



Hidden Domination Mechanism in Student Intolerance Practices at Higher Education in Bima City

Syukurman Syukurman^{1*}, Syamsu A. Kamaruddin¹, Arlin Adam², Syamsidah Syamsidah¹,
Najamuddin Najamuddin¹

¹ Universitas Negeri Makassar, Rappocini District, Makassar City, Sulawesi Selatan, **Indonesia**

² Universitas Mega Buana Palopo, Palopo City, Sulawesi Selatan, 91913, **Indonesia**

Abstract

This study examines the Mechanism of covert domination in the social practices of student intolerance in Higher Education (HE) in Bima City, with a focus on to investigate how covert domination in the social practices of student intolerance operates in HE at Bima City. The study uses a descriptive qualitative research method. This study began with data collection through various techniques such as in-depth interviews, observations, and document reviews. These data were then analyzed to find patterns of intolerant behavior and the social and cultural contexts that underlie them. The results of this study reveal organizational dominance, manipulation of student awareness, exclusion of minority groups, normalization of campus life, and neglect of minority religious practices. The results also show that the dominance of certain student organizations often creates a non-inclusive environment, where student awareness is manipulated to support certain agendas, resulting in the exclusion of minority groups. Minority religious practices are often ignored, which contributes to the normalization of intolerant campus life. Then in this study it was found that inclusive education and the formation of an equal community in realizing a more tolerant HE in Bima City.

Keywords: Covert Domination, Social Practices, Intolerance, Student, Higer Education.

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INTRODUCTION

Higher Education (HE) has a very important role in forming tolerant individuals in every person [1]. HE is not only an institution that only provides quality Human Resources (HR), but also a center for culture, critical thinking, and tolerant character development [2]. As an educational institution, HE is responsible for providing a quality learning environment. In the last 10 years, Indonesia has shown signs of intolerance, radicalism, and terrorism [3]. Acts of terrorism, attacks on minority groups, restrictions on activities, and book burning are manifestations of this intolerance and radicalism. Although most of the events occurred in only a few areas, the potential for intolerance and radicalism still exists and can emerge widely in the future if not handled seriously [4].

There are research studies indicating that symptoms of intolerance still exist in society, including among students and pupils. For example, the results of a survey from the Indonesian Survey Circle showed that 31% of students were intolerant [3]. If HE does not pay attention to the impact of intolerant social practices among students, various negative consequences can occur. Students feel that differences in culture, religion, and background are not appreciated or recognized, so that the campus environment becomes less inclusive and unfriendly [5]. In addition, without sufficient attention, students do not get adequate education about the importance of culture.

The covert dominance of intolerant practices among students in HE is a complex and multidimensional problem. Research shows that intolerance often arises from a limited understanding of diversity and the influence of a less supportive social environment. In this case, university leaders play a key role in creating an inclusive campus culture. However, several studies have shown that these leaders are sometimes involved in discriminatory actions, both openly and implicitly, which actually worsen the situation of intolerance [6]. This finding is supported by research showing that a sense of threat and fundamentalism among students can worsen political intolerance, thereby increasing tensions between groups [7]. Indifference to intolerance can also lead to increased conflict between students, both verbally and physically, which ultimately disrupts the

* Correspondence Address

E-mail: syukurmanstkip@gmail.com



teaching and learning process and creates an unsafe campus atmosphere. Lack of handling intolerance can damage harmony on campus, reducing the sense of togetherness and solidarity among students.

Verkuyten and Kollar [5], the use of exclusive, derogatory, and slanderous language that can reduce, demean, and dehumanize cultural, racial, national, or sexual groups. Meanwhile Erwenta et al. [8], said that one-third of students in Indonesia show religious intolerance. Research conducted by PPIM UIN Jakarta revealed that 30.16 percent of students in Indonesia tend to be intolerant. This shows that religious intolerance is still a significant issue among Indonesian students. The results of the study show that the views and actions of individuals in society are influenced by their social and religious paradigms. Some respondents (42% quite agree and 8% agree) have intolerant and hateful views, easily judging someone as an infidel. In this context, some students (21% quite agree and 3% agree) mistakenly associate jihad with violence. In addition, some respondents (22% quite agree and 3% agree) misinterpret jihad as terrorism, and some (15% quite agree and 2% agree) consider suicide bombings as a form of jihad [9]. In general, the term "intolerance" reflects an attitude of reluctance to accept differences in behavior and beliefs. In another context, it can be interpreted as an unwillingness to accept things that are different from oneself. The word "intolerance" comes from the prefix "in-" which means "not" or "not". On the other hand, the word "tolerance" refers to a tolerant attitude or trait, which shows limitations or leniency in accepting deviations that are still acceptable in a measurement or performance standard [10].

Some people believe that intolerance stems from fanatical and critical thinking obtained from extreme groups. In fact, the educational environment is considered one of the causes of the emergence of radical thinking, which can lead to individual egoism and confrontation with the views of others, which can end in serious consequences. All of this carries risks, including being quick to judge the beliefs of people of different religions, even to the point of causing acts of terrorism, which are very dangerous for the unity of religious communities for the nation and state [4]. Domination in the HE field in Bima city can be reflected in institutional structures, policies, and norms that benefit certain groups and hinder other groups. For example, if the institutional structure tends to support groups that prioritize exclusivity, this can be capital for symbolic domination that supports or maintains intolerance.

According to Warner [11], there are a number of factors that play a role in forming tolerant or intolerant views in a society. These factors involve demographic aspects, cultural and political background, affiliations and associations, policies, values, ideologies, religious meanings, and access to social media. Although the symptoms of tolerance and intolerance have many causes, some of these factors stand out because they have a significant influence and precede other factors. It is important to note that symptoms of intolerance can lead to radicalism. If the level of intolerance increases, signs of radicalism will be increasingly visible.

Intolerance in the campus environment is a complex phenomenon, influenced by various factors such as institutional policies, social interactions, and cultural dynamics. In this context, strengthening religious moderation is one of the key strategies to overcome intolerance among students. Verkuyten et al., [12] shows that through dialogue based on brotherhood and the religious moderation literacy movement on the HE, intolerance among students can be overcome. This view is in line with the idea that inclusive and dialogical education can create a more tolerant academic environment. In addition, Fosnacht and Broderick [13] emphasizes the importance of synergy between students from various regions, by showing that regional student organizations on campus can be a forum to reduce the potential for intolerance based on regional differences. In the HE arena in the city of Bima, there is a battle for capital where individuals try to maintain or improve their social position. Capital, according to Bourdieu, can take various forms, including economic, social, and symbolic capital. Individuals compete to accumulate and convert this capital in order to obtain a higher position in the social structure of Higher Education Institutions (HEI).

Humans, as social beings, should avoid all forms of problems and conflicts, including by developing skills in designing effective communication strategies between individuals. So far, social disintegration has often been caused by a lack of communication built by society itself. With interdependence between individuals, communication plays a very important role as a tool to connect desires between individuals in social groups and in solving various problems [14]. In Bima City, there are Universities including Nggusuwaru University (UNSWA), Muhammadiyah University of Bima, STIT Sunan Giri Bima, and Mbozo University, and several other Universities. As one of the centers of HE in Bima Regency, Dompu, and Bima City in Nusa Tenggara Barat Province (NTB).

Educational institutions are considered as entities that have the greatest potential to instill values of togetherness, unity, and closeness amidst ethnic, racial, religious, and cultural diversity. The task of

educational institutions is to be able to carry out social integration, namely combining children from various religions, cultures and sub-cultures and forming a society that has shared values even though it is heterogeneous. It is hoped that educational institutions will be able to shape attitudes in students to respect other people, cultures, religions, and different beliefs through multicultural education [15].

The problem of intolerance that occurs in educational institutions shows that educational institutions need to be improved. To improve educational institutions, the main thing to do is to familiarize school habitus that encourages character and culture of tolerance among students. Schools are one of the institutions that form national attitudes and conduct dialogue between social groups in the country. Therefore, a student's habitus of tolerance is formed and developed in schools. However, there has been no study on how the habitus of tolerance is developed in schools. This is important because the problems of the education sector in Indonesia are not only limited to cognitive access and quality constraints, but also non-cognitive quality constraints, such as low nuances of empathy between groups, especially in terms of religious tolerance [16]. The lack of dialogue between groups contributes significantly to the social practice of intolerance. Stereotypes and prejudices against certain groups tend to grow due to the absence of opportunities for positive interaction and mutual understanding. In this context, social media plays a crucial role in shaping student opinions and perceptions. The rapid spread of incorrect or tendentious information can exacerbate the situation, worsening the atmosphere and reinforcing intolerant attitudes among students.

The tendency of intolerance within the higher education (HE) environment underscores the urgent need to understand its root causes, dynamics, and impact on the social lives of students in Bima City. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to understand the mechanisms of covert domination in the practice of student intolerance in higher education in Bima City. This research aims to explore how covert domination operates within the context of student intolerance and its impact on the social dynamics in higher education. Given the significance of this issue, this study is crucial for developing a deeper understanding and potential solutions to intolerance in higher education.

METHOD

This study uses a qualitative description approach. This approach is used to obtain the meaning and essence of the life experiences of the subjects studied, the researcher uses an emic approach through in-depth interviews with people who experience it, as well as direct observation of ongoing social activities and actions. The type of research used in this study is an in-depth study of the mechanism of covert domination of social practices of student intolerance in the HE environment in the city of Bima. The selection of research locations was carried out at universities located in the city of Bima. The Universities in the city of Bima that are the subjects are Nggusuwaru University (UNSWA), Muhammadiyah University of Bima, and STIT Sunan Giri Bima, with the reason for choosing the location based on the phenomenon of social practices of intolerance that occur among students in the city of Bima. This study focuses on an in-depth analysis of the mechanism of covert domination in the social practices of student intolerance in universities in the city of Bima.

Data collection techniques by conducting in-depth interviews with students from various Universities in the city of Bima. Interview as one of the scientific methods, a systematic recording of the phenomena being investigated [17]. While in document analysis is done by collecting related documents, such as incident reports, with social practices of intolerance related to universities in the city of Bima. This is done to find evidence or information that supports the research findings. The data analysis technique used in the study using the Spradley qualitative data analysis model involves a series of systematic and in-depth steps to understand and interpret the qualitative data collected during the study. Several data validity techniques can be applied to increase the validity and reliability of the study. Data validity is carried out with the aim of proving whether the study can be considered scientific research as well as to test the reliability of the data that has been collected.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Result

1. Domination of Organizations

In general, intolerance is an attitude or view that does not accept differences and does not respect the beliefs, opinions or customs of others. The practice of student intolerance that occurs at universities in the city of Bima is caused by various factors, including stereotypes of religion, culture, and different views of beliefs towards an organization. The form of hidden domination among students at universities in the city of Bima

can be found from the attitudes of students with a majority background who often dominate discussion spaces and activities at universities in the city of Bima by ignoring minority voices.

Forms of intolerance of students who come from minority groups or who are different often experience marginalization in daily interactions at the Universities. This can occur in the form of exclusion from student organization activities, discrimination in the selection of BEM or UKM in the universities, or stereotypical judgments from lecturers and classmates. This intolerance is not always seen in direct actions or violence, the impact is very detrimental. Students who are victims of this social practice of intolerance often feel unaccepted and isolated, which can affect their mental and social health. Furthermore, this hidden domination hinders the development of an inclusive Universities culture in the city of Bima that values diversity, which ultimately harms the entire Universities itself.

Although Universities in Bima City do not actively instill a culture of intolerance, this practice is still observed in daily student interactions. This phenomenon is increasingly apparent, for example during the momentum of the Student Executive Board (BEM) and Student Activity Unit (UKM) elections, as well as in activities organized by external organizations at Universities in Bima City. Differences in political views and interests often trigger tensions among students. In this process, students are divided into different camps, thus strengthening feelings of intolerance and reducing a sense of togetherness. The following is an interview with an informant with the initials IH as a lecturer:

"This can cause friction and conflict, especially when activities held by external organizations conflict with the values or policies upheld by the HEI. This conflict can trigger intolerant behavior among students who support one organization over another. There are several sub-ethnicities in the city of Bima that have a fairly long history that ends in conflict, which triggers acts of intolerance. For example, the Ngali, Donggo, and Sape sub-ethnicities. Ngali is known for the Ngali war, Donggo is known for the rebellion of Ompu Donggo against the king of Bima, as well as Sape and other areas in Bima. These events become the historical background that shapes the character and attitudes of Higher Education Institution (HEI) students in the city of Bima. The heroism of this history causes turmoil and acts of intolerance among Higher Education Institution (HEI) students in the city of Bima" (Interview, 05/13/2024).

This situation shows that the political dynamics of HEI in Bima City and ideological differences are factors that trigger intolerance. To overcome this problem, efforts are needed from all parties to encourage constructive and inclusive dialogue. HEI in Bima City need to provide discussion forums that allow students from various backgrounds and views to exchange ideas openly and respect each other. In this way, HEI in Bima City can create a more harmonious and tolerant environment. Meanwhile, a lecturer with the initials AZ also provided views on the social dynamics of sub-cultures in Bima Regency and City which are also one of the causes of intolerance practices between students in Bima City.

"The social dynamics of sub-cultures in Bima Regency and City have a significant influence on student behavior, including the practice of intolerance. Bima City is an urban center that tends to be more diverse, while Bima Regency is still influenced by very strong traditions. When students from different backgrounds meet, tensions often arise due to differences in values and outlooks on life. One of the main triggers of intolerance is differences in perspective on local cultural identity, which sometimes gives rise to exclusive attitudes among students." (Interview, 05/20/2024).

The results of the interviews provide a clear picture of how the social dynamics of sub-cultures in Bima Regency and City affect student behavior, especially in the practice of intolerance. On the one hand, Bima City, which is more open and diverse, allows for meetings between various cultures. Meanwhile, in Bima Regency, local traditions and cultures are still very strong. When students from these two backgrounds interact, differences in their outlook on life and the values they adhere to often cause friction. Strong cultural identities, when not balanced with an understanding of diversity, can be a factor that worsens the situation. Students who are strongly attached to traditional values may feel uncomfortable or even threatened by different cultures or thoughts, and this exacerbates the tendency for intolerance. The dynamics of sub-cultures in Bima Regency and City can be seen from interviews with informants with the initials TSF who are lecturers on multiculturalism at one of the Universities in Bima City:

"Sub-cultures in Bima, both in the city and in the district, are very diverse, and this creates its own challenges. On the one hand, there are efforts to maintain a strong local identity, but on the other hand, there are inevitable differences. Students from rural areas, for example, often feel less accepted in the city because of differences in lifestyle and mindset. Conversely, city students often feel superior and this causes tension. Intolerant practices

occur due to a lack of understanding of cultural diversity, which should be a wealth, not a source of division." (Interview, 05/28/2024).

The informant's explanation above illustrates the complexity of the social dynamics that occur in Bima, both in the city and in the district, and how the diversity of sub-cultures creates challenges in interactions between students. On the one hand, a strong local identity is an important element maintained by the community, both in urban and rural areas. However, the existing diversity often gives rise to unavoidable differences, especially when students from different cultural backgrounds interact. Intolerance that occurs among students can be caused by a lack of understanding and appreciation of the existing cultural diversity. Instead of seeing cultural differences as wealth, many students are trapped in a narrow and defensive mindset. The inability to see diversity as a source of strength is the root of the problem, and this has the potential to worsen divisions between them. In fact, if this diversity is understood properly, it can be a foundation for enriching social and intellectual experiences on campus. Meanwhile, a student with the initials KL from Labuan Bajo-NTT expressed his experience of student organization culture at a universities in the city of Bima:

"Student organizations in Bima city are very strong in maintaining their values and culture. I see this as a dilemma. On the one hand, they are very proud of their origins, but on the other hand, that pride is often excessive, to the point where they consider their culture superior to others. I often experience this in various campus activities, where my original culture from Labuan Bajo is considered foreign or less important. This clearly has an impact on the practice of intolerance because they tend to form groups based on culture and sideline students from other areas." (Interview, 07/05/2024).

Regional organizations among students of HEI in the city of Bima operate. Although maintaining local values and culture is important, there is a limit to where cultural pride can become a barrier to creating an inclusive environment. When this pride turns into an attitude of superiority, students from outside, such as those from Labuan Bajo, can feel ignored or even marginalized in student activities. The attitude that considers one's own culture superior not only limits the space for dialogue, but also strengthens polarization among students. Local culture that is upheld by student organizations becomes a tool of exclusivity, which indirectly instills an intolerant attitude. Students from other regions who have different views or habits are often considered inappropriate or less appreciated.

This creates an unhealthy social dynamic on campus, where openness to cultural differences should be the foundation of broader interactions and enriching academic experiences. When students form groups based on their cultural backgrounds and close themselves off from others, social divisions and tensions become inevitable. As a result, intolerance is increasingly prevalent, not because of cultural differences themselves, but because of an attitude that is not ready to accept diversity. Because the regional organization (Organda) is so strong among students, it is one of the reasons for the increasingly strong dynamics of the dominance of certain organizations in the succession of the Student Executive Board (BEM) election, or HMPS and in the succession of other student organizations. This is as expressed by an informant with the initials IH, who revealed that the practice of student intolerance, although not coming from religious differences, sometimes appears in other aspects, the following is the informant's statement:

"Regional student organizations have a very big influence in the succession of campus student organization elections on campus. For example, in last year's BEM election, Organda was very active in supporting their candidates. They have a strong network and can mobilize many votes. This often makes the election feel unfair, because candidates from outside Organda find it difficult to get the same support. Many students feel that the election is more dominated by organizational strength than by the actual intellectuality of the individual." (Interview, 05/13/2024).

The informant's statement above reveals the imbalance in the election process in student organizations, especially on campuses where regional-based organizations have regional backgrounds. This influence makes the election process feel unfair, with candidates from outside the organization often facing tough challenges in gaining equal support. Student organizations with regional backgrounds have a strategic advantage because they can use their extensive networks to mobilize votes and support candidates from within their organization. This network gives them access to a significant voter base, which is often unattainable for candidates from outside. Thus, even though candidates from outside have good potential and quality, they do not get the same opportunity due to the lack of solid network support.

The impact of this unfairness can affect students' perceptions of the electoral process. Many students feel that elections are dominated by organizational power rather than the merit or intellectual ability of

individual candidates. When organizational power is more influential than the abilities or ideas of candidates, this can reduce students' trust in the campus democratic process and discourage their participation. When organizations such as Organda have a large influence in elections, they can reinforce the power and exclusion of students who do not have the same networks. This creates an atmosphere where students from groups not connected to the dominant organization feel marginalized and undervalued. This unfairness in elections can exacerbate tensions between different student groups, increasing feelings of dissatisfaction and injustice that can lead to intolerant social practices among students.

The strengthening of social practices of intolerance among students at universities in the city of Bima when students involved in regional organizations (Organda) are also active in internal campus organizations that are supported by Universities. This is as from the results of an interview with a student with the initials MI as follows:

"Support from the campus for students who come from the same area or have family ties with campus leaders in Bima City will be stronger if the students are involved in the succession of Ormawa elections. They often get better facilities and access compared to different students. This creates an atmosphere where students who are not involved with Organda feel excluded. This results in frustration and feelings of alienation, which exacerbates social tensions on campus." (Interview, 05/13/2024).

The description of the interview results above shows that the support of HEI in the city of Bima for students who have family relationships with leaders or come from the same area is getting stronger. Students who have these connections often get better access, such as facilities and support, compared to other students. This injustice creates an atmosphere where students who are not connected to Organda or do not have relationships with the leaders of HEI feel marginalized. In the context of social practices of intolerance in HE in Bima City, this inequality can exacerbate existing social tensions. When better facilities and opportunities are given to certain groups based on family ties or regional origins, students who are not included in these groups feel alienated and unappreciated. These feelings can lead to frustration, anger, and a deep sense of injustice.

This sense of marginalization can exacerbate existing social problems in universities in Bima city. Students who feel ignored feel less accepted in the campus community and feel alienated from the wider life of the university. This can lead to social isolation, where students who feel ignored tend to withdraw from campus activities and focus on their own small groups. This inequality not only affects individuals but can also disrupt broader social dynamics, creating a dividing line between groups with greater access and support and those without. This increasing social tension can trigger greater intolerant practices in HE in Bima city, such as discrimination and exclusion. Students who feel marginalized respond with defensive or antagonistic attitudes, which can exacerbate inter-group conflicts. This systematic injustice hinders efforts to create an inclusive and equitable HE environment in Bima city, where all students feel they have equal opportunities and are equally accepted.

2. Manipulation of Student Consciousness

Manipulation of student awareness at universities in Bima City is a complex and sensitive phenomenon. This practice involves covert efforts to influence the way of thinking, perception, and behavior of students at HEI in Bima City. One form of manipulation that occurs is through hidden curriculum and learning materials. Several courses, especially those related to religion and culture, are presented from the perspective of the majority religion and dominant culture which tend to direct students' thinking in a certain direction. This can happen through the selection of biased reading materials or interpretations of religious jurisprudence and others. Cultural and subcultural factors can also be used as tools to manipulate student awareness. Traditional Bima values and interpretations of Islamic religious jurisprudence adopted by organizations that are part of universities are strongly used to legitimize certain views or policies, making students feel obliged to obey or agree to them without critical consideration.

Social pressure and peer pressure in the HE environment in Bima city can also be an effective means of manipulation. Students feel compelled to adopt religious views or behavior, or student organizations supported by the campus in order to be accepted or to avoid social stigma. These manipulation efforts can hinder the development of critical and independent thinking among students in HE in Bima city. This has the potential to affect not only students' academic lives. It is important for students in Bima city to develop critical awareness of these various forms of manipulation. They need to be equipped with the skills to recognize and

analyze information objectively, so that they can make more independent and informed decisions. Another veiled student YS also had the same experience about this:

"I felt very disappointed and unsupported. My lecturer said that the niqab could make others feel uncomfortable and advised me to consider not wearing it on campus. I explained to him that the niqab was part of my identity and beliefs, and I hoped the campus would be more accepting of this diversity. However, I felt that the lecturer did not fully understand the importance of the niqab to me." (Interview, 11/06/2024).

Based on the interview results above, the situation illustrates the challenges faced by students who choose to wear the niqab as part of their expression of religious beliefs. This feeling of disappointment and lack of support indicates a lack of understanding and acceptance of diversity in the Bima City HE environment. Students who wear the niqab often have to explain and defend their choice to people who do not fully understand or appreciate the importance of wearing the niqab. This lack of support and understanding can create a sense of injustice and discomfort for female students who wear the niqab. Female students who wear the niqab feel isolated and less accepted in the Bima city university environment, this can affect the female student's learning experience. This situation also underlines the importance of education and awareness of diversity and inclusivity in the Bima city university environment, so that all students feel valued and supported in expressing their religious identity.

This condition is not only experienced by YS students but also by students with the initials NR who have been wearing a niqab since the beginning of the semester. Due to pressure and the environment of the Bima City College (PT) which does not respect differences, a student with the initials NR who previously wore a niqab removed her niqab and replaced it with a mask when going to campus. The following are the results of an interview with the student:

"Initially, I decided to wear the niqab because I believed that the niqab was a Muslim identity. However, I often experienced negative comments and unpleasant stares from my classmates and even some lecturers. They said that the niqab made me look different and difficult to interact with, both holy and extremist. Finally, because of this pressure, I decided to stop wearing the niqab on campus so that I could feel more accepted. My decision to stop wearing the niqab was very difficult for me, but I felt I had no other choice. The pressure from the campus environment was very strong, and I felt constantly judged for my clothing choices. After removing the niqab, I felt more accepted by my classmates and lecturers, although I still felt that I had lost an important part of my religious identity that I believed in (Interview, 07/05/2024).

The student's experience reflects the internal conflict experienced by students when their personal beliefs clash with social norms in their environment. Students who face situations like this often have to make difficult choices between maintaining their beliefs and conforming to social expectations in the Bima city university environment. This can lead to feelings of loss and sadness, as they feel they have to sacrifice an important part of their identity in order to be accepted by the Bima city university environment.

This situation also underscores the importance of support and understanding from the academic community. By creating a more inclusive environment that values diversity, Bima City Universities can help students feel more comfortable and accepted without having to sacrifice their personal identities. Open dialogue and education about diversity can play an important role in reducing prejudice and increasing understanding among all members of the academic community.

3. Exclusion of Minority Groups

In the HE environment in Bima city, minority groups face various forms of exclusion. This can include students from different ethnic or religious backgrounds, students with disabilities, those in minority organizations. This exclusion can manifest in various ways, ranging from the subtle to the more explicit. Common forms of exclusion may include social segregation, where minority groups find it difficult to join or be accepted in social and academic activities. Students are rarely invited to participate in extracurricular or other activities.

In an academic context, exclusion can manifest through a lack of representation in group work or learning materials. The perspectives and experiences of minority groups are rarely discussed or acknowledged, which can make them feel unappreciated or irrelevant in the HE environment. The psychological impact for students who are religiously, culturally and in student organizations who are minorities when they are at the Bima City HE feels ignored and not considered. This is as stated by a student from Mojokerto with the initials JNT in the following interview:

"I, who come from Java, feel ignored in various group activities. When there is a group assignment, I am often not invited to join by other students. Even when I try to get involved, my opinions are often ignored. I feel unaccepted and find it difficult to integrate with students because of cultural differences." (Interview, 07/05/2024)

Based on the students' statements above, it indicates that students from minority religious, cultural, and student organization groups often face various challenges at universities in Bima City. One of the main challenges is the feeling of isolation and marginalization that arises due to the lack of representation and support from the university environment in Bima City. Students from minority groups feel that their voices and experiences are not valued or recognized, which can affect their motivation and involvement in academic and social activities at universities in Bima City. Feelings of not being recognized can cause students from minority groups to feel less motivated to participate in class discussions or extracurricular activities, which are important for the development of skills and social networks. Students will also have difficulty finding role models who understand and support their backgrounds, which can affect students' academic and interpersonal development.

Lack of support and recognition can also affect the self-confidence of minority students. Students feel hesitant to express their views and ideas, especially if they feel that their perspectives do not align with the majority. This can hinder their intellectual development and communication skills, as well as reduce opportunities to contribute meaningfully to the academic community.

The attitude of students who only associate with friends from the same background can have a negative impact on HE in Bima City. Students tend to have a low understanding and tolerance of differences in culture, religion, and political views, which can trigger social conflict. As a result, students from different backgrounds feel isolated and unaccepted, hindering the efforts of HE in Bima City to create an inclusive environment. This also reduces the opportunity for students to learn and develop through interactions with people from different backgrounds, which is important for students' future personal lives. Students face difficulties in developing the interpersonal skills required to work in diverse teams, a critical competency in the workforce. The atmosphere at HEI in Bima could become uncomfortable and unwelcoming for students who feel marginalized or overlooked by the majority group. This can negatively impact the mental and emotional well-being of students, increasing their levels of stress and anxiety. Extracurricular activities and student organizations may become less effective and inclusive, with limited participation from various groups. Ultimately, the lack of openness and interaction among students from diverse backgrounds can hinder innovation and creativity, which typically thrive in diverse and inclusive environments.

The culture of HE in Bima city was experienced by an informant with the initials MPA. The following are the results of the interview:

"I was once active in a student organization, I, who in terms of religion and culture with other students, was often not given the opportunity to fully participate in decision-making or student activities. Sometimes my opinion tended to be ignored and not taken seriously. Because I felt unappreciated, I finally chose to resign from the organization" (Interview, 06/09/2024).

The attitude of students who only socialize with friends from the same background can potentially give rise to deep-seated intolerance. When students are not used to interacting with individuals from different backgrounds, they develop negative stereotypes and prejudices against other groups. This reinforces narrow and exclusive thinking, where differences are seen as threats rather than riches. Over time, this lack of exposure and understanding can fuel distrust and hostility, exacerbating existing differences. As a result, students not only become less tolerant but may also act more aggressively or unfairly towards those who are different, reinforcing deep-rooted intolerance among students at universities in the city of Bima.

The feeling of being ignored is also experienced by female students who wear the niqab. Not only ignored at the Universities in Bima city, female students who wear the niqab also experience language violence. This is as per the results of an interview with a student with the initials YS as follows:

"I often feel isolated by my classmates. They tend to avoid me and do not engage me in interactions. Sometimes I hear whispers and negative comments about the niqab I wear, such as being called ninja hatori, smell of heaven, acting holy, other terms that make me uncomfortable. These remarks make me feel uncomfortable and isolated in class." (Interview, 11/06/2024).

Students who feel unwelcome because they wear the niqab often face discrimination and exclusion in the Bima city university environment. They experience verbal violence, such as teasing or negative comments,

which makes them feel isolated and unappreciated. This not only affects their emotional health, but also reduces their self-confidence and comfort in the Bima city university. Students who experience language violence often feel depressed and unsafe, which can ultimately affect their academics.

Exclusion can also occur in the form of microaggressions, which are comments or actions that seem trivial but are actually demeaning or offensive to a minority group. This can include stereotypes, insensitive jokes, or incorrect assumptions about a person's abilities or background because of their clothing or skin color. At the institutional level, there are policies or practices that, even if unintentionally, exclude minority groups. For example, there may be a lack of facilities for students of a different religion than the majority of students, or the absence of courses for minority religions. The impact of this exclusion can be significant. Minority students experience stress, anxiety, or depression. Students feel unsafe or uncomfortable on campus, which can affect their academic performance and overall well-being. In the long term, this exclusion can prevent them from reaching their full potential and contributing to their campus.

Discussion

1. Organizational Dominance

Social practices of intolerance in HE in Bima city reflect broader problems in society, where social hierarchy and the dominance of certain groups are still very strong. Intolerant actions that are legalized through the tradition of seniority show that education not only fails to be a safe and inclusive space but also contributes to the maintenance of oppressive social structures. In HE in Bima City, campus organizations have a significant influence on student life. This influence is often manifested through various activities, policies, and daily interactions that can influence student attitudes and behavior. In some cases, the dominance of certain organizations can lead to intolerant practices among students. Organizations that have strong control tend to direct the views and actions of their members according to certain ideologies or interests, which sometimes lead to exclusivity and rejection of differences [18]. The role of students through student organizations is not only limited to academic or professional fields. Students through these organizations also play a role in dominating the strategic agendas of student activities on campus. In other words, students through student organizations, both on and off campus, become a significant political force and are always taken into account in the history of community and state life.

These findings suggest that there is a pattern of meaning formed among students, where the influence and support of the HEI are key factors in determining who can access leadership positions and decision-making in the campus environment. This creates a situation where only certain groups have greater access to power and resources, while other groups are marginalized. This phenomenon shows how the power structure within the campus can affect social dynamics and relations between student groups, and how policies that should be neutral can actually strengthen the dominance of certain organizations. Legitimacy and authority. A letter of recommendation from the head of the commissariat is a symbol of legitimacy recognized by the Universities. Without the letter, prospective students may be considered less worthy or less legitimate in the nomination of BEM or other leaders on campus, even though they have equal or even better qualifications and experience. This shows how the formal authority of the head of the commissariat plays a role in shaping views about who is considered worthy to lead BEM and others.

The tensions that occur in the HE environment in Bima city reflect the complex conflict between marginalized student groups and the dominant power structure. Students who feel marginalized often form alliances or groups as a form of resistance to the hegemony supported by the HEI. This process creates a continuous cycle of resistance in which student groups try to change the status quo and challenge existing authority. This phenomenon can be analyzed using the concepts of *Doxa*, *Orthodoxy*, and *Heterodoxa* [19]. *Doxa* refers to beliefs and practices that are accepted without question in a society or institution. In the context of HE in Bima city, *doxa* can be policies, norms, or power structures that are considered normal and not debated. *Orthodoxy* represents the dominant view that supports and maintains *doxa*, while *heterodoxy* challenges and questions existing assumptions [20].

In this context, students' efforts to change the power structure in HE in Bima city can be understood as a "classification battle" according to Bourdieu. The students are trying to redefine social reality and change views about what is considered legitimate in the campus environment. This is relevant to the social practice of student intolerance in the city of Bima, where tensions between marginalized groups and dominant power can be seen in the form of resistance and efforts to change the power structure in HE in the city of Bima. Economic capital, namely the financial resources owned, also plays a role in this phenomenon. Universities in Bima city that support certain organizations provide larger funds or facilities for organizational activities. This gives the

organization a financial advantage, allowing them to hold more activities and attract more members. This economic capital strengthens their position in the campus social structure and increases their influence in decision-making [21]. Students who join these organizations develop a confident and power-oriented habitus because of their access to economic resources.

Cultural capital, which includes knowledge, education, and skills valued in society, is also relevant in this context. Organizations supported by Universities in Bima city have greater access to cultural capital, such as specialized training, seminars, and workshops that enhance the competence of their members. Students with higher cultural capital tend to have a more adaptive and competitive habitus, allowing them to more easily navigate power structures and take on leadership positions. Symbolic capital, namely the recognition and legitimacy given by others, is very influential in forming habitus in the campus environment. A letter of recommendation from the head of the commissariat is a widely recognized symbol of legitimacy. Students who have this letter of recommendation are considered more legitimate and worthy to run for BEM elections. This shows how symbolic capital plays a role in forming student habitus, where legitimacy and formal authority are key factors in determining who can access leadership positions.

The practice of hegemony cannot be separated from various aspects of life, such as politics, economics, law, social, and education. This phenomenon arises because in the order of human life there is always a party that rules and those who are ruled. Hegemony can be carried out by anyone to achieve their respective goals. In the world of education, the practice of hegemony is most often found in HE PT or campuses. On campus, the practice of hegemony is often carried out by senior students against juniors [22].

If observed further, political domination begins with hegemony. It is clearly seen that there is a dominance of power by one group over another. A higher position has greater power than a lower position [23]. Covert domination can also be manifested in the form of normalization of certain behaviors or values. The dominant party creates social standards or expectations that are considered normal and ideal, so that the dominated party unconsciously adopts and internalizes these values without questioning them [24]. In the context of HE, perpetrators of domination and intolerance can come from various levels and groups within the academic community. Although it is often assumed that the majority group tends to be the main perpetrator, the reality is more complex and varies depending on the specific context of each institution.

Majority groups, whether in the context of ethnicity, religion, or ideology, often have a greater potential for dominance. This is due to numerical power and usually also structural power within the institution. This dominance can manifest itself in the form of biased policies, exclusionary social norms, or informal practices that disadvantage minority groups [25]. Exclusionary social norms can also develop, where informal practices that disadvantage minority groups become commonplace. As a result, students from minority groups may feel marginalized and experience intolerance in various forms, both directly and indirectly. This dominance reinforces inequality and undermines efforts to create an inclusive and tolerant campus environment.

Another finding illustrates how students from organizations that are not supported by the Universities often feel marginalized because their access to campus facilities is limited. This restriction reflects the existence of social practices that discriminate against certain groups of students, who are considered not in line with the views of the Universities in the city of Bima. From the perspective of habitus theory, these restrictive actions reflect the dispositions and social practices embedded in the power structure of HEI in Bima City. The habitus formed among decision makers in HEI in Bima City reflects a tendency to maintain the status quo and benefit the groups they support. Students who are members of organizations supported by HEI in Bima City have a habitus that leads them to feel more confident and have greater access to facilities and opportunities. In contrast, students from other organizations develop a habitus that reflects marginalization and powerlessness.

Power is exercised through certain regulations that influence each other. According to Foucault, power does not come from outside, but from within. Power operates through a series of certain rules and systems, creating a kind of chain of power. Foucault describes power not only as controlling people physically or through dictatorship. In modern society, power experiences a pattern of normalization, where power is disguised, hidden, and veiled so that it appears invisible. Power no longer functions through oppression and physical force, but through strengthening regulations that are carried out and obeyed voluntarily in organizations, agencies, and countries [26]. These findings reveal how habitus and social practices interact in creating and reinforcing inequalities in the campus environment.

Restrictions on access to campus facilities for students from organizations not supported by HEI in the city of Bima reflect discriminatory social practices and unequal power relations. The habitus formed in this context reflects a disposition to maintain the dominance of certain groups and hinder the development of other

groups, which ultimately strengthens existing power structures and hinders inclusivity and justice in the campus environment.

2. Manipulation of Student Consciousness

The manipulation of student consciousness in this study shows a complex pattern of meaning related to freedom of expression and religious practices on campus. A striking example is when a lecturer suggests that students consider not wearing the niqab on campus. The lecturer argues that the niqab can hinder interaction with lecturers and friends as well as the learning process. Furthermore, this kind of manipulation of consciousness can be understood as a form of "refined violence" according to Halimi et al. [27] that refined violence operates through language, symbols, and social practices that appear normal and even considered good. In this case, the lecturer's suggestion not to wear the niqab was delivered with reasons that seemed rational and for the good of the students, when in fact it contained elements of coercion against personal choices.

From the perspective of Bourdieu's habitus theory, the dispositions held by lecturers and other students reflect the cultural capital they hold, where appearance and how to interact are considered part of that capital. In this context, the niqab is considered a different element from the dominant cultural capital, thus causing discomfort and concerns about the effectiveness of academic interactions. The social practice carried out by lecturers who advise not to wear the niqab shows the pressure to conform to norms that are widely accepted in the campus environment. This reflects how symbolic capital works, where appearances that are in accordance with social expectations provide legitimacy and acceptance on campus. In the overall analysis, it can be seen that social practices and habitus in the campus environment create significant pressure on students to conform to dominant norms. The habitus formed in this context reflects a disposition to prioritize appearance and interactions that are in accordance with social expectations, while different individuals are faced with the challenge of negotiating their identities in a less supportive environment. This phenomenon shows how social, economic, cultural, and symbolic capital interact with each other in shaping social practices and habitus that influence the dynamics of power and inclusivity in the academic environment.

3. Exclusion of Minority Groups

Tension between religious expression and social norms in the HE environment in the city of Bima, in Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus and social practice. Students who decide to wear the niqab as part of their Muslim identity often face exclusion from campus life. The views and perceptions that are built up that female students who wear the niqab are considered different and difficult to interact with, even labeled as holy and extremist figures. Pressure from the surrounding environment finally encourages the female students to remove the niqab to feel more accepted. It is important to note that this kind of intolerance not only affects marginalized groups, but also has an impact on the quality of education and academic life as a whole. As Verkuyten et al. intolerance and discrimination in HE not only violate the principle of justice, but also undermine the intellectual and moral foundations of the educational institution itself [12]. The social practice of intolerance among students often operates through what Bourdieu calls "symbolic violence". This is a subtle form of domination that is not always recognized by those who experience it. For example, the social exclusion of minority groups or the normalization of negative stereotypes can be seen as forms of symbolic violence. Fosnacht and Broderick [13] explains, symbolic violence is a violence that is soft, invisible, and not recognized as violence.

In universities in Bima city, the exclusion of minority groups can be seen as a manifestation of symbolic violence. For example, students from minority cultural or religious backgrounds experience discrimination that is not directly visible, such as being ignored in student organization activities or being harassed through subtle derogatory comments. These practices, although not always recognized as forms of violence, reinforce the dominance of the majority group and hinder inclusivity and diversity on campus. This process illustrates how social practices of intolerance are formed and operate in a particular social context. Social practices of intolerance, in this case, are a series of dispositions formed by the social interactions and experiences of female students on campus. Female students who choose to wear the niqab face an environment that has certain dispositions towards appearance and dress. Dominant social norms on campus tend to support dress that is considered more "neutral" or "conventional," which in turn creates pressure for those who are different to conform.

In Bima City, social practices of intolerance often appear in the form of exclusion of students who are considered different or do not conform to majority norms. Dominant cultural capital, which is rooted in the values and practices of the majority group, often ignores or excludes students who have different cultural or

religious backgrounds. This causes them to have difficulty accessing various resources and academic opportunities. For example, students who choose to wear the niqab or practice religious teachings face obstacles in social interaction and participation in campus activities, which reflect the exclusion and access constraints that occur in the academic environment. In his study of ethnic Chinese in Indonesia, he shows how the complex interactions between these various forms of capital create layers of exclusion. For example, past assimilation policies have had the effect of eroding the cultural capital of this group, which in turn affects their access to certain economic and social capital. Although conditions have improved, the historical impact of these policies is still felt in the form of subtle exclusion in various areas of life [28],

Intolerance often arises from a lack of acceptance of religious differences, which can create tension between groups. Research shows that intolerance can stem from selfishness, an inability to listen to different views, and disagreement with diversity [14]. Another important concept in competition is capital ownership. There are four types of capital, namely economic, cultural, social, and symbolic. The value of this capital varies depending on each domain. A capital that is considered valuable in one domain may not have the same value in another domain [29]. Ethnocentrism is a fanatical attitude towards an ethnic group, where someone believes that their culture is superior to other cultures. This also includes the belief that the way of life of their ethnic group is the best [11]. Then Collado et al. [30] said that violence is closely related to power. This means that violence can be the root or result of the practice of power. When one class dominates another class, the process of domination itself can produce violence. The violence carried out by the dominant class may occur slowly but surely, so that the dominated class may not realize that they are the object of violence.

This study reveals that social norms and social practices in the campus environment greatly influence how individuals express their identities. Through Bourdieu's habitus theory, it can be seen how social, cultural, and symbolic capital play a role in shaping individual dispositions and actions. The pressure to conform to dominant norms creates tension and internal conflict for those who are different, which ultimately affects their identity and well-being.

CONCLUSION

Exclusion of minority groups is also a result of imbalances in the distribution of resources and representation on campus. Policies or practices that do not pay attention to or even ignore the needs or presence of minority groups in academic and social life on campus can strengthen intolerant practices and reinforce exclusive social norms. In the HE environment in the city of Bima, the social practices of student intolerance often reflect complex dynamics involving the dominance of certain groups in the power structure and social orientation of the campus. Student organizations that dominate leadership positions often use their power to influence campus policies, promote agendas that support their own views, while limiting space for other groups to participate and contribute fairly.

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