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SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE IN THE SHORT STORY COLLECTION MEREKA BILANG, SAYA MONYET! BY DJENAR MAESA AYU

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ABSTRACT
This study aims to analyze symbolic violence in Mereka Bilang, Saya Monyet! by Djenar Maesa Ayu based on Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical perspective, focusing on capital, class, habitus, arena, and forms of symbolic violence. This study employs a qualitative approach with a descriptive method. The data consist of words, phrases, sentences, and quotations representing capital, class, habitus, arena, and symbolic violence. Data were collected through reading, note-taking, and identification techniques and analyzed descriptively using Bourdieu's concepts. The study identified 855 data points, comprising 342 capital, 132 class, 131 habitus, 147 arena, and 103 symbolic violence data points. The symbolic violence data consisted of 51 euphemism and 52 sensorization instances. Cultural capital was the most dominant form of capital, with 137 data points, while the family arena was the most dominant arena, with 57 data points. The findings reveal that symbolic violence operates through language, labeling, social judgment, restriction, and the internalization of dominant values and norms. The short story collection Mereka Bilang, Saya Monyet! represents power relations and social inequalities through the interaction of capital, class, habitus, and arena. These interconnected elements facilitate the reproduction of symbolic violence within social relationships, particularly through normalized practices and dominant values. This study provides a comprehensive analysis of symbolic violence by examining its relationship with capital, class, habitus, and arena within a single literary collection. Its originality lies in integrating these interconnected concepts to explain how symbolic violence is reproduced through language, social judgments, restrictions, and internalized norms.
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INTRODUCTION

Literature is an integral part of social life because literary works emerge from, develop within, and respond to the realities of society. Literature does not merely present aesthetic beauty; it also represents social realities, human relationships, conflicts, and various forms of inequality that occur in everyday life. Pradopo (2007) argues that literature is an expression of the realities of life conveyed through aesthetically meaningful language that is capable of engaging readers emotionally. In this sense, literary works can serve as a medium through which authors represent and critically respond to social problems. Literature can also provide a safe space for expressing criticism of violence and other forms of social injustice (Manjon, 2022). Therefore, literary works can be examined not only from their intrinsic elements but also from the social realities and power relations represented through their characters, conflicts, and narratives.

One of the social issues that can be explored through literature is violence against women. Violence does not always take the form of physical actions that are immediately visible. It may also operate through language, social values, cultural norms, habitual practices, and dominant ways of thinking that are perceived as natural or acceptable. In particular, women may occupy positions with less power and more limited opportunities than men in determining their lives, accessing resources, and making decisions. Ariftha (2023) argues that male control over women has become a common phenomenon in society, while Gupta (as cited in Okeke, 2023) explains that women and children in many developing societies possess less power in decision-making, access to resources, and control over their bodies. Such inequality indicates that relationships between men and women are not merely personal relationships but are also shaped by broader structures of power that enable domination to be reproduced and accepted as normal.

These issues are strongly represented in Djenar Maesa Ayu's short-story anthology Mereka Bilang, Saya Monyet! (They Say I'm a Monkey!). The anthology consists of eleven short stories: "Mereka Bilang, Saya Monyet!",

"Lintah","Durian", "Melukis Jendela", "SMS", "Menepis Harapan", "Waktu Nayla", "...Wong Asu", "Namanya,...", "Asmoro", and "Manusya dan Dia". The stories portray various dimensions of women's lives, including poverty, domestic violence, child prostitution, sexual behavior, sexual violence, and unequal relationships between women and men. Through its characters and conflicts, the anthology illustrates how women are positioned within social situations that may restrict their autonomy, agency, and existence.

The significance of the anthology lies in Djenar's complex representation of women. Women are not exclusively portrayed as victims but, in certain circumstances, are also represented as perpetrators of violence. This representation suggests that power relations within the stories cannot be understood through a simple binary in which men are always perpetrators and women are always victims. Instead, domination operates through complex social relationships in which individuals may occupy different positions within structures of power. Djenar's use of direct, confrontational, and emotionally charged language further strengthens the representation of the experiences and conflicts faced by the characters. In this context, literature can function as a critical medium for revealing how certain practices, attitudes, and treatments that appear ordinary may actually contain relations of domination and violence.

This phenomenon is particularly relevant to Pierre Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence. Symbolic violence refers to a form of domination that does not necessarily operate through physical coercion but through symbols, language, values, knowledge, habits, and systems of meaning that are accepted by individuals or groups as legitimate and natural. Symbolic violence is difficult to recognize because both perpetrators and

victims may fail to perceive the domination embedded in their relationships. In Bourdieu's framework, symbolic violence is closely connected to capital, class, habitus, and field. These concepts explain how power operates subtly within social life, allowing relations of domination to be reproduced because they are perceived as legitimate, ordinary, or natural. Bjorket (2016) emphasizes that individual practices cannot be separated from the relations and structures of power that produce them, causing acts of domination to appear natural.

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The concept of symbolic violence is particularly useful in literary analysis because characters do not exist within socially neutral spaces. Each character possesses different forms of capital, occupies a particular class position, carries a habitus shaped by social experiences, and operates within particular fields governed by specific rules and distributions of power. Differences in capital and social positions may generate unequal relationships between dominant and subordinate characters. Haryatmoko (2016) explains that social life is characterized by relationships between those who dominate and those who are dominated, while domination may operate either consciously or unconsciously. Accordingly, an analysis of symbolic violence in literature should not merely identify violent acts but also examine the social structures that enable such domination to emerge, become legitimate, and be reproduced.

Previous studies on Djenar Maesa Ayu's literary works have highlighted issues concerning women, sexuality, violence, exploitation, and gender inequality. Djenar is recognized as an Indonesian female writer whose works consistently explore women's experiences, particularly those related to sexuality and violence. Wiyatmi (2013), for instance, describes Djenar as a writer who strongly criticizes injustice, oppression, violence, and sexual exploitation experienced by women. Nevertheless, there remains a limited body of research specifically examining Mereka Bilang, Saya Monyet! through Pierre Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence. More importantly, the existing discussion has not sufficiently explained the structuration of power through capital, class, habitus, and field as the underlying mechanism through which symbolic violence is produced and reproduced in the anthology. The source study explicitly identifies the absence of research focusing on symbolic violence in this anthology as one of the reasons for selecting it as the research object.

This condition indicates a significant research gap in the study of Mereka Bilang, Saya Monyet!. Previous discussions have largely emphasized the representation of women, sexuality, violence, and gender inequality, whereas the present study focuses more specifically on the mechanisms of power that allow violence to operate symbolically. Thus, this study does not merely identify forms of violence experienced by female characters but examines how capital, class, habitus, and field construct power relations that enable domination to operate and become normalized. Another gap concerns the scope of the object of analysis. Rather than focusing on a single short story, this study examines all eleven stories in the anthology, allowing patterns of power relations and symbolic violence to be identified across the collection as a whole.

The novelty of this study lies in integrating Bourdieu's concepts of capital, class, habitus, and field as interconnected dimensions of power structuration to explain the formation and reproduction of symbolic violence against women across the eleven short stories in Mereka Bilang, Saya Monyet!. Rather than treating these concepts independently, this study examines how unequal possession of capital contributes to class differentiation and determines the positions of characters within particular fields; how habitus shapes characters' perceptions and practices; and how these interconnected elements enable symbolic violence to be accepted as legitimate or natural. This approach provides a more comprehensive understanding of the mechanisms underlying domination in Djenar's literary representation of women. It also extends the discussion of women in Djenar's works beyond their position as victims of injustice by examining the social mechanisms through which inequality and domination are reproduced.

The study is important because symbolic violence differs fundamentally from overt physical violence. Its effects may not be immediately visible, yet it can influence the ways individuals think, perceive, feel, and act. Haryatmoko (2017) explains that symbolic violence can shape an individual's ways of thinking, seeing, feeling, and acting. Consequently, examining symbolic violence in literary works can provide insight into how domination operates through practices that are often perceived as ordinary or legitimate. Mereka Bilang, Saya Monyet! is particularly relevant to this inquiry because its stories portray various experiences of women within unequal social relations and reveal forms of domination that may remain unnoticed by both perpetrators and victims.

Based on the discussion above, this study aims to analyze the structuration of power through capital, class, habitus, and field, as well as the forms of symbolic violence represented in Djenar Maesa Ayu's Mereka Bilang,

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Saya Monyet! from Pierre Bourdieu's perspective. Specifically, the study seeks to reveal how power relations are constructed and how symbolic violence is manifested through the interactions, experiences, and positions of the characters across the eleven short stories. The study is expected to contribute to the development of literary sociology and the application of Bourdieu's theory by providing a more comprehensive explanation of the relationship between social structures, power relations, and the reproduction of symbolic violence in literary representation. At the same time, it demonstrates how literature can function as a critical space for revealing forms of domination that are embedded within everyday social practices and often perceived as natural or legitimate.

METHODS

This study employed a qualitative literary research design using a sociological approach to literature. The sociological approach was selected because the study focuses on literature as a representation of social realities, particularly power relations and symbolic violence reflected in the lives and interactions of the characters. The theoretical framework was based primarily on Pierre Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence to examine the structuration of power through capital, class, habitus, and field. The material object of the study was Djenar Maesa Ayu's short-story anthology Mereka Bilang, Saya Monyet!, while the formal object was the representation of power structuration and symbolic violence from Bourdieu's perspective.

The study used a literature-based research method, in which data were obtained through the systematic examination of written literary sources. The primary source was the 2016 edition of Mereka Bilang, Saya Monyet! published by PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, consisting of 148 pages. The anthology contains eleven short stories: "Mereka Bilang, Saya Monyet!", "Lintah", "Durian", "Melukis Jendela", "SMS", "Menepis Harapan", "Waktu Nayla", "…Wong Asu", "Namanya,…", "Asmoro", and "Manusya dan Dia". Secondary sources consisted of books and relevant scholarly literature used to support the interpretation and analysis of the primary text. The data were qualitative textual data in the form of quotations, narrative passages, dialogues, and events involving the characters that indicated power structuration and symbolic violence. Data were collected from the narrative units of all eleven short stories. Particular attention was given to textual expressions and events that represented unequal power relations, domination, and forms of symbolic violence.

The researcher served as the primary research instrument. A data card was used as a supporting instrument to record and organize relevant textual data. Each data entry contained the title of the short story, data number, quotation, page number, and classification of the relevant power structuration or symbolic violence. This instrument facilitated the systematic recording, classification, and analysis of textual evidence.

Data collection was conducted through library research, heuristic reading, textual interpretation, and content analysis. First, the anthology was read heuristically by examining its linguistic structure, including words, sentences, paragraphs, narratives, and dialogues. The researcher acted as an active and critical reader by repeatedly reading the text and identifying textual units relevant to the research objectives. The identified data were then recorded and classified according to their relevance to symbolic violence and power relation.

Second, interpretive reading was employed to examine the meanings contained in the selected textual data. This process was followed by content analysis, conducted through close reading and note-taking. The researcher carefully examined the content of the anthology, recorded relevant textual evidence, and classified the data according to the categories of symbolic violence and power structuration derived from Bourdieu's theoretical framework.

Data analysis was conducted using heuristic and hermeneutic reading techniques. After the initial heuristic reading during data collection, the researcher conducted repeated hermeneutic or retroactive readings to interpret the literary text within its literary and social contexts. The hermeneutic process was intended to move from an initial understanding of the text toward a deeper interpretation of the meanings underlying the representation of symbolic violence. Textual data suspected of containing symbolic violence were subsequently interpreted using

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Bourdieu's theoretical concepts of capital, class, habitus, and field.

In addition, Ferdinand de Saussure's semiotic theory was used to support the interpretation of symbolic meanings in the selected textual data. Saussure's signifier (signifiant) and signified (signifié) were employed to examine how linguistic signs in the stories construct particular meanings associated with power, domination, and symbolic violence. Thus, the analysis combined the interpretation of textual signs with Bourdieu's sociological framework to explain both the meaning represented in the text and the social power relations underlying that representation.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

RESULT

The analysis of Djenar Maesa Ayu's short-story anthology *They Say I'm a Monkey!* (*Mereka Bilang, Saya Monyet!*) identified a total of 855 data related to power structure and symbolic violence**.** The power structure was analyzed through four dimensions based on Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework, namely capital, class, habitus, and field, while symbolic violence was analyzed through two forms proposed by Haryatmoko in Martono (2012), namely euphemism and censorship mechanisms. Of the total 855 data, 342 data were categorized as capital, 132 data as social class, 131 data as habitus, 147 data as field, and 103 data as symbolic violence. These findings demonstrate that power relations in the anthology are primarily constructed through differences in the possession and distribution of capital, which subsequently influence class positions, habitus, and interactions within various social fields.

The capital category consisted of 342 data, making it the largest category identified in the research. Capital was divided into economic capital, social capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital. Economic capital consisted of 109 data, comprising 56 data representing low economic capital and 53 data representing high economic capital. Social capital consisted of 53 data, cultural capital consisted of 137 data, and symbolic capital consisted of 43 data. Cultural capital represented the largest subcategory within the capital dimension and was further divided into 52 embodied cultural capital data, 47 objectified cultural capital data, and 38 institutionalized cultural capital data. These findings indicate that power relations in the anthology are not constructed solely through material wealth. Knowledge, skills, language use, educational background, cultural practices, social networks, reputation, and recognition also contribute significantly to the formation of social power.

The low economic capital category contained 56 data. These data depict characters who experience limitations in accessing economic resources, including difficulties related to material needs, living conditions, employment, consumption, and access to facilities. One example is found in *Menepis Harapan*, where the character is described as feeling excluded from the luxurious environment of a hotel: "And she felt very far removed from the hotel guests who simply came to eat, drink, and stay overnight. She felt that she was not part of that luxury and happiness. She felt that she was merely a speck of dust that secretly slipped between the clinking of crystal glasses and the glitter of pearls and diamonds" (Ayu, *Menepis Harapan*: 61). This data demonstrates that limited economic resources create a social distance between characters who possess different levels of material capital.

Meanwhile, high economic capital consisted of 53 data. These data demonstrate the possession of wealth, property, vehicles, comfortable living environments, inheritance, and the ability to consume goods or services.

One example can be found in *Durian*, where Hyza inherits almost all of her family's wealth after the death of her parents. The text states that "As an only child, she inherited almost all of her family's wealth" (Ayu, *Durian*: 20). This condition places Hyza in a relatively privileged economic position and gives her greater access to material resources than characters with limited economic capital.

The social capital category consisted of 53 data. These data demonstrate the importance of interpersonal relationships, social networks, familiarity, recognition, and connections in producing advantages for characters. For example, in *Manusya and Dia*, Manusya is able to receive immediate service from the bartender without having to

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explain her request: "Manusya pointed her index finger at the bartender. Without asking, the bartender promptly gave Manusya a large glass of beer" (Ayu, *Manusya dan Dia*: 117–118). This interaction demonstrates how familiarity and social relationships can provide particular advantages within a social environment.

The cultural capital category contained 137 data, making it the largest form of capital identified in the research. These data consisted of 52 embodied cultural capital data, 47 objectified cultural capital data, and 38 institutionalized cultural capital data. Embodied cultural capital was represented through knowledge, skills, language, ways of thinking, and dispositions internalized by characters. Objectified cultural capital appeared through cultural objects such as books and other material forms of cultural knowledge, while institutionalized cultural capital was associated with formally recognized educational or cultural credentials. One example is found in *They Say I'm a Monkey!*, where the dominant group is described as using polite language, reading quality books, writing important notes, and wearing appropriate clothing: "Their way of speaking always uses polite language and manners. And they read quality books. They write important notes. They wear beautiful dresses and ties. They even supposedly have

hearts" (Ayu, *Mereka Bilang, Saya Monyet!*: 1). This quotation illustrates how cultural practices function as markers that distinguish one social group from another.

The symbolic capital category contained 43 data. These data concern reputation, prestige, recognition, honor, status, and legitimacy. One example is the character Adjani, whose popularity receives extensive recognition from television stations and audiences. The text states that "television stations throughout the country immediately broadcast images of Adjani that had previously been aired. Everyone from all over the world stayed at home or stopped their activities just to follow Adjani's love story" (Ayu, *Asmoro*: 109–110). This data demonstrates how public recognition and reputation can become symbolic capital that strengthens a character's position within the social field.

The social class category consisted of 132 data, divided into 55 dominant-class data, 32 petite-bourgeois-class data, and 45 popular-class data. The dominant class constituted the largest category, indicating that characters occupying privileged social positions are strongly represented in the anthology. These characters generally possess greater combinations of economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital and are consequently able to establish standards of social behavior and legitimacy. The dominant group is described as possessing proper manners, cultural knowledge, and socially valued behavior. This condition demonstrates that class domination does not merely operate through wealth but also through the ability to establish what is considered legitimate, civilized, and socially appropriate.

The petite-bourgeois class consisted of 32 data. Characters in this category occupy an intermediate social position. They possess certain forms of capital but do not have the same level of power and recognition as the dominant class. Their social practices frequently demonstrate attempts to maintain or improve their social position through education, cultural practices, occupational activities, and lifestyle. Asmoro, for instance, is represented as a writer who continuously works in his apartment while following developments concerning Adjani through television. His position demonstrates the possession of cultural resources while simultaneously indicating a social position that differs from the highly recognized status of Adjani.

The popular class consisted of 45 data. These data portray characters who possess relatively limited capital and occupy subordinated positions within social relations. One example is the narrator in *They Say I'm a Monkey!*, who experiences verbal humiliation and is called an animal and a monkey. The character's inability to effectively resist such treatment reflects a weak social position and limited access to resources that could be used to challenge dominant actors.

The habitus category consisted of 131 data, comprising 48 dominant-class habitus data, 40 petite-bourgeois-class habitus data, and 43 popular-class habitus data. Dominant-class habitus is represented through practices associated with cultural refinement, social etiquette, appropriate language, education, and consumption. Petite-bourgeois habitus is represented through practices associated with education, intellectual activity, and attempts to

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obtain social recognition. Popular-class habitus, meanwhile, is represented through spontaneous bodily expressions, adaptation to social circumstances, and dispositions shaped by repeated experiences of subordination. A significant example appears when the narrator states, "I was already used to losing and swallowing bitterness. Therefore, I could only stare blankly while watching the two of them walk away" (Ayu, *Mereka Bilang Saya Monyet!*: 3–4). This data illustrates how repeated experiences of defeat can become internalized as a disposition to accept rather than resist domination.

The field category consisted of 147 data, comprising 47 community-field data, 43 educational-field data, and 57 family-field data. The family field had the largest number of data, indicating that family relations constitute an important space in which power is produced and reproduced. The family field is represented through authority, decision-making, rules, and unequal relationships among family members. In *Lintah*, for example, the mother determines the arrangement of the household and even provides an elaborate space for the leech: "My mother kept a leech. The leech was given a cage that resembled a two-story dollhouse, complete with a bedroom, dining room, living room, and bathroom, and it was placed right next to my mother's bedroom." This demonstrates how authority within the family allows one character to determine the organization of domestic space and the conditions experienced by other family members.

Finally, the research identified 103 data concerning symbolic violence, consisting of 51 euphemism data and 52 censorship-mechanism data. The nearly equal distribution indicates that both mechanisms play important roles in reproducing symbolic domination. Euphemism operates primarily through language, labeling, insults, and symbolic classification, while censorship mechanisms operate through the restriction of self-expression and the internalization of social pressure. An example of euphemistic symbolic violence appears when the narrator is verbally attacked: "Animal! Monkey! You don't have a brain, spying on people!" (Ayu, *Mereka Bilang Saya Monyet!*: 3). Meanwhile, censorship is illustrated when the narrator states that she has "lost the courage to say what I felt," demonstrating that social pressure has caused her to suppress her own expression.

DISCUSSION

Based on the analysis of Djenar Maesa Ayu's short story collection Mereka Bilang, Saya Monyet!, a total of 855 data points related to power structuration and symbolic violence were identified. These data consist of 342 data points on capital, 132 data points on class, 131 data points on habitus, 147 data points on arena, and 103 data points on symbolic violence. These findings indicate that power in the short story collection is not constructed through a single aspect, but through the interconnected relationship between capital ownership, class position, habitus, and the interaction of characters within various social arenas. This pattern is consistent with previous research on Jiwa-Jiwa Pemberontak by Khalil Gibran, which demonstrates that power structuration in literary works can be analyzed through economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital, which are subsequently related to habitus, arena, class, and symbolic violence. Thus, the findings of this study strengthen the view that literary works can represent power relations and social inequality through the social practices experienced by their characters.

Capital constitutes the most dominant category in this study, with 342 data points, consisting of 109 data points on economic capital, 53 data points on social capital, 137 data points on cultural capital, and 43 data points on symbolic capital. The dominance of capital indicates that the possession of resources is an important basis for determining the position and power of characters. This finding is consistent with previous research on Kami (Bukan) Jongos Berdasi, which demonstrates that economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital play an important role in determining the positions of characters within a social arena. The study shows that differences in capital ownership result in differences in the characters' positions and their ability to compete within social relations. A similar condition is found in the present study, in which characters possessing greater capital tend to have wider opportunities to gain recognition, establish rules, and influence other characters. Therefore, capital can be understood as a resource that enables individuals to obtain and maintain particular positions within the social structure.

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Cultural capital represents the most frequently identified form of capital, with 137 data points, consisting of 52 embodied cultural capital data points, 47 objectified cultural capital data points, and 38 institutionalized cultural capital data points. The high frequency of cultural capital demonstrates that power in the short story collection is not constructed solely through material wealth but also through knowledge, education, language proficiency, skills, ways of thinking, and cultural practices that are considered valuable. This can be observed in the representation of the group referred to as mereka, who are described as speaking politely, reading quality books, writing important notes, and wearing clothing considered appropriate. This finding is consistent with the research of Zurmailis and Faruk, which demonstrates that habitus and cultural practices within an arena can become the basis for legitimacy and symbolic power. Therefore, cultural capital in this study functions as a mechanism of social distinction because certain cultural practices are valued more highly than those of other groups. Individuals who possess such cultural capital gain greater legitimacy, whereas those who lack it tend to occupy a lower social position.

Economic capital was identified in 109 data points, consisting of 56 data points representing low economic capital and 53 data points representing high economic capital. These data demonstrate differences in access to material resources among the characters. Characters with high economic capital are represented through their possession of wealth, inheritance, facilities, and the ability to fulfill their material needs, whereas characters with low economic capital are more frequently represented as experiencing limitations and social alienation. For example, in Menepis Harapan, the character feels that she does not belong to the luxurious environment of a hotel and compares herself to a fragment of dust among crystal glasses, pearls, and diamonds. This finding is similar to previous research on the film Pangku, which demonstrates that limited economic capital places characters in a lower social position, although they may utilize other form of capital to maintain their lives. This indicates that economic capital constitutes one of the foundations of social inequality, but it does not operate independently from other forms of capital.

Social capital was identified in 53 data points, demonstrating that interpersonal relationships, networks, social proximity, and recognition can also function as sources of power. Characters possessing particular social networks may receive treatment and advantages that are not necessarily available to others. This can be observed in the character Manusya, who merely raises a finger toward the bartender and immediately receives a drink without having to verbally communicate his request. This finding is consistent with previous research on Kami (Bukan) Jongos Berdasi, which demonstrates that social networks can function as capital that enables characters to gain access and particular positions within an arena. Thus, social capital demonstrates that power does not always originate from material possessions but can also arise from an individual's ability to establish and utilize social relationships.

Symbolic capital was identified in 43 data points and is associated with reputation, prestige, recognition, honor, and social status. One example can be observed in the character Adjani, who receives extensive attention from the media and society. Such popularity provides social recognition that strengthens Adjani's position compared with characters who do not possess similar recognition. This finding demonstrates that economic, social, and cultural capital can acquire a symbolic form when they are recognized and considered valuable by society. Therefore, symbolic power does not merely originate from what an individual possesses but also from the extent to which such possession receives legitimacy within a particular social arena.

Regarding class, 132 data points were identified, consisting of 55 data points representing the dominant class, 32 data points representing the petty bourgeoisie, and 45 data points representing the popular class. The high number of dominant-class data indicates that the short story collection strongly represents characters or groups possessing the ability to establish social and cultural standards. The dominant group possesses not only material resources but also the ability to determine what is considered good, polite, civilized, and correct. This can be seen when mereka are portrayed as having proper eating habits, speaking politely, reading quality books, and wearing clothing considered appropriate. This finding is consistent with previous research on Imrā'ah 'Inda Nuqṭati al-Ṣifr, which also employs the categories of dominant class, petty bourgeoisie, and popular class to explain power

Sosioedukasi
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structures. This similarity demonstrates that class position can be understood through the accumulation of capital possessed by characters and the ability to utilize such capital within social arenas. The dominant class has greater opportunities to determine rules and social standards, whereas the popular class more frequently becomes the recipient of those rules and judgments.

The 32 data points representing the petty bourgeoisie demonstrate an intermediate position between the dominant class and the popular class. Characters within this category possess particular forms of capital, particularly cultural capital, but do not possess the same level of power or symbolic legitimacy as the dominant class. Asmoro, for example, is portrayed as a character engaged in intellectual work who continues working while following Adjani's development through television. This position demonstrates that cultural capital can provide an individual with a particular social position, but it does not automatically place that individual within the dominant class. Meanwhile, the 45 data points representing the popular class are more frequently characterized by limited capital and experiences of subordination. The character Saya, for instance, is subjected to derogatory labels such as animal, monkey, and stupid. Such treatment demonstrates the unequal relationship between those who possess power and those who become the objects of domination.

Regarding habitus, 131 data points were identified, consisting of 48 data points representing dominant-class habitus, 40 data points representing petty-bourgeois habitus, and 43 data points representing popular-class habitus. These findings demonstrate that social structures existing outside individuals can become internalized as habits, ways of thinking, ways of feeling, and ways of acting. Research by Zurmailis and Faruk on the construction of power and culture also demonstrates that habitus contributes to the formation of social practices and the reproduction of power structures. This can be observed in the character Saya, who states that she has become accustomed to losing and enduring bitterness. This statement demonstrates that repeated experiences of subordination have become a disposition within the character. Thus, habitus functions as a mechanism through which power can be reproduced without always requiring direct coercion. A character who repeatedly experiences defeat eventually develops a tendency to accept circumstances and refrain from resistance.

These findings concerning habitus are also consistent with research on Monica Ali's Brick Lane, which demonstrates that a character's social position is influenced by the possession of capital and experiences within an arena, while changes in capital can influence changes in habitus and social position. In the present study, the 43 data points representing popular-class habitus demonstrate that limited capital and experiences of subordination can shape a tendency to accept existing conditions. Conversely, the 48 data points representing dominant-class habitus primarily demonstrate practices associated with cultural standards considered valuable. Thus, habitus illustrates the reciprocal relationship between social structure and individual action because structures shape individual dispositions, while those dispositions subsequently contribute to the reproduction of social structures.

Regarding arena, 147 data points were identified, consisting of 47 data points representing the social environment, 43 data points representing the educational arena, and 57 data points representing the family arena. The family arena constitutes the category with the highest number of data points. This finding demonstrates that the family constitutes an important space for the formation and reproduction of power. From a Bourdieusian perspective, an arena is a social space in which individuals or groups occupy particular positions and engage in struggles based on the capital they possess. Research on literary communities in Yogyakarta also demonstrates that an arena functions as a space in which cultural capital is utilized to obtain legitimacy and maintain social positions. In the present study, the family arena, with 57 data points, demonstrates that power relations operate within domestic life through rules, authority, and decision-making. One example appears in the short story Lintah, in which the Mother determines the existence and placement of the leech's cage within the house. This demonstrates that the family is not merely an emotional space but also an arena in which power operates.

The social environment, represented by 47 data points, demonstrates that power operates through judgment, labeling, recognition, exclusion, and intergroup relations. Meanwhile, the educational arena, represented by 43 data points, demonstrates that knowledge can also become a source of power struggles. This

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can be observed when the character Saya states that she possesses a heart and a brain, but mereka laugh at her and determine the meaning of the heart and brain themselves. This data demonstrates that the dominant group possesses the ability to determine which forms of knowledge are considered legitimate and correct. Therefore, the educational arena does not merely function as a place for acquiring knowledge but also as a space for producing legitimacy and power.

Symbolic violence was identified in 103 data points, consisting of 51 data points representing euphemism and 52 data points representing the mechanism of sensorization. This finding is highly consistent with previous research on Jiwa-Jiwa Pemberontak by Khalil Gibran and research on Imrā'ah 'Inda Nuqṭati al-Ṣifr, both of which demonstrate that symbolic violence can operate through euphemism and sensorization. In the present study, the 51 data points representing euphemism are manifested through language, labels, and symbolic expressions that degrade the dominated party. Referring to the character Saya as an animal, monkey, and stupid demonstrates how language is used to position the character in an inferior position. This demonstrates that violence can operate through symbols and language without necessarily taking a physical form.

Meanwhile, the 52 data points representing sensorization demonstrate that symbolic violence can also cause dominated individuals to regulate themselves. One example occurs when the character Saya states that she has lost the courage to express what she feels. This condition demonstrates that power has become internalized, causing the dominated party to exercise control over herself. This finding is consistent with previous studies demonstrating that symbolic violence can operate subtly through the acceptance of values, norms, and classifications established by dominant groups. Thus, sensorization demonstrates a deeper form of power because the dominated individual is not only controlled by others but also begins to control herself based on pressures and standards that have already been internalized.

When all of these findings are considered together, this study demonstrates a close relationship among capital, class, habitus, and arena in producing symbolic violence. The capital possessed by characters influences their class positions. These class positions are then related to the formation of different habitus. Habitus operates within particular arenas, including the family, education, and society. Within these arenas, differences in capital and social positions can generate practices of domination manifested through language, labeling, recognition, restriction, and self-control. This pattern is consistent with previous studies employing Bourdieu's theory to explain that power does not operate solely through visible structures but also through social practices and values that have become accepted as normal.

Therefore, the 855 data points identified in this study demonstrate that power in Mereka Bilang, Saya Monyet! operates as both a structural and symbolic process. Domination is not only exercised by characters who possess direct power but is also constructed through capital ownership, class position, internalized dispositions, and control over social arenas. Of the total data, capital constitutes the most dominant aspect with 342 data points, followed by arena with 147 data points, class with 132 data points, habitus with 131 data points, and symbolic violence with 103 data points. Within symbolic violence, sensorization is slightly more dominant, with 52 data points, compared with 51 data points for euphemism. These findings reinforce previous studies concerning power structuration in literary works while also providing a distinctive contribution through the distribution of data in Mereka Bilang, Saya Monyet!, particularly the strong role of cultural capital and the family arena in the reproduction of power.

Overall, the findings demonstrate that power in Mereka Bilang, Saya Monyet! is produced through the interaction between capital, class, habitus, and arena and is subsequently reproduced through symbolic violence. Capital functions as a resource that influences social position, social position contributes to class formation, class position contributes to the formation of habitus, and habitus operates within different social arenas. Inequalities within these arenas are then reproduced through symbolic violence. Therefore, Mereka Bilang, Saya Monyet! does not merely portray conflicts among characters but also represents how social inequality and power are produced and maintained through mechanisms that are often not immediately recognized as violence. This constitutes an

Sosioedukasi
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important contribution of the study because it demonstrates that domination can operate through resources, dispositions, social positions, arena-specific rules, language, and even through an individual's capacity to regulate and restrict herself.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results and discussion, this study concludes that the short story collection Mereka Bilang, Saya Monyet! by Djenar Maesa Ayu represents power relations through the interaction of capital, class, habitus, arena, and symbolic violence. A total of 855 data points were identified in the analysis. These data consist of 342 data points on capital, 132 data points on class, 131 data points on habitus, 147 data points on arena, and 103 data points on symbolic violence. The findings demonstrate that power is not represented merely through direct domination but is constructed and reproduced through various forms of social resources, positions, dispositions, social spaces, and symbolic practices.

The analysis of capital shows that cultural capital is the most dominant form, with 137 data points, followed by economic capital with 109 data points, social capital with 53 data points, and symbolic capital with 43 data points. The dominance of cultural capital indicates that knowledge, education, language, skills, and cultural practices become important resources in determining the social position of characters. The findings also demonstrate the existence of class differences, consisting of 55 data points representing the dominant class, 32 data points representing the petty bourgeoisie, and 45 data points representing the popular class. These differences indicate that the accumulation and distribution of capital contribute to the formation of unequal social positions among the characters.

The analysis of habitus identified 131 data points, consisting of 48 data points representing dominant-class habitus, 40 data points representing petty-bourgeois habitus, and 43 data points representing popular-class habitus. These findings indicate that social structures are internalized through characters' ways of thinking, behaving, feeling, and responding to their social circumstances. Meanwhile, the analysis of arena identified 147 data points, consisting of 47 data points in the social environment, 43 data points in the educational arena, and 57 data points in the family arena. The dominance of the family arena indicates that domestic relationships become an important space for the formation and reproduction of power relations.

The study also identifies 103 data points related to symbolic violence, consisting of 51 data points on euphemism and 52 data points on sensorization. The findings demonstrate that symbolic violence operates subtly through language, labeling, social judgment, restriction, and the internalization of dominant values. Sensorization, which has slightly more data than euphemism, demonstrates that domination can become internalized to the extent that dominated individuals begin to control and restrict themselves. Therefore, symbolic violence in the short story collection is not limited to direct acts of domination but also operates through meanings and social practices that are accepted as natural or legitimate.

Overall, the findings demonstrate that the power relations represented in Mereka Bilang, Saya Monyet! are closely connected to the distribution of capital, differences in class positions, the formation of habitus, and struggles within various social arenas. These conditions subsequently contribute to the emergence and reproduction of symbolic violence. The study therefore confirms the relevance of Pierre Bourdieu's theory in explaining how power and social inequality are constructed and maintained within literary works. The findings also show that Djenar Maesa Ayu's short stories do not merely portray individual conflicts but reveal broader social mechanisms through which domination operates in everyday life.

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