SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE TOWARD SUBORDINATED WOMEN IN "BEARTOWN" NOVEL BY FREDRICK BACKMAN: FEMINIST APPROACH

THESIS



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DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES
PUTERA BATAM UNIVERSITY
2022

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Sarjana Sastra (S1)



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is the real work of myself and I realize that this thesis has never been published in other media before, partially or entirely, in the name of mine or others.

Batam, 27th January 2022

Hotman Nasution 181210028

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The thesis has been approved to be examined on the date as indicated below

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ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini menganalisis bentuk dan legitimasi kekerasan simbolik dalam novel Beartown. Latar belakang gagasan ini muncul dari pengamatan fenomena mengenai ide dan ekspetasi restriktif terhadap perempuan di dunia sastra. Namun ide-ide ini ditentang dalam novel Beartown. Pendekatan dan teori tepat dalam menganalisis permasalahan ini adalah pendekatan feminis dan teori kekerasan simbolik Bourdieu. Ini bisa menjawab bagaimana ide dan ekspetasi yang ditanamkan kepada perempuan dan bagaimana hal ini dilegitimasi sebagai hal yang wajar. Sehingga, tujuan penelitiannya adalah (1) bentuk dan (2) legitimasi kekerasan simbolik. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif karena sifat analisis tekstual dan deskriptif. Dalam pengumpulan data, penelitian ini menggunakan metode dokumentasi dengan teknik mencatat. Dalam analisis data, penelitian ini menggunakan metode analisis isi kualitatif dengan teknik analisis isi laten. Hasil analisis disajikan dengan teks naratif dari Miles & Huberman. Penelitian ini menemukan 48 data mengenai kekerasan simbolik. Bentuk kekerasan simbolik yang paling banyak digunakan adalah sensorisasi; (1) aksi pedagogik, (2) larangan atau sanksi, (3) sensor diri, (4) ritus institusi, (5) pelabelan, (6) penyalahan korban, (7) dominasi laki-laki, dan (8) pembungkaman. Sementara eufemisme muncul melalui hubungan (1) pemberian-hutang, (2) kewajiban, (3) kesetiaan, (4) rasa syukur, dan (5) keramahan. Dari bentuk-bentuk tersebut, legitimasi dicapai dengan menduduki posisi dominan dalam masyarakat atau arena sosial. Seringkali, legitimasi dicapai akibat misrekognisi doksa atau kepercayaan umum dalam pikiran atau habitus seseorang. Terakhir, legitimasi terbentuk karena agen tersubordinasi tidak memiliki kapital cukup untuk menantang doksa.

Keywords: Beartown, Habitus, Feminis, Kekerasan Simbolik, Sastra

ABSTRACT

The research analyzes the form and the legitimation of symbolic violence in Beartown novel. The background of this idea emerged from the observation of a phenomenon regarding the restrictive ideas and expectation of women. These ideas are challenged in *Beartown* novel. The proper approach and theory in analyzing the problem are feminist approach and Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence. These could answer how this idea and expectation are imposed to women and how this is legitimized as natural. This results two objectives; (1) forms and (2) the legitimation of symbolic violence. This research applies qualitative method based on textual and descriptive nature of the analysis. In collecting the data, the research applies documentation method with close reading and note-taking technique. In analyzing the data, the research applies qualitative content analysis method with latent content analysis technique. The analysis result is presented through narrative text by Miles & Huberman. The research found 48 data of symbolic violence. The most exerted form is censorship; (1) pedagogic action, (2) prohibition or sanctions, (3) selfcensorship, (4) rites of institution, (5) labelling, (6) victim-blaming, (7) male domination, and (8) silence. On the other hand, euphemism appears through (1) gift-debt, (2) obligation, (3) loyalty, (4) gratitude, and (5) hospitality. From these forms, the legitimation is achieved through occupying dominant position in society or field. Legitimation is also achieved through misrecognition of dominant vision of the world as true. Lastly, legitimation happened because the subordinated agent has a lack of capital to confront.

Keywords: Beartown, Habitus, Feminist, Literature, Symbolic violence

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. 1. Background of the Research

Literary has been one of the places where toxic ideas of women are perpetuated, flourished and normalized. Taking few mainstream examples such as *Twilight*, *Dilan*, *After*, and *The Kissing Booth*, these novels were criticized sexist by book critics. One of the sexist ideas are women is still perceived inherently weak, an object to be possessed and conquered, and despised when possessing power. On one side, the reader might not be aware of the importance. After all, they might still enjoy them. However, they have missed the importance of this concern. They might not be aware that literature holds the power to normalize ideas. Despite claims of fictionality or illusion or not true, the reader might still accept these ideas unconsciously without question. Ignoring this is at the same time normalizing and accepting the ideas. This means, ignoring sexist ideas in literature would give more constraint to women by allowing it to pass to other readers.

This literature phenomenon actually mirrors social expectation to women. One research pointed that women are still defined and expected with absolute to be the carrier of the baby at certain of age, to handle the family despite working (Komariyah & Andrianingsih, 2021). On one hand, women are also expected to be soft and sexually accommodating to men (Hermawan et al., 2017). On the other hand, women should not be sexual or else they would be shamed and this action leads women to self-shamed due to such fear (Gunning et al., 2020). At worst,

women is believed to be the only trigger of men to sexually harass and assault (Taylor, 2007). Having the latter prejudice in the case of sexual assault, it would be difficult to achieve justice as 75% of the cases getting negative responds from the community (Ahrens et al., 2009). As evident in both worlds, it is a vivid landscape of restrictive ideas and expectation of women in literature and social. It is this restriction that feminist strived to break in order to arrive at fair society that gives respect toward each other. However, as long as people hold this prejudice, breaking the systematic issue would be difficult.

There are many strategies to fight, adverse and counter these ideas and expectations. On one hand, some would prefer to protest on the street which would strive quick, radical and sporadic reception for their counter. On the other hand, some would fight from where this ideas and expectation began and maintained, which starts from discourse especially from literature. A French philosopher and a sociologist named Bourdieu (as cited in Speller, 2011) believed the work of writers and artist possessed symbolic power to control the discourse and extend the voice of victim of inequality. Writers and artists have power to revolutionize people's mind through arts and literature. Hence, they need to join the symbolic struggle against status quo. Bourdieu's statement counters the claim that literature is a mere fiction and illusion. Literature is actually possible for authors to voice and increase awareness to the reader.

Such feature of literature would be interesting to investigate when there is a clear possibility that literature shares social reality and struggle. In this case, *Beartown* novel comprises issues ranging from toxic masculinity, repressed

homosexuality, racial discrimination, extreme strict parenting, men's fear of staying virgin, unfulfilled love and belonging, and feminist issues, which is the center discussion of the novel. *Beartown* is originally a Swedish novel written by Fredrik Backman and published in 2016. The story begins in a Swedish town called *Beartown*, a town which revolves and depends heavily on the welfare and success on hockey. Without the success of hockey, *Beartown* would lose jobs and opportunity for their economy. *Beartown* is also where hockey is a tradition. The men would call themselves proudly as 'bears' who are strong against the cold and the dark, and content despite low economy. Here, Backman draws a society where men are prominent and significant than women who appears insignificant as partner or, for worse, a trophy when succeed deflowering women. He displayed this through interaction and behavior of the people as if it is normal thing to do. One of the instances of the social phenomenon in *Beartown* could be seen below.

Words are small things. No one means any harm by them, they keep saying that. Everyone is just doing their job. The police say it all the time. "I'm just doing my job here." That's why no one asks what the boy did; as soon as the girl starts to talk they interrupt her instead with questions about what she did. Did she go up the stairs ahead of him or behind him? Did she lie down on the bed voluntarily or was she forced? ... (Backman, 2017)

This quote resembles the social reality as elaborated before; ideas and expectations of women in the case of sexual assault. When women accuse men, those women too would be doubted more. In this novel, it is Maya, a 15-year-old girl accused her 17-year-old crush named Kevin who without consent forced to sex. The quote shows how they did not mean to doubt the victim as fraud because they are "just doing their job". Instead, as she said, "no one asks what the boy did." The police kept interrogating the victim as the focus of investigation. When asked, they would

respond it as if this was the procedure or logically sense to do. Another instance is Maya's mother named Kira who faced disagreement and disrespect when she decided to be a career woman. This made her refused to accept the promotion. Another instance is Adri who has to repressed her hockey ability despite zero opportunity in Beartown.

Beartown has significance in terms of perceiving social injustices in the novel which also had made the novel banned. A teacher of Rockingham County School District in North Carolina had sneaked this novel without any supervision or check, and later this novel is banned after parents founded the novel contained vulgarity, disturbing, and graphic for high school student (Duncan, 2018). The banning had undermined the social value that concerns on current phenomena. Even National Coalition Against Censorship (NCAC) tried to persuade so as the ban is lifted through open letters (NCAC, 2018). Despite having banned, *Beartown* is listed as nominees and favored by reader and literary critics. Not long ago, *Beartown* had been adapted into series in HBO Swedish. This significances of *Beartown* novel above provides interesting standpoint that drives the research to happen especially the social phenomenon it perceives.

One of the ways to analyze the problematic ideas and expectation of women in *Beartown* novel is using feminist approach. This approach examines women subordination and femininity in literary works through psychological, social, cultural, political, and economic aspect (Tyson, 2015). In this case, the subordination part corresponds to the concern of this research and to the problems found in the novel. Subordination recognizes the fact that there are women with

power and women without power. However, using this approach tend to dispense aesthetic qualities of the novel by focusing more into the sociological aspect. This dispensation helps explaining why society expect women to be in certain way they believe (Dobie, 2012). This dispensation is also necessary because this research turns to social for feminist matter.

In approaching feminist issue in *Beartown* novel, the research applies social theory of symbolic violence. Symbolic violence explains how people become dominant and maintains to be dominant by exercising practice that ensure the dichotomy of men and women maintained (Schubert, 2014). Symbolic violence is subtle that people could take it for granted (Jenkins, 2006). In this case, ideas and expectation defined by patriarchal society is taken without question and received easily by women. They would see this patriarchal doxa or value as truth or fact or fate. Besides, subordinated women might not realize that this idea is arbitrarily constructed by men in power. In other words, the idea and expectation began from a stereotype and transformed into natural fact and, thus, normalized. This shows how the concept of symbolic violence could inform the process of subordinated women in *Beartown* novel accepting the idea easily without question.

Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence in literary analysis has been favored by researchers recently. There are two instances of relevant research concerning to the Bourdieu's concept and novel as the data source. The first one is a descriptive-qualitative journal article by Angelianawati (2020) who studied symbolic violence toward homosexual characters in Andrei Aksana's *Lelaki Terindah* novel. The objective is to analyze the symbolic violence against the homosexual character.

Here, she found that the preservation of social view rejects homosexuality and pressed them to comply and obey. This complicity is the effect of symbolic violence occurred in family, social, and institution that pushed dominant and arbitrary view that homosexuality was 'deviation'. On this account, the journal article shares the same theory to this thesis which is symbolic violence. However, the journal article studied on novel that is different to this research. Besides, the subject of the study is homosexuality whereas this thesis studied women subordination.

The second research is a journal article by Darwis (2021) who studied symbolic violence in Khaled Hosseini's *A Thousand Splendid Suns* novel. The objective is to identify and analyze forms of symbolic violence towards women in the novel. Implementing qualitative method, she found symbolic violence appears in the forms of (1) mother's cynicism and rejection to the main character, (2) father's decision to arrange marriage to the main character, (3) patriarchal culture's control in shaping the clothes and behavior based on their ideas of women. On this account, the journal article shares similar feature of theory of symbolic violence to the subordinated women. However, the journal article studied A Thousand Splendid Suns whereas this thesis studies *Beartown* novel.

In regards to data source novelty, there are very few previous researches that is accessible relating to the use of *Beartown* as the data source. Far from the researcher's ability, it is difficult to find relevant and accessible articles relating to the particular novel despite searching on the popular sites such as CORE, Semantics Scholar, Research Gate and other similar journal sites. Nevertheless, the only accessible research found are two Pragmatics articles originated from Russia, but

both do not use Beartown as the only primary and exclusive data source. The first article is written by Zghun Daria (2019) analyzing pragmatic potential of emotional utterances in 11 selected literary texts including *Beartown*. The second article is written by Zhgun Daria and Oquendo Alfredo (2018) analyzing Enallage expression in seven selected literary text including *Beartown* with Semantics-Syntactics approach.

The sexist literature phenomenon as stated previously mirrors to what todays' society expect from women. One of the ways to counter this is to return to literature which is believed to be the source of normalization. Bourdieu believed that authors and writers have power to counter these ideas and this is reflected strongly in *Beartown* novel. The novel brings the restrictive ideas and expectation of women into discussion. In contributing to fight the constraint, the research conducts a study analyzing *Beartown* in feminist approach by applying theory of symbolic violence. This could inform how power relation that maintains women subordination and how it is legitimized as true, fact, or normal. This implies the significance of bringing into awareness to both academic and society by using *Beartown* as the example. This would help the reader understand the feminist issue and hope to provide a fair and equal treatment of women in society. Therefore, the research conducts a feminist approach with symbolic violence theory by Bourdieu with objective to examine the social and feminist issue as reflected in *Beartown* novel.

1. 2. Identification of the Problem

Identification is necessary before the research finalizes the focus of the problem. In preliminary research, *Beartown* novel comprises feminist issues in its society that reflects restrictive ideas and expectation of women. Such is as follows:

- 1. Rejection and silencing of victim's experience of sexual assault
- 2. Social disinclination toward career woman and immigrant low-class woman
- 3. Lack of opportunity given toward women in *Beartown* novel
- 4. Restrictive ideas and expectation toward women's life in *Beartown* novel
- 5. Insecurity of virginity and fatness in men's culture in *Beartown* novel
- 6. Social disinclination toward migrant people in *Beartown* novel
- 7. Repressed emotion and homosexuality in *Beartown* novel
- 8. The relation of toxic masculinity and extremely strict parenting in *Beartown* novel
- 9. The unfulfilled love and belonging in children in *Beartown* novel

1. 3. Limitation of the Problem

Limitation signifies important selection of problem to be discussed. The limitation should adjust the time and the ability of the researcher. Besides, limiting problems preserves cohesion and coherence of the analysis. Thus, there are two limitations:

 The form of symbolic violence toward subordinated women in Fredrik Backman's *Beartown*: A Novel. 2. The legitimation of symbolic violence toward subordinated women in Fredrik Backman's *Beartown*: A Novel.

1. 4. Formulation of the Problem

The limited problems undergo formulation into question or interrogative forms. This is necessary to specify the type of question the research aims in in order to maintain the linear of question and the answer. Here, the formulation would be;

- 1. What forms of symbolic violence are projected toward subordinated women in Fredrik Backman's *Beartown*?
- 2. How is the legitimation of symbolic violence toward the subordinated women in Fredrik Backman's *Beartown*?

1. 5. Objective of the Research

The objective of the research is derived from the formulation above. The use of 'how' indicates how the general objective is to describes. Thereby, the specific objectives are:

- 1. The research aims to describe the form of symbolic violence toward subordinated women in Fredrik Backman's *Beartown*: A Novel.
- 2. The research aims to describe the legitimation of the symbolic violence toward subordinated women in Fredrik Backman's *Beartown*: A Novel.

1. 6. Significance of the Research

a. Theoretical Significance

The research possesses theoretical contribution to knowledge and theory.

These points are elaborated in the following points:

- The research provides theoretical contribution to the field of feminist approach specifically for feminist type that examines sociological aspect of literary works for feminist matter.
- 2. The research contributes in measuring the relevance and usefulness of Bourdieu's theory in comprehending complicity in women subordination specifically in *Beartown* novel and literary works in general.

b. Practical Significance

The research possesses practical contribution which would impact the students, researchers, readers and society. These impacts are elaborated in the following points;

- 1. The research contributes in providing new and in-depth angle of reading *Beartown* novel.
- 2. The research serves as a medium of socialization to the reader of how patriarchal practices affect and undermine women.
- 3. The insight of the research provides basis for consideration to include *Beartown* novel in the list of readings in schools and libraries.
- 4. The research serves as reference for future researcher whose interest concerns in approaching literature through feminist approach and/or using Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence in analyzing literature.

1. 7. Definition of Key Terms

Feminist Approach

: Feminist approach is literary approach that examines women subordination, and the quality of being feminine by analyzing social, cultural, political, psychological and economic aspects reflected in literary works (Tyson, 2015).

Symbolic Violence

: Symbolic violence is a field phenomenon in which the dominating agents maintain their position by imposing values or doxa to other agents to be taken for granted for it appears as natural and normal (Bourdieu, 2013).

Habitus

Habitus is a durable generative principle—which is constituted by history—embodied within individual or collectives that generates practices, and habitus is embodied through inculcation and appropriation of objective structures (Bourdieu, 2013).

Field

: Field is a social arena of battle or struggle in which social agents competed to each other to capitalize stakes that would ensure their position in the arena (Jenkins, 2006; Thomson, 2014).

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL

FRAMEWORK

2. 1. Feminist Approach

Until feminism became a part of literary criticism, feminism was only a movement. In essence too, feminism protests and demand women's rights that was ignored and this sparked the first protest that is widely known as suffragist who fight for political and economic rights for women. Later, feminism grew and became aware of how men in power control and define what men and women should be and this created an unfair dichotomy such as men could voice and women could not; men is rational and women is irrational; and men is significant and women is the nonsignificant other (Bressler, 1994). This dichotomy was justified for the sake of establishing ordered society, but kept ignoring the problematic nature of the dichotomy, which specialized one over the other.

This awareness of the problem brings feminism to find ways to fight the fight and one of the ways is to return to literary work. This return could be interpreted as another way to cease the spread on discourse especially in literary domain. Nonetheless, this unfair dichotomy in society conditions the upbringing of authors to apply this to their works whether they are aware or not (Warhol, 2012). Consequently, when one ignores gender stereotypical or assumption in literary work, it would make the unfair dichotomy normal. Here, feminist approach has the general role to scrutinize women's portrayal and women's issue in literary work.

For three periods, feminist approach revises its aim progressively for an effective result.

There are three periods which manifested a developing awareness within the approach and the movement. From past to present, there has been three significant phases aiming to break the problematic tradition in literary work; essentialist, social constructionist, and poststructuralist (Castle, 2007; Dobie, 2012). Essentialist is the earliest phase of feminist approach focusing in; (1) criticizing female depiction by male authors who dominated literary tradition in the past and (2) introducing female works with unstereotypical depiction. Then, feminist approach progressed into social constructionist. In this phase, the researcher should understand the idea that gender turned out to be a social construct or social product created arbitrarily by men in power. Acknowledging this, social constructionist aimed to expose patriarchal power relation undermining women in literary works. On the third phase, there is universalist aimed to include social factors associated to women that was ignored by previous white heterosexual feminist in the second phase. Universalist agreed that gender is social construct and patriarchy subordinate women. However, social constructionist ignored other subordination factors such as races, sexuality, and social class. Poststructuralist argued that individual with certain social factors might differ with another. The example would be between privileged white women and women of color, or privileged heterosexual women and homosexual women, to name a few.

Reviewing from these three phases, there are three types feminist approach usually focus. It divides into studies of difference, power, and experience (Dobie,

2012). On studies of difference, it studies the differences on how male and female writes; diction, syntax, tone, and theme. Those help drawing the quality of being male author and female author. On studies of power, feminist includes sociological aspects to examine the power relation undermining women in literary works. Feminist believes that social reality immerses in art, and art reflects the social reality it refers. Returning to literary work helps prepare better strategy to society. This study would draw pattern of oppression, stereotype and gender assumption and bring them to surface. This would raise awareness, but consequently, the study would overlook the aesthetic literary elements. On studies of experience, feminist includes existential, archetypal and psychological aspects of the text, to name a few. Studies of experience explores depiction of pure feminine apart from patriarchy ideas. It explores feminine characters, feminine symbols and feminine archetypes and bring them into surface. This would help resisting patriarchal ideas of femininity.

In relation to this research, this thesis adopts studies of power. It would help explaining *Beartown* instances of power imbalance between dominant group and subordinated women. In studies of power, the analysis would start by observing description of behaviors that indicates gender oppression or subordination. As explained, studies of power help drawing pattern and prepare better strategy in eliminating gender oppression or subordination in society (Warhol, 2012). Considering this significance, studies of power would help raising awareness from instances in *Beartown* and working out from this restrictive and oppressing ideas and expectation of women.

In addition, this thesis also adopts poststructuralist ideas in approaching feminist issue in the novel. Poststructuralist ideas accommodates effective approach in *Beartown* which recognizes sub-division of dominant women and subordinated women. Poststructuralist ideas too helps indicating power relation in this specific division by considering social factor. This would help explaining the power relation between high-class women and low-class women, natives and foreign, elder and younger. In conclusion, studies of power with universalist ideas would provide clearer description on which is the dominant and the subordinated in approaching *Beartown* novel.

2. 1. 1. Theory of Practice (Grand Theory)

Bourdieu's theory of practice is beneficial for studies of power with universalist ideas. Moi (2001) argued that Bourdieu's sociological theory allows an analysis which includes the most mundane and everyday details that might have been overlooked by critics for its significance in society. It observes social practices, gestures, perspectives, attitudes, and actions as insights for the analysis. Bourdieu's theory also considers the variability or social factor attached on gender such as race, economy, and social and cultural position. In its application, Bourdieu's theory gathers these mundane details and social factor of genders on individual level and community level. In order to do this, Bourdieu theorized three interrelated and interdependent concepts; habitus, field, and capital. These three are necessary for contextualizing the symbolic violence, the thesis' object study which would be discussed in the next sub-chapter.

The first concept is habitus. Habitus is neither habits nor routine, but a generative schemes internalized in mind (Bourdieu, 2013). Bourdieu explained that this scheme has a role to generate practices according to particular situation individuals face at that point. This habitus generates based on past information that is transformed into dispositions or accumulation of tendency, attitudes, and inclination (Jenkins, 2006). Basically, human records and keeps recording everything consciously and unconsciously of what they see, experience and taught; how other people practice, interact, behave or react in certain situations. This information is then internalized in mind and become a product of history and the product of inculcation of objective structures that human experience (Maton, 2014). This information too could renew whenever new situation is learned at one point in lifetime. This information would then finally develop into tendency or inclination called disposition, ensuring individuals' practices different and similar at the same time. Dispositions constituting habitus would later be a basis or reference or guide book in decision-making (Bourdieu, 2013). In other words, habitus not only generates practice, but it gives a sense of certainty and regularity to face circumstances. Habitus gives a sense of prediction on what to do and what would happen next. This sense of certainty and prediction is so seamless that the individuals do not aware of this. It happens due to genesis amnesia resulting from internalizing experience. Despite this, habitus could be observed from the behavior and the interaction; how individuals act, gestures, behave and interact with each other (Jenkins, 2006). This gives a sense that habitus is a scheme in mind generating

practices. Habitus is acquired from the long-learning experience in the world internalized in mind and embodied in the body and in the interaction.

The second and third concept is field and capital. Field is not merely a world individual lives in, but Bourdieu (1998) conceptualized field as social arena of battlefield which is constituted by (1) relation of social agents (2) position of each social agents and (3) stakes or capital. It is in this field that social agents compete for position by gaining stakes or capital and it is possible that social agents dominate positions available in the field. In acquiring a position in a field, Bourdieu introduced capital in four forms; economic capital (money and financial assets); cultural capital (knowledge, language, voice, preference, and taste); social capital (relation, networks, and association) and symbolic capital (Moore, 2014). When a social agent possesses many capitals in a field, they would get more dominant. However, one field has certain rule, limits, or norms to which individuals could behave. This pushes individuals to have better strategy gaining the capital (Thomson, 2014). If one has a position in a field, the next strategy would be to maintain or expand.

Habitus, field, and capital are crucial in symbolic violence analysis. By definition, symbolic violence is a field phenomenon which imposes dominant's view to everyone and expect everyone to take it with granted. This definition necessarily requires contexts in order to map effectively the causality and the process of symbolic violence in *Beartown* novel. In this regard, habitus provides description and representation of social agents' practices, behavior, and view. On another section, field informs who is the dominant and subordinate in *Beartown*. At

the end of the section, capital provides a complementary information to the two previous concepts by providing clearer description of individuals' position by observing capitals they possessed. Ultimately, these three concepts together provide a holistic description of the form and legitimation of symbolic violence in *Beartown*.

2. 1. 2. Symbolic Violence (Main Theory)

Symbolic violence is the object study of this thesis to explain feminist issues in *Beartown* novel particularly the issue of power relation. In relation to the theory of practice, symbolic violence occurs in a field where the distribution of capital is uneven among social agents creating dominant-subordinate relation. Uneven capital distribution creates common relationship such as employeremployee (economic), teacher-student (symbolic), elder-younger (social), government-citizen (symbolic), or men-women (cultural and social), to name a few. As social agents live and do practices in this field, symbolic violence often creates suffering in subordinate side (Schubert, 2014). Bourdieu defined this occurrence as field phenomenon where social agents mistake the dominant habitus as unquestionable norm or doxa and expect everyone to follow. Consequently, when one practices against the field's norm, they would be imposed back to the norm to maintain homogeneity. This means subordinate does not aware of what they experience is actually arbitrary. In this way, this misrecognition puts subordinate in subordination, and apprehended in illusion of inescapable suffer because the field's doxa constraints their practices. Yet, interestingly, this process does not operate through deliberate intention of the dominant, but rather they start mistaking their habitus or view is the same for everyone and expect every social agent in the field to adopt similar social practices. From this definition, there are at least two elements derived from the work of symbolic violence; doxa and misrecognition.

Doxa and misrecognition seals the succession of symbolic violence in a field. On one hand, doxa is the important weapon in symbolic violence. By definition, doxa is a common value constituted by the dominant or similar habitus in the field (Bourdieu, 1990). Bourdieu (in Holton, 1997) described the characteristics as self-evident presupposition of the objective structures. In other words, doxa is an unquestionable perception that everyone knows about the world (Deer, 2014). This self-evident values of doxa explains how social agents misrecognize dominant and similar practices in the field as the law of nature. The example would be Kabyle society found in the book of Masculine Domination. Bourdieu observed Kabyle that men's role and women's role is shaped through doxa whose evidence is embodied in the body, the sexual reproductive organ and the regular practice associated arbitrarily to sex (Bourdieu, 2001). Bourdieu also found one of the instances that both men and women accepted unquestionably that farming is men's job because men's body is believed to be strong, and housekeeping is women's job because their body is believed to be unable to do heavy job. Because the evidence is very clear in the body, the doxa is accepted easily. Besides, men's position in Kabyle society possess cultural and social capital which shapes them dominant. Here, misrecognition occurs where social agents misrecognize the role as natural rather than arbitrary that is based on the dominant's view (Jenkins, 2006).

This misrecognition could help making the roles more natural through creating dependence in the form of gift-and-debt (Bourdieu, 1998) which would later be explained more in the next sub-chapter.

In conclusion, symbolic violence is a field phenomenon where social agents impose dominant's doxa and expect everyone to accept and follow. The problem is they misrecognize doxa as legitimate and fixed rather than arbitrary. This also keeps dominant as dominant and subordinate as subordinate because they believe the doxa as fate. Applying symbolic violence in this way helps identifying the dominant doxa and misrecognition projected in *Beartown* society. This concept helps explaining feminist issues in *Beartown* novel such as social rejection of career-woman, and social denial of victim's experience of sexual assault, to name a few. Ultimately, symbolic violence helps answering the two thesis inquiries such as the form and legitimation.

2. 1. 2. 1. Form of Symbolic Violence

The first inquiry of this thesis focuses in describing the form of symbolic violence. On record, Bourdieu did not give a set of concrete form of symbolic violence in his works. This means all forms he had observed in his lifetime were not accumulated to be a definitive set. Instead, he offers mechanistic form, or simply mechanisms. Interpreted in this way, this decision happened to avoid any deterministic attempt which Bourdieu had been carefully tried not to do (Jenkins, 2006). This also makes sense considering social reality frequently fluctuates and changes in an unpredictable way. In other words, definitive set might close any possibility of undocumented concrete form of symbolic violence. Therefore, he

introduced two mechanisms which help identifying and describing concrete form of symbolic violence in *Beartown* novel. These mechanisms are euphemism and censorship.

a. Euphemism

Euphemism is symbolic violence in the form of solidarity and friendship. Bourdieu (2013) specified this mechanistic form in terms of direct exchange or interaction or simply relationship which renders the objective intention of symbolic violence into familiarity or hospitality. On another definition, euphemism blurs the imposition of doxa through establishing precedent of good manner or intent (Bourdieu, 1998). This mechanism appears in concrete form such as taking care the children, fathers deciding perfect husband for his daughters, a husband presenting themselves care after abusing his wife, etc. These concrete forms indicate the characteristics of euphemism which is established from gift-and-debt and trust. This, Bourdieu argued, creates affective relations between dominant and subordinate group. This affective relation ensures the subordinated to not feel imposed, or forced, but rather to feel happy for the favor. When a relationship is established based on gift-and-debt, a favor needs to be returned. In this case, the subordinate owes the hospitality and solidarity given by the dominant or ruling position. Ultimately, it results complicity for subordinate to take the imposition without question. Euphemism too ensures this misrecognition of symbolic violence to continue or last as long as the subordinate keep owing to the dominant's favor.

b. Censorship

Censorship is the second mechanistic form of symbolic violence where it censors opposite social practice or perception to be appeared. Bourdieu (1998) continued that censorship designs a field or relationship in a limited condition right/wrong, prohibition, or formalities of the social field—in order to do the expected social practice. This prompts subordinate agents to recognize or read the condition or the laws. The concrete form of censorship appears in the form of moral or affective obligation, piety, code of honor, and formal language, to name a few (Bourdieu, 2013). For instance, in a conversation between employee and employer, employee must recognize the condition to successfully speak with the employer. It means the employee must speak with formal language rather than slang, or the social practice could not be done effectively in that particular field (Bourdieu, 1991). At this point, censorship plays the role where it enforces the employee to recognize it as an obligation or a law. The employee, however, might misrecognize the objective intention of this imposition of formality, which is to maintain the gap of employer-employee relationship. Another interesting note is, censorship channels through universal exchange which contrasts to euphemism. It achieves the imposition of dominant doxa through orthodox discourse, or universal/mass discourse that socializes prohibition and right/wrong until the doxa become embodied in objective structures to appears natural (Bourdieu, 1991, 2013). In other words, censorship channels through structural exercise of sanctions and prohibition while simultaneously inscribing the exercise officially in institution. This could be interpreted as a type of enforcement in universal scale which makes subordinate

misrecognize it as obligation. It would be difficult to bring awareness of subordinate in suffering about the objective truth in order to resist the doxa. Ultimately, censored form of symbolic violence could put subordinate agents to the point of silenced complicity.

In conclusion, there are two mechanistic form of symbolic violence introduced by Bourdieu; euphemism and censorship. These two, he identified, are significant and impactful to launch symbolic violence under consciousness. On one hand, euphemized form of symbolic violence appears through direct interaction presenting precedent of hospitality, trust and giving. On the other hand, censored form of symbolic violence appears through orthodox or universal discourse which limits condition that prompts subordinate agents to recognize this, and follow the condition in order to do the expected social practice in the name of obligation, piety, or correction. In applying euphemism and censorship to the thesis analysis, one should identify firstly whether the description displays feature of symbolic violence, which is the imposition of doxa. Then, informed by the two mechanisms, the analysis classifies and describes the concrete forms to each of the mechanistic form. As a result, euphemism and censorship together helps describing form of symbolic violence projected in *Beartown* novel in order to answer the first research question.

2. 1. 2. 2. Legitimation of Symbolic Violence

The second inquiry focuses on the legitimation of symbolic violence.

As explained, the key success of symbolic violence is when the subordinated group misrecognizes the violence as normal, true, or natural. This inquiry of legitimation

is important to contextualize the symbolic violence. More precisely, legitimation helps understanding the force that motivates the complicity of subordinated group to symbolic violence (Thapar-Björkert et al., 2016). This is true considering symbolic violence would suffer or constraint the social practice of subordinated group as they misrecognize the constraint as fate or norm to be followed.

There are two elements which guarantees the success of legitimation; objective structures and cognitive structures. Bourdieu (1990, 2001, 2013) argued that symbolic violence is legitimate if there is a concordant or in-agreement process between objective structures and cognitive structures of individuals. In other words, what is received needs to be confirmed to what they believe by pointing to evidence in society. It might be in the form of law or norms believed by the society. Essentially, this gives an interactive process because it influences each other.

There are two general process of legitimation. First, as long as dominant keeps doing their social practices, subordinated agent would ultimately experience, adapt, blends and thus, internalizes this normalization. Second, the dominant cultural practice is arbitrarily inscribed to the body and rites of institution (objective state). For instance, the role distinction of men and women needs to be confirmed with the appearance of law or norms believed by the society. The two structures together warrant the normalization of dominant social practices becoming normal, fact, objective and natural in the eyes of subordinated agent. Bourdieu called this process of normalization as objectification of subjectivity.

The first one is objective structures which is defined as any objectivity justifying symbolic violence into complicity. This objective structure provides a

warrant for symbolic violence to be seen as legitimate and reasonably objective. There are two elements in objective structures; objective condition and objective relation. On one hand, the objective condition is when doxa is inscribed or imprinted in agents' body, social world, and rites of institution. For instance, in the book of Outline of Theory of Practice, Bourdieu (2013) explained that rites of institution (families, educational system, law, church, etc.) officialize or formalize the cultural doxa. These rites are the example of objective condition which ultimately pushes social agents to follow and obey the rites because it has been official. Consequently, this would inevitably shape agents' perception to adopt the dominant practice based on concrete evidence dictating anyone to follow to avoid any consequences. The other part of the structure is the objective relation. It indicates the relation of individual position in a field over others. As explained, to have position in a field, one should gain capital. When agents accumulate much of the capital in a field, they would have greater authority and power. In regards of legitimation, individuals with high social capital legitimize symbolic violence in the eyes of subordinate agents (Bourdieu, 1989). This means individuals status or position validates any produced claim. For instance, the status or position of a teacher validates to anything they teach because they have gained cultural capital which helps guarantee legitimation. This is similar to government officials, scientist, artist, employer, and other dominant positions.

On the other hand, there is cognitive structures which features agents' mind that structures everything they experience from objective structures. If objective structure is crucial for the natural and materialistic evidence, cognitive

structure is crucial to make sense the evidence and internalize it as principles. In relation to legitimation, cognitive structures records or absorbs objective structures so as to become knowledge. However, this knowledge is adjusted to the dominant doxa. Bourdieu (2001) exemplified cultural arbitrary of dominant group in a field of Kabyla: men should be in public and face directly into the eyes of another man, and women should not be in public and should not face directly. Here, cultural arbitrary in objective structure is grasped by the cognitive structures of agents. As a result, the cognitive structures would surely generate practices or decision or thinking based on what they have learned from the cultural arbitrary. Therefore, this cognitive structure of subordinated agents shows how their understanding legitimizes the dominant doxa.

One of the instances of legitimation could be seen in the current social phenomenon of victim-blaming. One of cases studied in an article about a girl who was raped in school and when the girl reported this case to a teacher, the teacher responded that it happened because the boys like you (Thapar-Björkert et al., 2016). Dominant doxa could be derived from the teacher that boys would never do that unless there is a trigger, which is the girl. The teacher's response could be characterized as symbolic violence. Having violated without knowing it, the girl accepted the teacher's explanation easily. The girl easily accepted it because the doxa stated by the teacher corresponds to principles of men and women she had learned. In other words, it shows that the girl had misrecognized symbolic violence because the two structures legitimated her ultimate acceptance; cognitive structures is ensured by the objective structures (principles of men and women inscribed in

the body). The legitimation is ensured when the teacher possessed higher position than the girl, who was just a student.

In conclusion, legitimation of symbolic violence creates submissiveness and complicity of subordinated agents. This benefits the dominant action to maintain their position and widen the gap between the two group. In other words, dominant remains dominant and subordinated remains subordinated. This legitimation of symbolic violence occurs if objectives structures is in line with cognitive structures. In other words, when symbolic violence occurs to them, they could accept it easily or take-it-for-granted. Here objective structures is the evidence that lays or exists in social world; objective condition (the body of the agents, rites of institution, and practices) and objective relations (agents' position or status). If this cultural arbitrariness appears in the objective structures, the subordinated could accept the symbolic violence easily because the violence or imposition of doxa is common sense. The subordinated could show that the evidence of the doxa is located in the objective structures.

2. 2. Previous Research

It is necessary for researcher to conduct a research in their time of previous articles relating to the thesis discussion. This appears helpful to ensure the novelty aspect of this thesis and avoid any plagiarism. This thesis must attempt in their effort to ensure that this specific analysis on particular data source has not been done by previous researchers. In conducting this inspection, the researcher gathers relevant articles relating to either feminist approach, symbolic violence, and/or

Beartown novel. This inspection results eight articles found from accredited journals ranging from 2018 to 2021.

The first study is a journal article by Ahmad et. al. (2021) which aims to describe the power structuration and symbolic violence in *Tempurung* novel. The novel contains issues of women subordination as common and normal in Bali's traditional society. For power structuration, they employed Bourdieu's theory of habitus, field, and capital to describe the power structure of the society in the novel. For symbolic violence, they employed theory of symbolic violence from the same sociologist. Implementing descriptive-qualitative method, they found: (1) agents who adjusted their habitus with the dominant habitus and who possessed the largest capital, occupied the dominant position, and (2) dominant agents would exert symbolic violence to subordinate agents with different habitus through euphemism and sensory mechanism. On this account, this shows how this article differs slightly with this thesis in terms of object study and data source. On one hand, the object study of this article focuses on power and symbolic violence in *Tempurung* novel. On the other hand, the object of this thesis focuses in describing the forms and legitimation of symbolic violence in *Beartown* novel.

The second study is a descriptive-qualitative journal article by Artandi & Burhanuddin (2021). They studied symbolic violence, habitus and field in Edouard Louis' *Qui A Tue Mon Pere*. The problem of their study is the main character 'Je' is rejected by the society for his femininity and gay identity. Here, they applied Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence, habitus and field. Accordingly, the data is collected through textual observation (words, sentence, phrase and paragraph) and

analyzed it with inference technique by Zuchdi (1993). The results were presented in three focuses; habitus, symbolic violence, and field. In terms of habitus, they the grandfather inherited his habitus of aggressiveness, hypermasculinity, alcoholic, and ditching school for work to the father of the main character. Their habitus contradicted with the main character habitus such as feminine, gay, and insecure. In terms of symbolic violence, the main character was imposed and corrected by the society through rudeness, rejection, hatred, judgment, verbal and physical bullying, and government's law. Lastly, in terms of field, there are three dominating fields the main character faced; family, society, and the France State. On this account, the article shares particular theory to this thesis which is theory of symbolic violence. However, this differs a lot in terms of different novel as the data source, additional theory of habitus and field, textual observation as the technique of data collection, and inference as the technique of data analysis.

The third study is a descriptive-qualitative journal article by Cholifatillah, Jati, & Putra (2020). They studied symbolic violence in *Dilan 1990* and *1991* movie. Their objective was to identify the form of symbolic violence in response to the polemics reception surrounding the violent scenes. On the grounds of this problem, they implemented Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence and, since their data source are movies, they applied Barthes' semiotics method of analysis. The study found three forms of symbolic violence; language/speech (example: imposing their violence through seemingly ordinary, protective and polite words), power domination (example: how they behaved in their extreme masculine and aggressive appearance of bike gang), and gaze (example: the length of Dedi's gaze on Milea's

body). On this account, this article shares the same theory to this thesis which is symbolic violence. However, this article differs in terms of movie as the data source and Semiotics method in analyzing the movie. It differs to this thesis which studies symbolic violence in a novel and the method of analysis is social criticism.

The fourth study is a descriptive-qualitative journal article by Mulyaningrum, Firmansyah & Haryono (2020). They studied symbolic violence and social practice in Viyon no Tsuma short story by Dazai Osamu. The use of social practice theory (habitus, field, capital) map the entire practice in the story and who is the dominant. Applying close reading and note-taking method, and descriptive method to the study, they found that the story contains Otani's habitus who presented himself previously as calm and patient despite having drunk, but the practice changed which presented himself as rude and irresponsible. The second finding, they found two field reflected in the story which is economic and social field. The third finding is Otani possessed symbolic capital in the field. The last finding is the form of symbolic violence done by the characters are euphemism. On this account, the article shares the same theory to this thesis, which is symbolic violence. However, this differs in terms of the novel and the method. The article studied Viyon no Tsuma short story whereas this thesis studies Beartown novel. The methodology of the article applies close reading and note-taking as method of data collection, and descriptive method as method of data analysis. On the contrary, this thesis applies observation method in collecting the data and social criticism method in analyzing the data.

The fifth study is a descriptive-qualitative journal article by Novarisa (2019). She studied symbolic violence toward women in *Catatan Hati Seorang Istri*, an Indonesian soap opera. She found problems that women are suppressed through language and communication in a grander scheme of Indonesian entertainment. This prompted her to aim the research in analyzing the form of symbolic violence in order to reveal the uphold of patriarchal value that has been dominant in the industry and the society. By applying discourse analysis method by Mills, she found three forms of symbolic violence to maintain the subordinate position of women; (1) the obligation duty of women in domestic area (2) objectifying women for male's sexual desire consumption (3) silencing and preventing women from decision-making and deviation of duty. On this account, the article shares the same theory to this thesis, which is theory of symbolic violence. However, the article differs in terms of soap operas as the data source and discourse analysis method. It differs because this thesis studies symbolic violence on a novel and uses social criticism method in analyzing the data.

The sixth study is a qualitative journal article by Wahyuni, Supratno, & Kamidjan (2019). They studied symbolic violence towards women in the novel of *Suti* by Sapardi Djoko Damono and *Gumam Tebing Menoreh* by Siwi Nurdiani. They found problems that the higher class imposed their doxa towards lower class. Such imposition surely hinders the mobilization of lower class. Therefore, in order to understand the imposition, the research focused in analyzing (1) the symbolic violence attempted by the higher class and (2) the habituses of two opposite classes. In other words, they use theory of symbolic violence and habitus. In terms of data

collection and analysis, they applied documentation technique and descriptive method. Their result found that the symbolic violence is attempted through euphemistic attempt of subtle compassion, giving, and refusal to censor their real attempt of ruling the class. These attempts become overtly displayed in how the habitus of higher classes are opposite with lower classes. On this account, the journal shares the same theory to this thesis, which is symbolic violence. However, the article differs in terms of (1) studying *Suti* and *Gumam Tebing Menoreh* novel as their data source whereas this thesis studies *Beartown* novel, (2) documentation as data collection and descriptive as data analysis whereas this thesis implements observation method for data collection and social criticism method for data analysis.

The seventh study is a descriptive-qualitative journal article by Setijowati (2018). The article analyzed symbolic violence toward community in Putu Wijaya's *Nyali*. The objective of the research is to identify the symbolic violence in the novel using Bourdieu's theory. The data is collected and analyzed with Greimas' structural-semantic approach. It results that symbolic violence appeared in the form of structural impositions by the military such as obedience, indoctrination, command, lies, ruling, and instruction. These attempts undermined any disobedience of the soldier and community from the dominating party. On this account, the article shares the same theory to this thesis, which is theory of symbolic violence. However, the article differs in terms of the novel and the domain study. In terms of novel, the article studied *Nyali* novel whereas this thesis studies

Beartown. In terms of the domain study, the article studied in military field whereas this thesis studies in *Beartown* society.

The eighth study is a descriptive-qualitative journal article by Arianto (2018). He studied the form of symbolic violence as reflected in *Sepasang Mata Dinaya by* Ni Komang Ariani. The problems he found are the structural imbalance position between men and women in Bali society started from the family to the social community. By implementing library research to collect the data and close reading to analyzed the data, the article found how symbolic violence is done by those who appear in the dominant position in Bali society. This symbolic violence is reflected in terms of rights and education, preservation of gender division and role, marriage, obligation, and cultural norms. On this account, the article shares the same theory to this thesis, which is theory of symbolic violence. However, the article studied *Sepasang Mata Dinaya* novel whereas this thesis studies *Beartown* novel. The methodology is also different in which the article applies library research as data collection and close reading as data analysis. On the contrary, this thesis applies close reading as data collection and applies content analysis as data analysis.

2. 3. Theoretical Framework

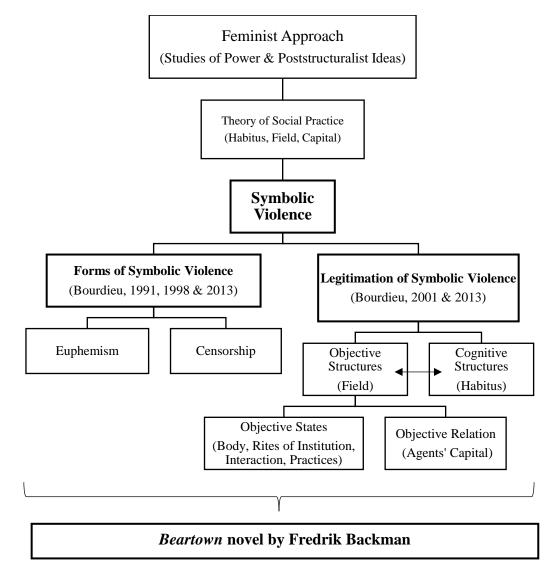


Figure 2. 3. 1. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework above outlines the focus and the flow of the research. In the first strata, there is feminist approach which appears to be the manner of approaching social and feminist issue in the novel. In this thesis, the research would adopt studies of power with universalist ideas to approach feminist issue in *Beartown* novel. At the second strata, there is the grand theory; theory of

practice by Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1990, 1998, 2013). This grand theory helps contextualizing the symbolic violence, which is the object of this research. Below the grand theory, there is symbolic violence which appears at the third strata. The researcher applies Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence to answer two research questions. They are forms and legitimation of symbolic violence.

For the first research question, the analysis applies the concept of forms of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1991, 1998, 2013). The theory provides two kinds of mechanistic form or simply mechanisms—euphemism and censorship. These mechanisms, Bourdieu provided, could help the researcher to identify, describe, and define the concrete form of symbolic violence. On one hand, euphemized form is exercised through direct exchange by presenting hospitality, trust and giving. On the other hand, censored form shapes universal discourse that limits condition to do the expected social practice in the name of obligation or piety.

For the second research question, the analysis applies concept of legitimation of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 2001, 2013) which is beneficial to explain the causes of the complicity of the subordinate group. This legitimation of symbolic violence is exercised in accordance between two interrelated aspects; objective structures and cognitive structures. Here, objective structure is divided into two elements that helps legitimation; objective condition (body and rites of institution) and objective relation (position of power).

Both of these concepts contribute in solving the social phenomenon in *Beartown* novel. The researcher believed that the concept of form would describe what symbolic violence look like. The researcher also believed that the concept of

legitimation would explain how this symbolic violence is accepted and legitimized as normal and natural. Both of these concepts could explain the complex social phenomenon that had made subordinated women suffered from this particular kind of unseen violence.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3. 1. Research Design

This thesis adopts qualitative design in shaping the flow of this study. This design provides framework suitable for handling social problems more particular and in-depth, and suitable for presenting description report of the analysis (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). These features supply the need of this thesis in describing symbolic violence phenomenon in *Beartown* novel. Firstly, it supplies a strategy by focusing on textual data in *Beartown* novel. Second, qualitative allows description of phenomenon rather than statistical representation. Third, qualitative is an apt design for interactive variables between subordinated women and the dominant group in the society. This interaction would be difficult to capture if drawing simple causality confirmed through the degree of the statistics. In other words, qualitative design coincides to the thesis aims in achieving in-depth descriptive analysis of the novel by considering the interactive nature of the variables.

3. 2. Object of the Research

The object of the research is symbolic violence. This phenomenon occurs in *Beartown* novel manifested in constraining ideas and expectation of women. Studying this object, two inquiries are necessary in order to have a holistic portrait of the phenomenon. First question describes the exertion of dominant group to correct subordinated women who deviate the dominant doxa or ideas. Second

question describes the legitimation of the correction toward subordinated women. In short, first concerns on the form of symbolic violence and second concerns on the legitimation of symbolic violence. The former is explained with concept of euphemism and censorship (form) and the latter is with concept of objective structures and cognitive structures (legitimation).

3. 3. Method of Collecting Data

The research examines *Beartown* novel through method of documentation. The method collects textual data from the document, or in this case, from the novel (Sugiyono, 2016). For the technique, the research applies close reading and note-taking. Technique of close reading features a detail and careful reading of literature elements; plot, setting, characterization, and point-of-view (Rapoport, 2011). This could practically cover every major and minor data that is relevant to the discussion; form and legitimation of symbolic violence. In conducting this method, the research also applies note-taking technique which starts from; (1) reading entirely of the literature, (2) marking every major and minor literary element that concerns to the discussion at the time of reading, and (3) sorting every collected data in terms of the research object with the help of Scrivener app, a writing software that helps organizing every findings based on codes or folders.

3. 4. Method of Analyzing Data

In analyzing the data, the research applies qualitative content analysis. This method provides strategy by analyzing solely on the content of the literature (Flick,

2014). In any case, content analysis allows systematic and flexible analysis considering the interactive variables of the study. In other words, this enable to analyze variables that influence each other; between subordinated and the dominant group, or between women and society. Derived from this method, this thesis applies latent content analysis technique which starts from (1) codifying data that shares similar characteristics or features into one unit or sub-chapter, and (2) after codifying the data into units, the research criticizes and (3) evaluates the codified data with the help of social theory by Bourdieu in order to establish an argument or description of the data.

3. 5. Method of Presenting Research Result

In presenting the result, the thesis applies a method called narrative text. Miles & Huberman (as cited in Creswell, 2014) postulated the importance of this method in qualitative research design by embedding quotation and narrative description. In other words, the organization starts from quotation and then the description of the quotation. For quotation, it serves as the textual evidence derived in *Beartown* novel. For description, it informs why the phenomenon in the evidence becomes the way it is. In other words, it informs how the evidence of symbolic violence is manifested (form) or how it is legitimized (legitimation). It also informs, for instance, why the phenomenon in the evidence is euphemism but not censorship, or why this evidence legitimizes this symbolic violence. In short, data appears first and the explanation of the data appears after. These two ultimately creates a whole

picture of symbolic violence phenomenon so as to be easily comprehended by the reader.