

Symbolic Violence in Islamic Boarding School

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Abstract

This Research aim the symbolic violence that occurs in favorite schools. When students from poor families given the opportunity to attend a school where the majority of students come from the upper class, students from the lower class will recognize many high class habitus. This is where the beginning of the occurrence of symbolic violence in schools. This study describes how poor students are carry out social interactions at school even though they have a different habitus from the habitus of the majority of students at school. School selected as the research location is a school dominated by upper class students in Malang City. Research using the method qualitatively by interviewing several poor students at the school. The results of the study show that some students feel inferior when it comes to interacting with rich students. They find it difficult to follow the habits of their friends who come from the upper class, for example: watching movies at the cinema, going to the mall, and more. Other students have an indifferent attitude and are not close to their friends different social class. The conclusion of the study states that inclusive schools accommodate students from many social groups Economics is a strategic effort to equalize learning opportunities. But on the other hand, when a school is dominated by students from upper class, then this condition is actually less profitable for poor students in that school.

Keyword: *Symbolic Violence; Poor Students; Islamic Boarding School; Habitus.*

Introduction

Opening opportunities as wide as possible to all citizens to access quality education is the duty and obligation of the state. This opportunity is not only given to certain groups, but for all classes of society. This is form meritocracy to realize an education system that democratic.

In recent times the cost of education significantly increased. As a result school only accessible to the upper middle class. Group Poor people find it difficult to access quality education. The school then becomes an exclusive institution which only a few people can access. Expensive school has always been a very frightening



specter for poor citizens and became the subject of discussion everywhere (Martono, 2019).

Responding to a slanted view of expensive schools, the government issued a policy free schools, especially for the level of education elementary and secondary education. The government hopes with this policy it will be easy for the poor undergoing education (Martono, 2019). Government disbursing *BOS* funds (School Operational Assistance) to help schools so they can afford improve the quality. The hope is there equal access for the poor to schools which so far was considered to belong only to wealthy students. Schools are also expected to become institutions inclusion that is open to all groups.

In practice, even though school is free, but there are still compartmentalized school places for the rich and the poor. There are some schools that are the majority students come from wealthy families, and some others filled with students from poor families. Free school apparently have not been able to remove the favorite school dichotomy and not favorite school. Favorite schools are still dominated upper class students, while the school is not favorite either still dominated by students from the lower classes. Free school apparently not able to eliminate social segregation in education in Indonesia.

Sociologically, granting access is the same for poor and rich students in one school is not a one-size-fits-all solution the problem of social inequality in education. When poor students and rich students attend schools that Similarly, there are sociological problems that arise.

First, related to the problem of ability academic. As explained earlier, school should prioritize poor students if he indeed is in a zone close to the school. At the level this, poor students with high academic qualifications do not facing a significant problem. However, for poor students who have low academic quality then they have to compete with the rich students who have high academic qualifications, how are they can match the performance? Performance problem is not simply because he got the same material, taught by the teacher in the same classroom. However, there is a factor other things that are not obtained in school and are difficult for students to have poor. For example: taking lessons at a guidance agency learning and 24-hour internet facilities.

Second, sociologically there are barriers at the moment interactions experienced by poor students. This can found when they have to interact with students rich at school. Bourdieu (1973) explains that poor students and rich students have "capital" and different habitus. Habitus is culture, style life, the habits of a group of individuals. The habitus of each individual and group is different, depending on the capital they have. So, with Such differences in capital, Bourdieu is pessimistic about poor students will be able to match the achievements of upper class students because of the poor cannot match the habitus of the rich.

An interesting issue from Bourdieu's thesis is that rich students and poor students have capital and different habitus. This habitus will have an impact on the process of interaction between the two. How they interact with different habitus?



Here it is which is the focus of this research.

In everyday examples, interaction barriers due the difference in this habitus is in the "conversation material" between rich students and poor students. Foucault (Martono, 2019) states that discourse (in this case is content of conversation) is different according to space and time. For example: the discourse on the fun of going out of town or the excitement of playing online games can only be found in the discourse of the rich student. This discourse is not developing in a poor student environment. With habitus and these different discourses, can poor students follow or adapt to the culture the majority group, namely the rich students. When they talk in the same room, what will be disclosed the poor?

Furthermore, Bourdieu (1973) said that Habitus that develops in schools is class habitus just top. For him, school is a meeting place for the rich and the poor apparently do not accommodate class habitus poor. Bourdieu refers to this phenomenon as "violence symbolic", when minority groups are forced to learn and follow the habitus of the dominant class.

For this reason, this study analyzes how poor students "accept" the habitus of rich students their social interactions at school. What are they feel when interacting with students who have these different habitus?

Boarding Schools as a Inclusive Space

In fact, school is a public space that can accessible to all community groups. Habermas in (Hardiman, 2010) explained that public space is a medium for communicating various information and outlook on one's life. Public area also concerns space that is not only physical, but also the space in which the communication process can take place going on. This non-physical public space is the mass media.

School as a public space implies meaning that anyone can actually interact there. As a public space, school is a free place without the shackles of power. In that room, students and teachers should be able to interact with each other without meaningful limitations.

The development of capitalism then goes into school that causes the school to become a space exclusive that only a few people can access. Para school "connoisseurs" are bourgeois groups that have enough capital to go to school. The capitalist group uses schools as a means of realizing its goals: one of them is using schools as a labor-producing factory (Bowles, S and Gintis, 1978).

The school has turned into an exclusive institution that is not free of interests. school to be place for social selection. Schools too manifestation of power in charge of determining anyone who is entitled to a social position which is better than the others. In the world of work, This role is easy to find when working status certain areas can only be occupied by certain individuals. Base qualification is the level of education and skills successfully owned after going through the educational process at school. Successful educational status or level achieved by the individual will place him in the group or certain class. That is, educational status becomes basis for

determining the social status of individuals within Public. Bourdieu (1973) looks at educational status embodied in a certificate as a form of cultural capital owned by someone who impact on economic capital.

Responding to this phenomenon, adherents of conflict theory states that society is really just an arena or where the occurrence of "social struggle". Society is a place of individuals and different groups compete with each other rare and valuable resources. Even this fight happened at school. In modern society, status Education is a "value" that must be fought for. Finally, school becomes an expensive commodity (Martono, 2019).

The followers of conflict theory claim that basically social groups in society have different interests. Although these interests are well managed in modern society, some people still benefit more than others. As a fighting arena, the school has political function: maintaining the ruling ideology. Schools function to maintain the dominance of power. Capitalistic education functions as a school means of maintaining an upscale position in order to position they are irreplaceable lower-class individuals who managed to improve its position. In this case, function school as a means of social mobility stifled by the capitalists.

Schools as "Areas" of Symbolic Violence

When the school becomes an arena of conflict between actors' interests, the school then becomes a means power struggle. This symptom attracts attention Bourdieu who departs from the view of conflict theory. The social life of the people is colored by inequality social. In this social condition, school should role in eliminating this inequality. Will but in reality schools actually improve the social inequality.

This problem can be analyzed with a thesis Bourdieu. Bourdieu managed to reveal the epistemological side behind the "culture that develops in schools" and "how is the position of the lower class in school". in a manner He simply stated that the school dominated individuals from the upper class as the dominant group.

According to Bourdieu (1973), differences in social class closely related to the issue of capital owned individual. At least, he identified four forms capital that is able to distinguish the social position of individuals one another. The four capitals are: cultural capital, economic capital, social capital, and symbolic capital. Economic capital is everything which can be converted into money. It's related with differences in individual economic ability or ability to own material Cultural capital in the form of mastery of information in all its forms. This is knowledge, cultural codes, and ethics that play a role in the determination and reproduction of positions social belonging to the individual. Social capital is all resources based on social relations and membership in a group. (Candland, 2000) mention that one's trust can become social capital for the individual. Symbolic capital is the status given to each capital if it has received recognition and public acceptance. Symbolic capital is embedded in different statuses of individuals.



Differences in the ability to have (or get) capital is an obstacle for some individual size to enter a particular class position. Each social class has different capital. Difference This capital ownership then has implications for habitus owned by individuals occupying the class. Habitus is a set of values, norms, lifestyle, or tendencies that guide a person's behavior through socialization (Wacquant, 2013). Habitus owned and reflects a certain position or social class for owners because their capital ownership is different. In other words, capital owned by poor students is different from the capital that is owned rich students. As a result, owned habitus both are also different (Martono, 2019).

The upper class (or dominant class) is the class that have a lot of capital. By using force In this case, the dominant class tries to keep its position from going down been replaced by another individual. Domination is realized at school. As previously explained, for School Bourdieu is nothing but an arena or battle ground. School just run the process of cultural reproduction (cultural reproduction), namely a mechanism to help perpetuate intergenerational economic inequality (Giddens, 2006).

The way in which the dominant group maintains its position is through so-called habitual socialization. In fact, despite the habitus each class is different, and habitus depends on ownership of capital, but habitus can be transmitted from one social class to another. Transmission This can be done through ongoing socialization implicitly, so that groups that "copy" the social habitus do imitation without realizing it (Bourdieu, 1987).

Habitus socialization is carried out using language instruments to influence individual knowledge (Martono, 2019). Here's what then called the process of symbolic violence. One of the symbolic violence occurs in educational practice in school. Symbolic violence can occur when a teacher declares his position higher. As a result students must comply.

In practice the school performs the function of reproduction social services and schools serve more needs upper class or dominant class. Upscale positioning himself as the dominant class, while the lower class positioned as an object of domination. When class is dominant got a "respectable position" in school, so did they more freedom to socialize their habitus. They not only socialize the habitus, but them also imposes its habitus on other groups (Bourdieu, 1987).

Martono's (2012) study show how is the subject matter in school mostly only presents the habitus of the dominant class. Studies which is done by analyzing the contents of the BSE (book electronic school) SD shows that most the large number of sentences and images loaded in BSE contains the habitus of the dominant class (upper class). There are several mechanism used to socialize upscale habitus through BSE. First, tell high-class habits, for example: traveling, celebrating birthdays, watching television, reading newspapers, play PS at home, take piano lessons, as well as washing the car. Second, show or tell the things that are usually owned by the class above as an example, for example: television, refrigerator, kitchen set, washbasin, toy cars (tamiya), cars (wash car), garage, vacuum cleaner, aquarium, and house luxurious. Third, describe the class profile or characteristics above, for

example: working in the office, wearing a tie, leaving working by car, working carrying suitcases and to wear shoes. These habits are presented in the material introduction (apperception), stories, and practice questions.

On the other hand, the lower class habitus is depicted in BSE there are very few of them. Lower class habits described in BSE through the following mechanisms: first, describes lower class characters, eg: work in the fields, working as farmers, fishermen, herders, masons, and scavengers. Second, tell activities that are usually carried out by individuals from the lower classes, for example: plowing fields, herding, hoeing, planting rice, and helping parents earn a living.

When the habitus of the upper class dominates the practice education, of course indirectly has eliminate the existence of the underclass in schools. Their existence seems to be considered non-existent, the article is their habitus is sparse and hardly socialized at school. Worse, poor students also consider things this as something normal. They didn't notice that its culture and habits are often material ridicule at school. They also agree that the culture of the rich is a very ideal culture, good culture, so they also want to emulate habits of these friends (Martono, 2019).

The description clearly shows that bringing upper and lower graders together in one school does not solve the problem sociologically. Poor students are indeed "grateful" to be able to go to school in a school that so far only the rich could enter. But in fact they exist at school are considered non-existent. Possible school does not accommodate the social background of poor students so teachers use a single standard, namely class standards dominant (upper grade students). As a result, poor students forced to follow the way of work and way of learning class students above, even though both of them have very much ability different.

This description shows that Bourdieu has managed to assert that power is not only state domination. But in practice, the role the upper class group was more dominant and they succeeded organize everything that happens in school, incl limit what is deemed appropriate or inappropriate to enter and learn in school.

Research Method

This study uses a qualitative method. Exist several reasons for the use of deep qualitative methods this research. First, the researcher wants to describe how students understand the social situation at school when school there are many students from different social backgrounds different, and they each carry a habitus different. Second, this study also describes various efforts made by lower grade students (students poor) face the domination of rich students' habitus in school. Third, this study describes the process social interaction of poor students and rich students at school.

The subject of this research is poor students who attend a favorite school with a majority of wealthy students, namely two favorite Islamic boarding schools in

Malang City, East Java. For collect data, this study uses the method interview, observation, secondary data collection.

To analyze the data, this study uses constant comparative analysis method (constant comparative). The reason for choosing this analytical method is the researcher wants to make comparisons of experiences experienced by poor students in favorite schools. Experience it also includes experiences when they interact with the affluent students who make up the majority group at his school.

Analysis

Favorite School

Go to school at a favorite school, for class groups lower middle class is not an easy dream embodied. Favorite school in many places is expensive school. In order to enter the school, brain intelligence capital is not enough as capital main. However, poor students have to rack their brains more hard to find sources of funds to be successfully accepted in favorite school. This is different from the rich students who can free to choose any school.

There are many stories about the beginning of poor students who then managed to enter the "owned school". The rich". There are many stories in the media exposed their struggles, but unfortunately, only a certain percentage can continue these dreams. Most of the lower graders failed get quality education facilities, right just going to school. Here are some stories from informants about its success "compete" with class students top to get into your favorite school.

ANS is the fifth child of five siblings. Her older siblings are married except for her fourth sister. His father is in his 60s and works as a farm labourer coconuts, and his mother worked as a helping farm labourer his father. If you look at the activities of both parents, ANS difficult to realize his dream of attending a favorite school.

Initially, his older brother suggested ANS to entered the nearby MAN (Madrasah Aliyah Negeri). with his residence. Cost considerations are the reason his brother suggested it. On the other hand, ANS is rather pessimistic about being able to enroll in a favorite school because the value is mediocre. Cost is also a factor next consideration. From the aspect of school fees, MAN relatively cheaper than MODERN Islamic Boarding School in that city same.

Although pessimistic, but in the end ANS decided to register to one of the favorite Islamic Boarding Schools in Malang city. At the time of the announcement of the selection results, ANS declared accepted, but he plans to cancel his intention to go to school at the Islamic Boarding School was because cost considerations. At almost the same time, he met with one of the teachers at the Islamic Boarding School, namely MD. MD stated that he would help with the cost problem school for ANS if he is accepted in the school.

ASR is one of the outstanding students in his school. His older brother is currently studying at one of the state universities in Semarang. he stayed in Karangreja District,



about 60 km from Cilacap City along with his father who worked as a tailor also farmer. ASR's mother has passed away due to sick. While studying in the city of Malang. Initially ASR too hesitate to go to one of the favorite schools in Malang city.

When he was in junior high school, ASR really wanted to get it attended the Islamic Boarding School because they hoped to get scholarship from the regent of Cilacap. But unfortunately, when ASR graduated from junior high school, the scholarship program is no longer there are more. He also abandoned his intention to attend school City of Malang for lack of funds. ASR intends to register in a high school close to his house to save money cost.

However, at the same time, he was informed scholarships to enter the favorite Islamic boarding schools in Malang. he too got a scholarship for the help of one of the teachers in the school. ASR gets exemption from tuition fees and relief of building construction costs, so he only paid IDR 2,000,000 of what it should have been that is IDR 5,000,000.

While studying at the Islamic boarding school, ASR was successful show their achievements. He won several competitions up to the provincial and national levels representing his school.

KHY is the first child of two brothers. He lives with his mother and stepfather because his mother was divorced and his biological father already married again. His mother worked by accepting orders homemade cakes, while her stepfather working as a contractor in a real estate company.

Just like ASR, KHY was also immediately accepted in favorite Islamic boarding schools with sufficient grades. But KHY is different from ASR because KHY is not get SPP relief even though he comes from family can not afford. KHY claimed to have filed tuition fee relief but the school has not give him relief. As a result almost every month KHY must be late paying tuition fees.

Those are some brief profiles of students who become informants in this study. The third speech show some similarities. First, they enter your favorite Islamic Boarding School with a capital entry value sufficient. Second, they have mediocre economic capital and even less must apply for waivers of monthly fees and fees building construction. Third, their parents are not have a steady income so it's hard to meet all the needs of the school to the fullest.

Information obtained from the informant show that favorite schools still have image as an expensive school. This results in poor students felt anxious when I ventured to register at favorite school. Anxiety that he will be in trouble paying relatively very expensive school fees continues to haunt their minds. In fact, a relative student even smart people still think twice about registering at favorite school.

Even though there was BOS funding from the central government, but in fact the help did not help solve the problems faced by poor students. Take the case of KHY who had to pay Rp. 3,550,000 which can be repaid over three years. Nominal yet including other components, such as: practicum uniforms and extracurricular uniforms.

KHY explained:



"... there are a lot of dues... yes fees are for buying clothes... At that time, I had to buy a lab coat, then when I joined an organization you also need a blazer suit. Lab coat costs 85 thousand, if there is an OSIS blazer that costs the same 105 thousand the 125 thousand..." (KHY, 11/11/2022)

Uniform problem is still a scourge for poor students. Purchase of uniforms other than school uniforms is excluding subsidies through BOS funds. This means they have to pay for it themselves outside of the tuition fees. KHY explained that when he joined an organization intracurricular at school, means he has to prepare more rupiahs. Rupiah was used to buy intraschool organizational uniforms; The student council has a uniform themselves, as well as Scouts and Rohis. Fees outside the tuition fee it is often a burden for underprivileged students. This fee does not include the purchase of LKS (Sheet Student work) as a complement to the textbook mandatory purchase.

Dealing with "different habitus" friends

Interact with friends from different social classes is one of the risks that students have to face less

able when deciding to attend a favorite school Expensive schools cause favorite schools to dominat rich student. The impact is that students become poor minority. As a minority, they are also no forced to adapt to a different culture embraced by the majority group.

There are a variety of choices that students must make poor when adapting to the school environment. They are also free to determine their attitude: between drifting in a different way of life their daily lives, or choose to keep their distance to stay Be yourself and maintain your culture. For poor students, get lost and involved in the classroom culture above is not without consequences. There are many attitudes and feelings when students are poor they have to "face to face" with their friends from high class.

KHY for example, he feels he is not close to his classmates, the majority of whom are rich students. He just interpret it as an ordinary friend or just a playmate, and KHY admits that he has never positioned his friend it as a chat friend. One word repeated the time he said it was "minder"; inferior when socializing with friends in class. KHY stated:

"Okay, just mmm...maybe... all my friends it's a rich person, right... so I'm a bit insecure a little.. Yes maybe there is a sense of shame too, but that's it... hehehe... Just look here and there friends many of the children have..." (KHY, 11/11/2022)

Availability of school supplies often becomes a barrier for poor students to catch up with rich students. Meanwhile, some favorite schools often require ownership equipment in the framework of the preparation of tasks school. For wealthy students this is no big deal, however for poor students this is a serious problem. For that, the effort or struggle of poor students for Achievement in your favorite school is not easy. They have to compete with rich students with different "capital", but they must achieve same target.

School is an arena where various habitus meet. However, in practice, some schools are controlled certain groups that dominate the prevailing habitus at that school. Positioned favorite school society as the best school in reality dominated by the dominant group, namely the upper class. Bourdieu (1973) stated that schools only teach dominant class habitus. In other words, the habitus implemented in schools (especially favorite schools) is an upscale habitus. The result is when there are students the lower class tried their luck to get into school favorite, indirectly they should too (read: forced) to adjust their habitus with class habitus on.

Both have different capital. but with capital is different, they are subject to rules or standards same. This situation is certainly more profitable students who have higher capital.

Public schools are basically schools inclusion that brings together students from various backgrounds social background. It aims to provide an opportunity for all students to access education with the same quality. But on the other hand, it becomes opportunity "disadvantage". Poor students can lost their existence because they were forced to merge with rich students, and automatically class habitus bottom will disappear (presumed not exist). Even if the existence of the lower class habitus exists, its position still does not benefit the owner of the habitus.

This is the effect of class domination in schools that was initiated Bourdieu. The habitus of poor students is often considered as an ancient habitus, not slang, dirty, far from progress or outdated, even considered tacky. Meanwhile, the upper class habitus is always positioned as good habitus, worthy of being an example, modern habitus and progress so that it must be followed and maintained.

On the other hand, the success of a handful of graders in winning the battle in education at school is often claimed as motivation for the lower classes. But actually The chances of success are only a fraction of a percent of the entire lower graders who tried his luck in favorite schools.

In one of his theses, Bourdieu explains that the upper class will seek to inhibit the class down to raise the status. High class using education in schools as a mechanism maintain status. When the individual (student) class in the end can go to the same school with the upper class, the upper class seeks to create lower grade students are "uncomfortable" at school.

The results of the previous interview with ASR showed how when he was at school often Kali can't catch the topic of conversation of his friends, the majority of whom come from the upper class. ASR feel disconnected or do not understand what is was talking about his friends. This is due what ASR friends are talking about is not being ASR's daily culture (read: not the habitus). When ASR tries to join the chat then indirectly actually ASR is forced to understand the daily life of his friends the majority is high class. Meanwhile, ASR and almost all class students below do not have the opportunity to "tell" how is their daily life. their habits considered absent or even missing.

In addition, some informants were forced not to follow his friend's invitation to do the activity together, for example hanging out or watching movies. They admit that they rejected their friend's invitation because they didn't have enough money.

KHY had to buy a uniform when attending intracurricular and extracurricular activities. Of course he did get a tuition waiver, however he is still required to buy a practicum uniform, school organization uniforms (OSIS, Scouts, Rohis, and other extracurricular uniforms), buy LKS and other equipment outside the SPP. KHY also still burdened with the cost of building a school that must be installments for three years.

This inability is the cause of its emergence feeling inferior when they interact with their friends. This feeling of inferiority actually shows that students the lower class failed to adjust to the class habitus on. Meanwhile, several informants chose to refuse on purpose because they feel they don't fit in lower class habits. ASR stated that he wanted to focus on studying so he limits the time to play with his friends.

Here is a high class mechanism for inhibiting progress of the lower grades in school. Lower class indeed given the opportunity to enter a favorite school but in their school is made uncomfortable. Through violence this symbolic, the upper class can still maintain position.

The findings of this study provide an update in Bourdieu's theory that Bourdieu's thesis turns out does not describe the student's survival strategy poor in public schools when they have to dealing with wealthy students as the majority. What then when the school is dominated by classes on. Indeed, the habitus of poor students is different, but even so different they still have to be able to survive until they finish school. there is a lot of effort that they are do: save expenses (choose to live in mosque instead of going home), or resist the urge to have fun, and choose to use the money for daily meals, buying laptops, and more.

Next, the results of this study provide contribution of thought that there are many ways that poor students do to face class domination top at school. findings in this study for example: choosing silence, rejecting invitations, and choosing to participate if "having capital" obtained by saving.

Poor students are indeed "forced" to accept habitus of rich students. However, poor students still have the option to counteract the coercion with the way they choose for themselves.

Conclusions

Based on the results of this study, there are several things that can be concluded. First, lower grade students feel inferior when it comes to interacting with his friends who came from the upper class. This feeling of inferiority appears because they feel different, have no money as "economic capital". Lack of economic capital this caused them to limit their activities together friends, for example: hanging out in cafes, watching movies, and others.



Second, they also face difficulties when do not have complete school supplies

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like his friend's. For example: several the informant doesn't have a laptop so face obstacles when doing schoolwork that should be make use of laptops. This difference in ownership indicates that the school actually not fully accommodate the conditions social for each student. A group of students (lower class) remained have difficulty adjusting to social situations.

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