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Symbolic Violence in the Short Story Anthology SAIA The work of Djenar Maesa Ayu

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Article Info	Abstract
History Articles Received: 5 February 2025 Accepted: 10 March 2025 Published: 30 April 2025	The aim of the research is to describe the symbolic violence contained in the short story anthology SAIA by Djenar Maesa Ayu. Data collection was carried out using heuristic techniques and content analysis techniques by listening and noting the required parts in the text. The data in this research are words, sentences, sentence fragments, paragraph fragments which are classified using data cards to be analyzed using hermeneutic techniques. The results of data analysis show that there is a structuration of power which is manifested in the form of capital, class, habitus and arena.
Keywords: literature, short story, symbolic violence	

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INTRODUCTION

Literary works are the result of the human mind. Literature exists as an intermediary to convey the author's aims and objectives. This is in accordance with Tuloli's opinion in Didipu (2012) that literature is the result of the author's creativity which originates from human life directly or through his creations using language as the medium. Society has a dynamic life that often creates problems between individuals. Literary works consist of three types, namely prose, poetry and drama. Short stories are a category of prose literary works. Mulyaningrum (2020) defines a literary work as a story that is read in one sitting. Short stories only have one meaning, one crisis, one effect on the reader because in a short story the author will only explore one conflict sharply.

One of the interesting themes used as a background for the author in creating his work is the oppression of women. In the beginning, the authors who were aggressive in speaking out about women's oppression were male writers. Like Pramoedya Ananta Toer, Marah Rusli, and Ahmad Tohari who depict the image of women in their works, however, according to Zahra and Hayati (2019) the development of Indonesian literature is getting better. This is marked by the emergence of Indonesian female writers such as Nh. Dini, Ayu Utami, Dewi Lestari, Djenar Maesa Ayu, and so on. Nugroho, et al (2023) also stated that reflections of women's courage, resilience and struggle in facing the world are depicted by Indonesian writers in their works.

Djenar's short story contains many conflicts and criticisms of cases of violence against women. It is not uncommon for this work to generate a lot of controversy. Short story anthology SAIA There is a lot of symbolic violent behavior in the story. This symbolic violence is reflected in the events experienced by the characters. For example in short stories "Dan Lalu" which sounds" "dan benci setiap kali ibu Lalu mencaci-maki hanya untuk masalah kecil. Lupa dimana menaruh pensil. Alpa kapan harus menggunakan sendok makan besar atau kecil". "The incident experienced by Lalu's

character is a form of symbolic violence perpetrated by his own mother. Lalu's biological mother said that because her husband rarely came home, and the money he gave them was also modest, Lalu's mother took out her emotions on her child.

With the power she has, a mother commits violence against her own daughter. Past grudges make him darken his eyes and commit violence from invisible to overt ones. Invisible violence is known as symbolic violence. This violence can be carried out by people who dominate certain social structures. Symbolic violence occurs invisible to the eye but has influence. This term was coined by Pierre Bourdieu. Until now, symbolic violence is not widely known, even though this violence exists in almost all elements of society. Even at the lowest level, namely family. Symbolic violence has two important elements, namely the social construction and culture that surrounds it. Class, capital, habitus and arena are forms of power structure that influence each other.

Permatasari (2016) defines symbolic violence as a symbolic system that is imposed as something legitimate, as long as the violence occurs without being aware of it and is accepted by society, culture will follow as a reinforcement through this relationship. The concept of symbolic violence according to Bourdieu (1990) in Martono (2012) is interpreted as the domination of someone over another person who is considered right by that other person. A class that has power will certainly easily dominate other classes which can trigger violence. A violence marks the legitimacy of a dominating class. Therefore, it can be concluded that violence and power are concepts that are interconnected with each other.

This research refers to research by Suraya (2015) which examines symbolic violence contained in children's advertising. The results of the research showed that gender role stereotypes were found between the men and women represented as a wife, housewife, or future wife. There is another research by Rosanti, et al (2023) which explains the expression of symbolic meaning from poetry anthologies The Right Time to Forget Time by M. Aan Mansyur. In this

research, 14 symbolic meanings were found in the form of (1) symbols of struggle, (2) sadness, (3) happiness, (4) simplicity, (5) hope, (6) peace, (6) violence, (7) sadness, (8) greed, (9) cruelty, (10) sincerity, (11) despair, (12) injustice, (13) memories, (14) helplessness.

Bourdieu puts forward objective and subjective structures through the concepts of capital, class, habitus and arena. These four concepts are called power structuration. Ahmad, et al (2021) stated that power structuration can be interpreted as an important element that forms power.

Structuration of Power in Symbolic Violence Capital

Bourdieu (1990) defines capital as a collection of resources owned by a certain group in the form of material or non-material capital to achieve a certain goal. This is in accordance with Karnanta's (2013) opinion that the amount of capital accumulated and the capital structure can determine a person's hierarchy in society. Bourdieu in Haryatmoko (2016) categorizes four types of capital, namely: (1) economic capital; (2) social capital; (3) cultural capital; (4) symbolic capital. This capital is a crucial source of power in symbolic violence. The explanation is as follows:

1) Economic Capital

This capital is declared as independent capital because it is flexible and can be transformed into other parts. Aspects of economic capital are in the form of reproductive tools which include machines, land, labor, materials which include income, objects and money which can be easily used for all purposes and can be transferred to each generation.

2) Social Capital

Social capital can be interpreted as a network that functions to determine a person's social position. In practice, the basis of social capital is in the form of non-attached relationships such as friendship. Meanwhile, in the institutionalized form, social capital is expressed in the relationship of membership in a group such as family, tribe, descent, and so on.

3) Cultural Capital

Cultural capital is the totality of intellectual qualifications that can be produced through education. This capital is related to a series of individual abilities in the form of attitude, way of speaking, way of socializing, appearance, and possession of certain skills.

4) Symbolic Capital

Symbolic capital is recognized as something natural and legitimate. This form of capital is in the form of prestige, status and legitimacy that have been accumulated, which is why this capital is identified with symbolic power that is recognized by the group.

Class

A class is a group of actors who are in an equal position who have similar characters which are depicted through mental attitudes and social practices. The concept of class is related to a person's capital ownership, so that in society there are class groupings according to the capital owned by each individual. Haryatmoko (2016) divides classes into three types, namely the dominant class, petty bourgeois class, and popular class.

1) Dominant Class

This class is characterized by large capital ownership which frees them to do anything. The dominant class groups are big company bosses, private sector executives, lecturers and intellectuals.

2) Petty Bourgeois Class

The petty bourgeoisie class is the middle class in society. Martono (2012) states that the way of life of those in this class is characterized by the ambition to continue to climb to a higher social class. This class has limited capital but their lifestyle is like that of the dominant class. Those in this group are employees, entrepreneurs, or self-employed.

3) Popular Class

The definition of the popular class according to Winasis & Adjie (2019) is a class that has no capital ownership at all. The characteristic of the popular class is that it becomes the subject of domination of the class above it. The popular class consisted of factory workers, agricultural laborers, and low-wage workers.

Habitus

The definition of habitus according to Sulistyo (2015) is cultural unconscious, namely historical influences that are unconsciously considered natural. Habitus is the basis of an individual's personality where a person's position can produce a habitus. Bourdieu (1990) in Fashri (2007) states that legitimate social domination is influenced by knowledge, lifestyle, taste and aesthetic judgment. Habitus is influenced by history or past events, meaning that the socialization process that influences a person's way of thinking and acting is formed over a long period of time. Habitus is formed from the moment a person is born which is not limited to a person's external experience but from cognitive structure.

Martono (2012) divides five concepts of habitus, namely: first, habitus is conditioning which is related to the existence of a class which gives rise to a system of dispositions and can be inherited. Second, habitus is a natural ability that develops in a certain social environment as a result of skills that are reflected through practical actions. Third, habitus is an objective life practice and assessment of social reality. Fourth, habitus is a principle and assessment of social reality. Fifth, a system structure that is always under restructuring is the concept of habitus.

Arena

Bourdieu in Haryatmoko (2016) states that the arena is a dynamic concept. The arena can be understood as a place of competition and struggle. Istiqomah (2020) believes that a competitive place for its members is called an arena. Someone who has capital or large capital will win this arena of struggle and will also be able to take advantage of this arena. This capital or capital not only functions as a means but also as an end.

In each arena, individuals who have large capital will naturally tend to maintain their power. Someone who occupies this position will try to remind each other of their position, and apply the principle of hierarchy in accordance with their concept. Arena works independently

according to their respective agreements. The heterogeneity of society will give rise to more arenas. For example, the educational arena, the struggle arena, the religious arena, the political arena, and so on.

METHODOLOGY

The method used in this research is the structural semiotic method. Emzir in Rohman (2015) explains that structural theory is a theory that reveals intrinsic elements such as theme, characters, setting, plot in literary works. This theory defines a literary text in which all its elements are interrelated, therefore its meaning must be directed at the relationship between the elements as a whole. Semiotics is the science of signs. Semiotics explains that every event that occurs in society is a sign that has meaning. Pradopo (2001) divides signs into two parts, namely signifiers and signifieds. Signifiers are a formal form of marking something which is called a signified. For example, the word "mother" is a sign in the form of a sound unit that indicates the meaning of "the person who gave birth to us". There is not just one type of sign, but there are several based on the relationship between the signifier and the signified.

The semiotic structural method can be used to explain all the symbols and meanings contained in the anthology Djenar Maesa Ayu's work to produce written data whose elements are interrelated.

The approach used in this research is literary sociology. This approach explains the meaning and purpose contained in literary works. Teeuw (1983) in Supriyanto (2021) states that the sociological approach to literature departs from the view that literature cannot be understood in its entirety if it is separated from the socio-cultural context that surrounds it. The theory used is Pierre Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence to explain forms of power structuration and symbolic violence and uses literary sociology as an approach. The material object of this research is a short story anthology SAIA by Djenar Maesa Ayu, while the formal object is the power

structuration of symbolic violence according to Pierre Bourdieu.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

Based on the results of research that has been carried out, forms of power structuration and forms of symbolic violence were found in the short story anthology SAIA by Djenar Maesa Ayu. There are forms of power structure in the form of capital (economic capital, social capital, cultural capital, symbolic capital), class (dominant class, petty bourgeoisie class, and popular class), habitus, and arena.

Discussion

Forms of Power Structuration of Symbolic Violence

- 1. Modal
- 1) Economic Capital
- A. Low Economic Capital

Data 1

"Ibu Lalu dipersunting pada usia muda. Itu pun sebagai istri ketiga. Kisah klasik tentang kesulitan ekonomi yang membuat orangtuanya dililit utang. Tak punya pilihan, direlakannyalah anak semata wayang. Ibu Lalu tidak berdaya menentang. Walau jauh dalam lubuk hatinya meradang". (Dan Lalu: 10)

Mrs. "Lalu" came from a family that did not have any capital or came from a popular class. "Lalu"'s mother was used as collateral by her parents because "Lalu"'s parents could not pay their debt. As a result, his son let him go so that his debt could be paid off.

From this fragment it can be seen that the absence of capital ownership means a person has limited space for movement. This is demonstrated by the lack of ownership of assets to pay off debts. Economic capital can be realized in the form of income, but "Lalu"'s parents do not have that income. The economic capital owned by "Lalu"'s parents is in the low category. This low economic capital must ultimately be passed on or passed on to their children, even though children should not be used to pay off their

parents' debts because they are not guilty of this. The economic capital owned by "Lalu's" mother's family can only be used to meet daily needs and the lack of capital can be vented on her children and grandchildren.

High Economic Capital Data 2

"Nayla tergopoh-gopoh sepanjang koridor. Dipicunya kembali semangat yang sempat kendor. Ia sadari jika pertemuan kali ini sedetik pun tak boleh molor. Demikian yang tempo hari berkali-kali diingatkan bosnya karena klien mereka adalah seorang pesohor)". (Nol Dream Land: 17).

Nayla is a worker at a well-known company. As someone who has the highest power in the company, Nayla's boss is someone with the highest economic capital, so his subordinates will naturally obey his orders, and if someone violates them, he will not hesitate to dismiss his subordinates without hearing anything first. First, the reason why the employee took this action.

From this fragment, Nayla's boss is the person who has the largest capital. This is shown by his power over his employees, so that whatever he asks must be obeyed by his subordinates. Like the incident in the story, there will be a meeting with a celebrity. Therefore, the boss reminded all his employees not to come late. However, on that day, Nayla arrived late, as a result, the boss where Nayla worked dismissed Nayla without first hearing the employee's explanation.

Social Capital

Data 3

"Setelah itu, Nayla lupa. Ia terlalu belia untuk benar-benar mencernanya. Hidupnya pun berjalan seperti biasa. Tapi setelah ia bertemu seseorang di sekolah menengah pertama, seseorang yang selalu membuat kupu-kupu beterbangan di dalam perutnya, seseorang yang membentangkan warna-warni pelangi di setiap jejaknya, seseorang yang tidak menciptakan senantiasa gulita seperti orang tuanya. Nayla pun dimabuk cinta pertama. Dengan senang hati diberikannya lah semua yang kekasihnya minta".

(Sementara: 52-53)

Nayla is someone who often receives bad treatment from her family. Therefore, when she is approached by a man, she feels very special. Nayla does come from a wealthy family, but since childhood she received bad treatment from her family. In fact, when she was in elementary school, Nayla experienced sexual violence perpetrated by her private driver. After this incident, Nayla's parents immediately fired the driver and Nayla's father immediately berated Nayla's mother for not being able to educate her child. Until she grew up, Nayla continued to receive such insults, when she became an adult she was even thrown out of the house because she was considered to have neglected the good name of her family. Nayla realized that what her parents were doing was to maintain the dignity that her family valued so much.

Nayla has known her lover since junior high school, the man she is with is now someone who makes Nayla's life colorful again. He comes from a dominant class family, which has large capital holdings. Slowly Nayla's life took direction with this man, she felt loved like never before when she was a teenager. With this man, Nayla lives well-off, stable and safe even though Nayla is an HIV/AIDS sufferer due to promiscuity during her teenage years. Since living with her lover, Nayla's life has slowly improved and is full of love, something she has never felt before.

Cultural Capital Cultural capital "establishes" Data 4

"Ia menatapku. Mata itu. Seperti ada yang runtuh dalam jiwaku ketika mereka menghujam tajam. Ia mengangguk dan diam. Diam yang panjang dan tak terduga, bahkan ketika kami sudah sampai di kamar hotel. Ketika aku meremangkan lampu dan beranjak naik ke tempat tidur, ia masih saja duduk terdiam dan hanya menatapku. Tatapan mata itu membuatku tahu, ia tak sama dengan perempuan-perempuan yang pernah aku tiduri sebelumnya". (Mata Telanjang: 125)

Nay is a woman who works as a cafe singer. She has a beautiful face and a good personality even though many people look down

on her because of the profession she is in. This principle is what makes Nay charismatic and makes men ask about her because they are amazed by her personality.

Based on this data, Nay has cultural capital in the form of her body. This cultural capital is demonstrated through having a beautiful face and a good personality. Both are the capital needed for a cafe singer to support his career. Nay has the principle that she is not like other women or cafe singers. lowly and cheap. He firmly believes that cafe singing is just a profession, and self-respect must be upheld regardless of the background and work being done. From this principle, a man who previously looked down on women became more appreciative and finally fell in love with Nay.

"Objectified" cultural capital Data 5

"Ara mengerjap-ngerjapkan matanya. Diliriknya arloji merek Rolex yang baru dihadiahi oleh seseorang yang ia panggil dengan sebutan sayang "Papa". Sudah jam sembilan ternyata. Dengan malas, ia bangun dari pembaringannya". (Urbandit: 85).

Ara's ownership of luxury goods, he does not immediately buy himself. The Rolex watch that he wears was obtained from someone he calls "Papa".

Based on this data, the man who is called "Papa" has objectified cultural capital, because he has large capital and he has a habit of buying luxury goods for women who are always with him. So that the woman does not turn to other people, she is willing to spend large amounts of money to buy luxury goods. Due to cultural capital that is objectified in the form of goods, the figure of "Papa" is not abandoned by the women who are usually with him.

"Institutionalized" cultural capital Data 6

"Angka yang menyala di dinding elevator mengingatkan Nayla akan usianya saat lulus SMA. Saat itu sebenarnya ia ingin mengambil kuliah di jurusan sastra. Tapi tak disetujui orang tua. Kata mereka, "orangtua susah-susah banting tulang buat sekolah kok maunya Cuma jadi penulis? Nulis itu gausah sekolah tinggi-tinggi". (Nol-Dream Land: 43).

Nayla's parents are parents belonging to the bourgeois class. They want the best for their children but in a restrictive way. For Nayla's parents, this is considered good because children must obey their parents' wishes. However, for Nayla, this actually restrained her.

Based on this data, Nayla's parents have institutionalized economic capital. They come from wealthy families who place great importance on their children's education. They want their child to become a businessman following in his parents' footsteps. Therefore, Nayla's parents forced their child to study business instead of studying literature. Nayla's parents consider studying literature trivial because it only boils down to being a writer who, even without studying, can become a writer. Nayla's parents forced their child to study business, and they thought that Nayla was capable.

Symbolic capital

Data 7

"Ia menghela napas lalu melirik ke arah jam tangannya yang melingkar di tangan kiri. Masih ada sisa waktu lima puluh menit lagi sebelum rapat memaksanya pergi. Waktu yang sangat cukup untuk dipakai bercinta dan mandi, sebelum meluncur ke Gedung DPR RI demi membahas Rancangan Undang-Undang Anti Pornografi". (Ranjang: 136).

His character is a man who works as a member of the DPR. He has symbolic capital in the form of a position or position he holds. Because he is someone who has an important position, he can do anything without having to think about other parties.

Based on this data analysis, DPR RI members have symbolic capital in the form of positions that can be used for anything. His current position is very different from what he usually does. This member of the DPR RI discussed the Anti-Pornography Law, but instead he became the perpetrator of this inappropriate thing.

Class Dominant Class Data 8 "Bukan kata awan yang membuat kalbu Nayla dirundung kelabu. Tapi kata pulang di penghabisan lagu itulah yang menganggu. Ia tak pernah mengenal pulang. Baginya pulang adalah numpang di rumah orang. Rumah Bapak dan Ibu Pram yang mempekerjakan ibunya sebagai pembantu rumah tangga. Yang juga berbaik hati menyekolahkan Nayla" (Kulihat Awan: 57).

Mr and Mrs Pram are a group of people who come from the dominant class. This is proven by the behavior of Mr. and Mrs. Pram who invited Nayla and her mother to stay in their house. They even sent Nayla to school.

Based on this data, it can be seen that the Pram family has large capital. This is shown by the Pram family who cover Nayla and her mother's living expenses. However, this is not necessarily free, there are consequences that must be paid, namely in the form of an obligation that Nayla and her mother cannot leave the house, even though Nayla is actually fed up with the situation that requires her to stay in the house.

Petty Bourgeois Class

Data 9

"Tawa yang akan mendadak reda saat Nayla lewat. Berganti dengan senyum yang terlihat sekali hanya dibuat-buat. Persis seperti tata rias tebal yang mereka pakai agar wajah aslinya tak terlihat, Juga pakaian maupun tas merek terkenal yang mereka pamerkan padahal diproduksi oleh pabrik pencetak barang-barang plagiat." (Fantasi Dunia: 64).

In the short story anthology SAIA, the petty bourgeoisie is characterized by the behavior of agents who want to look rich by wearing branded goods. However, because they don't have money, they end up using fake goods.

Based on this data, the people around Nayla belong to the petty bourgeois class. The petty bourgeoisie class has the characteristic of always wanting to climb higher on the social ladder. They want to look like the dominant class, but because of limited capital ownership, they can only buy imitation goods used by the dominant class. Even so, their behavior does not hesitate to laugh and make fun of someone whose social status seems lower than themselves.

Popular Class

Data 10

"Kenapa ga bisa jawab! Malu kan kamu, sadar kan kamu kalo yang kita minta itu sebenarnya ga susah?! Tau ga kamu, Ibu dulu itu boro-boro punya sepatu!"

"Boro-boro sepatu, Ayah dulu perlu seragam batu aja mesti nunggu bertahun-tahun. Ga kayak kamu, apa aja yang diperlu tinggal minta!" (SAIA: 74).

My character's family belongs to the popular class because they have no capital ownership. Those in this group are very easy for other parties to intervene. Due to the lack of capital ownership, it is difficult to buy household goods.

Based on this data, my character experiences symbolic violence because he needs shoes to go to school, but because his parents do not have any assets, he is forced to put aside his desire to buy shoes. When I asked to buy shoes, my character actually received an inappropriate response from his parents. Due to the absence of parental capital ownership, children are the ones who are sacrificed.

Habitus

Dominant Class Habitus

Data 11

"Urusan bisnis yang rumit, selesaikan saja dengan perempuan. Itu yang membuat aku selalu kemari, menjamu para pejabat yang sering dengan bermacam alasan menunda proyek yang sebenarnya bisa cepat beres. Aku kenal baik manajer tempat ini, bahkan dengan pemilik dan beberapa jenderal yang menjadi backing-nya. Aku juga dekat dengan para penari. Kepada merekalah aku percaya, segala urusan bisnis akan menjadi lancar setelahnya". (Mata Telanjang: 123).

My character is someone with large capital holdings. This allows my character to do whatever he wants. Because of this large capital ownership, it also influences his habits. He thinks that everything can be solved with money.

Based on this data, my character has a dominant class habitus which is shown by his behavior which assumes that everything can be solved with money. This makes my character like to control people around him who have a lower social status compared to himself. In the story, my character can pay a general and female dancers to get his complicated business matters resolved. For people who have power, it is important to maintain their honor and stay out of complicated business problems. Therefore, my character has a habitus of controlling other people in exchange for money, which makes it easier for him to carry out symbolic violence against other people.

Petty bourgeois class habitus Data 1

"Pintu elevator di depan Nayla terbuka lebar. Orang-orang segera merangsek masuk ke dalam elevator tanpa menunggu yang ada di dalam terlebih dulu keluar. Akhirnya terjadilah aksi dorong-dorongan, persis seperti petarung sumo yang siap menubruk tanpa gentar. Sungguh, tata rias, dasi, maupun setelan yang mereka kenakan sama sekali tidak menunjukkan ciri-ciri orang terpelajar. Yang penting berhasil masuk, jangan sampai terlempar keluar. (Nol-Dream Land: 123).

Nayla works as an employee. Every day he has to jostle with other employees. Moreover, he works on the top of an office building. In order to work in the office, Nayla and the people who work in the office must have completed at least a bachelor's degree. However, their behavior is not like that.

Based on this, the people in the environment where Nayla works are a group of petty bourgeois class people. They are educated, work in quite prestigious offices, but their behavior is very contrary to their social background. The office employees do not know the culture of queuing. Even though their habits are wrong, they will still behave in this way so as not to be late and not be scolded by their boss, because if employees do not obey what their boss says then they are in danger of being expelled. The habitus possessed by these employees can give rise to symbolic violence for the people around them, because they tend not to think about other people in order to achieve their desired goals.

Popular Class Habitus

Data 1

"Bocah laki-laki yang berusia sekitar sembilan tahun itu jadi giat bekerja. Yang biasanya cuma mengemis asal cukup untuk makan dan minum dan memberi setoran kepada koordinatornya kini banyak yang berprofesi ganda. Ada yang biasanya Cuma pagi sampai sore mengemis, lantas menyemir sepatu pada malam harinya. Ada yang biasanya cuma malam hingga pagi mengemis, lantas berjualan majalah pada siang harinya. Mengangkut batu bata. Memulung sampah di alun-alun kota. Jadi kurir narkoba. Bahkan ada yang rela mengambil risiko dihajar koordinator karena tidak menyetor dana". (Gadis Korek Api: 97).

The teenage boy does not go to school but works. The work they do is like work for adults. They no longer prioritize education, for them to be able to live for today, they must be grateful.

Based on this, the teenage boy has a popular class habitus which is characterized by a state of resignation to accept the situation. They work because life's demands are increasing but their economic income is insufficient. Those who should be at school are instead used to earning money to survive today. Especially after Nay's arrival, they worked even harder with the motivation to be able to "enjoy" Nay. For them, education is just a dream, the little boy has no other choice but to work to help the family's economy and also to please themselves.

Arena

Education Arena

Data 1

"Nayla tahu benar tak banyak sekolah yang mau menerima anak yang lahir di luar nikah. Fakta yang sebenarnya amat membuat Nayla kecewa dan marah. "Lembaga pendidikan kami dengan tegas menolak seks bebas," demikian alasan yang mereka kemukakan. Alasan yang sama sekali Nayla perkirakan. Ingin sekali ia tanyakan, bagaimana dengan anak-anak korban perkosaan? Apakah mereka tidak layak mendapat pendidikan? Pertanyaan yang terpaksa harus disimpan. Ia sudah kenyang makan asam garam kehidupan. Ia sudah terlampau sering mengenyam ketidakadilan. Biarkan ia yang jadi korban. Asal anaknya terselamatkan". (Fantasi Dunia: 65)

Nayla is a woman who belongs to the petty bourgeois class. In his life he adapted to such circumstances. Nayla has a child who she wants to send to school, but the school does not accept her because the child was born out of wedlock.

Based on this data, there is an educational arena contained in the short story anthology. The data above shows the existence of the educational arena. Nayla wants to send her child to school but the school's regulations limit education for her child and even children out there who have the same fate. In fact, Nayla has often received insults from people around her who are shocked by such regulations. He feels that such regulations reflect injustice, education that should be available to every child regardless of background is actually the opposite. Children who don't know anything and are innocent must become victims because of such regulations. These regulations are binding and cause the emergence of symbolic violence.

CONCLUSION

The main cause of symbolic violence is differences in capital ownership which give rise to differences in the class levels of each agent. In each short story, the dominant class is occupied by the agent who has the largest economic capital. Characters in a short story anthology SAIA Djenar Maesa Ayu's works have different backgrounds, and those who are victims of symbolic violence are women from elementary school age to adult women. Agents who have large amounts of capital or capital will also follow their habitus. People or agents who are in the dominant class will easily dominate the agents below them. People from the popular class tend to accept all actions given by those in the dominant class and the petty bourgeoisie. The arenas in this short story anthology are the social, educational and family arenas.

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