

Symbolic Violence on Women Within Religious Sermons

Sukron Ma'mun

Universitas Islam Negeri Salatiga
sukron.mn@uinsalatiga.ac.id

Sulung Najmawati Zakiyya

Universitas Islam Negeri Sultan Aji Muhammad Idris,
Samarinda
sulungnajmawatizakiyya@uinsi.ac.id

Ilyya Muhsin

Universitas Islam Negeri Salatiga
ilyya_muhsin@uinsalatiga.ac.id

ABSTRACT

Violence against women in public spaces remains prevalent and is at times perpetrated by religious figures, including female preachers. This article investigates how symbolic violence against women is reproduced in sermons delivered by Islamic teachers (*ustadz*) through mass media platforms such as YouTube, Instagram, and Facebook. The study is based on an analysis of sermons by both male and female *ustadz* who demonstrate a tendency to reinforce gender-based violence. Data were purposively collected from social media sources, particularly on sermons by *Ustadz* Khalid Basalamah, OkiSetiana Dewi, and MamahDedeh. Employing Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical concepts of symbolic violence

and masculine domination, the analysis explores discourses on household dynamics, including spousal obedience, gendered public and domestic roles, and the contested practice of polygamy. The findings indicate a persistent lack of gender sensitivity in these religious discourses, which contributes to the perpetuation of symbolic violence. This subtle form of violence is normalised through mechanisms such as euphemism and implicit censorship, allowing narratives that undermine women's rights and potential to gain acceptance. The root of this issue lies in the speakers' inadequate gender awareness and limited interpretative engagement with religious knowledge.

Keywords: Gender, Masculine Domination, Religious Lectures, Symbolic Violence.

A. Introduction

Symbolic violence against women is predominantly committed by men and remains deeply embedded in patriarchal cultures. It manifests not only in overt physical forms but also in subtle, normalised practices of domination. According to the 2023 report by Indonesia's National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan/ Komnas Perempuan) (2023), there were 457,895 reported cases of violence against women in public domains. Within private spheres, gender-based violence remains prevalent, with 336,804 cases recorded. Among these, sexual violence reached 2,228 cases, while psychological violence accounted for 2,083 cases. These figures likely reflect only a fraction of the actual incidents, particularly in cases of symbolic violence, which often go unrecognised and unreported.

Symbolic violence operates through culturally accepted norms and practices that subordinate women. It includes marginalisation, stereotyping, and linguistic domination. Though less visible, its psychological effects are profound. As Dwi (2006) notes, this form of violence manifests in routine

interactions where women are assigned inferior roles and values. Komnas Perempuan's data on psychological violence may signal a broader spectrum of symbolic harm that permeates both domestic and public life.

Media play a significant role in perpetuating symbolic violence. Novarisa (2019) demonstrated how television soap operas reflect and reinforce patriarchal norms, shaping everyday attitudes. Alnashava (2012) adds that such portrayals have a real social impact. Beyond television, Bretthauer et al. (2007) identify gendered lyrics in music as another medium that normalises female subordination. Sobari (2011), for example, highlights how lyrics by The Changcuters depict women as deceitful and as objects of male fantasy.

Religious discourse presents another influential site for symbolic violence. Muafiah (2010) found that religious lectures at weddings often reinforce male dominance, framing women as passive subjects requiring moral guidance. Similarly, Made (2020), analysing Salafi sermons, revealed how women are framed primarily as caregivers and obedient wives, confined to domestic spaces. These patterns suggest a process of domestication embedded in the rhetoric of religious authorities.

What is striking is that much of this discourse is produced by male preachers. Their gendered interpretations of Islamic texts may reflect not only internalised patriarchy but also active mechanisms of control. However, an equally important question is whether female preachers reproduce the same patterns. Are their messages merely transmission of androcentric interpretations, or do they also perpetuate symbolic violence? This study explores precisely this question by examining the rhetoric of *tarbiyah* preachers, both male and female, who disseminate Islamic teachings through digital platforms (Hasan, 2012).

Using Pierre Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence (1991, 2001), this article investigates how religious discourse can act

as a subtle form of domination, framing inequality as divine or natural truth. Bourdieu's framework allows for a deeper analysis of how language and symbolic structures perpetuate harm under the guise of legitimacy and piety. The data for this study is drawn from sermons posted on YouTube channels such as "Oki Setiana Dewi", "Khalid Basalamah Official", and "Religione" (featuring Mamah Dedeh). Keywords like "polygamy," "husband and wife obligations," and "family support" guided content selection. The analysis focuses on how gender roles, obedience, and family dynamics are framed in these sermons, highlighting how symbolic violence is maintained and reproduced through religious language.

B. Discussion

1. Symbolic Violence in Patriarchal Culture

Patriarchal culture refers to a system of social relations that privileges men, particularly through male lineage and authority. As Walby (1989) explains, patriarchy comprises interconnected structures that position men as dominant agents in society, enabling the systemic oppression and exploitation of women. This system has evolved historically and culturally, across various communities worldwide (Walby, 1989, p. 217).

Weber (1947) described patriarchy as a power structure rooted in male-dominated households, where authority in the private sphere mirrors broader public hierarchies. Walby (1989) distinguishes between two forms of patriarchy: private and public. Private patriarchy subjugates women within the household, while public patriarchy marginalises women in institutions such as the state, workplace, or civil society. Despite cultural variations, patriarchal systems are pervasive across societies, shaping gender roles and sustaining male dominance (Budiman, 1985). Within this framework, women are often confined to domestic roles, limiting their social, economic, and

political participation (Delphy, 1984). These gendered structures reinforce inequality and normalise discrimination.

The effects of patriarchy are extensive, generating gender stratification, unequal access to opportunities, and persistent violence against women. As Fakih (2006) notes, women often face violence not because of personal failings but due to societal norms that define them as inherently different and subordinate. This social construction makes women especially vulnerable, reinforcing patterns of dependency and disempowerment.

Violence, whether physical or psychological, threatens women's well-being and autonomy. Jehel (cited in Haryatmoko, 2010) describes violence as driven by a logic of destruction, causing visible and invisible harm. While physical violence is tangible, psychological violence affects mental health in profound but less visible ways. Symbolic violence, a form of psychological violence, is particularly insidious. As Bourdieu (1991) argues, symbolic violence consists of unrecognised, socially accepted forms of harm perceived as natural or truthful. It operates through communication, especially language, and can be both consciously and unconsciously enacted.

This form of violence often manifests through dominant discourses that redefine marginalised perspectives as weak, illogical, or unworthy. Through this redefinition, symbolic violence legitimises dominant values and power structures (Rusdiarti, 2003). This aligns with Foucault's idea of the interrelation between knowledge and power (Piliang, 2006). The ability to control language and meaning becomes a form of power that reinforces social hierarchies (Rusdiarti, 2003, pp. 38–39).

Symbolic violence is closely linked to social class. Bourdieu (1990a) and Thompson (2007) highlight how the authority of a speaker, whether a teacher, lecturer, or religious leader, influences the acceptance of their message. The higher the

speaker's perceived social status, the more readily their discourse is accepted, often without critical reflection. Symbolic violence functions through two key mechanisms: euphemisation and censorship (Bourdieu, 1991; Jenkins, 1992). Euphemisation makes violence appear polite or virtuous, disguised as trust, loyalty, or modesty. Censorship frames it as moral superiority – where politeness and purity are elevated above perceived immorality or deviance. These mechanisms obscure the oppressive nature of the discourse, making it difficult to challenge.

In sum, symbolic violence is a subtle yet powerful tool of patriarchal dominance. It shapes how women are perceived, treated, and positioned in society, reinforcing gender hierarchies under the guise of cultural, moral, or religious legitimacy.

2. Issues of Symbolic Violence and Its Mechanisms

Symbolic violence, as manifested in religious sermons, is frequently subconsciously embraced by the audience (congregation or *jamaah*), often being regarded as absolute truth. Remarkably, this acceptance is characterised by a gracious reception, frequently accompanied by laughter, as these preachers are commonly delivered in humorously, despite occasional serious discourse. The discourse encapsulates several themes, with the potential for symbolic violence to manifest revolving around issues related to wives' subordination to men, the dynamics of male-female relationships, the prescribed role of wives, and discussions on polygamy. An analysis of numerous religious lectures delivered by both male and female preachers in public spaces reveals a categorisation into four primary thematic areas.

a) The Compliance of the Wife with the Husband

The notion of wifely obedience is a central theme in Islamic gender discourse, frequently appearing in classical jurisprudence. In *Uqud al-Lijain*, Nawawi al-

Bantani (1990) outlines that if a woman is disobedient (*nusyuz*), the husband may first offer counsel and, if necessary, resort to physical discipline (see also Zain, 2020). This view, echoed by many religious preachers, shapes societal expectations about women's roles in marriage.

Oki Setiana Dewi (2023) reinforces this view by citing a story involving Fatimah and a woman named Muthiah. In her sermon, Oki narrates:

"Fatimah visited a woman named Muthiah, who had towels, fans, and rattan. When Fatimah inquired about their purpose, Muthiah explained that the towels were for bathing of her husband, the fans were meant to cool her husband when he returned tired from work, allowing him to rest. Additionally, she mentioned providing rattan for herself in case her husband was dissatisfied with her service and deemed it necessary to administer physical chastisement."

Oki acknowledges that this story lacks hadith authenticity but still considers it useful for illustrating the ideal of obedience (Dewi, 2023; Shalah, 1972; Shalih, 1988). Here, obedience is depicted as unconditional, even to the extent of submitting to physical punishment, portraying women as passive recipients of male authority, without reflection on mutual responsibility.

A similar perspective is presented in Khalid Basalamah's sermon (2022b). Responding to a woman who lamented her husband's emotional withdrawal despite her efforts, Basalamah shifts the focus to physical appearance, stating:

"It is essential for mothers and all Muslim women to be aware of this issue; men are highly sensitive. They are sensitive to the smell of breath, body odour, underarm and

genital odours, appearance, hair grooming, and clothing that is appealing to them. If these aspects are overlooked, it may lead to a lack of interest in engaging in biological relations. This disinterest is normal, and many men avoid addressing it out of concern for their wives' feelings. Therefore, every Muslim woman, every wife, is obligated in this regard because it serves as a biological duty to her husband. Hence, it is incumbent upon women to take care of all aspects of their biology, including maintaining body odour, fresh breath, underarms, and genitals. These are sensitive parts of the body that must be attended to. Avoid casual eating, as the smell of your breath, oral hygiene, or any cavities in your teeth can be bothersome. Try to brush your teeth and use mouthwash regularly."

This response subtly implies that women are less sensitive to these issues, downplaying the woman's emotional grievance. By reorienting the discussion toward a biological "obligation," Basalamah fails to acknowledge the wife's expressed distress, thus reinforcing symbolic violence. Rather than addressing the neglect of emotional reciprocity, he affirms male-centric expectations (Mulia, 2012, pp. 172-173). Symbolic violence, as Bourdieu (1991) describes, operates subtly through language and legitimised social structures. Here, the emotional labour and suffering of women are ignored, while male expectations are framed as natural and unquestionable truths.

b) *Women and Public Space*

The division between domestic and public spheres has long reflected gender hierarchies: men dominate public roles, while women are expected to remain within the home (Fakih, 2006). This dichotomy continues in

contemporary religious discourse, which often views women's engagement in public life as conditional or exceptional (Umar, 1999).

Oki Setiana Dewi argues that a woman's primary role is domestic and that public activity must meet specific criteria. These include her husband's permission, economic necessity, modest attire, and Sharia compliance. She supports her view with the Quran:

"According to Islam, what is the inherent nature (*fitrah*) of women? It turns out, it is mentioned in Surah Al-Ahzab, verse 33. The most suitable place for a woman is in her own home. Mothers, reside in your homes and refrain from adorning yourselves, as was the custom in the pre-Islamic era. A woman is advised to be within the confines of her home. Allah does not permit us to leave our homes without a clear purpose, let alone to adorn ourselves excessively" (Dewi, 2023).

Khalid Basalamah (2020) echoes similar sentiments, stating that women may work only in gender-conforming roles, nurses, teachers, midwives, while fulfilling certain conditions: wearing hijab, avoiding seclusion with male drivers, prioritising home duties, and ceasing work if their husbands object. According to both, women's "*fitrah*" does not align with professional work outside the home.

Oki (2023) shares an illustrative anecdote of a female dental hygienist who stopped working after her husband forbade her from treating male patients. Oki cites a hadith from Umm Salamah "*The most commendable place for women is within the confines of their own homes*". She adds "*Allah does not permit us to leave our homes without a clear purpose, let alone to adorn ourselves excessively*".

Oki's reasoning, suggesting that husbands may justifiably be jealous of their wives' professional interactions, may constitute symbolic violence. It reinforces the idea that male feelings of jealousy are morally legitimate, even when the husband engages in similar interactions at work. This one-sided interpretation legitimises control under the guise of protection, again illustrating symbolic power dynamics.

Such views ignore broader realities—especially cases where women are forced to be economically independent due to abandonment, disability, or the death of a spouse. Applying Qur'anic texts without attending to socioeconomic and cultural contexts risks legitimising structural inequality. As Ma'mun & Maliki (2023) assert, gender roles must be analysed through scriptural references and historical, cultural, and economic lenses.

Religious sermons from figures like Oki and Basalamah illustrate how symbolic violence operates through moral instruction. Obedience and domestic confinement are presented as divine mandates, while women's needs, emotions, and agency are sidelined. Quotations are used selectively to reinforce traditional roles, often ignoring the ethical imperative of mutual care and justice in Islam. As Bourdieu notes, symbolic violence is effective precisely because it is misrecognized as truth. This study urges a critical re-examination of gendered religious discourse, one that balances scriptural interpretation with lived realities and upholds the ethical spirit of equity in Islam.

c) *Polygamy as a Religious Mandate*

Polygamy is a contentious issue in religious discourse, especially regarding its implications for women. Prominent male preachers such as Khalid

Basalamah adopt a rigid stance, presenting polygamy as divinely mandated. Basalamah repeatedly asserts, *"This is a religious commandment, not me saying it"* (Basalamah, 2022, 2023). This framing constitutes symbolic violence, silencing critique, especially from women, under the weight of religious obligation.

He reinforces this view through personal testimony, stating:

"I have conveyed this (sermon) not because it is my personal discourse advocating polygamy. It is Allah SWT who commands it. I, too, engage in it; I am a practitioner (of polygamy) following the directive of the Prophet Muhammad. Numerous times, my wife has questioned, 'Why, you (Basalamah), engage in polygamy?' (Polygamy is practised) because of the command of the Prophet. I affirm this and consistently convey it to her (my wife), aiming for her acceptance of the laws of Allah SWT" (Basalamah, 2023).

This justification, citing divine instruction to validate personal behaviour, can compel women to accept polygamy even when reluctant. Indeed, Basalamah's congregants report their wives' refusal to attend his sermons due to his endorsement of polygamy (Ilmu Islam, 2020). His response to these refusals is stark:

"Feel free; if she chooses not to attend, the door is open for departure. I am merely conveying the laws of Allah. I am not perturbed by whether one person, ten, or twelve decides to leave. If she genuinely desires what is right, she should adhere to the laws of Allah. If she cannot accept them, it is advisable for her to pray to Allah, as her understanding may be lacking. It is not feasible to disregard the laws of Allah due to personal desires or inclinations. Rejecting the laws of Allah is not an option" (Ilmu Islam, 2020).

Here, dissent is framed as a spiritual deficiency, and obedience becomes a measure of piety. In contrast, Oki Setiana Dewi presents a more measured tone. While not rejecting polygamy, she emphasises strict prerequisites, mental readiness, financial capacity, religious knowledge, and fairness (Dewi, 2022). Oki offers nuanced cases where women advocate for polygamy themselves:

“There are even types of wives who, out of compassion for their husbands’ biological needs, suggest polygamy. For instance, a wife might express, I often cannot fulfil my husband’s desires. Therefore, some wives encourage their husbands to practice polygamy, as if acknowledging this aspect of their husband’s biological needs.”

“We also see that polygamy can serve to avoid committing adultery, especially if there are men with such intense desires” (Dewi, 2022).

Oki treats polygamy as part of Islamic law but insists it be practised with sincere religious intention. This framing may inadvertently reinforce Basalamah’s more rigid interpretation, potentially contributing to symbolic violence by limiting space for critique.

In contrast, Mamah Dedeh offers a critical view. She argues that the Quranic verse on polygamy should not be seen as a command but as a historical limitation:

“In the pre-Islamic era, among the Arabs, marrying multiple women was common, with individuals having unions with 10, 20, or even dozens of women. However, with the advent of this verse, men were restricted to marrying a maximum of four women if they could afford it. It is crucial to note that this verse is not a command or a recommendation; rather, it is a neutral statement, serving merely as an informative notification” (Religione, 2022).

d) *Mechanisms of Symbolic Violence*

The manifestation of symbolic violence within religious lectures can be analysed through the lens of Bourdieu's concepts of euphemisation and censorship (Bourdieu, 1991; Rusdiarti, 2003). Violence enacted within the euphemisation framework is characterised by its subtlety, often escaping the awareness of the recipient, and even operating unconsciously on the part of the agent. Since the mechanisms at play within this framework are imperceptible, working subtly, and often going unnoticed, they are also frequently chosen unconsciously. The manifestations of violence within this mechanism include trust, obligation, loyalty, and courtesy.

In specific sermons delivered by Oki, the absence of symbolic violence is evident. However, language emphasising the foundation of the Quran and hadiths implies a doctrinal perspective. This communication is executed with politeness that conveys obedience to religious mandates. Similarly, Basalamah consistently grounds his discourse in Quranic and hadith arguments, albeit frequently employing more assertive expressions. The incorporation of examples, whether presented directly or indirectly, reinforces the audience's belief in the substantive nature of the message. For instance, Oki (2020 and 2022) cited a friend who was requested by her husband to cease working, and a polygamist was introduced directly to the audience to illustrate that polygamy is not inherently negative. Additionally, Basalamah (cited in Ilmu Islam, 2020) frequently employs personal examples of his own polygamous experiences.

Meanwhile, within the paradigm of the sensory mechanism, symbolic violence is regarded as integral to the preservation of values or teachings deemed virtuous

(Bourdieu, 1991). Any dissenting views may be construed as a departure from religious doctrines. Although not explicitly articulated, the expression of reward or merit for individual actions can function as censorship within this context. For instance, Oki's assertion (2022) that a woman can easily attain heaven by merely praying five times a day and demonstrating obedience to her husband is an illustrative example.

Similarly, Basalamah (2020) asserted the absolute nature of obedience to husbands, citing it as a directive. He referenced a hadith, narrated by Tirmidhi and Ahmad, stating, *"if I (Allah) could order someone to prostrate to someone other than Allah, then I would certainly order women to prostrate to their husbands"*. The censorship mechanism, in this context, aims to sustain values or regulations by legitimising the discourse through specific arguments. While there is merit in legitimising discourse through religious arguments, a limited comprehension may oversimplify the issue, potentially leading to additional complications. Violation of these values is regarded as a breach of 'moral honour', with transgression being seen as a form of moral degradation (Rusdiarti, 2003).

Symbolic violence seeks to secure compliance and legitimacy. It operates grandly scale by ingraining certain notions as inherently natural or even indispensable. Religious arguments serve to bolster the rationale and justification behind this mechanism. Bourdieu (1991) underscores the significance of viewing language as a marketplace or battlefield where diverse forms of capital are at play. The dominant class, wielding an array of capitals, possesses the ability to exert control over the domain (Haryatmoko, 2003).

3. Patriarchal Domination in Discourse

The discourse surrounding religious content, particularly within Islam, has extensively explored the prevalence of patriarchal influences. Classical Islamic knowledge sources predominantly feature male authors who were shaped by patriarchal cultural contexts. The primary references on gender roles often stem from works on *fiqh* or Islamic law. Even interpretations of the Quran found in tafsir literature are not immune to interpretations perceived as highly patriarchal (Nurmila, 2015; Umar, 1999). The books of tafsir, in particular, serve as widely consulted resources, utilised by both Muslim and non-Muslim scholars seeking to either enhance their understanding of religious matters or critique Islamic knowledge. Hence, the considerable thickness of patriarchal discourse in discussions of gender issues is a natural outcome.

Umar (1999) illustrates the manifestation of gender stereotypes in interpreting the relationship dynamics between men and women, both within the household and in the public sphere. In An-Nisa: 34, the Quran employs the terms '*rijal*', '*nisa*', and '*marah*' to designate men and women, where the use of these terms signifies gender rather than biological sex. If a reference to biological sex was intended, the terms '*dzakar*' (male) and '*untsa*' (female) might have been employed. The term '*rijal*' in the phrase '*ar-rijalu qawwamuna ala nisa*' implies that those capable of leadership are not limited solely to men based on biological distinctions but rather extend to individuals possessing advantageous qualities. Subhan (1999, pp. 177–180) aligns with Umar's perspective (1999), contending that proficiency within the household is not contingent on biological factors but may encompass attributes such as education, skills, and economic advantages derived from income. Engineer (1992) cogently argues that '*ar-rijalu qawwamuna ala nisa*' holds theological and historical significance. Consequently, these verses are considered

a source of knowledge that can impart valuable lessons (2011). They provide insights into the contextual portrayal of a male-dominated Arab society and Islam's endeavours to ameliorate prevailing socio-cultural conditions.

The interpretation presented above contrasts significantly with the perspectives articulated in the lectures by Oki and Basalamah, where they assert the unequivocal leadership of men within the household. Consequently, the interpretation of the verse carries implications for the complete subjugation, subordination, and domestication of women, extending into the public sphere. Oki (2023) elucidated this viewpoint during his discourse.

“In a hadith narrated by Bukhari, it is mentioned that each of you is a leader and will be held accountable for their leadership. The head of the state is a leader, and he will be held accountable for his leadership over the people. The head of the family is a leader for his family, and a woman becomes a leader in her husband's house. A woman is the leader at home to take care of the children. In essence, her primary responsibilities are to serve her husband and educate the children; these are the duties of a woman”.

The concluding statement in the lecture underscores the unequivocal notion of women's exclusion from the public sphere and their subordination to men. The interpretation conveyed by lecturers within the *tarbiyah* movement reflects a submissive adherence to texts interpreted literally, lacking sufficient contextualization. Comparable observations are evident in Hayat's research (2022). In a somewhat divergent approach, Dedeh occasionally incorporates contextual understanding to impart a more nuanced meaning suitable for the audience (cited in Religione, 2022, 2022).

In the context of polygamy, as elucidated previously, she interprets the Quranic verse as providing information on the

societal conditions prevalent in Arab society during that era. While acknowledging the divine nature of the verse, she endeavours to comprehend it comprehensively by considering the historical and social milieu at the time of its revelation. Conversely, Qurtuby's research (2022) highlights a contemporary cultural shift and a distinct interpretation of polygamy within present-day Arab society. Through interviews with young individuals in Arabia, Qurtuby observes a prevailing tendency towards monogamy despite the legal permissibility of polygamy under state law. Anthropologically speaking, polygamy is construed as a cultural expression that varies across regions, evolving in response to specific economic, cultural, and social dynamics (Dalton & Leung, 2014). Consequently, polygamy should not solely be understood as a religious precept but also as a societal response and solution to emerging challenges.

The prevalent dominance evident in the discourse disseminated by the preachers affiliated with the *tarbiyah* group is intricately linked to their model of comprehending religious teachings. The received religious teachings are embraced as absolute truths, and the acquired understanding is regarded as an incontrovertible verity, negating the need for debate. Consequently, these religious teachings are perceived as an ideal representation of reality by virtue of their divine origin. Dilliston (2002) asserts that this recognition positions religion as a symbol system that provides a framework for communicating and interpreting disseminated signs.

In the realm of religious teachings expounded by *tarbiyah* preachers, the conveyed discourse operates as a symbol system instrumental in shaping and endorsing specific ideologies. The imperative of wives' absolute obedience to their husbands, the endorsement of polygamy, and the domestication of women are normalised expectations within the congregation, considered integral components of Sharia law. Despite the speaker's insistence that these teachings must be accepted without question,

it inadvertently engenders symbolic violence by fostering inflexibility and resistance to embracing religious doctrines. This is evident in the interactions between the worshippers and Basalamah, where a congregant expressed concern about their spouse refusing to attend his recitations. Basalamah responded assertively, stating, *"Feel free; if she chooses not to attend, the door is open for departure. I am merely conveying the laws of Allah. I am not perturbed by whether one person, ten, or twelve decides to leave. If she genuinely desires what is right, she should adhere to the laws of Allah"*.

The repetitive dissemination of discourse, featuring diverse religious figures addressing the same issue and content, possesses the potential to engender symbolic domination. Symbolic domination, infused with symbolic power, instils recognition, belief, reinforcement, and alteration of one's worldview (Bourdieu, 1991). Symbolic power operates by exerting control over symbols and shaping reality through the utilisation of a symbol system. This form of symbolic power can be likened to a magical force capable of inducing compliance among individuals or community groups. The efficacy of symbolic domination is most pronounced when individuals or community groups accept it tacitly without recognising the coercion inherent in the symbolic messages (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 164).

Discourse that is consistently delivered in various forums by religious presenters becomes an accepted truth for the congregation, particularly when recipients refrain from seeking alternative knowledge sources. Furthermore, when the discourse extends beyond mere information and incorporates established rules, values, and conventions that govern and exert influence over time, presenting itself as a logical truth, it evolves into what Bourdieu terms *'doxa'* (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 228). The formulation of these rules stems from the cumulative process of learning and socialisation within social spaces, shaped through dialectical interactions between agents and structures.

Interestingly, within the framework of the discourse disseminated by the preachers (agents), patriarchal forces dominate, even when articulated by female preachers. This occurrence suggests that the process of individual socialisation and the accumulated learning experience may be steeped in patriarchal influence, possibly overlooking emergent social dynamics. The environment serving as the backdrop for socialisation, the learning process, and even the selected social milieu all contribute to shaping the patriarchal dominance and habitus of the agent.

Reaffirming patriarchal dominance within the gender discourse, saturated with symbolic violence, necessitates a deeper examination of the dynamics involving agents, structures, habitus, capital, and field (Bourdieu, 1990b). Nevertheless, it is crucial to underscore in this analysis that the agent's confinement within a unidirectional sphere of knowledge contributes to the establishment and perpetuation of patriarchal dominance. In fact, Haryatmoko (2003, p. 17) posits that male dominance over women through discourse, particularly by highlighting women's dependence on men, falls under the category of symbolic violence.

C. Conclusion

This study concludes that religious sermons delivered by preachers affiliated with Islamic educational movements have the potential to perpetuate violence against women. Various forms of symbolic violence are evident, often going unnoticed by both preachers and congregants due to the subtle, subconscious, and largely unquestioned nature of such violence. The principal issues contributing to this potential for symbolic violence centre on domestic dynamics, particularly relating to women's obedience to men, leadership roles, the division of domestic and public responsibilities, and the topic of polygamy. The

persistence of patriarchal dominance within these discourses is sustained by the preachers' reliance on unilateral interpretations of religious knowledge, with limited engagement in dialogue with broader social contexts or alternative epistemologies. Such discourse, deeply embedded in patriarchal norms, constitutes a form of symbolic violence that reinforces gender inequality through the legitimisation of hierarchical gender roles.

Clarity on this matter can be achieved through additional studies that scrutinise agency, structure, habitus, capital, and field. Bourdieu's theoretical framework on social practices can elucidate further problematic aspects contributing to the growth of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1990b). Nevertheless, given the constraints of this article, the scope of this study is confined to the manifestation of symbolic violence and the constraints imposed by patriarchal domination within discourse.

REFERENCES

- Al Qurtuby, S. (2022). Between Polygyny and Monogamy: Marriage in Saudi Arabia and Beyond. *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, 60(1), 29–62. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2022.601.29-62>
- Al-Bantani, N. bin U. bin A. (1990). *Uqud al-Lujain fii Bayan Huquq al-Zawjain*. Al-Hidayah.
- Alnashava, P. (2012). *Dalam serial komedi situasi How I Met Your Mother*. Universitas Indonesia.
- Basalamah, U. K. (Director). (2020, September 26). 70 Kekeliruan Wanita – #49 Wanita Muslimah Keluar Untuk Bekerja [Broadcast]. In *Khalid Basalamah Official*. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qw-p0I56Kwk>
- Basalamah, U. K. (Director). (2022, January 6). [KHB TJ] Suami Ingin Poligami, Tetapi Istri Belum Siap [Broadcast]. In *Khalid Basalamah Official*. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fh0zCBIEzQQ>
- Basalamah, U. K. (Director). (2023, March 9). Menuju Rumah Tangga Bahagia #3: Kewajiban Suami & Kewajiban Istri (Part 2) [Broadcast]. In *Khalid Basalamah Official*. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=46SZ5-nJd3A>
- Bourdieu, P. (1990a). In *Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology*. Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990b). *The Logic of Practice*. Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and Symbolic Power*. Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1996). *The Rule of Art, Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*. Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (2001). *Masculine domination*. Stanford University Press.
- Bretthauer, B., Zimmerman, T. S., & Banning, J. H. (2007). A Feminist Analysis of Popular Music: Power Over, Objectification of, and Violence Against Women. *Journal of Feminist Family Therapy*, 18(4), 29–51. https://doi.org/10.1300/J086v18n04_02

- Budiman, A. (1985). *Pembagian Kerja Secara Seksual: Sebuah Pemahaman Sosiologi Peran Wanita di dalam Masyarakat*. PT Gramedia.
- Dalton, J. T., & Leung, T. C. (2014). Why Is Polygyny More Prevalent in Western Africa? An African Slave Trade Perspective. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 62(4), 599–632. <https://doi.org/10.1086/676531>
- Delphy, C. (1984). *Close to Home: A Materialist Analysis of Women's Oppression*. Hutchinson.
- Dewi, O.S. (Director). (2020, May 1). Poligami dengan 3 istri? Rukun dan Damai [Broadcast]. In *Oki Setiana Dewi*. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ltNpR84sYfA>
- Dewi, O. S. (Director). (2022, April 30). EPS 28 | Jika Oki Setiana Dedi di Poligami [Broadcast]. In *Oki Setiana Dewi*. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ntdLQUatIKc>
- Dewi, O. S. (Director). (2023, July 20). Menjadi Wanita Terbaik menurut Islam-Ustadzah Oki Setiana Dewi [Broadcast]. In *Yudhi Fitwalsyah*. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l1zT9PD8GGI>
- Dilliston, F. W. (2002). *Daya Kekuatan Simbol [The Power of Symbols]*. Kanisius.
- Engineer, A. A. (1992). *The Rights of Women in Islam*. C. Hurst & Co.
- Fakih, M. (2006). *Analisis Gender dan Transformasi Sosial* (10th ed.). Pustaka Pelajar.
- Haryatmoko. (2003). *Landasan Teoritis Gerakan Sosial Menurut Pierre Bourdieu: Menyingkap Kepalsuan Budaya Penguasa*. 11–12, 3–23.
- Haryatmoko. (2010). *Dominasi Penuh Muslihat, Akar Kekerasan dan Diskriminasi*. PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Hasan, N. (2012). Islamist Party, Electoral Politics and Da'wah Mobilization among Youth: The Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in Indonesia. *JOURNAL OF INDONESIAN ISLAM*, 6(1), 17. <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2012.6.1.17-47>

- Hayat, M. J. (2022). Preaching Islamic Legal Rules on Screen: Conservatism on Islamic Family Law in Digital-Based Dakwah Program Mamah dan Aa Beraksi. *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, 60(2), 427–466. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2022.602.427-466>
- Ilmu Islam (Director). (2020, July 5). Poligami Bukan Aib [Broadcast]. In *Ustadz Khalid Basalamah*. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pUIQtZoyzg>
- Jenkins, R. (1992). *Pierre Bourdieu*. Routledge.
- Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan. (2023). *Lembar Fakta Catatan Tahunan Komnas Perempuan Tahun 2023 Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan di Ranah Publik dan Negara: Minimnya Pelindungan dan Pemulihan*. KOMNAS Perempuan. <https://komnasperempuan.go.id/download-file/949>
- Liestyaningsih Dwi, D. (2006). Potret Kekerasan Gender dalam Sinetron Komedi di Televisi. *Jurnal Masyarakat, Kebudayaan Dan Politik*, 19(3), 15–34.
- Made, M. (2020). Domestiksasi Perempuan dalam Ceramah Ustaz Firanda Andirja: Kajian Wacana Fairclough. *Saraswati*, 2(2), 102. <https://doi.org/10.30742/sv.v2i2.1079>
- Ma'mun, S., & Maliki, I. A. (2023). A Socio-Historical Study of Women's Rights Advocacy in Islamic Legal Construction. *Journal of Southeast Asian Human Rights*, 7(1), 1. <https://doi.org/10.19184/jseahr.v7i1.39156>
- Muafiah, E. (2010). Kyai, Pengantin dan Netralitas Masyarakat: Studi Analisis Gender terhadap Ceramah Agama pada Acara Resepsi Pernikahan di Ponorogo. *Kodifikasi*, 4(1), 1–25. <https://doi.org/10.21154/kodifikasia.v4i1.747>.
- Muhammad, H. (2011). *Ijtihad Kiayi Husein: Upaya Membangun Keadilan Gender*. Rahima.
- Mulia, S. M. (2012). *Wanita untuk Pencerahan dan Kesenjangan dalam Perkawinan dan Keluarga*. Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan.
- Novarisa, G. (2019). Dominasi Patriarki Berbentuk Kekerasan Simbolik terhadap Perempuan ada Sinetron. *Bricolage* :

- Jurnal Magister Ilmu Komunikasi*, 5(02), 195. <https://doi.org/10.30813/bricolage.v5i02.1888>
- Nurmila, N. (2015). Pengaruh Budaya Patriarki terhadap Pemahaman Agama dan Pembentukan Budaya. *KARSA: Jurnal Sosial Dan Budaya Keislaman*, 23(1), 1. <https://doi.org/10.19105/karsa.v23i1.606>
- Piliang, Y. A. (2006). *Dunia yang Dilipat: Tamasya Melampaui Batas-Batas Kebudayaan*. Jelasutra.
- Religione (Director). (2022, May 22). Poligami, Kebutuhan Atau Anjuran? [Broadcast]. In *Rumah Mamah Dedeh TVOne*. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HsBU3TmaT0M>.
- Rusdiarti, S. R. (2003). Bahasa, Pertarungan Simbolik dan Kekuasaan. *Basis*, 11-12, 31-40.
- Shalah, A. 'amr 'Ustman ibn 'Abd al-R. I. (1972). *Ulûm al-Hadits*. Al-Maktabah al-Islamiyah.
- Shalih, S. (1988). *'Ulûm al-Hadits wa Musthalahuh*. Dar al-'Ilm li al-Malayin.
- Sobari, T. (2011). Kekerasan Simbolik dalam Bahasa Lirik Lagu. *Jurnal Artikulasi*, 10(1), 94-105.
- Subhan, Z. (1999). *Tafsir Kebencian: Studi Bias Jender dalam Tafsir al-Qur'an*. Lembaga Kajian islam dan Sosial (LKIS).
- Thompson, J. B. (2007). *Analisis Ideologi: Kritik Wacana Ideologi-ideologi Dunia*. IRCiSoD.
- Umar, N. (1999). *Argumen Kesetaraan Jender Perspektif Al-Qur'an*. Paramadina.
- Walby, S. (1989). Theorizing Patriarchy. *Sociology*, 23(2), 213-234.
- Weber, M. (1947). *The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation*. Free Press.
- Zain, M. F. (2020). The Woman's Face In Uqūd Al-Lujain: A Study of Misogynist Hadith. *International Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Science (IJRISS)*, 4(6), 198-202.