

SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN INDONESIAN SHORT STORY 'SEPASANG MATA DINAYA YANG TERPENJARA'

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Abstrak

Cerita Sepasang Mata Dinaya yang Terpenjara karya Ni Komang Ariani mengungkapkan tentang permasalahan yang kompleks terkait ketidaksetaraan antara laki-laki dan perempuan di masyarakat Bali. Cerita ini mengungkapkan berbagai permasalahan yang berkaitan dengan ketimpangan struktur sosial gender yang telah terbentuk secara terstruktur dan terus menerus sehingga menjadi kebudayaan yang mengakar ke struktur sosial terkecil dalam masyarakat yaitu keluarga. Sistem dikotomi yang terstruktur inilah kemudian dipertahankan menjadi pembenaran yang disebut Bourdieu dengan istilah kekerasan simbolik. Dari permasalahan di atas, penelitian mengkategorikan bahwa fenomena sosial yang ada dalam karya sastra tersebut termasuk ke dalam ruang lingkup kajian sosiologi sastra. Ada dua permasalahan yang dikaji dalam penelitian ini: 1) apa saja ruang lingkup kekerasan simbolik yang terdapat dalam cerita Sepasang mata dinaya yang terpenjara, 2) bagaimana bentuk kekerasan simbolik tercermin didalam cerita. Untuk menjawab pertanyaan riset tersebut, peneliti menggunakan pendekatan sosiologi Pierre Bourdieu. Metode yang digunakan berupa deskriptif kualitatif. Hasil dari analisis menunjukkan bahwa cerita tersebut mengungkapkan berbagai masalah yang berkaitan dengan ketidaksetaraan struktur sosial antara perempuan dan laki-laki dalam masyarakat Bali yang telah terbentuk dalam budaya yang terstruktur dan berkelanjutan hingga ke struktur sosial terkecil yaitu keluarga. Bentuk kekerasan simbolik tersebut dialaminya secara berlapis-lapis oleh agen-agen yang memiliki modal lebih dan mendominasi, yaitu orangtua Dinaya, suaminya dan masyarakat yang menerapkan budaya Patriakal tersebut. Bentuk kekerasan simbolik dalam cerpen ini diantaranya tercermin oleh: kekerasan simbolik oleh orang tua (termasuk juga ibu Dinaya) terhadap anaknya (Dinaya), kekerasan simbolik dari Lelaki secara individu (suami Dinaya) terhadap istrinya (Dinaya), dan Kekerasan simbolik oleh Masyarakat (norma-norma budaya) terhadap perempuan Bali

Abstract

Sepasang Mata Dinaya yang Terpenjara short story expressed various problems related to the imbalance of social structure between women and men in Bali society. This is done in a structured and continuous to become a convention that is rooted down to the smallest social structure in society that is family. From the problems above, the research defined that the social problems present in those literary work included to the scope of sociological problems in literature work. The formulations of the problems in this research are as follows: 1) What is the scope of symbolic violence contained in Sepasang mata dinaya yang terpenjara? 2) How does the symbolic violence forms contained in a short story Sepasang mata dinaya yang terpenjara? To answer the research question, the researcher used literary theory related with the approach of sociology Pierre Bourdieu. The method used in this analysis is qualitative descriptive. The result of the analysis shows that the short story reveals various problems related to the inequality of social structure between women and men in Balinese society which has been formed in a structured and continuous culture that is rooted down to the smallest social structure in the family. From the dichotomy of these structures then arise forms of symbolic violence adopted from Bourdieu's terminology. This form of symbolic violence is experienced in layers by agents who have more capital and dominate such as the parents of Dinaya, her husband, and the people who apply the patriarchal culture. This form of symbolic violence is reflected in: symbolic violence by parents (including Dinaya's mother) against her child (Dinaya), symbolic violence of an individual Man (Dinaya's husband) against his wife (Dinaya), and Symbolic Violence by Society (cultural norms) on Balinese women.

INTRODUCTION

Balinese culture based on patriarchal system by placing the position of men who are very strategic in a patrilineal people family life due to the nature of the dogmatic authority of legitimacy while the subordinate position of

women. This patriarchal culture is reflected in family, community, national and state becoming a source of justification for the authority distribution system, decision-making system, work-sharing system, ownership system and resources distribution system that is gender biased. Such a culture will ultimately lead to discrimination,

marginalization, exploitation and violence against women. In a Balinese society that actually embraces a patrilineal kinship system, its patriarchal culture is still very strong. Kinship system like this the value of boys is higher than that of girls. A man, because of their position as *dharma bearers* and as heirs and descendants of the family (*purusa*), they will feel superior and powerful while women are in an inferior position. This will ultimately limit women's access to resources.

Basically, there are structural factors that caused individuals in the family and society to have no equal access to realize their rights as family members, members of society as well as citizens. One such structural barrier is the unjust and equal gender relations resulting from a highly paternalistic culture. In Balinese society, this condition is apparent because until now the limitations of women's access to education, economy, and others are still quite prominent.

The poverty of women in the field of education for example can be seen from the education level of the Balinese population where women's education is still much lower than the level of men's education. For example, on the basis of data (BPS, 2006) differences in education levels between men and women in Bali, the fact that fewer women are graduated, such as those graduating undergraduate (S1) comparisons between males and females 6.7%: 4, 9%. This is triggered by several factors, among others: the assumption that women do not need high school because it will eventually go to the kitchen; women are not considered family investment because after marriage will belong to

someone else (her husband). In addition to the above, the structure of patriarchal culture also spawned the limitations of women in terms of decision-making both within the family and in the community. In the family, decision making is dominated by men, as well as in the wider society. Gender that standardizes the role of women in the domestic and men sectors in the public sphere.

This social phenomenon is also reflected in *Sepasang Mata Dinaya yang Terpenjara* short story by Ni Komang Ariani. This short story reveals various problems related to the inequality of social structure between women and men in society in Bali that has been formed in a structured and continuous become a culture that is rooted down to the smallest social structure in the society that is family. This short story is one of the 17 best short stories that are recorded in the compass book of choice 2010. This short story is also written by a woman who comes from Bali, in other words this short story is an expression of social phenomena that immediately felt by the author.

Literary work is the result of the author's authorship based on experience and observations of the author on the issue of human life. Faruk (2012) also argued that literary works cannot be released in relation to human life. Related with the explanation above, it is clear that all human life issues are the source of inspiration of the author in creating a literary work. This short story explicitly also describes the position of women who acted by the main character of Dinaya as a Balinese woman who suffered oppression and cannot fight only as an attempt to

defend themselves. The oppression can be physical and symbolic violence. Dinaya's position as inferior in the thick Balinese patriarchal cultural structure is positioned with the superiority of the man represented by her husband and the parents who have been constructed with the culture. Symbolic violence is reflected in the limitations of Dinaya's character on the right to education, decision-making, profession, and his attitudes and behavior.

Therefore, this paper will analyze aspects that reflect symbolic forms of violence against women with the sociological approach of Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu in (Syahril, 2012) mentioned that Symbolic Violence is a model of cultural dominance and social that takes place unconsciously in the life of society which includes discrimination against certain groups / races / tribes / gender. Symbolic violence is basically the imposition of thoughts and perceptions on the dominated social agents who then consider the social role. It is the unity of the unconscious structure that tends to perpetuate the dominant structure of action. The master then considered their "truth" position. Symbolic violence is much stronger than physical violence that imposes individual actions and structures, and the right to power over certain social roles.

Departing from the problems above, the authors see that the social problems present in the work is the scope of sociological problems to the literature. The formulation of the problem in this research is as follows:

- a. What are the scopes of symbolic violence contained within

Sepasang Mata Dinaya yang Terpenjara short story?

- b. How are the symbolic forms of violence contained in *Sepasang Mata Dinaya yang Terpenjara* short story?

THEORY OF THE RESEARCH

The concept of symbolic violence firstly introduced by French's sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu (1971) said that the symbolic violence is unconsciously involves from the social dominance occurring in everyday cultural customs that keep the subject from consciousness. Symbolic violence cannot be separated from Habitus and the capital possessed by an agent in the battle arena in a particular society. As the "non-linear" Bourdieu formula replaces the simple relation between individual and structure with the constructed relations between Habitus and Field until reached: $(\text{Habitus} \times \text{Capital}) + \text{Field} = \text{Practice}$. Literally a habitus is a Latin word that refers to "habitual", custom or typical conditions, appearance, especially the appearance of the body. Habitus produces and is produced by social life. In the one side, it is a "structuring structure", a structure that structures social life. In the other side, it is a "structured structure", structured by the social world.

Gender is a "sexual" habitus depend on Bourdieu concept. This is the natural basis of arbitrator division which is the principle of representation of reality. All human action takes place in the social sphere - which is the arena for the struggle for resources. Individuals, institutions, and other agents try to differentiate themselves from others and gain valuable or valuable capital

in the "Field". While Culture is a symbolic system in which a person's status is determined by how much "symbolic capital" or cultural capital he has. Culture is also the source of domination, in which intellectuals play a key role as cultural production specialists and symbolic power-makers (Bourdieu, 1986).

Symbolic violence according to Bourdieu is the imposition of a system of symbolism and meaning (such as culture) to a group or class in such a way that it is experienced as something legitimate. Its legitimacy reinforces the power relations that make the coercion successful. As long as it is accepted as legitimate, culture reinforces itself through that power, contributes to their systematic reproduction. This is derived from a false process of recognizing: a process of power relations is not objectively perceived, but in a form that makes them legitimate in the eyes of the adherents.

In *Sepasang mata dinaya yang terpenjara* short story, Researcher wants to explain how forms of symbolic violence against women work. Gender as a "sexed" habitus, shows a significant division between female inferiority and male superiority and the division of social status and role between both of them. While the symbolic capital of culture played by men as the ruling agent makes the gender inequality as legitimacy legitimate and unconsciously structured. It is incarnated in a long-lasting period and then strengthens the dominance of male superiority to the subordinated position of women.

METHOD OF THE RESEARCH

This research is a qualitative research. The method that is used in this study is library research and close reading. Qualitative research is best suited for literary phenomena because literature is a world of words and symbols that are full of meaning. Literature is not a phenomenon that easily calculated like the phenomenon of natural science (Endraswara, 2011). An important feature of qualitative research in literary studies according to (Endraswara, 2011) are: 1) researchers are a key instrument will read carefully a literary work, 2) research done on a regular basis descriptive, meaning decomposes in the form of words or images if necessary, not a number, 3) preferring process rather than result, because literary work is a phenomenon that invites many interpretations, 4) inductive analysis, 5) meaning is the mainstay. This research is done through two stages, namely data collection and data analysis. However, before the two stages of the study are described, it is necessary known place of research, population, sample, and data in this research.

The research will be conducted that related with library research. It's mean the researcher can get the data and analyzed the data depend on literary in librarian source.

Data obtained by conducting literature study. In the librarian research, there are several steps done. First, the observation to determine the literary works that serve as the object of research. Second, the literary works that serve as the object of research, *The Fault in Our Stars* and *Looking for Alaska* novel read to be determined its

formal object. Third, the classification of data determine for the sample studies. Fourth, recording data in the form of words, phrases, sentences, and so forth. Fifth, look for other related data, which can support in research. Finally, a tentative conclusion is made of the data already obtained for further discussion in the analysis.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

From the title it is obvious that the short story describes the condition of a woman who has eyes but is unable to get out of the patriarchal system that has limited the view of the woman itself. The title is the expression of *Sepasang Mata Dinaya*, this phrase is an index that shows the condition of a woman named Dinaya that was posed with a man (parent, and her husband). Furthermore, imprisoned expression indicates the position of women (Dinaya) as a bound, unappreciated, and oppressed people. From these titles save various forms of symbolic violence against Dinaya represent of women in Bali who are in a social structure that is thick with patriarchal culture. This form of symbolic violence was encountered in layers by agents with more capital and dominating. Symbolic violence is reflected from her parent (including Dinaya's mother), symbolic violence of an individual Man (Dinaya's husband) and Symbolic Violence by the Community culture and norms against Balinese women.

This is similar to what Bourdieu (1986) proposes as Structures of domination. The dominant structure is the product of an endlessly reproducible work (historical) and is carried out by several sole agents including men with weapons such as

physical violence and symbolic violence. Some of the institutions that contribute in presenting are such products as family, church, school, even country.

1.1. Symbolic Violence by Parents against girls

As mentioned earlier, the symbolic violence perpetrated against women is demonstrated both physically and symbolically. In this short story, the authors provide a fairly clear narrative of the symbolic acts of violence that one of the parents committed against their daughter. Symbolic violence is the practice of habitus to the structured structure of society in the form of cultural construction that gave birth to parent's thinking to restrict his daughter from some life activity. Capital owned by his parents that his authority as the father as the head of the family and mother as a tool of hand extension control of his father. The symbolic violence resulted in the conscious and unconscious constraints on his daughter. From this short story, it can be seen from:

a. Rights and Education

In a Balinese society that actually embraces a patrilineal kinship system, its patriarchal culture is still very strong. Kinship system like this, the value of boys is higher than the daughter. Men are superior while women are in the inferior position. This will ultimately limit women's access to resources. Including the right of education, women regardless of the extent to which she studies will continue to return to the domestic scope of housekeeping. This mindset is deeply rooted and accepted by the patriarchal community continuously.

So that thinking direction limits the mindset of women to see education as important in itself, this is reinforced also by the doctrines given by parents to their children. It is what forms the habitus between both of them. This can be seen from the quotation below:

Dinaya merasa tidak penting baginya untuk melanjutkan kuliah. Perkuliahan akan membuka pikirannya dan membuatnya mengembara ke tempat-tempat yang jauh. Buat apa? Toh pada akhirnya ia akan kembali ke tempat di mana ia berasal. Di sini, dengan posisi seperti ini (Ariani, 2010).

[Dinaya felt it was not important for her to continue her studies. Lectures will open their minds and make them wander to distant places. What for? After all, in the end he will return to where he came from. Here, with a position like this.]

The quotation above clearly shows the doctrine of how to think and behave as a woman. Although Dinaya understands that the concept is wrong, but culture and norms make her unable to get out of the cage that imprisons her. Studies are a way to get women to be nomads, while nomads are the essence of men's activities. Conversely, women as high as any education will definitely return to the domestic area. Then, symbolic violence in the short story is also reflected on women through the planting of thinking patterns and limiting their access to develop themselves through education. This can be seen from the following quote:

seperti anak kecil yang begitu menginginkan mainan kegemarannya. Biyang dan Aji

terus mendorongnya rajin belajar dan meraih gelar sarjana hukum. Waktu itu, Dinaya mengira kedua orangtuanya memang sungguh-sungguh berharap ia akan menjadi perempuan yang intelek. Kini ia tahu, apa yang Biyang dan Aji lakukan tidak semata-mata demi gengsi bahwa anak-anak mereka adalah orang yang berpendidikan. Mereka sendiri tidak siap menerima anak-anaknya yang berubah karena pendidikan yang telah mereka pelajari. (Ariani, 2010)

[like a kid who desires his favorite toy. Biyang and Aji continue to encourage him to study hard and get a law degree. At that time, Dinaya thought her parents were really hoping she would become an intellectual woman. Now she knows what Biyang and Aji do not solely for the sake of the pride that their children are educated. They themselves are not prepared to accept their children who have changed because of the education they have learned]

The quotation can be drawn the understanding that Dinaya's parents asked Dinaya to go to school to have a degree SH but it is done just for the sake of prestige. Not to make her an intellectual woman. The dominance possessed by parents through superiority to their children makes a reason for him to put his daughter like a commodity that if you want to have high selling value to eat needs to be polished with a prestige that is a bachelor degree. The ultimate goal of symbolic violence like this is also to obtain materialistic satisfaction through the man who will propose her, and put women in the domestic

territory under the power of her husband.

b. Marriage

Marriage presented by the author as a symbolic violence against women. Here the main character (Dinaya) became the figure of women who must accept the decision of their parents to marry a man based on the wishes of her parents. Her parents' actions make choices for their child because of a view that has been inherent in patriarchal society that men are the backbone of the family. So their daughter's future is strongly based on the man who will marry her. This ultimately raises certain specifications for married husbands like where they come from, economic conditions, job, etc (*bibit, bebet, and bobot*). This is also the reason for the legitimacy of her parents to engage in symbolic violence against their children, and this attitude is legitimately accepted for parents and some societies to decide which would-be husband to choose. In the short story, it is described from the following quotation:

Biyang dan Aji tidak pernah bisa menerima laki-laki Jawa menjadi suami Dinaya. Mereka tidak dapat menerima segala kerumitan yang mungkin terjadi bila ia menikahi orang yang begitu berbeda latar belakangnya (Ariani, 2010).

[Biyang and Aji could never accept Javanese men to become Dinaya's husband. They cannot accept all the complications that might happen if he marries someone so different from his background.]

In the short story is told that Dinaya already has her own love, a man who came from Java. But her

love must be aground because of the dominance of desire from her *biyang* (mother) and *Aji* (father) are higher so she married a person who came from her own region. This is what eventually put Dinaya to accept his parents' decision to marry Ghana a civil servant who also came from Bali as her husband. From this quotation also puts the position of Dinaya experiencing symbolic violence on her marriage; her love ran aground and had to follow her parent's wishes. She also does not have the right to make a choice because it is the males who have more authority in decision-making.

c. Profession and Work

Symbolic violence is basically the imposition of thoughts and perceptions on the dominated social agents who then consider the social role. It is the unity of the unconscious structure that tends to perpetuate the dominant structure of action. It is also with the division of roles in the profession and work. The family as a connector of the first social institution is producing patriarchal relationships, values and pressures to discrimination of the gender. Symbolic violence also propagates to the division of the scope of work by gender. Even harder, in Balinese society as far as any woman to study science the final position that they will face is to serve her husband. She has to leave all his knowledge and profession outside when he is married. Then, she must carry out a wife's duty to her husband as more important. This becomes a family habitus that holds the patriarchal principle and is also represented from the life of Dinaya who earned this position through her family and husband. This can be seen from the quote:

Tepat seperti dugaannya. Dinaya hanya bisa pasrah ketika keluarganya menuntut ia membuang semua ilmu yang dimilikinya ke tempat sampah. Kesarjanaan itu kata mereka hanya membuat Dinaya menjadi perempuan yang tinggi hati (Ariani, 2010)

[It is like what she was thought. Dinaya can only surrender when her family demands that she throw all her knowledge into the trash. The scholarship says they only make Dinaya as a big heart woman.]

From the quotation above shows how Dinaya's position that cannot utilize the knowledge that she has got but must return to the domestic area, serving her husband. As explained above that the degree that she got from college deliberately her parents allowed only so that the selling value owned by Dinaya increased so she could get a husband who can sustain the future needs. That is one form of symbolic violence against women reflected in the short story in terms of profession and work.

In the short story is also in a tangent if at first Dinaya could get a job after she finished her education. However, she had to resign from her job because her husband was considered not able to balance her main task in the family in serving her husband. The legitimacy was also supported by her parents who conveyed directly to Dinaya to release her work at the wish of her husband. It can be seen from the quotation:

“kenapa dia tidak bicara secara langsung kepada tiyang? Bukankah dia sudah punya mulut.”

“Dia takut kamu menjadi marah karena ia tahu kamu perempuan yang keras”

“kenapa kamu mengata-ngatai suamimu sendiri?”

“Kenapa kamu masih saja suka membangkang seperti dulu. Apa umur belum juga mendewasakanmu”

“suamimu merasa kau lebih mencintai pekerjaanmu dari pada dirinya. Dia cemburu pada pekerjaanmu”. (Ariani, 2010)

[“Why does not s talk directly to tiyang? Does not he already have a mouth? ”

"He's afraid you get angry because he knows you're a hard woman"

"Why are you calling your own husband?"

"Why do you still like to rebel like before. What age has not yet matured you "

"Your husband feels that you love your job more than loves him. He is jealous of your work "]

The quote clearly shows how construction should be owned by a woman as a wife against her husband. Parents as an extension of the patriarchal construction make such a concept legitimate and must be obeyed by every wife. Women are often symbolized as *pradana* or femininity (gentle, nurturing). Balinese women are required to be perfect *pradana* figures. Women are recognized when she is able to be a wife and can serve her husband perfectly. From that quotation can also see what Bourdieu mentioned that language as an instrument of domination. The insistent questioning when Dinaya said harshly when responding to her family decision was a performative

phrase that put Dinaya's Perceptions guilty. With the repeatedly question builds Dinaya not to deny the authority of her husband who has more decisions than herself. This unconsciously penetrates into Dinaya, so she must accept the decision given by her parents that she is giving up her job outside and returning to being a good wife from a patriarchal perspective in serving her husband.

d. Attitude and Behavior

Gender as a social phenomenon implies a social cause or social implication that arises in society because of distinctions based on sex differences, ie men and women. These social ramifications can be the division of labor, the payroll system, the socialization process and so on. Gender as a cultural phenomenon means consequences or implications in culture (ie on patterns and content of thought) that arise in society because of a dualistic classification based on differences. The duality of that difference also gives rise to symbolic violence in terms of attitudes and behavior between men and women. In embracing a patriarchal culture, as mentioned earlier, women are symbolized as someone who is beautiful, gentle, submissive, obedient, and orderly. This construction is also applied by *biyang* (mother) Kanaya in this short story. This can be seen from the following quotation:

Sejak kecil *Biyang* selalu mengata-ngatai Dinaya dengan kata-kata yang menghancurkan harga dirinya. Perempuan kok bangun siang. Makan kok belepotan seperti babi. Itu badan apa gentong air. Mana ada sih laki-laki yang mau melihat tampangmu. Sekali-kali ke salon

dong biar tidak dikira babu. Di hadapan *Biyang*, Dinaya merasa menjadi manusia yang paling gagal (Ariani, 2010).

Dinaya tahu ini bukan kesalahan *Biyang* semata-mata. Barangkali seluruh cakrawala pikiran *Biyang* dipenuhi oleh kepercayaan bahwa sumber kebahagiaan perempuan adalah apabila ia memuaskan kebutuhan laki-laki. *Biyang* tidak ingin putrinya gagal memenuhi kewajiban itu. Mungkin itulah satu-satunya yang dimengerti *Biyang* mengenai peranan perempuan. Karena *Biyang* juga pernah merasakan semua yang Dinaya rasakan (Ariani, 2010).

[Since childhood *Biyang* always calling Dinaya with words that destroy her pride. How come, women wake up lately. Eat dripping like a pig. That's what the body or water barrel. Where's the man who wants to see what you look like. One time goes to salon, don't make you are like a *babu*. In front of *Biyang*, Dinaya felt to be the most failed woman.]

[Dinaya knew this was not *Biyang*'s fault. Perhaps the entire horizon of *Biyang*'s mind is filled with the belief that the source of women's happiness is when she can be satisfying the needs of men. *Biyang* does not want her daughter to fail to fulfill that obligation. Maybe that's the only thing *Biyang* understood about the role of women. Because *Biyang* also never felt all that Dinaya feel]

From the quotation it is clear how symbolic violence works against a girl in Bali by an agent

who in this context is her mother. Gender as a social consciousness that is under a structured awareness among the people about the differences of men and women is a socio-cultural heritage is a product of history that has been eaten raw by a patriarchal society. Women construction should be beautiful, gentle, obedient and submissive as the construction built by Dinaya's parents in the quotation becomes a necessity that is in the woman itself. With sufficient capital in the form of long-standing norms in the community, it raises the attitude of symbolic violence to their daughter to follow all the construction. Dinaya cannot do anything with the construction because when she tries to fight the construction, she will go out and even isolated in the social areas prevailing in the society.

1.2. Symbolic Violence by Husband Against His Wife

Actually, symbolic violence in this aspect has been described through previous aspects. It's just in the previous section of symbolic violence accepted by the main character (Dinaya) through her Biyang and Aji. In this aspect, symbolic violence is seen directly from her husband as a representation of the man who embraces the patriarchal culture itself. This is evident from the discriminatory treatment done by her husband as in the following quotation:

Dinaya menyeka peluh yang membasahi pipinya. Tubuhnya sudah terasa begitu lengket. Kedua kakinya pegal luar biasa. Mukanya tentu saja terlihat sangat berantakan. Dinaya tidak ingat lagi berapa banyak pekerjaan yang sudah dikerjakannya sejak subuh tadi.

Begitu satu pekerjaan selesai, pekerjaan lainnya menunggu. Begitu seterusnya seolah tidak ada habisnya (Ariani, 2010).

[Dinaya wiped the sweat that wet her cheeks. His body already feels so sticky. Both of legs are very stiff. His face of course looks very messy. Dinaya did not remember how much work she had done since the dawn. Once a job is done, other jobs wait. And so on as if there is no end.]

The quote shows how household chores are handed over to Dinaya. In addition to having to do a lot of housework that piled up, her husband also did not consider the existence of Dinaya. Even her husband never asked her to talk and discuss, it is seen from the quotation below:

Satu hal yang tidak dimengerti Dinaya adalah suaminya tidak pernah betul-betul mengajaknya bicara. Ghana memang sering berkata-kata, namun kata-kata itu hanya membutuhkan pendengar, bukan lawan bicara. Ghana lebih sering terlihat seperti bermonolog, berbicara dan kemudian memberikan komentar sendiri atas pembicaraannya. Di manakah posisi Dinaya pada saat itu, mungkin ia hanya menjadi cermin yang memantulkan bayangan suaminya (Ariani, 2010).

One thing Dinaya did not understand was that her husband never really talked to her. Ghana is often speechless, but the words only need the listener, not the other person. Ghana more often looks like a monologue speaks and then gives his own

comments on his conversation. Where was Dinaya's position at the time, maybe he was just a mirror that reflected the shadow of her husband.]

While Dinaya had the opportunity to go out to work, she had to accept bitterly her husband's request to quit her job because she was considered to have had hushed her husband and neglected her duty to serve her husband. It can be seen from the quotations:

"Suamimu memintamu untuk berhenti bekerja, Dinaya. Dia bilang begitu pada Biyang."

"Kenapa dia tidak bicara langsung pada tiang? Bukankah dia masih punya mulut."

"Suamimu merasa kau lebih mencintai pekerjaanmu daripada dirinya. Dia cemburu pada pekerjaanmu" (Ariani, 2010).

["Your husband asked you to stop working, Dinaya. He said that to Biyang. "

"Why did not he talk directly to the pole? Does not he still have a mouth. "

"Your husband feels that you love your job more than he does. He is jealous of your work ".]

All of the quotations above clearly show how symbolic violence works against a woman (wife) in Bali by an agent who in this context is her husband. Even when she is doing resistance she even re-mired in the system of other oppression either consciously or unconsciously who claimed her right as a woman.

1.3. Symbolic Violence by Society (cultural norms) toward Balinese women.

When viewed from the author's horizon in other short stories' references, the authors want to raise

the social phenomenon of Balinese women who experience symbolic violence by the community from their own class. It does not rule out even though the main character in this short story has done resistance but she still unable to get out of the system that oppress it in layers. It is seen, when Dinaya against her husband he was excommunicated from his family, when he was reckless / not following the construction as a woman acted he even got criticism from the structure of social norms that apply, even when he was working did not rule out he had been suppressed with the system others are exploited knowledge and thinking in the work so that must work late into the night and leave the family. This is similar to what Bourdieu (1986) proposes as the dominant structures of the product of an endless (historical) work of reproduction, carried out by several sole agents (including men with weapons such as physical violence and symbolic violence). It is coupled with several institutions (families, churches, schools, countries) that have a share in presenting the product.

CONCLUSION

From the discussion it can be seen clearly what and how aspects of symbolic violence are reflected in the short story of *Sepasang Mata Dinaya yang Terpenjara* by Ni Komang Ariani. This short story reveals various problems related to the imbalance of social structure between women and men in society in Bali which has been formed in a structured and continuous become a culture that is rooted to the smallest social structure in the smallest society that is family. This form of

symbolic violence was experienced in layers by agents with more capital and dominance, namely Dinaya's parents, her husband and the people who applied the Patriarchal culture. It can be concluded that the symbolic forms of violence in this short story are reflected by: symbolic

violence by parents (including Dinaya's mother), symbolic violence of the individual Man (Dinaya's husband) to his wife (Dinaya), and Symbolic Violence Society (cultural norms) towards Balinese women.

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