressed community difficult to access the qualified education. The private schools seem to be given the obligation to make clever the children with so many limited capitals. Then three years later, the private schools were "billed" for the "obligated responsibility", to graduate their students passing the national exam with the same parameters as being applied in the state schools. Thus, it is fact that the private schools are always in a weak position. In the perspective of contestation in education world, the private schools are becoming the oppressed, aggrieved, and defeated groups.

The myth of favorite schools (state high schools) is a symbol of the construction produced

by the rulers who argue that they want to advance the education in the collaboration with the desire of elite groups who have many capitals to make their children look different from the other groups. The elites' capitals can be in the forms of economic, social, and power. The bettle arena is in the state (favorite) school, a place that is suitable to reproduce and transfer to their children through jargon "improving the education quality". To enter in a bettle arena, each learner must be able to show his valid ticket, i.e. NUN (national exam score), a symbol of the elites' habitus. The ticket which can be used to pass the gate (PPDB) in the context of SMA Negeri entrance. That is why, the prospective new students try to get admission tickets by joining various activities as following additional school lessons, tutorial in non-formal institutions, or private tutoring. Those activities are the examples of the rich people habitus as an effort to improve the academic value in order to succeed in PPDB entrance. In addition, extra curricular activities, participating in various championships or competitions to get certificates, medals, or awards, are the habitus of the rich people as well, as an effort to get tickets entering the state schools through non-academic gates.

A state school myth was created because of a discourse saying that the state schools, especially favorite ones, promise a good and bright future. The state schools provide a great opportunity to access good and qualified universities which will offer the best job and income. As the implications, all the efforts are made by parents for their children to pursue their dreams. To increase academic capital, the parents take the advantages from various facilities offered by service vendors such as private tutorial or tutoring institutions. Meanwhile, the schools also do not want to be left behind, to be deemed inferior to others, internally the schools also provide the tutorial services by adding class hours after formal class. In this context, actually among the schools, students, and parents (the rich) have made their own habitus to address the rules made by the government. The parents want their children to succeed with good grades, the schools want the students get high score in final exam, and private tutors or tutoring institutions take the economic advantages from their services. The tutorial service is a created need because without joining the tutorial, actually it will not become a problem, it is not only the way to pass the final exam [12].

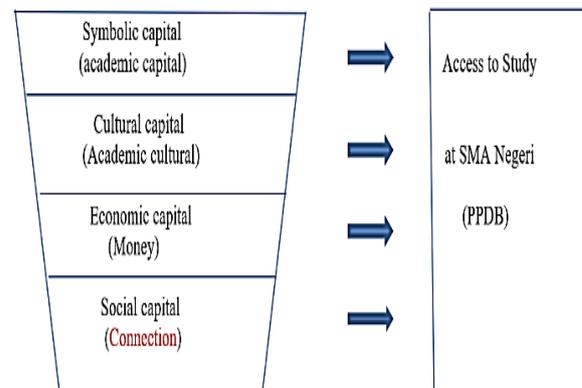
The zoning spirit of PPDB wants to improve the quality of education in state schools, and at the same time giving broad access to poor communities. However, the state school access is determined by academic capital (65%, easy for those who have good social and cultural capital) and the rest (35%) is still utilized by those who have social capital, symbolic capital, economic

capital, up to connection capital [8]. Based on the results of data analysis, it can be viewed that the zoning system of PPDB contains violence against the private schools. The private schools become a place of "disposal" of students who are not accommodated in the state schools, means not to be taken care of by the state. The government's responsibility is only taking care of the students who pass on PPDB which has both good academic capital and non-academic capital (symbolic, cultural, economic, and social). Thus, the government actually uses PPDB as a tool to legitimize its "responsibilities" to death with the students who have good capitals.

CONCLUSION

Theoretically, this study reinforces Bourdieu's concept that the school is as a place of cultural reproduction made by the elite. If Bourdieu says that those who controlled economic and cultural capital would determine the hierarchy in the community (see scheme 1), in this study, the hierarchy of school access is largely determined by the symbolic capitals, and then followed by cultural, economic and social capital (see scheme 2). Bourdieu says that the hierarchy and differences in the society depend on the accumulation and structure of the capitals. Those who can control the four capitals will have a high hierarchy and a great power so they are able to dominate. In the context of this research, all capitals as Bourdieu does indeed contribute, but symbolic capital (academic value) is the most dominant and irreplaceable measure. The students who have good academic grades will become the dominant group. When being simplified, it can be seen like in the following scheme.

Scheme 2. Capital Hierarchy to Access to Education (PPDB)



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