
Motives of Tantrum Behavior Among Beneficiaries in Religious Guidance Programs at the Social Service and Rehabilitation Center for People

Azizah Atha Hapsari¹ , Gregory Ajima Onah² 

¹State University of Surabaya, Surabaya, Indonesia

²University of Calabar, Calabar, Nigeria

Corresponding author: azizahatha.22004@mhs.unesa.ac.id

Abstract

This study examines the motives underlying tantrum behavior among beneficiaries participating in religious guidance programs at the Social Service and Rehabilitation Center for People with Social Welfare Problems (PRS PMKS) in Sidoarjo. Tantrum behavior, often interpreted as disruption or noncompliance, is analyzed sociologically as meaningful social action shaped by subjective motives, life experiences, and institutional interactions. Using a descriptive qualitative approach with a social phenomenological method, data were collected through passive observation, in-depth interviews with beneficiaries and religious instructors, and documentation. Data were analyzed through reduction, display, and conclusion drawing, and interpreted using Max Weber's theory of social action, complemented by Michel Foucault's concepts of disciplinary power and Pierre Bourdieu's framework of symbolic power and religious field. The findings show that tantrum behavior is driven by emotional trauma, adjustment to institutional routines, instrumental considerations, and internalized moral values. Tantrum behavior functions as social communication, subtle resistance, and identity negotiation within institutional religious practices. Therefore, tantrum behavior should be understood as meaningful social action reflecting the interaction between individual agency, institutional power, and religious moral regulation in social rehabilitation.

Keywords: *tantrum behavior, social motives, religious guidance, beneficiaries*

Paper Type: *Research Paper*

Corresponding author: azizahatha.22004@mhs.unesa.ac.id

Received: 20-10-2024; **Received in Revised From** 26-12-2025; **Accepted:** 29-01-2026; **Available Online:** 30-01-2026

Cite this document as: Hapsari, A. A., & Onah, G. A. (2026). *Motives of tantrum behavior among beneficiaries in religious guidance programs at the social service and rehabilitation center for people. Journal of Religion, Local Politics, and Law*, 2(1), 33–57. <https://doi.org/10.64595/jrlpl.v2n1.p33-57>

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia, as a developing country, continues to face various social welfare challenges, particularly in urban areas. Economic growth that is not consistently accompanied by equitable distribution of welfare has resulted in significant social inequality. Social Service and Rehabilitation Center for People with Social Welfare Problems (PRS PMKS) Sidoarjo

This condition is reflected in the increasing number of vulnerable groups in urban settings, including homeless individuals and beggars, who often experience limited access to employment, education, and basic social services. Urbanization that occurs without adequate skill preparation and structural support further exacerbates this situation, especially in major cities and their surrounding areas, such as Surabaya and Sidoarjo (East Java Provincial Department of Social Affairs, 2022).

The phenomenon of homelessness and begging cannot be understood solely as an individual problem, but rather as a manifestation of broader structural issues related to social and economic inequality. Limited employment opportunities in rural areas, low levels of education, and weak social protection systems encourage individuals to migrate to cities in the hope of attaining a better standard of living. However, the realities they encounter often fall short of expectations, causing many individuals to become trapped in prolonged conditions of social vulnerability. This situation subsequently generates negative stigma within society and positions them as marginalized groups within the urban social structure (Hidayanti, Ema, 2014).

In response to these conditions, local governments, through social welfare policies, have implemented various forms of institutional intervention. One such effort is the establishment of the Social Service and Rehabilitation Center for Persons with Social Welfare Problems (PRS PMKS) Sidoarjo by the Government of East Java Province. This institution functions as a rehabilitation center that provides shelter, guidance, and assistance for individuals experiencing social welfare problems from diverse backgrounds. The existence of this center reflects the role of the state in addressing social issues through structured institutional approaches.

In practice, PRS PMKS Sidoarjo does not merely fulfill basic needs, but also serves as a space for reconstructing the social functioning of beneficiaries. Through various rehabilitation programs, the institution seeks to equip beneficiaries with social values, norms, and skills expected to support their reintegration into society. These programs include vocational training, social mentoring, psychosocial counseling, and religious guidance as part of a comprehensive social rehabilitation process.

Religious guidance constitutes one of the essential programs within the social rehabilitation process, as it is perceived to provide a value framework and moral orientation for beneficiaries. Within the institutional context of rehabilitation, religious guidance functions not only as a ritual or spiritual activity, but also as a medium for internalizing social values related to discipline, compliance with rules, and the formation of behavior aligned with prevailing social norms (Ellafiyah C. P., 2022). Through this program, the institution attempts to reshape beneficiaries' mindsets and attitudes to enable adaptation to the expected social order.

However, the implementation of religious guidance at PRS PMKS Sidoarjo does not always proceed without obstacles. In practice, variations in beneficiaries' responses to the program have been observed. While some beneficiaries participate cooperatively, others display resistance manifested through withdrawal, refusal, or even tantrum behavior during the sessions. This phenomenon indicates that the process of value internalization within social rehabilitation is not homogeneous, but is influenced by social background, life experiences, and the ways individuals interpret the guidance programs they encounter.

Tantrum behavior that emerges within the context of religious guidance cannot be understood merely as spontaneous expression or individual emotional reaction. From a sociological perspective, such behavior constitutes social action that occurs within the interaction between individuals and institutional structures. Rehabilitation centers, as social institutions, possess rules, authority, and control mechanisms that shape beneficiaries' behavior (Deviolina Fitria, 2024). When individuals are required to adapt to new norms and values, dynamics of negotiation, acceptance, and resistance emerge, which are expressed through particular actions, including tantrum behavior.

Referring to Max Weber's theory of social action, every human action carries subjective meaning and is oriented toward others within a specific social context. Within this framework, tantrum behavior can be understood as motivated social action, through which individuals express attitudes, evaluations, and responses to the social situations they face. Tantrums do not merely reflect an inability to control emotions, but may also be interpreted as forms of social communication, symbolic resistance, or mechanisms of self-adjustment in response to perceived institutional pressures (Weber, 1964).

For some beneficiaries, religious guidance may be perceived as a form of social demand that challenges their life experiences and identities. Backgrounds of street life, experiences of

marginalization, and habits formed in relatively unregulated environments shape particular perspectives toward authority and social norms. When confronted with an institutional environment that demands compliance and order, some individuals respond with behaviors that reflect resistance to this process. In this context, tantrum behavior becomes one form of meaningful and motivated social action.

Previous studies indicate that research on tantrum behavior within social rehabilitation contexts has largely been dominated by psychological approaches that emphasize trauma and individual emotional regulation. While these approaches provide important insights into individuals' subjective conditions, they do not fully explain how tantrum behavior is formed and interpreted within broader social relations. Therefore, a sociological approach is needed to examine tantrum behavior as part of social interaction dynamics, value socialization processes, and relationships between individuals and rehabilitation institutions.

Based on these conditions, this study is essential to explore the motives underlying tantrum behavior among beneficiaries participating in religious guidance at PRS PMKS Sidoarjo. By employing Max Weber's theory of social action and an interpretative approach, this research seeks to understand the subjective reasons behind tantrum behavior and how such behavior relates to processes of value internalization and self-adjustment within the social rehabilitation environment. The findings are expected to contribute theoretically to the development of sociological studies, particularly in understanding social action within rehabilitation institutions, as well as to provide practical implications for the development of more responsive and context-sensitive rehabilitation strategies. Social Service and Rehabilitation Center for People with Social Welfare Problems (PRS PMKS) Sidoarjo.

METHODS

This study employs a qualitative descriptive approach. A qualitative approach was chosen because the research aims to gain an in-depth understanding of social phenomena within their natural context, particularly concerning the motives underlying tantrum behavior among beneficiaries participating in religious guidance activities. This approach enables the researcher to explore subjective meanings, patterns of social interaction, and institutional dynamics that shape the emergence of social action (Fiantika, 2022). A descriptive design is applied to systematically portray conditions, behavioral forms, and underlying motives within the context of social rehabilitation without manipulating the variables under study.

The research was conducted at the Social Service and Rehabilitation Center for Persons with Social Welfare Problems (PRS PMKS) Sidoarjo, East Java. This site was selected because it functions as a social rehabilitation institution accommodating beneficiaries from diverse social backgrounds and implements religious guidance as a core component of its rehabilitation program. From a sociological perspective, rehabilitation centers operate as agents of secondary socialization, playing a significant role in reshaping individuals' behavior, cognitive orientations, and value systems through institutional mechanisms, including religious guidance. Drawing on Michel Foucault's perspective, religious guidance within rehabilitation institutions can be understood as a form of disciplinary practice that regulates behavior and subjectivity, while Pierre Bourdieu's concept of symbolic power is used to analyze how moral norms and religious values are legitimized and internalized within the institutional setting. The study was carried out over an eight-month period, from February to November 2025, encompassing the stages of preliminary observation, data collection, data analysis, and report writing.

Research participants were selected using purposive sampling based on criteria relevant to the research focus. Informants consisted of beneficiaries who had exhibited tantrum behavior during religious guidance activities, as well as mentors or facilitators directly involved in the implementation of the guidance sessions. The selected beneficiaries were aged between 18 and 49 years, had resided at the rehabilitation center for a minimum of three months, actively participated in religious guidance activities, possessed adequate verbal communication skills, and were willing to provide coherent and reflective accounts of their experiences. Mentors were selected based on their educational background in social or religious fields, a minimum of six months of mentoring experience, and active involvement in monitoring and evaluating beneficiaries' behavior during religious activities. This selection strategy was intended to ensure rich and relevant data for understanding the motives of social action within the rehabilitation context (Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N., 2020).

Data sources comprised primary and secondary data. Primary data were obtained directly from informants through observation and in-depth interviews. Observation was conducted to examine social interactions, beneficiaries' behavior, and the dynamics of religious guidance activities within the rehabilitation environment (Jaya, 2020:126). The

study employed passive observation (observer-as-participant), in which the researcher acted as a non-intrusive observer without direct involvement in beneficiaries' activities. In-depth interviews were conducted flexibly and repeatedly to explore informants' perspectives, experiences, and interpretations of religious guidance and the emergence of tantrum behavior. Secondary data were collected through documentation and literature review, including institutional reports, archival records, books, and scholarly articles relevant to social rehabilitation, religious guidance, and social action theory.

Data analysis was conducted qualitatively using an interactive analysis model, which proceeded continuously from data collection through to the drawing of conclusions. The first stage involved data reduction, where data were selected, categorized, and organized according to the research focus, including beneficiaries' objective conditions, forms of tantrum behavior, and underlying motives interpreted through Max Weber's theory of social action (Ivanovich Agusta, 2003). At this stage, Michel Foucault's concept of discipline and resistance was applied to analyze how tantrum behavior emerges as a response to institutional control, while Pierre Bourdieu's framework of symbolic power and habitus was used to interpret how beneficiaries negotiate moral classifications and institutional expectations. The second stage consisted of data display, in which findings were organized into thematic narratives to facilitate a comprehensive understanding of relationships among categories. The final stage involved conclusion drawing and verification, conducted through source triangulation, methodological triangulation, and validation of interpretations against empirical field realities. Through this analytical process, the study generated empirical findings that conceptualize tantrum behavior as motive-driven social action within the context of religious guidance in a social rehabilitation institution.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This study reveals that tantrum behaviors exhibited by beneficiaries (PM) during religious guidance activities at the PMKS Social Service and Rehabilitation Center in Sidoarjo do not emerge spontaneously. Rather, they are shaped by a combination of interrelated objective conditions. Field findings indicate that family background, economic circumstances, the social environment within the institution, and the dynamics of religious guidance implementation play significant roles in triggering tantrum behaviors.

From the perspective of family and social support, most beneficiaries experience weak or completely severed family relationships. The lack of emotional support from family members contributes to beneficiaries' difficulties in regulating emotions, particularly when confronted

with situations that require compliance and adaptation, such as participation in religious guidance sessions. This condition is further exacerbated by harsh and stressful life experiences prior to entering the institution, which have shaped impulsive patterns of emotional expression.

In terms of economic conditions and employment, beneficiaries generally face prolonged economic uncertainty. This instability generates anxiety, frustration, and feelings of helplessness. Within this context, religious guidance is often perceived not as a personal spiritual need, but as an institutional obligation that must be fulfilled. Such perceptions foster resistance, which is expressed through tantrum behaviors such as refusing to attend sessions, leaving the room during activities, speaking loudly, or displaying verbal aggression.

Social Service and Rehabilitation Center for People with Social Welfare Problems (PRS PMKS) Sidoarjo

The social environment of the rehabilitation center also plays a crucial role in shaping tantrum behavior. Collective rules, rigid schedules, and limited space for personal expression create psychological pressure for some beneficiaries. Religious guidance activities, conducted routinely and in a classical group format, are not always aligned with individual psychological conditions and levels of spiritual readiness. As a result, tantrum behavior emerges as a maladaptive form of adjustment to the institutional system.

This study involved seven participants, consisting of five primary subjects, namely beneficiaries who regularly participated in religious guidance activities at PRS PMKS Sidoarjo, and two supporting informants, namely religious instructors who were directly involved in the implementation of the guidance programs. The five beneficiaries were selected purposively based on the intensity of their participation in the activities and the emergence of tantrum behavior during the guidance process.

The study involved five primary research subjects, all of whom were beneficiaries actively participating in religious guidance activities at PRS PMKS Sidoarjo :

Table 1: Guidance Activities at PRS PMKS Sidoarjo

Subject Name	Age	Beneficiary Category and Length of Stay
Agus Harwoko	30 years	Homeless, 3 years
Istiqomah	18 years	Homeless, 3 years
Nyoto	45 years	Mild Psychotic Disorder, 3.5 years
Machmud	39 years	Mild Psychotic Disorder, 2.5 years
Meri Anjani	30 years	Homeless 1,5 years

The results of this study indicate that tantrum behavior among beneficiaries during religious guidance sessions at PRS PMKS Sidoarjo appears in diverse and nuanced forms. Rather than manifesting primarily as overt aggression or disruptive acts, tantrum behavior is more frequently expressed through subtle, passive, and emotionally laden responses. These forms include silence, withdrawal, lack of engagement, avoidance of interaction, and emotional expressions such as crying.

Observational data reveal that several beneficiaries demonstrate a lack of focus during religious guidance sessions. This is evident through behaviors such as staring blankly, repeatedly looking outside the prayer room, avoiding eye contact with religious instructors, and engaging in minimal physical movement that indicates emotional detachment. In some cases, beneficiaries leave the prayer room without permission, choosing to sit alone outside or smoke as a way to distance themselves from the activity.

Additionally, refusal to respond when addressed by religious instructors emerges as a significant form of tantrum behavior. Silence in this context is not merely the absence of communication but serves as a meaningful response that reflects internal resistance and

emotional withdrawal. Crying during religious guidance sessions also constitutes a notable behavioral pattern, particularly when discussions touch upon themes of family, responsibility, repentance, or moral values.

Furthermore, after the completion of religious guidance activities, some beneficiaries deliberately isolate themselves from others by returning directly to their dormitories and avoiding social interaction. This behavior reinforces the understanding that tantrum manifestations extend beyond the formal session and continue to shape social dynamics within the rehabilitation environment.

One beneficiary articulated this experience as follows:

“Sometimes I just sit there, but my mind drifts elsewhere. I feel exhausted listening to sermons continuously, so I step outside for a while to calm myself.” (PM-3)

This statement illustrates that tantrum behavior functions as a coping strategy when beneficiaries experience emotional fatigue and psychological overload during structured religious activities. Rather than signaling defiance, such behavior reflects an attempt to regulate emotions and maintain personal stability within a highly regulated institutional setting.

Overall, these findings demonstrate that tantrum behavior among adult beneficiaries is not random or purely impulsive. Instead, it represents socially patterned responses shaped by emotional states, past experiences, and interactions with institutional norms and expectations.

Motives Underlying Tantrum Behavior

The findings of this study indicate that tantrum behavior among beneficiaries can be understood as meaningful social action, as conceptualized in Max Weber’s theory of social action. Tantrums are not merely individual emotional outbursts; rather, they contain subjective motives rooted in life experiences, psychosocial conditions, and beneficiaries’ interpretations of religious guidance activities. The analysis further reveals that tantrum behavior during religious guidance sessions is driven by multiple underlying motives that reflect beneficiaries’ subjective interpretations of their experiences. These motives align with Max Weber’s typology of social action, emphasizing that behavior is meaningful and rooted in individual intentions and social contexts.

Emotional Motives (Affective Action)

A significant proportion of tantrum behavior emerges as affective action, driven by intense emotional states rather than rational calculation. Beneficiaries often carry unresolved emotional burdens stemming from traumatic life experiences, family separation, social rejection, and prolonged marginalization. Religious guidance sessions, particularly those addressing moral responsibility and family values, frequently trigger emotional memories that beneficiaries struggle to process.

One informant expressed this emotional struggle clearly:

“Religious activities often remind me of my family. Their lack of concern causes profound sadness, which eventually leads me to cry.” (Beneficiary-1)

This finding indicates that tantrum behavior functions as an emotional release mechanism. Crying, withdrawal, and silence are not signs of disobedience but expressions of grief, loss, and emotional vulnerability. In this sense, tantrum behavior reflects affective action shaped by deep emotional impulses that arise spontaneously in response to emotionally charged stimuli.

Adjustment to Institutional Routines (Traditional Action)

Another motive underlying tantrum behavior is related to beneficiaries’ adjustment to repetitive institutional routines. Religious guidance sessions are conducted regularly with similar structures, materials, and delivery styles. Over time, this repetition fosters habituation, boredom, and emotional disengagement among some beneficiaries.

A beneficiary described this experience as follows:

“Because the activities are repetitive each week, I feel bored and tend to remain passive by sitting in the corner rather than engaging actively.” (Beneficiary-5)

This form of tantrum behavior reflects traditional action, where responses are shaped by repeated exposure rather than conscious deliberation. Sitting passively, avoiding participation, and disengaging from activities become habitual reactions that beneficiaries develop over time. Such behaviors demonstrate how institutional routines can unintentionally generate subtle forms of resistance and emotional withdrawal.

Rational Considerations (Instrumental Rational Action)

In some cases, tantrum behavior is strategically employed as an instrumental rational action. Beneficiaries demonstrate awareness of institutional responses and utilize emotional expressions to influence outcomes. By appearing emotionally distressed, angry, or unwell, beneficiaries may gain temporary relief from participation in religious guidance sessions.

One participant stated:

“I have not had any income for a long time while staying here. So when there are activities that provide food or even a small amount of money, even if it is only enough to buy cigarettes, that is what I choose. Basic daily needs still have to be met. Religious activities are indeed good, but for me, at this moment, they are not the main priority.” (Beneficiary-3)

This statement indicates that the participant evaluates activities based on their practical benefits rather than their symbolic or spiritual value. In this sense, tantrum behavior functions as an instrumental-rational action, where emotional expressions are consciously used as a tool to negotiate participation, prioritize economic survival, and respond to structural constraints within the rehabilitation institution.

Value-Based Motives (Value-Rational Action)

Tantrum behavior is also motivated by value-rational considerations, where beneficiaries' actions are guided by deeply held beliefs and moral evaluations. Some beneficiaries experience internal conflict between the religious values promoted during guidance sessions and their self-perceptions shaped by past life experiences.

One informant expressed this moral tension:

“I acknowledge the value of religion, but I perceive my life as deeply troubled. At times, I feel unworthy of taking part in these activities.” (Beneficiary-4)

This statement reflects value-rational action, where withdrawal and emotional reactions arise from feelings of unworthiness, guilt, and identity dissonance. Tantrum behavior in this context serves as a protective mechanism that allows beneficiaries to avoid confronting painful moral contradictions.

Gendered Experiences of Religious Guidance and Tantrum Behavior

Although this study involved both male and female beneficiaries, the findings indicate that experiences of religious guidance and expressions of tantrum behavior are not gender-neutral. Gender norms embedded in religious discourse and institutional expectations shape how beneficiaries are evaluated and how emotional expressions are interpreted (Rahman Danan Nugroho, 2025).

Female beneficiaries tend to experience stronger moral pressure to display emotional restraint, obedience, and modest behavior during religious guidance sessions. Emotional expressions such as crying or withdrawal are more frequently interpreted as signs of weakness or moral inadequacy, reinforcing feelings of guilt and shame (Elizabeth Veronica, 2023). In contrast, similar behaviors exhibited by male beneficiaries are more often tolerated or framed as temporary emotional instability rather than moral failure.

This gendered interpretation reflects the operation of differentiated religious norms, where women are implicitly expected to embody moral discipline and emotional self-control more strictly than men (Diki Herdiansyah, 2024). As a result, tantrum behavior among female beneficiaries is more likely to be internalized as personal failure, while male tantrum behavior is more readily externalized or normalized. These findings demonstrate that tantrum behavior is not solely an individual emotional response, but is also shaped by gendered expectations within institutional religious practices. Tantrum thus emerges as a socially situated form of expression that reflects unequal moral regulation between male and female beneficiaries in the rehabilitation context.

Religion as Moral Authority and Emotional Regulation

Within the institutional context of social rehabilitation, religion does not merely function as a spiritual resource but also operates as a source of moral authority that defines which emotions and behaviors are considered acceptable. Certain interpretations of religious values emphasize patience, obedience, and emotional restraint as moral virtues, thereby implicitly discouraging the open expression of distress, anger, or frustration (Tania Brandao, 2025). This moral regulation is evident in how beneficiaries perceive themselves during religious guidance activities.

As one beneficiary expressed,

“Sometimes I feel labeled as ‘less religious’ because I cannot follow the guidance properly. It makes me feel guilty and ashamed” (Beneficiary-5).

This statement illustrates how moral expectations embedded in religious practices are internalized as personal moral failure. For vulnerable beneficiaries, particularly those with histories of trauma and marginalization, such moral expectations may intensify emotional suppression rather than facilitate healing (Intan Mutiawati, 2025). Emotional expressions that deviate from institutional norms such as crying, withdrawal, or refusal are often interpreted not as legitimate psychological responses, but as indicators of moral or spiritual deficiency. This interpretation is reinforced by institutional assessments of behavior,

as reflected in the observation of a social worker:

“Those who are calm and obedient are often seen as successful. Others are considered problematic, even when they are just struggling emotionally” (Social Worker).

This framing demonstrates how emotional regulation becomes intertwined with moral judgment within religious guidance. Moreover, the moral authority of religion intersects with gendered expectations, particularly in relation to emotional self-control. Female beneficiaries are more frequently subjected to stricter standards of moral compliance and emotional restraint, which intensifies feelings of surveillance and judgment.

One female beneficiary articulated this experience clearly:

“I feel like I am always being judged, not only for my behavior, but also for my faith” (Beneficiary-1).

This perception indicates that religious guidance functions not only to shape behavior but also to regulate emotional expression through moral discourse. Consequently, religious guidance may unintentionally reinforce unequal power relations by positioning emotional conformity as a marker of moral and spiritual success (Karim Kerasha, 2024). Within this framework, tantrum behavior emerges as a meaningful social response rather than a sign of rehabilitative failure. Acts such as silence, withdrawal, or refusal function as embodied expressions of tension between

institutional moral regulation and beneficiaries' subjective emotional realities. Thus, religion operates simultaneously as a rehabilitative resource and as a mechanism of symbolic and emotional control within the institutional setting.

Pre-Institutional Cultural Backgrounds and Cultural Friction

The cultural backgrounds of beneficiaries prior to entering the rehabilitation institution play a crucial role in shaping their responses to religious guidance. Many beneficiaries come from street-based environments characterized by survival-oriented practices, informal social relations, and limited exposure to structured authority. Within such contexts, daily life is governed by flexibility, improvisation, and immediate needs rather than long-term moral discipline (Sebastian Tutunges, 2023).

This pre-institutional culture contrasts sharply with the cultural logic of the rehabilitation institution, which emphasizes routine, moral regulation, and symbolic conformity through religious guidance. As a result, institutional religious values are not absorbed seamlessly but are selectively interpreted, negotiated, or resisted (Jefferey Lan Ros, 2022). Tantrum behavior emerges within this cultural friction as a meaningful response to the imposition of unfamiliar norms and expectations.

Rather than indicating moral deficiency or spiritual unreadiness, tantrum behavior reflects the ongoing negotiation between beneficiaries' survival-based cultural dispositions and the institutionalized religious culture promoted by the rehabilitation center. This explains why religious guidance is frequently experienced as pressure rather than support, particularly when delivered without sensitivity to beneficiaries' cultural histories (Carlo Genova, 2025)

Religion as a System of Power and Control: A Foucauldian Perspective

In contemporary sociology of religion, Michel Foucault's concept of power provides an important analytical framework for understanding how religious practices within institutions may function as *disciplinary power* a form of power that regulates and disciplines individual behavior. Foucault argues that power does not operate solely through direct repression, but rather through networks of social practices that shape individuals' actions, perceptions, and habits (*power/knowledge*), thereby enabling social norms to be internalized and standardized unconsciously in everyday life. The concept of *governmentality* further extends this

understanding by illustrating how institutions including religious institutions develop techniques of regulation and self-regulation through norms, rituals, and disciplinary mechanisms aimed at producing compliant and controllable subjects (Saran Ghatak , 2023).

Within the context of social rehabilitation institutions such as PRS PMKS Sidoarjo, structurally mandated religious guidance functions as a space in which religious norms are produced, regulated, and legitimized. When religion is positioned as an institutional moral obligation that must be followed uniformly, religious practices may operate as a subtle mechanism of social control that organizes beneficiaries' time, bodies, and conduct (Jeff Garmany, 2020). This process demonstrates that religion does not operate solely in the spiritual realm, but also forms part of broader strategies of social discipline within rehabilitation institutions.

Participant stated:

"Sometimes I attend the religious sessions not because I feel ready, but because it is mandatory. If I do not come, I will be questioned by the staff. It feels like I have no choice." (Beneficiary-1)

"The schedule of religious guidance is fixed. We are expected to sit quietly, listen, and follow the rules. I feel like my body and time are controlled, not only my faith." (Beneficiary-3)

"Religious activities here are part of the daily routine. They help maintain order, but sometimes beneficiaries participate only to avoid sanctions." (Religious Instructor)

These interview excerpts reveal how religious guidance within the rehabilitation institution operates as both a moral framework and a disciplinary structure. The statement by Beneficiary 5 reflects the process of moral labeling, in which the inability to conform fully to institutional religious expectations results in feelings of guilt and shame. This indicates that religious norms function as symbolic standards that define religious legitimacy, encouraging beneficiaries to internalize institutional judgments about their moral worth and spiritual adequacy.

The account provided by Beneficiary 3 highlights the disciplinary dimension of religious

practices. The fixed schedule, expectations of silence, and strict adherence to rules demonstrate how religious guidance regulates beneficiaries' bodies, time, and conduct. This reflects the operation of disciplinary power, where compliance is produced not only through belief but through routinized practices that shape everyday behavior. In this context, religious participation becomes a mechanism of behavioral regulation rather than a purely voluntary spiritual activity.

Meanwhile, the religious instructor's statement underscores the institutional function of religious activities in maintaining order. Although religious guidance is framed as morally beneficial, the acknowledgment that some beneficiaries participate merely to avoid sanctions reveals the coercive aspect embedded within these practices. This suggests that religious participation is, at least in part, driven by institutional control rather than personal conviction.

Taken together, these narratives illustrate how religious guidance simultaneously produces moral pressure and behavioral discipline within the institution. The internalization of moral labels, the regulation of bodily conduct, and the presence of sanctions create a structural environment in which beneficiaries' agency is constrained. Such conditions help explain why emotional withdrawal, silence, or tantrum behavior may emerge as forms of response or micro-resistance, as beneficiaries attempt to negotiate their subjectivity within the moral and disciplinary boundaries imposed by institutional religious practices (Gregory Ajima, 2024).

From this perspective, the tantrum behaviors identified in this study such as prolonged silence, withdrawal from activities, refusal to participate, crying, or leaving religious sessions can be understood as responses to such disciplinary practices. Tantrum behavior does not merely reflect individual emotional instability, but rather constitutes a concrete expression of the tension between beneficiaries' subjectivity and the normalization of behavior legitimized through institutionalized religious practices. Accordingly, tantrum behavior functions as a form of *micro-resistance* to mechanisms of power that operate subtly yet persistently within religiously based social rehabilitation settings.

Religion as an Arena of Symbolic Conflict: A Bourdieusian Perspective

Pierre Bourdieu adds an important analytical dimension by conceptualizing religion as a religious field a social space in which various actors compete to dominate legitimate symbols and produce moral legitimacy through symbolic power (David Swartz, 2020). Within this framework, religion is not merely an individual spiritual experience, but a social arena permeated

by power relations, in which religious norms and categories function as instruments of symbolic domination that appear natural while in fact being socially constructed.

Religious guidance within the rehabilitation institution is not culturally neutral it represents a dominant cultural framework that defines ideal behavior, emotional expression, and moral worth. Institutional religious culture is positioned as normative and desirable, while alternative cultural expressions brought by beneficiaries are implicitly framed as problematic or in need of correction (Terry Rey, 2021). This cultural hierarchy contributes to symbolic inequality, whereby beneficiaries' pre-institutional cultural practices are devalued and misrecognized. Emotional expressions such as crying, withdrawal, or refusal are interpreted through institutional moral standards rather than understood within beneficiaries' cultural contexts (Riza Saputra, 2025). Consequently, tantrum behavior becomes labeled as deviance instead of being recognized as a legitimate cultural response. From a cultural sociology perspective, this dynamic reveals how rehabilitation institutions may inadvertently reproduce symbolic domination by privileging institutional religious culture over beneficiaries' lived cultural realities. Tantrum behavior, therefore, should be interpreted not only as individual resistance but also as a critique albeit implicit of cultural domination embedded within institutional practices.

In the context of religious guidance within rehabilitation institutions, moral discourses and religious practices promoted by institutional authorities generate symbolic hierarchies between those considered "moral," "obedient," or "normal," and those labeled as "problematic" or "in need of guidance." Such conditions have the potential to produce symbolic violence, particularly when beneficiaries internalize these moral judgments as unquestionable truths (David Swartz, 2020).

Participant stated:

"Sometimes I feel labeled as 'less religious' because I cannot follow the guidance properly. It makes me feel guilty and ashamed." (Beneficiary-5)

"Those who are calm and obedient are often seen as successful. Others are considered problematic, even when they are just struggling emotionally."(Social Worker)

"I feel like I am always being judged, not only for my behavior, but also for my faith."

(Beneficiary-1)

These interview excerpts illustrate how religious guidance operates simultaneously as a disciplinary mechanism and a potential source of meaning. Beneficiaries' expressions of silence, withdrawal, and refusal reveal forms of micro-resistance that emerge in response to moral regulation and symbolic pressure within institutional religious practices.

These interview excerpts illustrate how religious guidance within the institutional setting produces symbolic hierarchies that shape beneficiaries' identities and emotional experiences. The statement from Beneficiary 5 demonstrates the internalization of moral labeling, where difficulties in complying with religious guidance are interpreted as indicators of religious inadequacy. Feelings of guilt and shame suggest that institutional religious norms operate as powerful symbolic standards through which beneficiaries assess their moral worth and spiritual legitimacy.

The social worker's observation further reveals how institutional assessments prioritize calmness and obedience as markers of success, while emotional distress is frequently reframed as problematic behavior. This evaluative framework creates a binary distinction between "successful" and "problematic" beneficiaries, thereby obscuring the emotional struggles underlying individual responses. Such classifications reflect the operation of symbolic power, in which dominant moral norms define what is considered acceptable and legitimate behavior within the institution (Qiankun Zhong, 2020).

Meanwhile, Beneficiary 1's statement highlights the pervasive experience of moral surveillance, where beneficiaries feel continuously evaluated not only for their outward conduct but also for their inner faith. This sense of being constantly judged indicates that religious guidance extends beyond behavioral regulation to the governance of subjectivity. Collectively, these narratives demonstrate how symbolic pressure embedded in institutional religious practices can generate emotional distress and identity tension, which may later manifest as withdrawal, silence, or tantrum behavior as beneficiaries seek to negotiate their position within the moral boundaries imposed by the institution .

Tantrum behavior in this study can be interpreted as a symbolic reaction to such moral pressure. When beneficiaries display behaviors such as silence, avoidance of interaction, crying, or withdrawal during religious guidance sessions, these actions represent attempts to negotiate their symbolic position within the institutional religious field (Boreiko Y , 2021). Feelings of

unworthiness, guilt, and identity conflict indicate that tantrum behavior functions as a symbolic language through which beneficiaries express the tension between their self-identity and the moral demands institutionalized through religious guidance practices. This, tantrum behavior should not be understood as a rejection of religion itself, but rather as an expression of symbolic conflict between beneficiaries' lived experiences and the moral structures produced within institutional religious practices (Tania Brandao, 2025).

The Position of Religious Institutions: Emancipation versus Social Control

When religious guidance is analyzed through the combined perspectives of Foucault and Bourdieu, the role of religious institutions in social rehabilitation appears more complex than merely serving as instruments of moral development. On the one hand, religious guidance holds emancipatory potential, offering beneficiaries opportunities to reflect on their life experiences, cope with trauma, and reconstruct spiritual meaning and identity (Yudi Apriansyah, 2025). As one beneficiary explained,

“Religious guidance helps me reflect on my past and calm my emotions. When it is delivered gently, it gives me hope and helps me feel more accepted” (Beneficiary- 2).

This suggests that, under certain conditions, religion may function as a source of psychosocial support and hope, facilitating emotional stabilization and personal meaning-making. On the other hand, when religious practices are implemented in a normative and uniform manner without adequate consideration of beneficiaries' emotional readiness, social backgrounds, and individual agency, religious guidance risks functioning as a subtle mechanism of social control (Andi Alfian, 2023). This is reflected in beneficiaries' experiences of coercion and discipline, as one participant stated,

“Sometimes religious activities feel more like an obligation than guidance. We attend because it is required, not because we are emotionally ready” (Beneficiary- 4).

Similarly, institutional actors acknowledge that religious compliance is often used as a behavioral indicator, as noted by a religious instructor:

“Religious compliance is often used as an indicator of progress, even though not everyone

is ready at the same pace.”

Such practices may obscure beneficiaries’ subjective experiences and limit opportunities for critical reflection on institutionally imposed moral norms. Within this context, tantrum behavior emerges as an important indicator of the structural tension between the emancipatory aims and the disciplinary practices of religious guidance. Rather than signifying rehabilitation failure, tantrum behavior reflects an active process of negotiation by beneficiaries in response to moral and symbolic regulation. This is evident in beneficiaries’ narratives, such as when one participant explained,

“When I cry or leave the session, it’s not because I reject religion. I just feel pressured and overwhelmed” (Beneficiary 1).

As supported by institutional observations, *“Some beneficiaries express their discomfort through silence, refusal, or emotional outbursts. It is their way of responding to pressure”* (Social Worker).

These accounts demonstrate that tantrum behavior constitutes a form of social response through which beneficiaries seek to preserve their subjectivity amid the structural constraints imposed by rehabilitation institutions.

Theoretical and Empirical Implications

By integrating the perspectives of Max Weber, Michel Foucault, and Pierre Bourdieu, this article expands the analysis of tantrum behavior from a purely individual meaningful action to a social phenomenon rooted in power relations, symbolic conflict, and institutional dynamics. Tantrum behavior is understood as a form of social communication, symbolic resistance, and identity negotiation that emerges within institutionalized religious practices.

This inter-theoretical approach strengthens the sociological contribution of the study by demonstrating that religious guidance practices in social rehabilitation not only shape beneficiaries’ behavior but are also influenced by their active responses to existing power structures. Consequently, tantrum behavior becomes an important analytical lens for understanding the complex relationship between religion, institutions, and individual subjectivity within the context of social rehabilitation.

CONCLUSION

The findings of this study affirm that tantrum behavior among beneficiaries at PRS PMKS Sidoarjo should be understood as meaningful social action rather than mere emotional instability or behavioral disorder. By applying Max Weber's theory of social action, tantrum behavior can be systematically categorized into affective, traditional, instrumental-rational, and value-rational actions, each reflecting distinct subjective motives shaped by beneficiaries' life experiences, emotional conditions, and interpretations of religious guidance activities.

Tantrum behavior as affective action underscores the profound impact of emotional trauma, unresolved grief, and disrupted family relationships on beneficiaries' responses to religious guidance. Emotional expressions such as crying, silence, and withdrawal function as outlets for accumulated emotional burdens rather than acts of defiance. This finding reinforces sociological and psychological perspectives that adult emotional outbursts are often rooted in long-term marginalization and cumulative life stressors, not momentary emotional weakness.

Meanwhile, tantrum behavior as traditional action reveals how repetitive, rigid, and uniform institutional routines may unintentionally generate boredom, emotional disengagement, and passive resistance. Religious guidance delivered in standardized formats without sufficient adaptation to beneficiaries' psychological readiness can lead to habitual withdrawal and minimal participation. These patterns indicate that institutional routines, when experienced as monotonous, may weaken the intended rehabilitative function of religious guidance.

Tantrum behavior as instrumental-rational action demonstrates beneficiaries' agency and strategic capacity to negotiate institutional power. Beneficiaries are not merely passive recipients of rehabilitation programs; rather, they actively assess activities based on perceived material, emotional, and practical benefits. Emotional expressions and withdrawal may thus be employed deliberately to prioritize survival needs or to negotiate participation within constrained institutional structures. This challenges dominant institutional narratives that frame tantrum behavior solely as deviance or non-compliance.

Furthermore, tantrum behavior as value-rational action highlights the moral and existential struggles experienced by beneficiaries when institutional religious ideals conflict with their self-perceptions shaped by past failures, stigma, and marginalization. Feelings of unworthiness, guilt, and moral inadequacy may lead beneficiaries to withdraw emotionally as a protective response. In this sense, tantrum behavior becomes a manifestation of identity tension rather than rejection

of religious values themselves.

Beyond Weberian analysis, the integration of Michel Foucault's perspective reveals that religious guidance within rehabilitation institutions also operates as a form of disciplinary power. Through fixed schedules, moral surveillance, and behavioral evaluations, religious practices regulate beneficiaries' bodies, emotions, and conduct. Tantrum behavior emerges within this context as a form of micro-resistance an embodied response to moral regulation and institutional control that constrains beneficiaries' subjectivity.

From a Bourdieusian perspective, religious guidance functions within a religious field characterized by symbolic power and moral hierarchies. Institutional religious norms are positioned as legitimate and desirable, while beneficiaries' emotional expressions and pre-institutional cultural dispositions are often misrecognized as problematic. This process produces symbolic inequality and, in some cases, symbolic violence, as beneficiaries internalize moral judgments that frame them as "less religious" or "unsuccessful." Tantrum behavior thus operates as a symbolic language through which beneficiaries negotiate their position within the institutional religious field.

The study also demonstrates that tantrum behavior is shaped by pre-institutional cultural backgrounds and gendered moral expectations. Beneficiaries originating from street-based, survival-oriented environments experience significant cultural friction when encountering institutional religious discipline. Additionally, female beneficiaries tend to face stricter moral scrutiny and emotional regulation, leading to deeper internalization of guilt and shame. These findings confirm that tantrum behavior is not gender-neutral nor culturally neutral, but embedded within broader structures of moral regulation and power.

Overall, tantrum behavior functions as a form of social communication, symbolic resistance, and identity negotiation within the rehabilitation system. Rather than signaling rehabilitative failure, tantrum behavior represents an adaptive response to emotional vulnerability, cultural dissonance, moral pressure, and institutional constraints. By integrating Weberian, Foucauldian, and Bourdieusian perspectives, this study contributes to a more nuanced sociological understanding of religion in social rehabilitation, highlighting that religious guidance simultaneously holds emancipatory potential and the risk of reproducing symbolic domination.

Consequently, tantrum behavior should be recognized as an important analytical lens for

evaluating the effectiveness, inclusivity, and ethical dimensions of religious guidance practices in rehabilitation institutions. A more culturally sensitive, emotionally responsive, and reflexive approach to religious guidance is essential to ensure that religion functions not merely as an instrument of moral control but as a genuinely supportive resource for beneficiaries' psychosocial recovery and identity reconstruction.

REFERENCES

- Andi Alfian. (2023). Kekerasan Simbolik dalam Wacana Keagamaan di Indonesia. *Jurnal Studi Lintas Agama*.
- Abdul Khahar. (2020: 37). Bimbingan Agama Terhadap Tindak Kriminal (Preman). *Jurnal Studi Islam*.
- Social Service and Rehabilitation Center for People with Social Welfare Problems (PRS PMKS) Sidoarjo
- Abdul Khahar. (2020: 88). Bimbingan Agama Terhadap Tindak Kriminal (Preman). *Jurnal Studi Islam*.
- Ahmad Muzaki. (2023). Analisis Teori Tindakan Sosial Max Weber Terhadap Mentoring. *Jurnal Darussalam; Jurnal Pendidikan, Komunikasi dan Pemikiran Hukum Islam*, 16- 36.
- Boreiko Y. (2021). Symbolic violence in social theory of Pierre Bourdieu: Reception in the religious sphere. *Mendelay*, 18(2) 5-8.
- Citra Purnama & Widodo. (2025). Peran Pekerja Sosial dalam Bimbingan Psikososial ADL untuk Menumbuhkan Kemandirian Penerima Manfaat Psikotik Ringan di Balai PRS PMKS Sidoarjo. *Universitas Negeri Surabaya*.
- Carlo Genova. (2025). Leisure in Space: Adaptation and Challenge Among Youth and Youth Cultures. *International Journal of The Sociology of Leasure*, 1-10.
- Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2020). Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches (4th ed.). *Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications*.
- Devi, V. (2021:19). Analisis Tindakan Sosial Max Weber dalam Kebiasaan Membaca Asmaul Husna. *An-Nur: Jurnal Studi Islam*.

- Deviolina Fitria, A. i. (2024). Agama dan Psikologi: Peran Agama Terhadap Trauma Pada Individu. *Kuliah Al-Islam* .
- Dinas Sosial Provinsi Jawa Timur. (2024). Laporan Kegiatan Rehabilitasi Sosial dan Home Visit Balai PRS PMKS Sidoarjo.
- David Swartz. (2020). Bridging the Study of Culture and Religion: Pierre Bourdieu's Political Economy of Symbolic Power. *Sociology of Religion, Volume 57*, 71-85.
- Deviolina Fitria, A. i. (2024). Agama dan Psikologi: Peran Agama Terhadap Trauma Pada Individu. *Kuliah Al-Islam*.
- Diki Herdiansyah. (2024). Revealing Gender Dynamics: Comparative Analysis of. *Jawwa (Jurnal Studi Gender)*, 201-226.
- Elizabeth Veronica. (2023). Gender dan Konstruksi Perempuan dalam Agama "Pentingnya Kesetaraan Gender untuk Penghapusan Sistem Patriark. *Moderasi: Jurnal Kajian Islam Kontemporer*, 1-25.
- Ellafiyah, C. P. (2022). Upaya Peningkatan Spiritualitas Pada Penerima Manfaat (Klien) Melalui. *Spiritualita: Journal of Ethics and Spirituality*.
- Fiantika, F. R. (2022). Konsep Dasar Penelitian Kualitatif . In *Metodelogi Penelitian Kualitatif* (p. 2). Padang Sumatera Barat: PT. GLOBAL EKSEKUTIF TEKNOLOGI.
- Gregory Ajima. (2024). Religion As Subaltern Agency. *Journal Teologi dan Pastoral*, 147-170.
- Hidayanti, Ema. (2014). Reformulasi Model Bimbingan Dan. *Jurnal Dakwah*, 85.
- Intan Mutiawati. (2025). Religiosity and Emotion Regulation: A Systematic. *AL-AFKAR: Journal for Islamic Studies*, 2100=2114.
- Jeff Garmany. (2020). Religion and governmentality: Understanding governance in urban Brazil. *Geoforum*, 908-918.
- Jefferey Ian Ros. (2022). Reframing urban street culture: Towards a dynamic and heuristic process model. *Elsiever* , 7-13.
- Karim Kerasha. (2024). Many facets of religiosity and regulatory virtues: Exploring the links between multiple dimensions of religiosity with self-control and patience among Muslim-American adolescents. *Social Sciences & Humanities Open (SSHO)*.

- Qiankun Zhong. (2020). Institutional Similarity Drives Cultural Similarity among Online Communities. *Cornell University*.
- Rahman Danan Nugroho. (2025). The Gender in Religious Discourse. *International Journal on Advanced Science, Education, and Religion (IJoASER)*, 408-414.
- Riza Saputra. (2025). The Transformation of Religious Habitus Among Mahasantri Through a Dormitory Program A Sociological Analysis from Pierre Bourdieu's Perspective. *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama*.
- Saran Ghatak. (2023). Power/Faith: Governmentality, Religion, and Post-Secular Societies. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 217-235.
- Sebastian Tutunges. (2023). Varieties of Violence in Street Culture. *Taylor and Francis*, 179- 191.
- Tania Brandao. (2025). Religion and Emotion Regulation: A Systematic Review of Quantitative Studies. *Journal Religion and Health*, 2083–2100.
- Terry Rey. (2021). The Prestructured is Everywhere Pierre Bourdieu's Approach to Religion. *Bulletin for the Study of Religion*.
- Yudi Apriansyah. (2025). Religion and Social Order: An Interfaith Exploration of Values, Norms, and Control Mechanisms in Indonesia. *Jurnal Sosiologi Nusantara*, 188-201.
- Hidayat, M. (2021). Peran Bimbingan Keagamaan dalam Rehabilitasi Sosial: Studi Kasus pada Panti Sosial di Jawa Timur. *Jurnal Bimbingan dan Konseling Islam*, 8(2), 145– 160.
- Ivanovich Agusta. (2003). Teknik Pengumpulan dan Analisis Data Kualitatif.
- Mocammad Fauzi. (2020). Dakwah dan Perilaku Sosial Jama'ah Tabligh Di Masjid Jamik Nurul Rahman Pasean Pamekasan Madura Perspektif Tindakan Sosial Max Weber. *Jurnal Islam*.