



## **The Pedagogy of “Fear of Hell”: Analyzing Symbolic Violence in Primary Education**

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### **Abstract**

This research aims to analyze the pedagogy of "fear of hell" as a form of language-based symbolic violence and to investigate how this covert domination affects primary school students. Rooted in Pierre Bourdieu's sociological framework, this study examines the mechanisms through which school authorities utilize specific religious discourses, labels, and language to force young learners into compliance and submission without physical coercion. Using a qualitative field research method, data were gathered through observation, interviews, and documentation. The findings reveal that the deployment of "fear of hell" narratives functions as an instructional approach driven by theological discipline and extrinsic motivation, establishing an asymmetric power dynamic between teachers and students. Through vulgar depictions of afterlife punishments, teachers establish a high bargaining position of symbolic authority to shape student compliance. While this method is sociologically effective in creating instant discipline and rapid compliance, the research highlights significant negative psychological side effects on students, including trauma, pseudo-compliance, anxiety, and the inhibition of critical thinking and creativity. Ultimately, this study demonstrates how the education system can inadvertently become a site for cultural reproduction that normalizes symbolic violence through internalized fear.

**Keywords:** fear of hell pedagogy; symbolic violence; primary education, teacher communication

### ***Abstrak***

*Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis pedagogi "takut neraka" sebagai bentuk kekerasan simbolik berbasis bahasa dan menyelidiki bagaimana dominasi terselubung ini memengaruhi siswa sekolah dasar. Berakar pada kerangka sosiologis Pierre Bourdieu, studi ini menguji mekanisme yang digunakan oleh otoritas sekolah dalam memanfaatkan wacana, label, dan bahasa keagamaan tertentu untuk memaksa pembelajar muda tunduk dan patuh tanpa adanya paksaan fisik. Dengan menggunakan metode penelitian lapangan kualitatif, data dikumpulkan melalui observasi, wawancara, dan dokumentasi. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa penerapan narasi "takut neraka" berfungsi sebagai pendekatan instruksional yang didorong oleh disiplin teologis dan motivasi ekstrinsik, sehingga menciptakan dinamika relasi kuasa yang asimetris antara guru dan siswa. Melalui penggambaran hukuman akhirat secara vulgar, guru membangun posisi tawar otoritas simbolik yang tinggi untuk membentuk kepatuhan siswa. Meskipun metode ini secara sosiologis efektif dalam menciptakan kedisiplinan instan dan kepatuhan yang cepat, penelitian ini menyoroti adanya efek samping psikologis negatif yang signifikan pada siswa, termasuk trauma, kepatuhan semu (pseudo-compliance), kecemasan, serta terhambatnya pemikiran kritis dan kreativitas. Pada akhirnya, studi ini menunjukkan bagaimana sistem pendidikan secara tidak sengaja dapat menjadi tempat reproduksi budaya yang menormalisasi kekerasan simbolik melalui rasa takut yang diinternalisasi.*

***Kata kunci:*** pedagogi takut neraka, kekerasan simbolik, pendidikan dasar, komunikasi guru

### **A. Introduction**

Prior research on violence in schools has predominantly focused on physical and verbal dimensions, such as student-to-student bullying or corporal punishment administered by teachers. Research concerning violence within religious education also generally highlights radicalism or intolerance. Meanwhile, studies in the sociology of education applying Bourdieu's theory in Indonesia have mostly explored how cultural capital influences academic achievement or social class reproduction in secondary schools and higher education.

It is widely understood that educational institutions actually hold a vital role in the context of the social production arena by deploying symbolic dominance to consecrate and establish various normative values (Mangera & Simega, 2017). This condition persists continuously in an effort to maintain belief in those values. This fact is further accompanied by an asymmetric form of symbolic power and hegemony, wherein one

party perceives themselves as far superior in moral, ethical, religious, gender, and age dimensions (Apriyansyah, 2021).

According to Bourdieu, within a society, there will always be a dominant group and a dominated group, and this power relation depends on the situation, capital (resources), and the respective strategies employed by agents using their capital (Fitriana, 2020). In this regard, Bourdieu maps the types of capital into three components:

- 1) Cultural capital: encompasses the possession of academic credentials, knowledge, cultural codes, modes of speech, writing abilities, demeanor, and patterns of socialization, all of which play a role in determining social positioning.
- 2) Social capital: takes the form of the capacity for cooperation, as a collaborative culture fosters trust. All social dimensions—organizations, institutions, and the family—serve as breeding grounds for social capital.
- 3) Symbolic capital: constitutes a form of capital derived from other types, misrecognized not as an arbitrary asset but recognized and acknowledged as legitimate and natural. Examples of symbolic capital include the choice of residence (whether one resides in an elite area or a slum along a riverbank), as well as positions of authority, luxury vehicles, titles, high status, and family prestige (Supriyono, 2022).

The aforementioned explanation correlates the fact that capital is inseparable from the concept of symbolic violence, which has permeated all spheres of human life. Wherever asymmetric or unequal social interactions and relations exist, it can be assured that symbolic violence is taking place. For instance, politics, social life, economics, health, family, education, and even religious practices are never completely exempt from symbolic violence.

This stands in stark contrast to the ideal notion of education, namely, holistic education that humanizes human beings, focusing on character development (*akhlak*), creativity, and 21st-century skills (critical, collaborative, and communicative) rather than mere rote memorization. It should be student-centered, engaging, safe, and utilize technology wisely, thereby producing competitive individuals capable of generating positive impacts. As enshrined in Law No. 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System, Article 3 outlines the objectives of national education, stating that national education aims to develop the potential of students to become individuals who have faith in and are devoted to Almighty God; possess noble character; are healthy, knowledgeable, capable, creative, independent; and become democratic and responsible citizens. This article indicates that national education aims to equip students with various competencies.

However, field findings demonstrate that the educational system and the learning process cannot be separated from the mechanisms of upper-class groups that dominate the social structure of the school community across different structural layers (Fatmawati et al., 2020). Hierarchically, this serves to "impose" their ideology, culture, habits, or lifestyle upon the dominated lower-class groups. This context explains that disparities in resources or capital frequently occur among educational actors (Martono, 2019).

Symbolic violence is a model of cultural and social domination that operates unconsciously within societal life. This encompasses discriminatory acts against specific groups, races, ethnicities, or genders perpetrated by actors or institutions possessing power, knowledge, and capital (social capital, cultural capital, economic capital, symbolic capital) within a field, the accumulation of which forms a social practice (Suardi, 2021). Herein lies a distinct research gap. There remains highly limited research specifically linking Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence with theological-threat-based pedagogical strategies at the public primary school level. Most researchers perceive narratives of sin and hell in primary schools as commonplace and "well-intentioned" for moral cultivation, thereby escaping sociological critique.

In this paper, social practice is examined at State Primary School (SDN) 69 Bengkulu City, focusing on symbolic violence through discourse or language within the "fear of hell" pedagogy. According to Bourdieu, the utilization of language as cultural capital stems from the distinct human capacity acquired through empirical experiences in relating to other humans. It is noted that language is cultural capital closely linked to symbolic capital, because it is through language that symbolic meaning-making is performed by humans (Ulya, 2017). Through sophisticated language use, an educational actor (a religious teacher) at SDN 69 Bengkulu City is enabled to hold a high bargaining position within the social struggle. This is because the use of language as a socio-cultural product does not merely function as a tool but also as an instrument of social action (Damayanti & Andarwulan, 2019). Consequently, language use is not an autonomous object detached from action, and the study of language use cannot be separated from social practice. In practice, the language deployed by teachers does not emerge spontaneously as something sterile but is the product of interaction between objective social structures and the habitus possessed by social agents (Harjanti & Ardiansyah, 2024).

Thus, language use becomes a symbolic struggle occurring within the environment of SDN 69 Bengkulu City as an effort to achieve symbolic power through the pedagogy of "fear of hell." A symbolic struggle is a competition for power over other social agents to assert existence and dominance over views and perceptions. The ultimate goal of the religious teacher is to acquire power and legitimacy to reproduce and present

themselves to the school community as the most authoritative and favored entity. In other words, the symbolic struggle involves a dominant discourse and a discourse attempting to contest that dominance (Hartatmoko, 2003).

Furthermore, the dominance of religious teachers through the pedagogical communication of "fear of hell" illuminates an instructional approach that utilizes the concept of afterlife punishment threats. The linguistic communication of the religious teacher serves as a motivational tool (extrinsic motivation) to shape student compliance, discipline, and morals. In this case, the researcher found that the language used during religious teachers' lectures vividly described the punishments of the grave or hell to the students. For example: *"If you do not perform the five daily prayers, the punishment you will receive is that your tongue will be clipped in hell and burned with a massive fire, and the punishment of the grave is that you will be bitten and constricted by a massive snake."* This reality illustrates, to a greater or lesser extent, the deployment of religious and pedagogical authority to enforce fear rather than conscience-driven understanding within the SDN 69 Bengkulu City environment.

The novelty of this research lies in deconstructing the epistemological and sociological aspects of the "fear of hell pedagogy" in a state school that ought to be inclusive and grounded in healthy child psychology development. This study does not intend to contest religious doctrines themselves but rather critiques the method of delivery, which transforms into an instrument of symbolic violence that perpetuates the dominance of teacher authority over the critical consciousness of primary school students. Based on the background described above, this research specifically aims to analyze how the practice of "fear of hell pedagogy" is implemented as a form of symbolic violence at SDN 69 Bengkulu City, identify the mechanisms of internalizing this fear within students, and formulate its implications for the space of children's consciousness within the school environment.

## **B. Methods**

This study employs a field research design that is descriptive-analytical in nature. The researcher engaged directly with the environment of State Primary School (SDN) 69 Bengkulu City to observe, record, and document the phenomenon of fear-based pedagogy naturally, without any manipulation or experimentation on the research subjects. The approach used in this study is a qualitative approach with a sociological-phenomenological focus. This approach was concretely selected to dismantle the meanings behind actions, utterances, symbolic expressions, and school policies that produce narratives of theological threats, as well as how students respond to and internalize these narratives in their daily school lives.

Furthermore, this study utilizes primary data obtained from three Islamic Religious Education (PAI) teachers and classroom teachers as primary informants, supported by students particularly upper-grade students (grades 4, 5, and 6) who are capable of articulating their feelings. In addition, the researcher utilizes secondary data, namely supporting school administrative documents such as Lesson Plans (RPP)/Teacher Instructional Modules, school regulations, student infraction records, and photographs of school facilities or wall displays containing relevant symbolic content (e.g., posters regarding sin, punishment, or threat-toned obligations).

Subsequently, data were gathered through concrete methods: (1) passive participant observation, which involved observing and recording details (using field notes) such as: a. vocabulary/narratives used by teachers when disciplining students (words like "hell", "sin", "satan", "punishment"), b. vocal intonation and body gestures of teachers when delivering metaphysical threats, c. immediate student reactions (facial expressions, fear, instant compliance, or anxiety); (2) in-depth interviews; and (3) documentation.

### **C. Result and Discussion**

The description of these research findings is relevant to the social theory explained by Pierre Bourdieu, known for his fundamental concept of power strategies that impact agents (students). In this regard, the power strategy intended by Bourdieu encompasses three main points: capital, class, and habitus, which are inseparable from the use of language in every social practice (Ningtyas, 2015). It is well-recognized that this conception of class is closely linked to the concept of capital. According to Bourdieu, each class possesses distinct dispositions, tastes, habits, behaviors, or even capital (Atas et al., 2023). These differences subsequently give rise to asymmetric inter-class relations (Apriyansyah, 2021).

Meanwhile, the concept of habitus is defined as "a system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles that generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them, collectively co-ordinated and without the presupposition of any mastering master" (Bourdieu, 2006). These three concepts interact to form a practice of symbolic violence within the SDN 69 Bengkulu City environment.

## **1. Mechanisms of Symbolic Violence: An Analysis of Religious Teacher Communication to Students**

The occurrence of symbolic violence within the environment of SDN 69 Bengkulu City represents a practice of domination executed by religious teachers through communication (language). As is widely known, language is not a neutral communication tool devoid of interest (Bourdieu, 1991). Drawing a common thread, language is viewed as a space wherein various interests, forces, power, and hegemonic processes conflict (Bourdieu, 1991). According to Pierre Bourdieu, language is a symbol of power (Alfian, 2023) because hidden within language are forms of symbolic domination and power structures that exist within the societal structure. Furthermore, the grammar utilized by religious teachers reflects social class in the sense of a symbolic asset. The communication process between teachers and students often experiences social friction that can generate disparities in the learning process (Fatmawati et al., 2020). When such friction is expressed through language, such speaking activities tend to manifest as verbal violence (Ambarwati, 2013).

Symbolic violence is carried out by dominating meanings, logic, and values that were initially deemed weak, insignificant, invalid, or untrustworthy (the dominated discourse), transforming them into meanings, logic, and values that are perceived by students as good, correct, powerful, and trustworthy (Rusdiarti, 2003). In executing this dominant action, religious teachers within the SDN 69 Bengkulu City environment always endeavor to keep their actions from being easily recognized. Through communication, the use of language serves as the origin or the outcome of a symbolic power practice. In this regard, Bourdieu posits that the educational system creates a concept of cultural reproduction because it is consistently used to reproduce the culture of the dominant class (teachers) to maintain their power (Ardiyanto, 2023).

Furthermore, based on the research results at SDN 69 Bengkulu City, reproductive disparities exist due to cultural reproduction aimed at maintaining the status of the dominant class (religious teachers). This condition is inseparable from the relationship between language and culture that frequently occurs during classroom instruction. There exists an asymmetric or unequal relational pattern between religious teachers and students, as well as among students themselves. This depiction stems from the existence of class structures within the social formation at SDN 69 Bengkulu City, which constitutes a set of networks systematically interrelated with one another. This condition determines the distribution of cultural and economic capital.

By definition, it is a model of cultural and social domination that operates unconsciously within society, encompassing discriminatory acts toward specific groups/races/genders that are intertwined with the exercise of symbolic power (Fitriana,

2020). Bourdieu explains that it is the power to arbitrarily determine the instruments of knowledge and the expression of social reality, yet its arbitrariness remains unrecognized. This means that symbolic power is the power to transform and construct reality so that it is legitimately recognized and accepted.

Consequently, according to Pierre Bourdieu, violence "forces" compliance that is not perceived as coercion, grounding itself on collective expectations such as socially embedded beliefs (Bourdieu, 1994). The mechanisms of symbolic violence perpetrated by religious teachers at SDN 69 Bengkulu City can be seen through forms of indirect domination. This process operates through the use of norms, religious labeling, or subtle, demeaning threats that induce guilt, thereby compelling compliance without physical violence. Examples include labeling students as "lacking faith," threatening divine retribution/sin, comparing the devotion of one student to another, and marginalizing students who display a lesser understanding of religious teachings.

Based on these conditions, the mechanism of symbolic violence is grounded in public expectations and beliefs that have long been established and embedded (Bourdieu, 1994). Thus, symbolic violence operates through a mechanism of concealing the violence it possesses, transforming it into something accepted as "the way things ought to be," or what is termed "*doxa*." *Doxa* can be acquired through a continuous process of inculcation or naming. The process of inculcation operates effectively within the realm of education. It is here that knowledge, understanding, skills, body language, and even values and ideologies are taught through language.

Students, as social agents, accept symbolic violence as natural because symbolic violence utilizes the cognitive structures that social agents have possessed since birth, aligning them with the objective structures present within the social world. As is well known, the educational environment is a space where a struggle over *doxa* occurs between orthodox and heterodox groups. Religious teachers, as language speakers, position themselves in accordance with roles of dominance, subordination, or equivalence, because their existence is linked to the access they can attain over the model of capital contested within the arena, namely, the SDN 69 Bengkulu City environment.

In this regard, education serves as a tool to maintain the existence of the dominant class. The school environment is a social structure capable of shaping student habitus, because it essentially executes a process of cultural reproduction to help perpetuate intergenerational economic inequalities (Giddens, 2006). Thus, symbolic violence is related to the explicit arbitrariness of the dominant party (religious teachers) over the subdominant party (students). The status of students, to a certain extent, as the

subdominant party, renders them "ready" to be regulated and directed by the religious teacher as the dominant party holding power in the classroom.

## **2. Forms of Symbolic Violence in the "Fear of Hell" Pedagogy at SDN 69 Bengkulu City**

Education, particularly within the field of religious education at the primary school level, is characterized by powerful theological narratives emphasizing aspects of reward and punishment. Findings at SDN 69 Bengkulu City indicate that despite a strong cultural and religious background, the instructional methods utilized in the religious learning process still heavily rely on a fear-based approach. The application of this approach is inseparable from the mechanisms of symbolic violence. In this context, religious teachers employ "hell pedagogy" as a threat to discipline students. This is utilized as a tool by religious teachers to perpetuate their dominance over students, which goes unrecognized as a form of symbolic violence.

The operation of symbolic violence cannot be separated from the nexus between language and power (Rusdiarti, 2003). Euphemization and censorship, as mechanisms of symbolic violence, are highly effective when executed through language. This interconnected relationship between language and power is effectively practiced by social agents to mutually control one another, with the primary objective of creating a desired world.

Euphemization typically renders symbolic violence invisible, operating subtly, unrecognizably, and selected "unconsciously" (Martono, 2012). It can manifest as beliefs, obligations, loyalty, politeness, gift-giving, debt, rewards, or mercy. Meanwhile, the mechanism of censorship makes symbolic violence appear as a form of preserving values regarded as an "honorable moral code"—such as politeness, purity, and generosity—which are typically juxtaposed against a "low moral code" like violence, criminality, impropriety, immorality, and greed.

In the learning process at SDN 69 Bengkulu City, the manifestation of euphemization within symbolic violence frequently appears in several forms. Examples include acts of giving bonuses, expressions of trust, and prohibitive actions (Ulfah, 2013). In the form of commands, for instance, euphemization is often utilized by religious teachers to assert that students must perform a certain action. This assertion is non-negotiable; in other words, it must be executed. Through this assertion, a teacher unconsciously illustrates the immediate repercussions that will arise if the command is neglected, thereby inducing students to voluntarily execute what has been commanded. Examples of language utterances used by religious teachers at SDN 69 Bengkulu City in the form of commands, prohibitions, and trust through the pedagogy of "fear of hell" - which represent symbolic violence - include the following:

- 1) Replacing "hellfire punishment" with a "command or warning": The religious teacher consistently uses language such as, "Come on, let's pray so that your religion grade doesn't drop and you don't receive a reprimand from Allah."
- 2) Replacing "hellfire punishment" with a "command or warning": The religious teacher consistently uses language such as, "This surah memorization must be completed by next week because it will be on the school exam; if you do not memorize the surah I commanded, and your grade will be failing (red)."
- 3) Affixing the label of "disobedient child/inhabitant of hell": Utilizing religious terminology to label deviant student behavior. Namely, opposing or defying teachers or parents is framed as an act that definitively leads to hell.
- 4) Utilizing terrifying stories regarding the punishment of the grave to discipline students: Namely, "This is just a warning for us, so that later over there (in the grave) we will be accompanied by angels, not other entities."
- 5) Transforming threatening language into "prohibitions for your own good": Namely, framing that anyone who cheats or opens a book during an exam will enter an unquenchable hellfire.
- 6) Utilizing "religious obligation" language as a threat of failure: Namely, "Do not let your worship be in vain; if you are not diligent in worship, you will regret it in the afterlife."

The various teacher language usages above illustrate that acts of symbolic violence are deeply embedded within the instructional process at SDN 69 Bengkulu City. As seen in the teacher's utterances in speech acts (1) and (2), it is evident how the religious teacher employs a power-based approach in conveying directives to ensure compliance. Through imperative sentences, the religious teacher asserts dominance over the students, causing the teacher's role as a facilitator to be unreflected in the learning process. Furthermore, in speech act (3), the manifestation of symbolic violence is evident where the religious teacher demands total and unquestioning compliance from students, using the threat that defiance brands them as disobedient children destined for hell. In speech act (4), teachers frequently employ terrifying tales of grave punishments as threats disguised under the word "warning," thereby inducing fear while simultaneously instilling an obligation to comply. In speech act (6), the religious teacher compels students to perform ritual worship through narratives of fear. Utilizing terms like "in vain" or "a loss" induces compliance because students fear personal "loss," rather than acting out of spiritual understanding.

These forms of euphemization are frequently represented by religious teachers when interacting with students in class. Religious teachers often establish rules as a

mechanism to control students during the learning process. The use of "prohibitive" language serves as a control mechanism for students and as a means for the teacher to manage the classroom atmosphere. According to Sultan (2010), procedures are often perceived as prohibitions against specific behaviors rather than pathways to achieve an objective. Established procedures become a tool of student control. This understanding gives rise to two terminologies: obedience versus violation, or order versus disorder. Students who meet regulatory demands are classified as obedient, compliant, good, and disciplined, whereas students who violate them are classified as stubborn, naughty, and undisciplined.

The establishment of classroom procedures in the form of prohibitions, in Santrock's (2008) view, must be handled cautiously because a teacher's misperception in interpreting these procedures can turn them into a form of dominance over students. According to Santrock, established procedures should ideally reflect expectations for students to demonstrate specific positive behaviors rather than acts of prohibition. In this case, the highly potent authority of the teacher in demanding student compliance represents a form of dominance in education (Zamroni, 2001). Efforts to discipline students through language are certainly inseparable from the religious teacher's power.

The power of the religious teacher can be categorized as silencing, punishing, suppressing, controlling, directing, or shaping behavior. It is for this reason that Foucault labels discipline as a 'policy of coercion' (Damayanti, 2019). Consequently, in practice, classroom interactions not infrequently utilize symbolic violence. Whether consciously or unconsciously, religious teachers exercise their power when teaching—be it through coercive power, legitimate power, or the offering of rewards.

Furthermore, the impact of utilizing the "fear of hell" pedagogy at SDN 69 Bengkulu City exerts significant side effects on the psychological well-being and religious-spiritual understanding of students. Based on field findings, the effects generated include psychological trauma and anxiety, superficial compliance (rather than sincerity), and the suppression of creativity and critical thinking. Conversely, from a sociological standpoint, the deployment of the "fear of hell" pedagogy offers an advantage in establishing instant discipline. This manifests as swift compliance and order, where students tend to immediately conform to norms due to the fear of hellfire punishments. Subsequently, the formation of a disciplined habitus through fear, if maintained continuously, becomes a habitus accepted as natural within the social structure, even though it fundamentally constitutes a form of symbolic violence.

### **3. Positioning of Religious Teachers and Students in the School's Social Structure**

The social structure within the school consists of teachers, school staff, male students, and female students, each possessing distinct statuses and roles. Within this social structure, there operates a system of positions and roles among members of the social group, spanning from high positions holding institutional power down to the lowest echelons (Triantono, 2021). The religious teacher occupies an upper position as an educator, moral compass, and role model. This means that the position of the religious teacher relative to the student carries a vital role among the numerous responsibilities that must be undertaken. This is due to the fact that the primary community serving as the teacher's domain of duty resides within classroom instruction.

In practice, religious teachers interact with students in both formal and non-formal situations. In formal situations, religious teachers must somewhat "compel" students to achieve the formulated learning objectives. Consequently, such conditions necessitate that the religious teacher assume a position of high authority (Ulya, 2017). In connection with the teacher's role in school, particularly within the instructional process, the responsibilities elucidated by Sulaiman (2014) include the following:

- a. Understanding the individual differences of their learners
- b. Identifying the strengths and shortcomings or weaknesses of their learners.
- c. Grouping learners within the class according to the level of issues that need to be addressed.
- d. Collaborating with parents and other professionals to obtain optimal learning outcomes.
- e. Preparing materials, strategies, and learning media required by learners.
- f. Implementing enrichment models for children with accelerated learning paces and providing remedial services for children with slower learning paces.
- g. In conducting evaluations, teachers should not merely measure academic aspects, but non-academic dimensions must also be considered.
- h. Providing feedback on achievements attained and reporting them to the principal and parents

The aforementioned description illuminates that a teacher holds a highly significant position and role within the social structure of the community. Meanwhile, students within the school's social structure occupy a position beneath the teacher, functioning as learners who are obligated to respect authorities and absorb values. The

relationship between the two is stable, hierarchical, and functions as an agency for value socialization.

According to Pierre Bourdieu's perspective, the positioning of religious teachers and students is determined by the struggle over capital (cultural, social, and symbolic) within the learning process. In practice, religious teachers possess authority as holders of cultural capital to actualize symbolic violence in order to instill values and learning objectives. Meanwhile, the position of students involves adapting or resisting to navigate social reproduction. This remains participatory because sociologically, there persist clear distinctions in roles, authority, and expectations between religious teachers and students within the SDN 69 Bengkulu City environment. The following matrix illustrates the positioning of religious teachers and students within the school's social structure:

Table 1. The Positions of Teachers and Students

Analytical Dimension	Position of Religious Teacher	Student
<b>Social Status</b>	Primary position based on professional qualifications.	Temporary status as a learner.
<b>Primary Role</b>	Facilitator, transformer of knowledge, and agent of value socialization.	Recipient of knowledge, subject of instruction, and practitioner of social values.
<b>Authority</b>	Possesses formal authority to regulate and evaluate.	Obligated to comply with rules and instructions.
<b>Responsibility</b>	Ensuring curriculum achievement and student safety.	Developing personal potential and meeting graduation standards.
<b>Social Interaction</b>	Mentoring/guiding in nature.	Learning in nature.

The elaboration of the table above explains that religious teachers possess certified cultural capital in the form of "degrees" recognized by the state. Furthermore, religious teachers establish legitimate behavioral standards and values (*habitus*) within the learning process. In practice, religious teachers impose a specific worldview (symbolic violence) wherein religious values are internalized by students. Through symbolic authority, religious teachers hold the symbolic power to determine what is deemed "legitimate knowledge."

This stands in contrast to the positioning of students as dominated agents who possess diverse forms of cultural capital. The position of the students depends on their ability to align their *habitus* (habits) with the demands of the religious teacher within the State Primary School (SDN) 69 Bengkulu City environment. Successful students are those whose cultural capital aligns with the school's expectations, whereas those whose

capital does not align are often deemed less capable, which ultimately leads to the reproduction of social inequalities. Consequently, religious teachers position themselves as agents of value reproduction, while students occupy positions of adaptation, negotiation, or the reproduction of habitus to elevate their positioning within their social structure.

Furthermore, the role of the religious teacher is highly dominant in shaping student habitus. The figure of the religious teacher functions not only as an instructor but also as a role model for the moral and spiritual development of the students. With the emphasis on the pedagogy of "fear of hell," students indirectly internalize these values into their habitus. Character building through role modeling by religious teachers represents a more effective process because students directly experience and witness these values within the SDN 69 Bengkulu City environment. Thus, the formation of habitus is not merely formal through learning activities but also occurs through social relations that encompass elements of nurturing and guidance by the religious teacher (Aulia Ridwan, 2020).

#### **D. Conclusion**

Based on the empirical evidence analyzed through Pierre Bourdieu's sociological framework, the contemporary primary education system remains vulnerable to deeply entrenched forms of symbolic violence. This violence stems from the universal recognition and naturalization of dominant interpretations imposed by religious teachers onto dominated students. This subtle, covert domination is executed through the pedagogy of "fear of hell" because it is widely misrecognized as a "natural" and "reasonable" method of religious instruction. Because it is reinforced by institutional social inequalities, students accept this linguistic and cultural coercion as an unchangeable norm (doxa). Religious teachers maintain their absolute dominant positioning because they hold the institutional authority to define values and norms, allowing them to project their pedagogical views as the sole truth within the classroom ecosystem.

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