

Symbolic Violence in Children's Stories: Content Analysis in Bobo Magazine

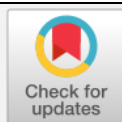
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ARTICLE INFO

Publication Info:
Literature Review



How to cite:

Isnania, R., Martono, N., & Widyastuti, T. R. (2020).
Symbolic Violence in Children's Stories: Content Analysis in Bobo Magazine. Society, 8(2), 677-694.

DOI: [10.33019/society.v8i2.238](https://doi.org/10.33019/society.v8i2.238)

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Received: September 28, 2020;
Accepted: November 30, 2020;
Published: December 30, 2020;

ABSTRACT

The upper-class dominates various social spaces in society, including children's stories. Children's stories as a means of socializing values also participate in socializing upper-class habitus in the storyline. This study aims to describe the children's habitus as narrated in short stories published in Bobo magazine. The method used in this study is the quantitative content analysis method and critical discourse analysis. This study's object is about 174 short stories published in Bobo magazine from January 2019 to August 2020, of which 110 stories were taken randomly as samples. The results show that most of the children's habitus narrated in the stories were upper-class children's habitus, reaching out to 87 or 79.1% of all stories. Meanwhile, lower-class children's habitus was found in 30.9% of all stories. The habitus of upper-class children featured in the story consisting of go on an excursion, luxury living, own electronic goods, own expensive good, wearing nightgowns, reading, and writing. On the other side, the habitus of lower-class children habitus featured in the story consisting of playing traditional games, living in poverty, and doing lower-class work. In conclusion, the upper-class children's habitus appears more dominantly within short stories in Bobo magazine. This study's results are expected as recommend to parties related to children's stories publication to present more balanced stories.

Keywords: Children Stories; Domination; Habitus; Magazine; Short Story

1. Introduction

Children's stories are essays or works of fiction about children's lives and are aimed at children (Fauzi, 2016). Children's stories as a form of literary work are narrated using light language to understand them easily. This children's story has a function to express the writer's imaginative feelings, entertainment for readers, and education.

Sociologically, children's stories can also be a means of education, namely a medium for value education. Through this value education, an individual character will be formed (Wening, 2012). Value education, which is interpreted as character education, aims to form individual good morals. One way to build good morals is to convey the values in children's stories (Omeri, 2015, Fitroh & Sari, 2015).

Children's stories as a means of socializing social values and norms, in which they also socialize a specific class of lifestyle or habitus. Habitus is a characteristic or habit carried out by a specific individual or social group (Haryatmoko, 2010). Habitus is also defined as social values believed by the community and become a practical action (Fachruddin, 2018). Habitus was created through a long process of value socialization and was adopted to think and behave in society (Ma'rifah & Mustaqim, 2015).

Habitus can be reflected through language, lifestyle, character, ways of behaving, including the habits of individuals (Musarrofa, 2015). Habitus can also characterize an individual's social class because habitus is determined by its capital (Arieta, 2019). Thus, the social class background of an individual can be seen from a series of daily habitus.

Habitus becomes a cultural element that can be learned through socialization and social experiences received by individuals. This socialization can be carried out through various media, including mass media, customs, literature, and subject matter at school.

In practice, most of the habitus socialized through these media are high-class habitus. This is following the research results of Hasnah (2015), Zainal & Suud (2018), Wibowo (2019), and Martono (2018), which show that there has been the domination of the upper-class in mass media, customs, and subject matter in schools. As a result, the upper-class habitus is often constructed as the most correct and ideal habitus so that the lower-class is inevitably forced to follow this habitus.

As previously explained, children's stories can also be a medium for socializing specific class habitus to children. A study conducted by Isnania et al. (2020) regarding the description of children's habitus in the book series "Kecil-Kecil Punya Karya" shows that most of the habitus described in this book series are upper-class habitus. A sample of 265 books entirely tells the lives of upper-class children. The upper-class habits described in this book series include traveling, children going abroad, children living in luxury homes, children having electronic goods, taking lessons, and so on.

The study shows the disparity between the depiction of upper and lower-class habitus in the book series "Kecil-Kecil Punya Karya". The lower-class habitus is described in the book as less than the upper-class. This study also shows that there is a domination of one class in children's stories.

Based on some of the study's results above, this current study describes habitus forms socialized through children's stories published in Bobo magazine. Bobo's stories are essential to be the study object because not all children's stories published in Bobo magazine (including short stories) are written by children. After all, Bobo's editorial staff accepts manuscripts from writers of various ages. This is different from the stories in the book series "Kecil-Kecil Punya Karya", where children wrote all the stories in the book series "Kecil-Kecil Punya Karya".

The next consideration is Bobo in the form of a magazine, which makes it more inclusive. It is different from the book series "Kecil-Kecil Punya Karya", published in a storybook so that Bobo is more accessible to children. Old editions of Bobo can be accessed online and free. When Bobo's target audience is more inclusive, it is hoped that the story ideas can minimize the domination of certain classes in the story idea.

Therefore, this study tries to describe what habitus are depicted in the short stories in Bobo magazine. This study aimed to describe the children's habitus in the short stories published in Bobo magazine.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Bourdieu's Concepts on Habitus, Capital, and Field

Bourdieu's line of thought regarding class domination through symbolic violence can be traced through several underlying concepts. These concepts include habitus, capital, and field.

First, the habitus is a disposition system that lasts a long time and can change and characterize differences between social classes (Bourdieu, as cited in Karnanta, 2013). Bourdieu also explained the habitus as an action that is not always realized and is considered natural. Habitus results from learning through daily experiences, resulting from individual social interaction with their social environment. This habitus is formed based on the capital owned by the individual.

Second, capital is defined as resources owned by individuals or groups useful for achieving specific goals. Bourdieu divides the capital into economic, social, cultural, and symbolic (Musarrofa, 2015). Economic capital is capital that can be valued in money and can be institutionalized in property rights. Cultural capital can be converted into economic capital and institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications under certain conditions. Social capital consists of social obligations (connections), which under certain conditions can be converted into economic capital and can be institutionalized in the form of aristocratic titles.

Meanwhile, symbolic capital is a resource that allows individuals to get something according to their abilities. For example, upper-class families would send their children to elite schools, encourage their children to take music lessons, write, and so on. These capitals must exist in a field so that the domain has meaning.

Third, the field is a social space where individuals compete for symbolic power (Siregar, 2016). The power of individuals or groups in a field, depending on the amount of capital they have. Those who have much capital will undoubtedly dominate the social structure. This individual or group will try to maintain and get the position they want in the social structure. Tensions and conflicts can occur when individuals or groups try to gain a particular position. The struggle for this position also touched a symbolic field. As a result, there was unconscious domination that led to symbolic violence.

Apart from these three concepts, there are also the terms Doxa, Orthodox, and Heterodox (Bourdieu as cited in Syaf, 2017). Doxa is a structured and inseparable order in both the real world and the world of thought, which is then accepted as self-evident. Doxa is also interpreted as the dominant discourse in society and is considered something right, and there is no need to question its truth (Adawiyah, 2019). Meanwhile, Orthodox is a discourse that aims to maintain the existence of Doxa. Orthodox are usually the dominant group that has power. They will defend the dominant discourse (Doxa) so that their interests are accommodated. Heterodox is a discourse that is contrary to Doxa.

2.2. Symbolic Violence as a Domination Strategy

Differences in status that exist in society give rise to a form of social stratification. This social stratification forms the classes in society. Marx classified the classes in a society based on the ownership of the means of production. Marx divides the class into two: bourgeois and proletarian (Ritzer, 2012). The bourgeoisie is the name given by Marx for the group that controls production, while the proletariat is a group that does not have the means of production, so they sell their power to the bourgeoisie. According to Marx, social classes in society are formed because of differences in individuals' capital, leading to social inequality.

According to Bourdieu, as cited in Karnanta (2013), defines capital is a collection of sources of strength and power that can be used. Capital is also interpreted as a collection of resources, both material and non-material, owned by individuals or groups to achieve goals. This capital will determine the position of the individual in society. Bordieu divides the capital into four groups: economic capital, social capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital.

The difference in capital ownership creates a habitus, which can be defined as a community habit that has been attached through a long process and is believed to be a guideline for behaving and think (Amirulloh, 2018). Martono (2018) stated that habitus is manifested in the lifestyle, values, character, and expectations of certain social groups.

Each class in society has a different habitus, which always develops from time to time and is socialized to individuals through various mechanisms. The socialization of this habitus will cause problems if there is one class that dominates. Generally, the dominating class in society is the upper-class. The upper-class tries to make their actions not easily recognized so that the lower-class (the dominated class) does not feel that they are the object of their domination. This is what Bourdieu later called symbolic violence.

Violence is the result of the practice of power that occurs when one class in society dominates another class through hidden mechanisms. Based on this, symbolic violence can occur when a dominant class tries to maintain its dominance and power. There are two ways or mechanisms for carrying out symbolic violence: censorship and euphemism. The censorship mechanism tries to make individuals or groups of people who have good morals, for example: holy, generous, respectable, and so on (this moral is opposed to low morals: criminal, greedy, immoral, who are identical to the lower-class). Censorship is also defined as a process that makes symbolic violence appear to preserve all forms of values, considered moral honor (Bourdieu, as cited in Ismail, 2019). Meanwhile, euphemism is defined as a mechanism that works subtly or imperceptibly, such as giving orders, trust, obligations, courtesy, compassion, and others. Ulfah (2013) stated that euphemisms are not recognized and take place in the subconscious.

The impact of symbolic violence is considerable. Through symbolic violence, individuals and groups are unconsciously directed to accept for granted values and habits contrary to their lives. As a result, these individuals or groups seem shackled or not independent, and they do not have complete freedom because they have been dominated, even though they are not aware of it.

2.3. Habitus Contest in Literature

Literary works are human creations that use media because of human creativity. Literary works contain messages that the writer wants to convey to the reader. The writer unconsciously invites the reader to understand the way of thinking and the social setting he is telling. The storyline in literary works will describe the social life of the character being told, including

describing the habitus. In this context, literary works, of course, will also socialize particular class habitus to readers.

Habitus is socialized through literary works by describing stories or content that reflect the habits of a class. The storywriter will tell the background of his own life or a particular character in the storyline. According to Teeuw, as cited in Wibowo (2019), the social, cultural, political, economic, or environmental background where writers live in their midst will underlie and inspire a literary work. The problem is that the writing culture is an upper-class habitus, so upper-class individuals mostly own writing skills. According to Septiarti et al. (2017), writing skills recognized as capital cannot be obtained directly and automatically. It requires continuous work and effort. When an individual or group has large capital, he/she will have more access to get more results.

There have been several studies on symbolic violence in literary works. For example, Wibowo (2019) discusses symbolic violence in literary works experienced by the character Lasi in the novel "Bekisar Merah" by Ahmad Tohari. This novel tells of a child of Japanese-Indonesian descent ostracized by the surrounding community because of his different physical characteristics. This study explains that the Lasi character's habitus was formed because he was taught his surroundings and social environment. The accepting habitus of the Lasi character causes him to experience symbolic violence easily. The dominance experienced by Lasi, both by her husband, villagers, Handarbehi, Bambang, and Mrs. Lanting based on issues of gender, race, and dehumanization, made Lasi a dominated figure. One form of symbolic violence experienced by the Lasi figure is the term *bekisar* for him. *Bekisar* is a chicken that results from crossbreeding between male green jungle fowl and female native chickens.

Another study conducted by Setijowati (2018) discusses symbolic violence in Putu Wijaya's novel "Nyali". This novel has a military theme and tells about the struggle for power utilizing violence in government. This study illustrates the dominance of high-ranking soldiers on low-ranking soldiers. This symbolic violence takes the form of obedience, indoctrination, command, deception, mastery strategies, and instructions. One example is symbolic violence in Corporal Kropos's blind obedience to his superior Kolonen Krozy. As a low-ranking soldier, Kropos wants to get a name by obeying everything ordered by his superior (Colonel Krozy) even though this is detrimental to him. The symbolic violence in "Nyali" is shown in the structural crime strategy from the top down.

Apart from that, symbolic violence also occurred in various fields. One of them is shown by a study conducted by Martono (2018), that the depiction of upper-class habitus dominates the educational curriculum in schools. This study indicates that most of the sentences and images in the electronic school books contain upper-class habitus. In contrast, the lower-class habitus is slightly depicted the electronic school books. Upper-class habitus is often identified with a spacious and complete house, watching television together, reading newspapers, birthday celebration culture, sightseeing habits, and others. Lower-class habits are often described as farmers, traders, scavengers, pedicab drivers, helping parents earn a living, playing traditional games, and more. Electronic school books also contain an upscale bias. This bias can be identified using first-person pronouns when describing high-end habitus. For example, in the sentence "My father left for the office"; "That's my house" (accompanied by a picture of a house with a car in front of it). Meanwhile, the depiction of lower-class habitus mostly uses third-person pronouns, for example, in the sentence: "Farmer is working on the fields", but few find the sentence "My father is working on the fields". These few sentences position students who read electronic school books from the upper-class.

Some of these studies' results illustrate that the upper-class (elite group) habitus dominates many social spaces in society. This shows that the dominant class has dominated various lines of life. Whether we realize it or not, the dominant class always tries to control and impose its habitus on the weaker class. It does not rule out that literary works in the form of children's stories are also dominated by depictions of upper-class children's habitus (helping parents wash cars, watch TV with the family, eat at restaurants, piano lessons, and others).

3. Research Methodology

The method used in this study is a quantitative content analysis and critical discourse analysis. Weber, as cited in Riffe et al. (2014) defined the quantitative content analysis method as a method that aims to make conclusions from a text through specific procedures. Meanwhile, the critical discourse analysis method is a language analysis method (Haryatmoko, 2016). This analysis is used to reveal the meaning contained in a particular symbol. Critical discourse analysis in this study is used to enrich quantitative analysis by analyzing the meaning behind the symbols, in this case, the sentences in the Bobo magazine short stories.

This study's object is a short story published in January 2019 to August 2020 edition of Bobo magazine. This study's total population is 174 short stories, while 63% of the sample is taken randomly, so the number of samples taken is 110 short stories. The operational variable is the children's habitus, which is depicted through symbols in the short story. The research data are presented in a frequency distribution table. This table illustrates the habits found in the short stories in Bobo magazine.

Methods of data analysis using quantitative analysis methods, namely mode. A mode is a statistical value or measure that shows the most frequently occurring data (Nafi'iyah, 2016) so that it can be used to describe children's habitus that often appears in short stories in Bobo magazine.

4. Results and Discussion

As a culture or way of life, habitus can be seen through habits, work, lifestyle, and how individuals behave. The habitus that emerges can characterize their social class. The result of coding 110 children's stories in Bobo magazine show that upper-class habitus appears more frequently than lower-class habitus. The distribution of the number of children's habitus shown in the story is as follows:

Table 1. Class Habitus Based on Number of Short Stories

No	Type of Habitus	Frequent	%
1	Upper-class habitus	87	79.1
2	Lower-class habitus	34	30.9

Source: Primary Data (2020)

Upper-class habitus is defined as the culture, lifestyle, habits, or social characteristics of the upper-class society. Meanwhile, lower-class habitus is defined as the lower-class's culture, lifestyle, habits, or social characteristics. The number of upper-class habitus (79.1%) was more frequent than the lower-class habitus (30.9%). This shows that the upper-class habitus is the habitus that most often appears in short stories in Bobo magazine.

The description of the upper-class habitus that appears in Bobo magazine can be seen in Table 2. There are 18 categories of upper-class habitus that appear in short stories, as follows:

Table 2. Upper-class habitus in short stories in Bobo magazine

No	Upper-Class Habitus Categories	Frequent	%
1	Go on an excursion	14	13
2	Luxury living	26	24
3	Own electronic goods	3	3
4	Have expensive goods	5	5
5	Have a habit of wearing nightgowns	1	1
6	Have a habit of reading and writing	5	5
7	Have a habit of driving a car	12	11
8	Have elite skills	6	5
9	Have a servant	12	11
10	Take lessons	1	1
11	Love western food	3	3
12	Parents work in offices	6	5
13	Educated parents	2	2
14	Parents become entrepreneurs	4	4
15	Go abroad	1	1
16	Arrogant and condescending to others	4	4
17	Love to share	6	5
18	Living in an elite house	16	14.5

Source: Primary Data (2020)

Living in luxury is the most common upper-class habitus, namely 26 times (24%). Meanwhile, having the habit of wearing nightgowns and going abroad is the least common upper-class habitus, only in 1 story (1%). Several symbols can be categorized into the habitus of living in luxury as follows:

Table 3. Habitus living in luxury

No	Habitus Symbol of living in luxury	Frequent	%
1	Go to the salon	1	4
2	Become the king's children	6	23
3	Shopping at the mall	1	4
4	Partying	3	12
5	Lots of wealth	1	4
6	Become a king	9	35
7	Become a queen	1	4
8	Celebrating Birthdays	4	15
Total		26	100

Source: Primary Data (2020)

Living in luxury appeared in 26 stories (24%). These luxurious living habits are considered synonymous with the upper-class, such as going to the salon, partying, and celebrating birthdays. One of the party activities is shown in the story entitled "Beowulf", in the sentence: "So, the big party is again being held at Heorot Castle like the old days". The story narrates of

the Heorot Kingdom who likes to hold parties every year. They always invite many guests to attend the party. This partying culture is then classified as the partying habitus.

The life of a child with a luxurious lifestyle decorates most of the short stories in this study. Living in luxury is massively socialized through various symbolizations of life in the kingdom by telling a king's life. By telling stories about life in the kingdom, children are invited to imagine imagining the luxury of the king's life, which routinely holds parties, has many servants, and another king's habitus. On the other hand, children are not invited to explore commoners' lives whose lives depend on the king.

Apart from living in luxury, living in an elite house is also a habit that is often described in the story in Bobo magazine, which appears 16 times (14.5%). An elite house is an exclusive residence that the upper-class is generally only owned because it is expensive. This habitus is shown through several symbols of the elite house described through the sentences in the story. The following symbols depict the habitus of living in an elite house as follows:

Table 4. Habitus living in an elite house

No	Habitus symbol of living in an elite house	Frequent	%
1	Has a dressing table	1	6
2	Has complete home furniture	4	25
3	Own a mansion	3	19
4	Has a level house	4	25
5	Has a spacious house	2	13
6	Live in the apartment	2	13
Total		16	100

Source: Primary Data (2020)

Elite houses are often used to describe high-class life because upper-class individuals can only own elite houses. Some of the stories in Bobo magazine also describe the lives of children who live in apartments. "Misteri Apartemen Murah (Bagian 1)" narrates a family who rents an apartment in an elite area. The sentence denoting this habitus reads, "No! We did rent in the Montagu Mansions apartment in the elite Knightsbridge area...".

The next high-class habitus was an excursion, which appeared in 14 stories (13%). The following Table 5 shows some of the habitus, which indicates the existence of go on an excursion, as follows:

Table 5. Habitus go on an excursion

No	Habitus symbol of go on an excursion	Frequent	%
1	Stay at the hotel	4	29
2	Watch shows	2	14
3	Go on vacation	8	57
Total		14	100

Source: Primary Data (2020)

Going on an excursion is an activity related to travel or fun activities and synonymous with activities requiring much money. The existence of this habitus is described in a story entitled "Sepeda Merah Muda dan Jembatan Cinta", with the words, "This morning, Widi and his extended family will go to Tidung Island. Their families often go on vacation together". The story tells of a character named Widi who goes on vacation to Tidung Island with his family. They left by car to the port, and then had to get on a boat to get to Tidung Island. They also stay for several days there.

The car symbol in the story directly shows the Widi family as an upper-class family. Indirectly, the story shows that go on an excursion are costly. Habitus has a habit of driving a car and often appears in stories in Bobo magazine. This habitus appears in 12 stories (11%) as summarized in Table 6 as follows:

Table 6. Habitus driving a car

No	Habitus symbol of driving a car	Frequent	%
1	The child gets in the car	4	33
2	Own a car	8	67
Total		12	100

Source: Primary Data (2020)

The habit of driving a car is classified as an upscale habitus because it symbolizes upper-class ownership. The cars in this category are private cars that are mostly owned by the upper-class. This habitus is found in the story "Mainan-mainan Lama". This habitus was found in one of the sentences: "At the end of the week, Tiara took the plastic box filled with toys to her father's car". The story's plot depicts a child named Tiara who plans to go to an orphanage by car.

Furthermore, having servants becomes a habitus that also often appears in stories. This habitus symbol is found 12 times or 11%. This habitus is divided into several categories, which are presented in Table 7 as follows:

Table 7. Habitus have a servant

No	Habitus symbol of have a servant	Frequent	%
1	Have subordinate	1	8
2	Have a Household Assistant	11	92
Total		12	100

Source: Primary Data (2020)

Having servants was often associated with high-class life because it was almost impossible for the lower-class to have servants. This is because there are costs to pay the servants. One of the stories describing this habitus is entitled "Siapa Pencuri Kue Mama?", Which is shown in the sentence "In the shop, there is only Ms. Dewi, Mama's assistant". The story tells of Ina, who helps Ms. Dewi look after her mother's cake shop. They hired Ms. Dewi as an assistant there.

Having elite skills is part of the upper-class habitus. This habit appears six times in the short stories of Bobo magazine or 5%. Elite skills are abilities that are acquired through continuous training. To learn this, a child must have sufficient economic capital so that not all

societies can acquire these skills. In the following, the habitus category has the following elite skills:

Table 8. Habitus have elite skills

No	Habitus symbol of have elite skills	Frequent	%
1	Children become ballerinas	1	17
2	Have cooking skills	3	50
3	Have painting skills	1	17
4	Children become dancers	1	17
Total		6	100

Source: Primary Data (2020)

One of the stories that show this elite skill's habitus is found in the story "Kue Perjuangan Abel", which tells that Abel's mother can make various traditional pastries. The ability to make various traditional cake preparations is undoubtedly not something that is easily obtained in a short time. The mother needs money to be able to make these various cake preparations.

The next upper-class habitus is the parent working in the office, which is found six times or 5%. Working in an office is often considered an ideal, attractive, and prestigious job for most people. Those who work in offices are usually considered to have a higher social stratification position, even though their income is not necessarily higher than other jobs considered belonging to the lower-class.

Habitus of parents work in offices appears in the story "Ketika Rambut Harus Dipotong", which tells of Rara's mother left for an out-of-town service. This habitus is shown through the sentence, "Today, mom came home, after getting an assignment from her office for service for ten days in Yogyakarta".

Furthermore, love to share is also categorized as an upscale habitus. Habitus classified into this category are as follows:

Table 9. Habitus love to share

No	Habitus symbol of love to share	Frequent	%
1	Donate clothes	1	17
2	Give gifts	1	17
3	Share foods	3	50
4	Share masks	1	17
Total		6	100

Source: Primary Data (2020)

This habitus appeared six times (5%). Love to share is often identified as an upper-class habit because they live well and are not worried about having difficulty meeting their daily needs, so they are considered more generous. An example of this habitus is depicted in the story "Dudi Yang Berbudi". This story tells of a child named Dudi who comes from a wealthy family. He is described as having good character. This is shown by his habit of sharing packaged rice with beggars or scavengers on the street when they go to school.

Have expensive goods is also part of upper-class life. The following is a description categorized under the habitus of having expensive goods:

Table 10. Habitus have expensive goods

No	Habitus symbol of have expensive goods	Frequent	%
1	Children have expensive toys	3	60
2	Own a speedboat	1	20
3	Own expensive jewelry	1	20
Total		5	100

Source: Primary Data (2020)

Based on the table, the habitus of having expensive goods appears in 5 stories (5%). Expensive goods are often interpreted as goods that have a high selling price. Individuals who can own it are unquestionably considered to be the upper-class because they are the ones who have sufficient economic capital to obtain these goods. One of the stories describing this expensive goods' ownership is entitled "Boneka Pelaut", which tells of a child who goes on vacation to the beach with his father. They had fun riding their father's speedboat. Speedboats are certainly not items that various groups can own because they are expensive.

Reading and writing habits are also part of the upper-class habitus. The following is a table showing the number of habitus having the habit of reading and writing in short stories in Bobo magazine:

Table 11. Habitus have a habit of reading and writing

No	Habitus symbol of Have a habit of reading and writing	Frequent	%
1	Have a habit of reading books	4	80
2	Have a habit of writing	1	20
Total		5	100

Source: Primary Data (2020)

One of the stories that contain this habitus is "Layang-Layang Damar". The main character in this story is Damar, who is described as having a reading comics hobby. The habit of reading at home suggests that individuals have easy access to reading books because they can afford to buy books. This habitus is not much different from writing activities, which are identical to those of the upper-class. Writing requires habituation and sufficient cultural capital in order to produce good writing. Reading and writing are often seen as the upper-class's needs because they characterize the educated habits.

The habit of parents become entrepreneurs was found four times (4%) in Bobo magazine. These habitus categories are as follows:

Table 12. Habitus parents become entrepreneurs

No	Habitus symbol of parents become entrepreneurs	Frequent	%
1	Own a business selling ice cream	1	25
2	Own a wheat milling business	1	25
3	Own a cake shop business	1	25
4	Parents own a catering business	1	25
Total		4	100

Source: Primary Data (2020)

Employment as an entrepreneur is often identified with the upper-class because to build his own business requires sufficient capital. Individuals must have sufficient economic capital to social capital because both are needed when building a business. The upper-class is, of course, the party that owns the two capitals. This habitus is described in the story "Menu Katering Mama", which tells the story of a child named Viana whose parents have a catering business called "Katering Ibu Indira". This habitus is shown in the sentence "Likewise with the food menu, namely Ibu Indira's catering menu".

The next high-class habitus is arrogant and condescending to others, which was found four times (4%). The arrogant and condescending to others is classified as an upper-class habitus. People who are arrogant and condescending to others have assets to be proud of usually. They feel better and tend to look down on other people because of these things they have. An example of this habitus is found in the story "Patung Kurcaci Taman" with the words "Wow, please buy it, grandpa. Grandpa Huhum's yard is a mess. So, it does not matter if there are bad things put there, "This story tells of a group of mothers who have a lovely house, are looking down on Grandpa Huhum, whose house is a mess. Grandpa Huhum is old and unable to work hard. As a result, his house is a mess.

Habitus having electronic goods was found three times or 3% of the total habitus found. Owning electronic goods is usually close to high-end life, although various groups can own electronic goods. However, in this story in Bobo magazine, electronic goods are described as goods commonly owned by the upper-class. This example of ownership of electronic goods is illustrated by Nel's character in the story "Nel Suka Menunda". Nel plans to take part in a novel-writing competition, but she is almost late in collecting the script for the competition because she likes to delay work. When the manuscript submission limit was less than two days, he immediately typed the computer script. Based on the story, an upper-class symbol appears in the form of a computer.

As the next high-class habitus, love Western food also appeared three times (3%). Love for Western food is often attached to the upper-class because they have easier access to Western food. These Western foods include sandwiches and cereals. The habit of eating this Western food is told in a story entitled "Sereal Lezat Putri Ohoi". The habit of liking Western food is shown in the sentence, "Princess Ohoi has a unique habit. He only eats delicious cereal as his main meal. Princess Ohoi did not want to eat anything other than cereal until the wheat supply in the palace ran out, and the princess finally fell ill because she did not want to eat other foods. The story shows that children love Western food in the form of cereals. The lower-class is almost impossible to make cereal as their primary daily food.

This story invites children to get to know ethnic cuisine (not authentic Indonesian food). This also promotes a culture of eating instant food that is practical, easy to process, or served.

The next upper-class habitus is the educated parents. Educated parents are often associated with high positions in social class. Like reading and writing habits, educated parents are also categorized as upper-class habitus because they characterize intellectuals. This habitus was found two times (2%).

This upper-class habitus is explicitly shown in the sentence "His mother is a children's book writer whose work is widely sold in bookstores" in the story entitled "Tulisan Ibu". Based on this quote, it can be seen that the mother is a writer who has many works. This indicates a habitus of educated parents.

Furthermore, the habitus that appears in Bobo magazine is having the habit of wearing nightgowns. This habit is found in 1 story (1%) entitled "Nenek Pirapi". This story tells of a grandmother named Pirapi who likes to tidy up her house. The sentence describing this habitus

reads, "On the third day, she got up and changed his nightgown." The use of nightgowns has become a natural thing for the upper-class, although not all upper-class people wear nightgowns when sleeping. Nightgowns seem to have become the identity of the upper-class. Therefore, this habitus is classified as a high-class habitus.

The next habitus took lessons. Tutoring is an additional lesson outside of school hours. Usually, tutoring requires individuals to pay much money to take it. This habitus appears in 1 story (1%) entitled "Ujian Terbaik Dinda". This story tells the life of a child named Dinda at her ballet lesson. Once upon a time, a new child was taking ballet lessons, and then Dinda was asked to help Miss Mariah accompany her. Habitus following this tutoring is categorized as upper-class habitus because individuals who can access this tutoring are usually from the upper-class. Tutoring is one of the ways that the upper-class is interested in getting additional skills. Therefore, this habitus is classified as a high-class habitus.

Furthermore, the last high-class habitus that appears in Bobo magazine is going abroad. The activity of going abroad is categorized as an upscale habitus because doing so requires sufficient capital. Individuals who do not have sufficient economic, social, cultural, or symbolic capital will undoubtedly find it difficult to go abroad. This habit appears in 1 story (1%) entitled "Perkumpulan Orang Berambut Merah". This story tells of Jabez Wilson's character, who tries to solve his case with Sherlock Holmes's help. Like a great detective, Holmes guesses that Wilson has been to China. This habitus is indicated by the sentence "That is right. But, how do you know if I ever went to China?" The sentence shows that the character has traveled abroad.

In addition to the upper-class habitus described previously, there is also a lower-class habitus described in Bobo magazine. These lower-class habits are summarized in Table 13 as follows:

Table 13. Lower-class habitus in short stories in Bobo magazine

No	Lower-Class Habitus Categories	Frequent	%
1	Playing traditional games	3	2.7
2	Living in poverty	5	4.5
3	Doing low-class work	28	25.5

Source: Primary Data (2020)

There are three types of lower-class habitus described in Bobo magazine, among others, as follows: playing traditional games, living in poverty, and doing low-class work.

The work of lower-class habitus becomes the lower-class habitus that is most often described in Bobo magazine. The following categories are included in the work of lower-class habitus:

Table 14. Habitus doing low-class work

No	Habitus symbol of doing low-class work	Frequent	%
1	Children works as a shop assistant	1	4
2	Children participate in selling at the festival	1	4
3	Children join in selling at the night market	1	4
4	Work as a laundry clerk	1	4
5	Selling cakes	1	4
6	Become a beggar	1	4

No	Habitus symbol of doing low-class work	Frequent	%
7	Work as a laborer and waitress	22	79
Total		28	100

Source: Primary Data (2020)

Based on the table, habitus doing low-class work is 28 times in the story or about 25.5%. These works are categorized as lower-class habitus because they are less likely to be performed by the upper-class. For example, a story entitled "Janggut Pangeran" tells of a Prince who is arbitrary towards a beggar who has helped the beggars. The upper-class cannot beg.

Most of the Bobo magazine stories depict people doing this lower-class work as someone else, not the main character. For example, in the story, the beggar in this story is positioned as someone else. Characters from the lower-classes are more often depicted from a third-person perspective: he, the beggar, them, and the child.

Living in poverty is the next lower-class habitus described in the story in Bobo magazine. Living in poverty is defined as living conditions that are completely deprived. This habitus appears in 5 stories (4.5%). In more detail, the symbolization of the living in poverty habitus is shown in Tabel 15 as follows:

Tabel 15. Habitus living in poverty

No	Habitus symbol of living in poverty	Frequent	%
1	Picking up leftover rice in the rice pound	1	20
2	Has no place to stay	1	20
3	Never buy new clothes	1	20
4	Living in the hut	2	40
Total		5	100

Source: Primary Data (2020)

These habitus are categorized as lower-class habitus because they reflect a life that is lacking. Things such as not having a place to live, never buying new clothes, and living in a hut are, of course, considered a lower-class habitus because the upper-class is unlikely to experience this. This habitus is depicted in the quote from the sentence in the story entitled "Tiing dan Glagah" as follows: "Since they were very young, they have been orphaned and live very poor. Every day they collect leftover rice from the village mothers' rice pound. Their story is told from a third-person perspective. Thus, the reader is positioned as an audience, not as the main character.

The last lower-class habitus is playing traditional games. This habitus appears in 3 stories (2.7%). Playing traditional games is categorized as a lower-class habitus because traditional games are currently considered old or out of date. When technology is more sophisticated, people who can keep up with these developments are often considered the upper-class, so things that are considered out of date are often attached to the lower-classes. Habitus of playing this traditional game is also depicted in the story "Layang-Layang Damar" with the sentence that reads, "That afternoon, Damar was making a kite on the terrace. Recently, Damar likes to play kites".

The exposure to upper and lower-class habitus found in Bobo magazine's stories shows that upper-class habitus is more often depicted in Bobo magazine stories. Based on this explanation, it can be concluded that the short stories in Bobo magazine contain symbolic violence. This

violence occurs when one party dominates the other. In connection with this study's results, symbolic violence occurs in stories depicting upper-class habitus, which is more frequent than the lower-class.

This finding also shows that most of the children's stories in Bobo magazine are used to socialize upper-class habitus. There is an attempt by the dominant class (upper-class) to impose their thoughts or perceptions on the lower-class (Hefni, 2013). This depiction of dominant upper-class habitus can lead to an assumption that the ideal and right habitus is only upper-class habitus so that there are unequal interactions or social relations between classes (Fatmawati et al., 2020). There are attempts by lower-class individuals to force themselves to behave like the upper-class. They carry out the bourgeois process, namely imitating and posing like the rich (Retnosari, 2019). They did this to increase their social prestige (Ginting, 2019). For example, children from lower-classes were treated to stories about upper-class life celebrating birthday parties. They will then have his birthday celebrated with a party. Those who come from this lower-class do not have sufficient capital to hold the birthday party.

As is the nature of symbolic violence, this domination attempt is subtle and not easily recognized. The upper-class will exercise its domination carefully so that the lower-class does not realize that it is being dominated. The motive of the upper-classes to commit symbolic violence is to maintain their power. Through Bobo magazine's stories, the upper-class introduced their habitus so that the lower-class could imitate their habitus. The lower-classes who often study the upper-class habitus will consider upper-class habitus to be right and ideal. Without realizing it, the lower-class will imitate the upper-class habitus without coercion.

The upper-classes are undoubtedly aware that the lower-classes will not be able to imitate their habitus. This is because the capital owned by the lower-class is minimal. The upper-class deliberately introduces its habitus so that the sub-class is aware that their position is not equal in society. Thus, the position or position of the upper-class remains safe in the social strata.

In addition to depicting habitus in stories dominant in the upper-class, symbolic violence is also shown by depicting the habitus of each class. More often than not, the upper-class habitus is described in the first person. As in the story "Angkot Istimewa", with the sentence "After saying goodbye and kissing my mother's hand, I rushed into the car". The reader is positioned as the main character in the story, who seems to be the actor who experiences the story's events. Meanwhile, lower-class habitus is often described using a third-person perspective. For example, this lower-class habitus is depicted in a story entitled "Jendela Kebahagiaan" with the sound of the phrase "Every night, he sleeps on a park chair by the dim light. Lower-class habitus in the story is described as another person's life through third-person pronouns. In other words, the reader is positioned to be the audience of the other person's life.

On the media side, upper-class habitus domination in children's stories also shows that lower-class children have minimal space to present their habitus in the public sphere. It seems that they cannot publish their habitus to fight against the upper-class's domination through stories published in the mass media. This is very natural because upper-class children often own the writing habitus. This happens because they have adequate economic capital, which implies ownership of cultural capital, which is difficult for lower-class children to achieve. These cultural assets include good reading (literacy) and writing habits so that his writings can be accepted by the public and are considered worthy of sale.

The knowledge and extensive social experience of upper-class people contributed to creating their ideas for the story. This then received much appreciation from the capitalists (children's story publishers). Their writing is certainly considered better because it is rich with exciting ideas and uses beautiful language. Writers from the upper-classes were already

familiar with the literary style acceptable to the media because they had better reading habits. Conversely, lower-class individuals do not have these skills, so that their works are often judged not worthy of publication. The social experience causes them to have few ideas to tell their habitus to the public space.

5. Conclusion

This study indicates that the habitus most often depicted in Bobo magazine's short stories is the upper-class habitus. Upper-class habitus appears in 87 stories (79.1%). Meanwhile, the lower-class habitus is 30.9%. This habitus is a symbol of class domination in children's story texts. Based on these data, it can be concluded that the short stories in Bobo magazine are used as a medium to spread the discourse of domination (habitus) of the upper-class. The data also shows that Bobo magazine's short stories contain a class bias because most of the stories depict upper-class life. As a result, there was a domination of one class (upper-class).

6. Acknowledgment

The authors are grateful to express gratitude to those who have had the pleasure to cooperate during this study.

7. Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The authors have declared no potential conflicts of interest concerning the study, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

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