



# Symbolic Violence in PDF Textbooks on Pancasila and Civic Education at the *Kurikulum Merdeka* Era

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**Abstract.** Violence in education is an issue that attracts the attention of many parties. Schools that are supposed to be places to grow and protect children from violence have become unsafe places. The phenomenon of school violence is increasingly rife today. One type of violence that is rarely noticed and receives little attention from schools is symbolic violence. Symbolic violence is difficult to recognize because it operates under the perpetrator's unconsciousness, contains no resistance, and there is no element of destruction. This study aims to identify and analyze symbolic violence displayed in textbooks of Pancasila and Civic Education subjects in the era of *Kurikulum Merdeka* at the level of Junior High School. This research uses a descriptive qualitative approach with content analysis and semiotics methods. Content analysis, in this case, is in the form of words, images, ideas, themes, or some message communicated. Semiotic methods are carried out to analyze signs in the form of sentences, images, or illustrations. Data collection is carried out through reading, examining the contents of books, and recording with in-depth analysis of the content of symbolic violence contained in student textbooks. In general, the stages in this study are (1) data collection; (2) record keeping; (3) reduction; (4) to determine the conclusion; and (5) narrative or description of research results. The results of this study revealed that there were as many as 12 visuals of symbolic violence, both in the form of text and images in the pdf textbook Pancasila and Civic Education for grade VII-IX students of the *Kurikulum Merdeka*. Symbolic violence has an impact on children and society, where if this form of symbolic violence is ignored then this violence will become the seed for the emergence of physical violence and other destructive violence that is real.

**Keywords:** Symbolic Violence, Pancasila and Civic Education, *Kurikulum Merdeka*, textbooks.

## 1 Introduction

Violence in education is an issue that attracts the attention of many parties in Indonesia. This happens because schools or colleges have not become a safe place for students. The education unit should be an environment that must protect children from violence as mandated by the Regulation of the Minister of Education and Culture Number 82 of 2015 concerning the Prevention of Violence in the Education Unit Environment.

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Threats of violence against students not only come from friends, but also teachers, education personnel, and even school guards. Based on data from the Women and Children Protection Online Information System, in 2022 there were 1,337 children experiencing violence at school out of 17,642 children who were victims of violence. Then it was recorded that as many as 649 perpetrators were teachers [1].

School violence is increasingly rife with students. The latest data released by the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection in January 2023 shows 444 cases of violence in schools. This indicates that schools are not sterile from violence although the numbers are not as high as those in homes and public facilities, as shown in the following graph.

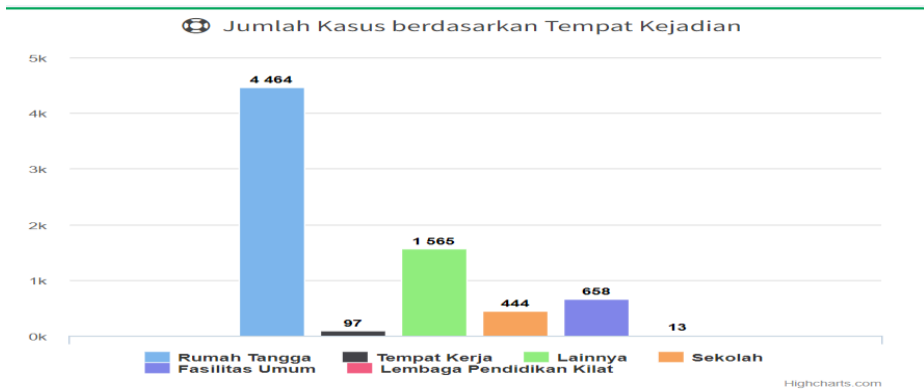


Fig. 1. Child abuse cases by scene.

Cases of violence that occur in schools cover every level of education unit. Data from the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection in 2023 confirms that based on education level, the highest number of victims who experience violence come from high school students, namely a total of 2,180 victims. Then followed by Junior High School (SMP) students as many as 1,883 victims, and elementary school students (SD) as many as 1,665 victims. Meanwhile, at the high level, there were 656 cases. Here is a graph of the spread of cases.

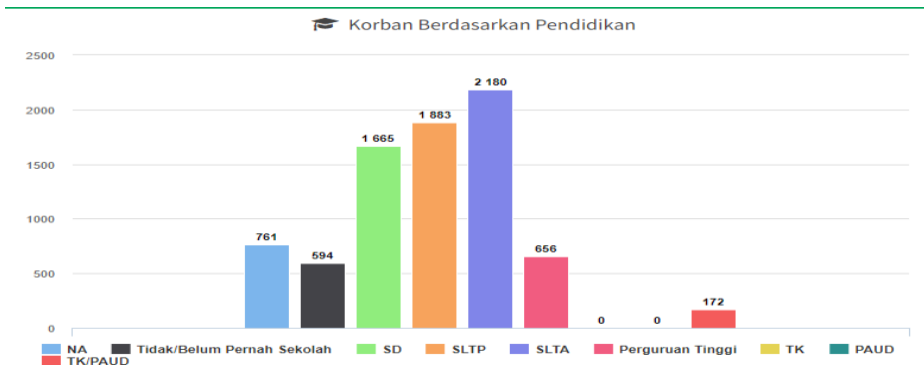


Fig. 2. Victims based on education level.

The number of cases of violence in schools indicates that there is still a need to build relationships that do not show power, namely individuals who want to become owners of power through violence. This must be realized by all parties because, in addition to having an impact on physical or psychological, violence will also have an impact on education [2]. The forms of violence that must be considered are not only those that take place physically, but also those that take place verbally, and even symbolically, that is, violence that does not appear but is present is there. This violence is called symbolic violence [3, 4, 5].

Symbolic violence is a term coined by Pierre Bourdieu [6], a prominent French sociologist of the 20th century, and appearing in his works in the early 1970s. Symbolic violence emerges as a form of violence that is difficult to recognize because it operates through symbols of discourse that hegemonize objects, in this context "learners". In other words, symbolic violence is violence that legitimizes the domination of power between a social group. Symbolic violence is not even perceived or realized as a form of violence so that it flows as it is, and remains effective in the practice of social domination [7, 8]. Therefore, symbolic violence is violence in its most subtle form, has no element of destruction, invites no resistance, and operates under the unconsciousness of the perpetrator or victim, so it is non-existent and latent [9, 10]. This violence impresses an action as a natural thing to accept and even a necessity. As Bourdieu [11] points out, in symbolic violence, the principle of effectiveness is obedience.

Among the media in which symbolic violence grows in schools is through textbooks used by teachers and students in learning. Textbooks contain messages in the form of writing, pictures, and illustrations of events. All these forms of text imply a certain meaning and message. Meaningful messages through this text become the power to change or strengthen the value system that students have. This is where symbolic violence comes into play. Its presence intervenes in a person's value system that is often unaware of its presence, but for some reason, its presence is taken for granted by teachers and students.

Research on symbolic violence in textbooks has been carried out by various academics or previous researchers. However, these studies examined textbooks on the application of the 2006 Curriculum (Education Unit Level Curriculum) and the 2013 Curriculum. In addition, previous studies were conducted at the elementary school level, such as Nanang Martono's research [12] analyzing student textbooks in the 2006 Curriculum, namely Electronic School Book (BSE) for the elementary school level consisting of six subject books, namely Natural Sciences (IPA), Social Sciences (IPS), Civic Education (Civics), Mathematics, Indonesian, and Physical Education, Sports, and Health (Penjasorkes). Then, the research of Nur Ika Fatmawati, Aninditya Sri Nugraheni, and Ahmad Sholikin [13] who examined symbolic violence in the 2013 Curriculum was a textbook Islamic Religious Education (PAI) in elementary schools. This research provides a new study and continuity from previous research, namely examining symbolic violence in Pancasila and Civic Education textbooks in the independent curriculum for Junior High School (SMP) education level. Research on symbolic violence in textbooks on the kurikulum merdeka has never been conducted. This study is the first of its kind. The focus of this study is to analyze the forms of symbolic violence displayed in the textbook of Pancasila and Civic Education

visualized in the form of task, illustrations, and drawings. This research is very important related to efforts to create a safe and comfortable learning environment for students, considering the characteristics of the independent curriculum is a curriculum with learning that provides flexibility and independence to teachers and students together to create quality learning that suits the needs and a pleasant learning environment for students. Therefore, it would be very different if the textbook contained "coercion" in the form of symbolic violence.

## 2 Method

This research is qualitative research with content analysis and semiotics methods. Content analysis is carried out to reveal symbolic violence displayed in the textbook under review, where the content or content analyzed in this case can be the words, images, ideas, themes, or some of what the message is communicated. As for semiotics, it is carried out to analyze signs in the form of sentences, images, or illustrations. The main source of this research data is in the form of documents, namely textbooks for Pancasila and Civic Education subjects at the junior high school education level for student classes VII-IX published by the Center for Curriculum and Bookkeeping, Research, Development and Books Agency of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology in 2021 and 2022. Data collection is carried out through reading, examining the contents of books, and taking notes with in-depth analysis related to the content of symbolic violence in textbooks. Data analysis is carried out using qualitative analysis techniques which in general the stages include (1) data collection; (2) record keeping; (3) reduction; (4) drawing conclusions; (5) narrative or description of research results.

## 3 Results and Discussion

The textbooks for Pancasila and Civic Education subjects analyzed in this study are student books for grades VII-IX of junior high school level. The first is at *Kurikulum Merdeka* published by the Book Center of the Education Standard, Curriculum, and Assessment Agency, Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology in 2021 and 2022. Overall, the student book for grades VII-IX consists of 18 chapters with details of class VII totaling 6 chapters, class VIII totaling 6 chapters, and class IX consisting of 6 chapters. Descriptively, the topic or theme of each chapter of the book for grade VII-IX students is presented in the following table 1.

**Table 1.** Topics of Student Book Material for PPKn Junior High School Subjects.

Ladder	Class	Chapter Topics
Junior High School / Equivalent	VII	Chapter 1: The History of the Birth of Pancasila Chapter 2: NRI Norms and Constitution of 1945

	Chapter 3: Indonesian Unity and Regional Characteristics
	Chapter 4: Indonesian Diversity
	Chapter 5: Respecting the Environment and Local Culture
	Chapter 6: Working together and working together
VIII	Chapter 1: Position and Function of Pancasila
	Chapter 2: Form and Sovereignty of States
	Chapter 3: Governance and Governance
	Chapter 4: National Revival and Youth Oath
	Chapter 5: National Identity and National Culture
	Chapter 6: Digital Literacy and National Diversity
IX	Chapter 1: Dynamics of Pancasila Application
	Chapter 2: National Laws and Regulations
	Chapter 3: Indonesia's Role in the World Order
	Chapter 4: Global Harmony and Solidarity
	Chapter 5: Tolerance, Tolerance, and Collaboration
	Chapter 6: National Commitment in Global Diversity

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Source: Research Data, 2023

Each discussion or content of each chapter of the book for students of grades VII-IX is examined and analyzed in terms of what forms of symbolic violence are displayed. In general, the framework of the contents of each chapter in the textbook of Pancasila and Civic Education subjects in grades VII, VII, and IX includes learning objectives, concept maps, perceptions, core material and student activities, material summaries, reflections, enrichment links, and competency tests. Based on the results of semiotic observations and a review of content analysis of each chapter of the Pancasila and Civic Education subject book for junior high school students, this researcher found as many as 12 visuals of symbolic violence yang is displayed both in text and image form in the student books of grade VII, grade VIII, and class IX. The most widely identified form of symbolic violence in class VIII textbooks is 6 visual symbolic violence found in 5 chapters of 6 chapters The subject matter, namely in Chapter 2, Chapter 3, Chapter 4, Chapter 5, and Chapter 6. Then in the textbook on the subject of Pancasila and Civic Education class IX identified 4 visuals of symbolic violence contained in 3 chapters of the subject matter there are 6 chapters, namely Chapter 1, Chapter 2, and Chapter 6. In the textbook on the subject of Pancasila and Civic Education class VII, 2 visuals of symbolic violence were identified contained in 2 chapters of 6 chapters of the subject matter, which are Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. Thus, it can be said that the issue of symbolic violence is found at all grade levels in the textbook of Pancasila and Civic Education for the school level junior secondary published by the Center for

Bookkeeping of the Education Standard, Curriculum, and Assessment Agency, Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology.

The finding of symbolic violence in the textbooks of Pancasila and Civic Education subjects for the first intermediate level in the era of implementing at *kurikulum Merdeka* is certainly based on four concepts. The basis of symbolic violence from Pierre Bourdieu in understanding the meaning of symbolic violence, namely capital, class, habitus, violence and symbolic power. Modal refers to all the resources that exist in a person's life that can be used. Bourdieu [11, 14, 15] classifies capital into four forms, social capital, economic capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital. Social capital refers to the light work of friendship and membership of a person in a group. Economic capital relates to resources that can be converted into money. Cultural capital refers to the mastery of information and what is known. Furthermore, symbolic capital relates to status, prestige, and social honor when it has received public acceptance and recognition. All of this capital determines the class, namely the group of actors who accumulate or have a lot of capital (the dominant class), and the group that does not have capital and tends to accept domination and any imposed dominant class. The concept of habitus refers to learned social habits, which are habits that are relatively permanent and routine ways of life that often create opportunities in the form of learned dispositions and shape one's behavior in a certain way. Violence and symbolic power highlight how symbols and meanings affect a person's life unconsciously so that they have the opportunity to cause conflict.

Referring to Pierre Bourdieu's four basic concepts, symbolic violence can be interpreted as the symbolic domination of a dominant social group that applies imposition of symbolism and meaning to other classes or groups as something natural in such an invisible or subtle way that the targeted group accepts and recognizes it as something legitimate. Muri'ah and Gianto [1, 5] add that this mechanism of symbolic violence is carried out by "concealing violence (coercion)" by a dominant class into something that is accepted as "what it should be" for the target group. Symbolic violence is subtly domineering and is not even perceived as "coercion or violence" because it has become the habitus of society [16]. According to Widyastuti [17] symbolic violence exists because of an imbalance in the social structure and the pattern of relations between those who control and are controlled. In the context of this meaning, it can be understood that symbolic violence can be present in the relationship between teachers and students in schools with teachers as the dominant group (mastered) and target group students (mastered). Even Bourdieu calls schools the arena for symbolic violence, because according to Bourdieu in education, there is social reproduction and cultural reproduction, through the transformation of habitus [18]. Some findings of symbolic violence in the textbooks of Pancasila and Civic Education at the first middle school level are based on this concept of domination and habitus. Here are some visuals of symbolic violence found in PPKn textbooks at the junior high school level in the form of forcing meaning and symbolism that nuance domination of certain groups.

Contohnya adalah pelajar. Bagi setiap pelajar, kewajibannya adalah belajar. Hanya dengan memenuhi kewajiban belajar itu, seorang siswa mendapat manfaat dari norma yang berlaku baginya. Norma dapat tegak hanya bila para anggota masyarakat yang memiliki norma tersebut menjalankan kewajiban masing-masing.

Chapter 2 p 31

Karena itu, sebagai generasi muda, kalian dituntut mampu menyuarakan dan mempromosikan budaya nasional di kancanh global. Salah satu cara yang bisa kalian tempuh adalah mengikuti festival budaya internasional. Kalian bisa proaktif mengusulkan kepada sekolah agar bisa mengirimkan siswa dan siswinya mengikuti ajang festival kebudayaan internasional. Hal ini juga sebagai wadah aktualisasi kegiatan ekstrakurikuler kesenian yang ada di sekolah.

Sebagai contoh, sebuah sekolah tingkat SMP di Tangerang Selatan berhasil mengirimkan siswi-siswinya mengikuti festival kebudayaan internasional di Turki. Keberangkatan mereka dilepas oleh Wali Kota Tangerang Selatan ketika

**Fig. 5.** Sentences in class VIII textbook Chapter 5 p 114

Karena itu, sebagai pelajar, kalian harus memiliki etos belajar dan cita-cita yang tinggi. Kalian harus memiliki kapasitas keilmuan dan kompetensi yang unggul. Dengan demikian, kalian bisa memiliki peluang untuk dipilih menjadi pemimpin. Menjadi pemimpin sejatinya salah satu sarana untuk memberikan

**Fig. 4** Sentences in class VIII textbooks Chapter 2 p 32

Nah sebagai generasi milenial, kalian harus berpartisipasi dalam mewujudkan dunia maya yang kondusif dan produktif. Cara yang bisa kalian

**Fig. 6.** Sentences in class VIII textbooks Chapter 6 p 128

Peningkatan interaksi dengan orang-orang dari bangsa lain juga semakin diperlukan di zaman yang disebut sebagai era industri 4.0 yang mengedepankan teknologi informasi sekarang. Untuk itu, sudah saatnya kaum muda Indonesia lebih aktif untuk berdiapora dan bermukim ke berbagai negara di dunia untuk berkariir dan berkarya dengan mengenalkan budaya Indonesia ke mancanegara. Dalam hal diaspora tersebut, bangsa Indonesia tertinggal dibanding Filipina serta India yang mampu mengirimkan jutaan warganya untuk menjadi tenaga profesional dan eksekutif di seluruh dunia. Sudah saatnya kaum muda Indonesia lebih banyak berdiapora dan berkolaborasi dengan bangsa-bangsa lain di dunia dengan berlandaskan nilai-nilai Pancasila.

**Fig. 7.** Sentences in class IX textbooks Chapter 1 p 23

Figures 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 are categorized as visualizations of symbolic violence because there are elements of mechanisms for the practice of domination of one party, in this case, the group of students, and youth. The text of the five images subtly determines control over one party through communication, in this case, language. This categorization includes the meaning of symbolic violence as expressed by Putri [14] that symbolic violence is the practice of domination (the practice of dominating others) through communication (especially language communication). In the five figures above, the occurrence of symbolic violence can be felt due to a pattern of unequal relations or symmetrical relations between "speakers" and sub-groups. The dominant in this case is youth/students. The language expressed by the five images becomes a symbolic capital as well as a symbolic principle. Interpreted symbolic principle because it attacks the way of thinking, seeing, and acting of sub-dominant groups [19]. As for being a symbolic capital, language as an intermediary is used by the upper/dominant

class (speakers) to control others below (students/youth) who do not have power, so that those who do not have power accept and obey the orders of the dominant class. This is what shows the mechanism and strategy of domination, in which the practice of domination is no longer shown by external or visible consequences in the eye, but also the inner effect [20].

In addition to the practice of domination, figures 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 are visualized as symbolic violence because there is a form of euphemism. As the literature suggests [15, 21] the mechanism of symbolic violence occurs in two ways, namely euphemism, and sensitization. Euphemisms are mechanisms of symbolic violence by make symbolic violence work subtly, invisibly, and unrecognized/unconscious. Euphemism can take the form of obligation or obligation, command, trust, loyalty, giving, hope, or mercy. While censorship is a mechanism that reveals symbolic violence as a form of preservation of all values that are considered "moral honor", such as chastity, generosity, politeness, and so on [15, 21]. Figures 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 show euphemisms in the form of obligations and commandments. As explained by Ulfah [21], command is a form of euphemization carried out by the dominant class to assert to the sub-dominant class to do something.

Furthermore, in addition to the visual of symbolic violence in the form of domination mechanisms, there is also a visualization of symbolic violence based on the imposition of symbolism as shown below.

Sikap disiplin kalian dalam mena'ati peraturan lalu lintas merupakan bentuk pengamalan ajaran agama. Karena, agama mengajarkan pemeluknya agar tertib berlalu lintas dan menjaga keselamatan nyawa. Bahkan, agama juga mengajarkan agar kita menyingkirkan duri dari jalan.

Sejatinya, menerapkan etika berinternet merupakan perintah agama dan bentuk keimanan kepada Tuhan Yang Maha Esa. Ajaran agama menerangkan bahwa ketika kita memperoleh informasi, terlebih informasi meragukan atau dari sumber meragukan, maka lakukanlah proses verifikasi dan konfirmasi. Sehingga, kita tidak terjatuh pada perbuatan merugikan orang lain.

**Fig. 8.** A sentence on the Fig class textbook VIII Chapter 3 of p 61

**Fig. 9.** Sentences in class VIII textbooks Chapter 6 of p 13

Figures 8 and 9 are visualizations of symbolic violence based on forced symbolism, in this context of religion. Religion becomes a visual of symbolic violence because it is used as a symbol of legitimacy to gain obedience. This categorization includes the meaning of symbolic violence as expressed by Ulfah [21] that symbolic violence is an attempt to obtain legitimacy compliance. The symbolic violence in Figures 9 and 10 is carried out in the form of dominating meaning and value. These visuals can also enter into mechanisms of symbolic violence in the form of censorship.

Some other visuals of symbolic violence contained in PPKn textbooks at the junior high school level of the independent curriculum are presented in the form of dominant class habitus. The habitus of the dominant class can be seen in the following figure.



Selain itu, banyak keluarga meluangkan waktu untuk berekreasi bersama seperti mengunjungi taman atau tempat wisata alam lain, juga silaturahmi antarkeluarga. Bersikap mandiri, tekun beribadah, rajin belajar, serta hormat pada orang tua dan mencintai saudara akan menguatkan persatuan dan kesatuan keluarga.

**Fig. 10.** Sentences in class VII textbooks Chapter 3 p 60

Pernahkah kalian membeli suatu barang secara daring atau online? Tentu lebih memudahkan kalian bukan? Hanya dengan menggunakan gawai, kalian sudah bisa mendapatkan barang yang diinginkan tanpa harus antri maupun pergi membeli secara langsung.

**Fig. 11.** Sentence in textbook Class IX Chapter 6 p 130

Pernahkah ada pengemis tua yang datang ke rumah kalian? Ia meminta makan kepada kalian karena belum makan sehari-hari. Kalian pasti merasa iba kepadanya. Tahukah kalian pada masa penjajahan dulu, rakyat Indonesia banyak yang kelaparan karena sulit mendapatkan makanan.

**Fig. 13.** Sentence in textbook Class VIII Chapter 4 p 73

Sebuah rumah tidak hanya memiliki ruang utama atau ruang tamu, melainkan juga memiliki kamar-kamar dan bagian-bagian lain. Semua ruangan tersebut memiliki pintu dan setiap pintu ada kuncinya masing-masing. Kalian telah memiliki kunci utama rumah tersebut, namun belum memiliki kunci-kunci lainnya. Dapatkah kalian masuk ke dalam setiap kamar untuk menata semua kamar yang ada, sedangkan kunci yang ada hanya kunci ruang utama?

**Fig. 12.** Textbook sentences Class IX Chapter 2 p 36

#### 1. Era Industri 4.0

Apakah kalian pernah melihat petani membajak sawah dengan menggunakan sapi atau kerbau? Contoh tersebut saat ini mungkin masih banyak terjadi di daerah kalian, atau daerah lainnya. Tetapi tidak sedikit, pekerjaan membajak sawah dilakukan menggunakan mesin traktor, karena dianggap lebih efektif.

**Fig. 14.** Textbook sentences Class IX Chapter 6 p 133

Overall, figures 10 to 14 show the mechanisms of symbolic violence used by the upper classes that dominate society's social structure to "impose" beliefs, culture, habits, or lifestyle on the lower class group he dominates. This series of cultures is referred to by Bourdieu as habitus. As a result, the lower classes are forced to accept, live, practice, and recognize that the habitus of the upper class is the habitus that is eradicated for them (the lower class). Based on the study of Martono [22] there are three forms of mechanisms in textbooks that describe symbolic violence as the habitus of the dominant class. First, tell the habits of the upper class, such as sightseeing, celebrating birthdays, taking piano lessons, and so on. Second, showing or telling objects that are usually owned by the upper class, such as televisions, refrigerators, cars, laptops, *cellphones*, luxury homes, and so on. Third, describe the profile or characteristics of the upper class, such as working in the office or going to the office by car, and so on. Figure 10 shows the first form, which is to tell the habits of the dominant class, in this case, it is sightseeing or sightseeing. Figures 11 and 12 show the second

form, which shows objects that are usually owned by the upper class, in this case, gadgets or handphones, and well-equipped houses. Figures 13 and 14 show profiles and activities generally carried out by the lower classes, namely beggars and farmers who plow fields with buffaloes.

Symbolic violence is not violence that is easily seen, but actually, this form of violence is easily observed, including in the world of education, especially in textbooks. Bourdieu uses symbolic violence to explain the mechanisms used by the dominant group or upper-class group that dominates the social structure of the lower-class group. By Bourdieu [11] symbolic violence arises from the existence of class structures in society. Symbolic violence works and is inherent in every form of action, the structure of knowledge, the structure of individual consciousness, as well as imposing power on social order [21]

## 4 Conclusion

Based on the results of research and discussion studies that have been carried out, it can be concluded that visual symbolic violence is almost found in all chapters or topics of subject matter in the book PPKn text for junior high school level published by the Book Center of the Education Standard, Curriculum, and Assessment Agency, Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology. Therefore, the visual findings of symbolic violence in several chapters in the PPKn textbook for junior high school can be used as material for reflection and mutual attention, by both PPKn teachers, schools, and the Book Center of the Education Standard, Curriculum, and Assessment Agency, Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology of the Republic of Indonesia in the context of creating a comfortable and safe learning environment for learners. This is important because if this form of symbolic violence is ignored, it can be this violence that can become the seed for physical violence and other destructive violence of a real nature.

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