SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE IN THE ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE OF STUDENT ASSOCIATIONS AT HIGHER EDUCATION IN SURABAYA

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Abstract

Violent behavior is still often found in the educational environment, including in higher education. The act of violence by seniors against juniors is one example. This violence has become a culture in the campus environment, one of which is in student association organizations, such as symbolic violence. This study aims to identify the causes of symbolic violence and the forms of symbolic violence practices carried out by the management of student association organizations at the state university in Surabaya. The research method used is descriptive-qualitative with an ethnomethodological approach and uses Bordue's theory of symbolic violence. The subjects in this study were members of the 2021 student association organization. This research location is at one of the tertiary institutions in Surabaya. The data collection is done through in-depth interviews. The results indicate differences in vision and mission brought by student association organizations in their implementation, as well as the forms of symbolic violence that occurred in senior orders and threats to juniors, yelling, and scolding. Meanwhile, according to Bourdue himself, the causes of symbolic violence are habitus, capital, and class. In addition, symbolic violence is divided into censorship in the form of marginalization and intimidation and euphemism in the form of generosity, motivation, and obligations. Overall, the research informants were not aware of this practice of symbolic violence, so as a result, it became a culture within the organization.

Keywords: *Symbolic Violence, Seniority, Organization*

1. INTRODUCTION

As living beings endowed with reason and morals, humans have achieved goals. The purpose of human life, however, will pique interest. Of course, to fulfill these interests, infrastructure and acting in the right way are needed. The aim is for everyone to maintain a safe and comfortable atmosphere without violating their interests. When everyone wants to satisfy their interests without thinking about other individuals, conflicts of interest create an uncomfortable atmosphere, disputes, and unhealthy competition between individuals and

groups. Well-organized people can comply with the group's needs to achieve goals. Therefore, the existence of an institution or organization that protects its interests and achieves its goals with a sense of security requires good management within the organization.

According to Mathis and Jackson in Rernawan (2011), an organization is a group of people who are intertwined with a social unit and interact according to a specific pattern, so that each organization has its own functions and duties. A unit has clear goals and boundaries so that they can be separated. Meanwhile, according to William Schulze in Sutarto (2006), the organization is an amalgamation of people, objects, equipment, workspace, and everything related to it, which is put together in an orderly and practical relationship to achieve the desired goals. Hasibuan suggests that the organization is a system of formal, structured, and cooperative associations of people working together to achieve specific goals.

Therefore, based on the above observations, an organization in a higher education institution is necessary. It is also stated in the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 12 of 2012 concerning higher education. *Higher education* is an academic unit that organizes higher education. State Higher Education, or PTN, is established or organized by the Government. PTS, or private higher education, is a system that the community created and organized. Higher Education Tridharma, referred to as Tridharma, is the obligation of Higher Education to organize education, research, and community service. Being part of a college or university is undoubtedly challenging. However, when someone becomes a student, they have the opportunity to learn more while developing their potential. Student organizations are used as a vehicle for students to develop themselves and broaden their understanding of the reality of life as a nation.

Student organizations are an essential part of higher education institutions. Student organizations are a form of activity in tertiary institutions organized according to principles by and for students. In this case, student organizations can take the form of organizations on campus or off campus. Thus, tertiary institutions become a place to study and train students to be more independent and develop according to their abilities. Students can develop creativity, sensitivity, critical strength, courage, leadership, and citizenship through student organizations at each university. Law Number 12 of 2012 concerning Higher Education (n.d.), Article 77 concerning Student Organizations, rules about this issue.

Every organization will always have different behavior patterns, regulations, and habits. Even with the same type of organization, the things mentioned above still depend on each member. It is what is called organizational culture. Culture, in general, means everything that is around us. The form of culture can be something that is not visible, such as patterns of behavior, language, rules, etcetera. On the other hand, culture can also take the form of objects such as artifacts, historical relics, etcetera. Culture in An organization can also be something visible or invisible. Organizational culture is everything that exists in the organization, formed through habit patterns that are carried out continuously and for generations.

Organizational culture can form habitual patterns and shape the personalities of its members. For example, the habits of military education will form a firm, disciplined, and authoritarian personality for its members. However, on the other hand, members who do not fit into the pattern of military education will form a person who is afraid of making mistakes because they will get punished. In addition, the negative impact can also cause resentment against the coaches. Therefore, implementing organizational culture still depends on the leader—from conveying or instilling value to predicting the obtained responses, the achieved results need an appropriate plan.

Because that is what determines how the organization will continue when the previous members have not been able to continue, a healthy culture will also have an impact on the performance of its members, as is the case in Chanda & Putra's research, 2021, entitled "Internalization of Organizational Culture Study of the West Sumatra Bawaslu Organizational

Culture. According to the findings, there is a healthy culture that has an impact on organizational progress. It is inseparable from the existence of organizations that have an ethical responsibility to create a safe work environment and take all reasonable and appropriate steps to protect the welfare of their members.

The organizational culture commonly found in higher education organizations is seniority. Although students have criticized its presence, several organizations have chosen to defend it and are proud of it. One example occurs in the acceptance of new students, or PKKMB, by the BEM and HIMA organizations, where each year it will reveal which campuses are still thick with a culture of seniority. For example, during the 2022 PKKMB activity, a video was circulated of an older senior snapping at new students at a state university. In the video circulating, they yell right in the ear, so the new students run faster. In ancient times, this was done to train new students' mentality and help them adapt to college life.

In addition to having other unspoken objectives, seniors frequently want their juniors to respect them because they are older than the juniors, attended college earlier, and have more knowledge and experience regarding the world of lectures. This action concludes as verbal violence, not involving the body but feelings. This type of violence occurs through language by issuing inappropriate, insulting, or hurtful words. This action also creates a gap or distance between new students and old students. Where old students, as seniors, will feel superior to new students. On the other hand, new students will feel inferior, reluctant, and even afraid of old students.

Organizational culture, as described above, can influence members' habits and personality patterns. If the perpetuated organizational culture is seniority, members will tend to follow all the wishes and orders of their seniors. Because if he denies it, he will receive sanctions, be marked, be ostracized, and even have the worst risk of being expelled from the organization. As a result, seniority can also lower a member's level of creativity and self-confidence because seniors are more likely to correct, criticize, or even criticize all of their opinions. Seniority can also make people outside the organization reluctant to join because they have heard rumors about the unhealthy organizational culture. So that over time, the organization threatened with not having a successor and stopping in the future.

Apart from verbal violence, another type of violence that can occur in an organization is symbolic violence. Bourdieu (1994) defines symbolic violence as violence that aims to gain recognition through controlled power. It means that power has the ability to unrecognize its original form, arbitrariness, and power. This violence does not involve physical injury or feelings, but the impact can be the same or even worse than verbal violence. Symbolic violence is latent (hidden), subtle, and done in "gentle" language. This type of violence is sometimes tricky for the victim to realize. Symbolic violence generally carries on slowly and gradually, and it is also structured to achieve specific goals. Symbolic violence in organizations, for example, is the obligation to participate in activities carried out until midnight on the grounds of commitment to the organization. The problem, of course, is inefficient time management, so the members must sacrifice rest time for "commitment" to the organization.

The researcher saw an example of a case of symbolic violence in an internal organization at a university in Surabaya. Symbolic violence within the HIMA organization occurs during large meetings and work program evaluation meetings. There is an SCPJ (Steering Committee and Person in Charge), whose job it is to oversee the work of the committees under it. The Steering Committee in question is Kahima, Wakahima, the treasurer, and the general secretary of the organization. At the same time, the PJ, or person in charge, is the head of the division and the head of the field. These SCPJs are students of the upper batch, namely 2020; on average, the committee is a student of the 2021 batch.

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During large meetings and evaluation meetings, the SCPJs explain the mistakes of each committee division without giving room for clarifications from the committee under them. If SCPJ has said something wrong, the organizers must accept that they did something wrong, according to SCPJ. This presentation shows that the culture of seniority in the HIMA Unesa organization still needs to be implemented by giving the committees time to clarify or give opinions. Having an opinion is the right of every human being, which is essentially a personal human right. In Indonesia, freedom of expression is regulated in Article 28 and Article 28E paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (n.d.), which states, "Every person has the right to freedom of association, assembly, and expression of opinion." Femmy Eka Kartika Putri (Simaremare & Pribadi, 2022), as part of the *Ministry of Human Development and Culture,* also regrets all forms of violence and argues that all perpetrators must receive sanctions from the community for their behavior.

Based on the background of the problem and several previous studies, the researcher is interested in raising the title "Symbolic Violence in the Seniority Culture of Student Association Organizations at Universities in Surabaya." For this reason, in HIMA, the culture of seniority is still apparent, which ultimately creates symbolic violence against members of the work program committee within the organization. This study aims to find out how symbolic violence by HIMA members at one of the universities in Surabaya wraps around a culture of seniority.

2. METHODS

This qualitative research uses an ethnomethodological study as a research approach. Qualitative research allows researchers to observe deeper social phenomena in society that cannot be measured through numbers or statistics. Therefore, qualitative research cannot generalize a social phenomenon. Because it only happens in specific environments, times, and people. Ethnomethodological studies were chosen as a research approach because this research topic focuses more on seniors' patterns of action or behavior toward their juniors. This action pattern becomes an organizational culture that junior members, including victims of symbolic violence, do not realize.

Qualitative research in this study was also chosen because it follows the research topic, namely symbolic violence. Because this topic is sensitive, there will be some differences from one organization to another. Differences in impact or influence can also occur if there are differences in the person and where they appear. So, generalizations are unapplied to this research topic, and qualitative research is the correct type of research to examine the social phenomenon of symbolic violence.

Research subjects must be able to become informants, or people who provide various information needed to collect data. Several members of higher education organizations with strong seniority cases will become informants or sources of data collection. The selected members come from the youngest generation who served in 2022. Several potential informants will help the researcher gain information based on observations before selecting a research topic. More than one person chose the research subject to learn other points of view from fellow members who may also suffer the same fate, namely becoming victims of symbolic violence by seniors. The research subject will also hide entirely because this research topic is sensitive.

The technique used to select research subjects was purposive sampling. This technique allows researchers to collect data from people with certain conditions, especially from members who often interact with seniors in the organization. The purposive sampling technique was chosen because this research topic requires subjects with specific provisions, such as members of organizations who are aware of this symbolic violence and are the youngest generation this year. This technique was chosen because the required informant needed specific criteria so that

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the selected informants in this study did not randomly choose. The selected informants also follow the research objectives and are people researchers can approach.

This research is located at one of the universities in Surabaya. This location was chosen according to the results of the problem formulation and research objectives outlined in the research background. Based on the initial findings, it appears that there was an act of symbolic violence by one of the faculties at a university in Surabaya. It is also due to the discovery of a culture of seniority that is still strong. Due to the seniority culture that one of the organizations has adopted, the researchers chose this location to investigate and describe the symbolic forms of violent practice. This research was conducted in October–November 2022.

Ethnomethodology research, by logical means, is more concerned with the use of principles, values, rules, or the like. It is not aimed at describing patterns of behavior using causal laws but rather at explaining how the subject recognizes, represents, presents, and considers the rules in their daily lives. Thus, live is a reflective social reality that will form (the result of mental creation or contemplation) in the form of a description or descriptive study (Holstein & Gubrium, 2009). Based on this definition, this research uses the perspective of juniors in the organization, such as the internal conditions or situation of the organization and the behavior and attitude of seniors toward juniors. The analysis will be carried out on the interviews with all informants and then interpreted in the analysis results to see whether symbolic violence occurred in the organization. The results of the discussions will be categorized into forms of symbolic violence, including euphemism and censorship.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
1. Forms of Student Association Symbolic Violence

Violence is the act of an actor or a group of actors. Violence is a product or the result of a structure's operation and a social network between actors and structures. A genetic factor dominates its emergence, and there is a coercive culture. According to Bourdieu, violence is within the scope of power. It means that violence is the basis or result of an exercise of power. Violence appears to be an attempt by the dominant class to perpetuate its domination or power in the social structure. The dominant class's mechanism of violence carries on slowly but surely, so the dominated class is unaware that they are the object of violence. Thus, the dominant class has the power to dominate the disadvantaged and oppressed classes, which is called symbolic violence.

Symbolic violence is one of the essential concepts in Bourdieu's theoretical ideas. This concept's significance lies in the efforts of the dominant social actors to apply a social meaning and representation of reality that other actors internalize as being natural and legitimate, even if these other actors later consider the social meaning to be accurate. Using collective expectations from socially ingrained beliefs, symbolic violence involves using force to obtain compliance but does not feel or appear to be coercion. It proves that symbolic violence occurs in the organizational environment of tertiary institutions in the form of sentences and words. Some symbolic violence research findings are in the form of gentle and invisible actions or are not even known as a form of violence. Forms of symbolic violence include:

a. Senior Orders and Threats to Junior

The upper class uses several ways or mechanisms to uphold their habits, such as spreading negative and positive stereotypes. The dominant class imposes habitus on the controlled class, which they unconsciously accept (Suardi et al., 2020a). Bourdieu divides forms of symbolic violence into various forms, one in the form of sentences and words. To explain the form of symbolic violence as a euphemism mechanism. Euphemization is a kind of invisible symbolic violence that functions in disguise. This method can be used in combination

with dos and don'ts. Seniors use a euphemism known as an order to emphasize to juniors that they need to achieve something. This affirmation is non-negotiable, meaning that it absolutely must be implemented. Through this affirmation, a senior intuitively and immediately describes the consequences if the juniors do not follow this order, hoping that the junior will voluntarily do what the senior wants.

For example, in the speech of seniors who are sarcastic towards juniors, they instruct juniors to comply with established rules, one of the organization's cultures. The culture of seniority makes the juniors on the dominant side obey and follow these rules. The existence of these regulations can lead to symbolic violence because of their coercive nature, and these orders can control juniors to comply. Otherwise, they will criticize the juniors harshly and arbitrarily, making them feel down. As the researcher found, these sentences were uttered during the meeting. When one of the juniors does not comply with the rules, the senior on the Steering Committee will throw harsh sentences even though the pronunciation is not harsh. One such sentence is

"If you need anything, talk to the choir and then convey it to the expert staff because we have more experience than you. Then what is the point of having expert staff if you do not think of it?" said AN (imitating the senior's words).

This sentence is classified as a form of an imperative sentence, which also alludes to the fact that juniors must always consider seniors. Seniors also do not explain the impact if they do not involve themselves every time. However, juniors would know the repercussions of not involving them. It suggests that senior rule must be included and considered as introducing the habitus of the dominant class. In Bourdieu's theory, symbolic violence will be coercive to subtly change the dominated class's actions. The senior's orders illustrate how juniors have no alternative if they disobey the rules. iso. In contrast to threats, in this case, threats are more violent and coercive. According to Bourdieu, both violence and power have a relationship with each other. Violence arises because a dominant class enforces violence by force (Faridah & Sadewo, 2018). The perpetrator forces things to gain unconscious obedience. Likewise, with the treatment of seniors towards juniors The senior gave a threat in the form of a sentence, and the researcher found this during a work program meeting with the sentence:

"Well, if this is the case, it is better just to disband the meeting," SW said (imitating the senior's words).

The threat indicates the presence of violence, while the existence of the senior indicates the person in power as the controller of the junior. According to Bourdieu, Symbolic violence explains the mechanisms used by elite or upper-class groups that dominate the social structure of society to impose their lifestyle on the lower-class groups they dominate. It is interpreted as a habitus. According to the authors of a study conducted by Bourdieu, habitus practiced by upper-class groups in educational settings can be found in various forms (Martono, 2012).

b. Snapped and scratched

The definition of "violence" is the commission of a crime by someone against another person, which can then cause mental and physical illness in the victim. Seniors' aggressive behavior is a result of them having more rights, power, and authority than their juniors. Therefore, seniors believe that they can do anything for their juniors. It is a kind of abuse of position as a senior and is considered an abuse of power. However, for seniors, violence is indeed one way considered necessary to change or discipline juniors. From the results of the research and interview data from one of the informants who received harsh criticism:

"The reason for senior students scolding and yelling at juniors is because when carrying out a work program where progress had to be 50%, the target was unachieved, and the coordinator threw the problem at the staff where the choir themselves had disappeared. Making seniors scold and yell at the committee, which is quite a lot," said SF

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From the statement above, it can be concluded that seniors speak in a high tone, scold, and snap because of the demands made by seniors on juniors. The senior's anger towards the junior occurs when the junior makes a mistake. The treatment of the junior is intimidating to the junior.

2. Causes of Symbolic Violence in Student Associations

According to Bourdieu (1994), symbolic violence is a power that According to Bourdieu (1994), symbolic violence is a power that is distinguishable by its desire for recognition and can be recognized by its purpose to gain recognition. That is, power (whether economic, political, cultural, or otherwise) cannot recognize its original form, violence, or arbitrariness (Gusnita, 2017). Violence is generally related to the apparent arbitrariness of the dominant party over the sub-dominant party. Symbolic violence just goes on like a regular or general system. However, this symbolic violence is observed through sensitivity to the ongoing system (Ulya, 2017). According to Pierre Bourdieu, symbolic violence occurs because of habitus, class, and capital.

The data findings state that seniors feel more experienced than their juniors. It saw a miscommunication between seniors and juniors during work program evaluation meetings when seniors felt ignored. Then they threw unpleasant words at the juniors. According to Bourdieu, symbolic violence involves the senior engaging in cultural capital, which refers to a variety of personal traits or abilities, such as attitudes, speech patterns, physical appearance, interpersonal skills, etc. There is an imbalance in power relations where seniors abuse knowledge resources to control juniors.

Symbolic violence also occurs when juniors interact with their seniors, who feel reluctant because of differences in age and position. This organization has an SCPJ (Steering Committee and Person in Charge) consisting of Kahima, Wakahima, the treasurer, and the organization's general secretary. The PJ, or person in charge, is the Kadiv (head of division) or Kabid (head of field). These SCPJs are students of the upper batch, namely 2020; on average, the committee is a student of the 2021 batch (AN, 20 years old, 6/12/2022). According to Bourdieu, there is a class difference between seniors and juniors, which is one of the causes of symbolic violence.

The next cause of symbolic violence is habitus. According to the data findings, there is a culture in which the coordinator must personally invite expert staff or SCPJ on the D-day of a work program, not by general invitation but rather by the entire committee. In the culture of inviting, there are differences. SCPJ invited the chief executive and expert staff invited by the coordinator (AN, 20 years old, 6/12/2022). According to Bourdieu, some habits develop through experience. Each class will have a different habit. The dominant class then forces this habit on the dominated class. The dominant class will always impose its habitus through various power mechanisms (Martono, 2012).

3. The Practice of Symbolic Violence in Student Associations

Symbolic violence can happen to anyone and in any social environment. In general, symbolic violence can occur due to the use of the power of the superior against the inferior. Symbolic violence is a model of cultural domination that unwittingly occurs in people's lives, including acts of discrimination against certain ethnicities, races, groups, or genders, so symbolic violence can become the primary way that triggers the emergence of other, more obvious violence (Dwipayana et al., 2023). Symbolic violence is also tricky to recognize when it occurs in an individual. Because, in practice, it is made as subtle as possible and covered with all kinds of brainwashing agendas that make the victim unable to distinguish between what is

true and what is not. Marsana mentioned in Gusnita (2017) that symbolic violence is the intellectual activity that manipulates the victim's mindset, so the violence is considered "legitimate" and even necessary.

Marsana's statement demonstrates that those with "higher" intellectual levels are the ones who carry out symbolic violence. However, that person misuses it for something that exploits other people. The statement also shows that more symbolic violence occurs in educational settings or where intellectuals gather and interact. One is in a college environment with a thick hierarchy in every corner. Starting from the positions of lecturers in tertiary institutions to the positions of students in organizations in which they participated. Therefore, even though the "cover" or outward appearance is an institution where higher education takes place, the people inside who are intellectuals try to influence one another, whether to fight for a position or to show that they are better and superior.

Bourdieu (1994) states that symbolic violence occurs when someone imposes beliefs, logic, or biased meanings that must be considered accurate by others. It often happens in the internal organization of higher education. For example, when study orientation activities are burdensome and "mental training," students are considered a culture that needs to be preserved from generation to generation to continue forming students with a strong mentality. Meanwhile, when there are objections from other parties and suggestions that this matter needs to stop, their opinions are challenged and ignored. It serves as an illustration of what Bourdieu meant by imposing logic on other parties. It is one example of imposing logic on other parties, as it itself shows. Furthermore, Bourdieu also stated that symbolic violence is a power that recognizes itself through its goal of gaining recognition. The superior party's motive for carrying out symbolic violence includes getting the recognition that he is higher, more capable, more powerful, more worthy, and more everything than other parties in the same container as them.

Symbolic violence by the dominant class begins through stereotype frames, namely the process of labeling an entity by producing, distributing, and reproducing discourse in which actors or institutions possess capital, knowledge, or power (Suardi et al., 2020b). It causes the lower-class group to accept and admit that the upper-class group's habits are appropriate. In contrast, the habits of the lower class that they should accept are inappropriate to be placed in the middle (Melia, 2022). Symbolic violence can occur through two mechanisms, namely censorship and euphemism. Censorship is a mechanism of symbolic violence that makes the act of violence look like the preservation of a form of value. Then it is contrasted with "low morals" because it has been considered "moral honor." While euphemism is a mechanism of symbolic violence that cannot be recognized, is not visible when it occurs subtly, and occurs in the subconscious (Damayanti et al., 2019), Euphemisms can be obligations, courtesy, charity, rewards, gifts, trust, mercy, etcetera. Next, we will review how the practice of symbolic violence that occurred in the Student Association took place (Sari & Sugiarti, 2021).

Based on the results of the interviews, five out of six informants agreed that they did not feel kinship ties as long as they joined the organization. One informant stated that she only felt family ties within her division. Some of the seniors in the organization are friendly, and some are mean-spirited or mean to the juniors. It shows a lack of bonding between seniors and juniors in the organization. So that it can create a gap between the two parties, and this gap can affect the potential for organizational development and progress.

a. Censorship
1) Marginalization

Marginalization is any form of exclusion that is detrimental to someone. This exclusion occurred with the AN informant, who was not part of the organization but joined the committee to implement several work programs through open recruitment. AN revealed that when things did not go as planned, the seniors would immediately reprimand the staff on duty during the

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live report. Meanwhile, when holding a meeting, all committee members and members of the organization were present, so the reprimanded juniors felt embarrassed and pressured. The words also corner the junior being reprimanded, namely as follows:

"If you need anything, talk to the coordinator and then convey it to the expert staff because we have more experience than you. Then what is the point of having expert staff if you do not think about it?" (imitating the senior's words).

2) Intimidation

Intimidation often aims to make the other party feel down or inferior, then make them willing to do whatever the bully wants. Meanwhile, intimidation also occurred in one of the organization's work program implementations. It reflects in the regulations that apply according to the results of interviews with AN informant. The regulation reads that if members do not carry out their duties and obligations optimally, they will not receive a committee certificate or appreciation. This regulation is very coercive, so that each member follows all existing work programs without exception and performs their duties properly. The EB informant also felt intimidated when she learned that one of her seniors had frequent mood swings that made her uncomfortable. Moreover, the scathing criticism made juniors even more uncomfortable.

b. Euphemism

1) Generosity

This practice of symbolic violence emphasizes something of humble value that seniors do to juniors. Meanwhile, this aims to cover up the bad behavior of seniors toward juniors. This generosity is used to lure juniors to forget conversations or actions that might hurt them. It is one way to do it as a "gentle negotiation" so that the juniors are flattered and think well of the senior. So, juniors can feel comfortable interacting with juniors even after arguing, as the MSW informant confessed when interviewed, namely as follows:

"As I said before, there are good seniors, right? Sometimes when they come, they bring snacks, etcetera, and my friends are happy (referring to their peers in the organization)."

2) Providing Motivation

When one of the juniors feels down, unenthusiastic, or wants to give up on the organization, the senior, as a party who has been involved in the organization longer, will try to prevent it. It is done by always giving motivations such as "This is part of the process" or "It is halfway there. It is a pity if you stop now," and "If there are problems, just tell us. Who knows, we can help." While the real main problem is that joining the organization makes the juniors tired because they are constantly under pressure, especially from the seniors, Providing this motivation is a form of prevention when juniors show signs of giving up or want to leave the organization. When the junior discourages his intention, the senior who has become the encouragement to "survive" will be considered to have rendered meritorious service to the junior. The following excerpts from interviews with SF informants show that giving motivation aims to maintain these members in the organization.

"If someone loses enthusiasm, they are encouraged again, and they visit that member's house. They are asked what the problem is, and if there is a problem, they assist that member."

3) Obligations

Seniors in the organization take advantage of juniors obligations as an excuse to do things classified as symbolic violence. For example, it happened to the AN informant, a work program committee member. AN revealed she felt quite pressured because of the work program assignments. With her status as an "outsider" and not part of the organization's members, the senior used this to place a heavier burden on the pretext of being a committee member who

chose to participate in the open recruitment. Therefore, AN feels uncomfortable carrying out her duties and obligations because they use her to their advantage.

4. CONCLUSION

Symbolic violence can occur due to superior parties who use their power to gain the recognition of inferior parties as "superior". In addition, symbolic violence can also occur in any social environment, whether in the community, at work, in politics, or in education. Because, basically, symbolic violence is more inclined toward intellectual activity, which forces logic and beliefs to be considered accurate even though they contain biases. Therefore, an educational institution as a place for intellectuals to gather and interact is where much symbolic violence occurs, especially at the tertiary level. The symbolic violence that occurred in a student association at a tertiary institution in Surabaya occurred through two mechanisms, namely censorship and euphemism.

This study found two forms of censorship and symbolic violence in the HIMA organization: marginalization and intimidation. On the other hand, the forms of euphemistic symbolic violence found in the organization are generosity, obligation, and motivation. Several organization members who became informants were aware of the symbolic violence that occurred but were still unfamiliar with the term. Most informants also felt uncomfortable because of seniors' pressure in each HIMA work program implementation. Informants who were not aware of it felt that the practice of symbolic violence that occurred was part of the senior's "duty" and "role" in the organization.

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