

Construction of Religious Habitus in Indonesian Islamic Boarding Schools

Pembentukan Habitus Agama di Pesantren

Amal Taufiq¹, Mohd Zainizan Sahdan², and Dwi Setianingsih³

¹UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, Indonesia
amaltaufiq70@gmail.com

²Universiti Tun Hussein Onn Johor, Malaysia
zainizan@uthm.edu.my

³UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, Indonesia
dwisetia@uinsa.ac.id

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ABSTRAK

Pesantren merupakan lembaga pendidikan Islam di Indonesia yang memiliki keunikan dan memiliki habitus keagamaan yang kuat. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui bagaimanakah bentuk habitus keagamaan dan proses pembentukan habitus keagamaan di Pesantren Al-Islam Joresan Mlarak Ponorogo, Jawa Timur. Metode kualitatif digunakan dalam penelitian ini dengan teknik observasi, wawancara, dan dokumentasi sebagai alat untuk mengumpulkan data. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa karakteristik habitus Pesantren Al-Islam meliputi tiga aspek. Pertama, hysteresis, bertahan lama dan tidak mudah diubah saat sudah terbentuk. Kedua, transposabilite, bisa diwariskan dan bisa dipelajari. Ketiga, generator, mendorong tumbuhnya praksis sosial baru. Pembentukan habitus Pesantren Al-Islam pada awal pendiriannya melalui proses dialektika yang panjang oleh para pendiri pesantren, lalu ditanamkan kepada santri dengan berbagai cara, yaitu memasukkannya ke dalam kurikulum, role models dari kyai, dan penanaman falsafah Panca Jiwa Pesantren. Hasil penelitian ini dapat memberikan kontribusi dalam penguatan habitus keagamaan di pesantren sebagai lembaga pendidikan agama tentang pentingnya role model dan lingkungan yang kondusif dalam pembentukan habitus keagamaan santri.

Kata Kunci: Habitus; Konstruksis; Pesantren

ABSTRACT

Islamic boarding schools are Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia that are unique among other educational institutions and have a strong religious habitus. This research aims to find out what the religious habitus of Islamic boarding schools looks like and what the construction process of religious habitus is in the Al-Islam Islamic boarding school in Ponorogo, East Java. Qualitative methods were used in this research, including observation, interview, and documentation techniques, as tools for collecting data. This research shows that the habitus characteristics of the Al-Islam Islamic boarding school include three aspects. Firstly, hysteresis lasts long and is not easily changed; it is difficult to change once formed. Secondly, transposability can be inherited and can be learned. Thirdly, it is a generator that encourages the growth of new social practices. The construction of the habitus of the Al-Islam Islamic boarding school at the beginning of its establishment went through a long dialectical process by the founders of the Islamic boarding school. Then, it was instilled in the students in various ways, including in the curriculum, role models from Kyai (the head of Islamic boarding schools), and instilling the Islamic boarding school's philosophy of the five souls. The results of this research can contribute to strengthening religious habitus in Islamic boarding schools as religious education institutions regarding the importance of role models and a conducive environment in forming the religious habitus of students.

Keywords: Construction; Habitus; Islamic Boarding School

INTRODUCTION

Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) are Islamic educational institutions in which students (*santri*) live in dormitories that are generally separate from the life around them (Abdurahman Wahid 2010). Culturally, *Pesantren* emerged from Indonesian culture (Dakir and Anwar 2019; Fitriyah, Wahid, and Muali 2018). Historically, *Pesantren* not only contained the meaning of Islam but also the authenticity of Indonesian institutions that emerged after Hindu-Buddhism (Yasmadi 2022). There are many *Pesantren* spread throughout the country. They played an important role in shaping religious Indonesians (Baharun and Adhimah 2019). *Pesantren* has produced many past, present, and future Indonesian leaders. *Pesantren* graduates actively participated in nation-building (Mutohar and Anam 2002).

However, in the modern and globalized era, it is currently a challenge for *Pesantren* to educate students to prepare future leaders. The swift pace of globalization and the advancement of information technology will influence changing attitudes and values in education, including *Pesantren* education (Mundiri and Nawiro 2019). In this case, the transformation of student behavior is a shift in activities, whether directly or indirectly observed, towards changes in a negative direction (Santoso and Muzakki 2017). Some people believe that student behavior, which was initially very polite, has now begun to change due to the infiltration of negative aspects of foreign culture into the *Pesantren* environment (Mundiri and Nawiro 2019).

To prevent the above negative actions, it is necessary to strengthen the religious habitus as a counterculture against foreign cultures. Utilizing *Pesantren* culture can create religious experiences that embody religious principles, thus making *Pesantren* deeper in their religiosity. Through instruction, habituation, good example, training, motivation, and enforcing *Pesantren's* norms, each plays a significant role in forming students' faith, piety, and religious attitudes that improve their lives (Chasanah 2021).

Each component of *Pesantren* can affect students' character development. The distribution of these tasks requires understanding this philosophical basis, which is why students perform various tasks consciously. *Pesantren* activities are important in education, such as teaching thrift, independence, solidarity and togetherness, love of the environment, and leadership in scouting (Muhakamurrohman 2014). *Pesantren* are not just educational institutions that study religious knowledge but are also educational institutions that maintain the characteristics, traditions, and rules of Islam, so it is hoped that students be able to lead in the future (Putro, Suyanto, and Suryono 2017).

Pesantren carries out all education based on exemplary. They familiarize themselves with the environment through various tasks and activities. So everything that students see, hear, feel, and do is education; making good examples and creating a good environment are very important (Islam and Aziz 2020). *Pesantren* institutions urgently develop Islamic education and instill Islamic teaching values in Indonesia (Velasufah and Setiawan 2020). Apart from that, *Pesantren* is a religious environment with religious values manifested in spiritual experiences that can be actualized by implementing dormitory culture. The purpose of *Pesantren* is to construct religious behaviors among students through the guidance of the *Kyai* (the head of *Pesantren*), which is to be implemented by all students (Chasanah 2021). *Pesantren* is not just a place of learning but also a life process. Oepen and Karcher (1987) explain that the cultural process begins with socialization, adaptation, enculturation, and habituation.

Based on this background, the author is interested in discussing more deeply how religious habitus is formed, what elements make *Pesantren* religious habitus strong, and who are the most significant actors in the process of forming religious habitus in *Pesantren* and how they transfer religious habitus to students.

Several previous studies regarding religious habitus, such as one carried out by Firdausi and Turasih (2024), described the initiatives taken by *Pesantren* to instill *tasamuh* (tolerance) within these institutions through national gatherings, workshops on religious tolerance, philanthropic events, interactions with interfaith communities, food distribution during particular events, community service projects for students. Misbah (2019) explains adapting to inclusive Islamic principles for students in *Pesantren* Ma'hadutholabah and *Pesantren* Darul Khair Babakan Lebaksu Tegal engages in various activities that promote students' inclusive character in both social and religious aspects. Ma'rifah (2016) stated that *Pesantren* are important in forming the social "habitus" of Islamic society in Indonesia. The value system of *pesantren*, such as modesty, scientific traditions, cultural guardians, and nationalism, shapes the behavior of society, which is still inherited.

The results of the research above do not explicitly discuss the existence of habitus, how it is formed, the dimensions of religious habitus, and how it is transmitted. Based on that background, the author will discuss the construction of religious habitus in

Pesantren using the lens of Pierre Bourdieu's habitus theory, which explains the nature and characteristics of habitus in *Pesantren*, which are different from other educational institutions. This article can contribute to strengthening the religious habitus of *Pesantren* students and complement the literature regarding the existence of religious habitus in *Pesantren*.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The habituation theory arises due to the flexibility of repeated reactions. Habituation influences the development of human attitudes in socio-cultural processes (Groves and Thompson 1970). Bourdieu explains that habitus is a system of long-lasting, changeable, structured, and structuring dispositions. In other words, Ritzer explains that habitus is a mental or cognitive structure used by individuals in social life (Ritzer and Goodman 2003). Habitus is produced and produced from social life. On the one hand, habitus is a structuring structure, meaning that it is a structure that shapes social life. On the other hand, habitus is a structured structure, meaning the social world forms it.

A structured program can organize a child's life and create habits in education. In the educational process, instructions are guidelines for carrying out all actions (Rachmayani et al. 2021). Programs at school or *Pesantren* can influence children's habituation patterns (Imtihanudin and Mariana 2021).

According to Bourdieu, habitus is a system that combines objective structures, human histories, and shifting dispositions to create structured and integrated practices. Habitus refers to social values internalized by humans and created through a long process of socialization so that they settle into ways of thinking and patterns of behavior that persist within the human being. This term embodies the formation of traditions and the social character of a society (Ma'rifah 2016).

Pesantren teach Islamic values in their students' attitudes, behaviors, and thinking and offer religious instruction (Halid 2019). The advancement of religious habitus in *Pesantren* holds great significance in shaping students' characters to be obedient and have strong morals (Ismayani et al. 2023). *Pesantren* seeks to instill Islamic principles by fostering a religious culture with the aim that these principles can be understood intellectually and applied in real life (Minhaji, Dlaifi, and Maktumah 2020).

Utilizing *Pesantren* habitus can create religious experiences that embody religious principles, making Islamic boarding schools a source of strengthening religious values. These efforts show the form of *Pesantren*'s cultural life, which aims to critique the religious attitudes of students. The purpose of *Pesantren* cultural education is to shape the religious attitudes of students through the leadership of the *Kyai*, which is then applied by the students (Chasanah 2021). The views and personalities of students are significantly shaped by the cultural environment of *Pesantren* (Prasetyo 2021). Besides helping students develop their religious mindset, *Pesantren* also play a significant role in helping them develop life skills, including entrepreneurship and other talents (Anggadwita et al. 2021). Students' abilities are developed to comprehend and employ the world and religion in their daily lives.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses a qualitative method (Creswell 1994) to understand social problems by creating a comprehensive and complex picture presented in words, reporting detailed views obtained from information sources, and carrying out the research in a natural context. Denzin and Lincoln (1998) explains that qualitative research aims to gain a basic understanding through first-hand experience, reports, and conversation notes. In addition, this research aims to understand how participants take meaning from the surrounding environment and how these meanings influence their behavior.

This research was conducted at *Pesantren* Al-Islam, Joresan Village, Mlarak District, Ponorogo Regency, East Java. This research focuses on the religious habitus, which becomes the students' routine starting from religious knowledge and is directly related to the construction of habitus, attitudes, and behavior. Religious habitus can also be seen from obtaining it, namely the learning process and extra-curricular activities that provide students with soft skills. Data collection techniques were observation, interviews, and documentation. Observations were conducted to observe students' daily activities in internalizing religious values and transmitting religious habitus from *Kyai* and *Ustaz*. Observations were also carried out to determine the Islamic boarding school environment that influences the construction of religious habitus.

Interviews were conducted with several people who know a lot about the history of *Pesantren* Al-Islam, their vision and mission, and they are directly involved in the process of transmitting religious habitus in *Pesantren* Al-Islam; they are deputy principal for curriculum, deputy principal for student affairs and senior students and junior students. Documentation techniques are carried out on all supporting components of the daily activity schedule of students in cultivating religious habitus at *Pesantren* Al-Islam. The validity of the collected data was tested using data triangulation, and then the data was analyzed through three stages, namely the data reduction stage, data presentation, and drawing/verifying conclusions based on the theory of Miler and Huberman (Miles 1992).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Pesantren Al-Islam in Joresan Village, Mlarak District, Ponorogo Regency, 15 KM from Ponorogo, founded in 1960. The existence of this *Pesantren* is a means of developing Muslim communities and Muslim cadres in response to the high dropout rate among students and the decline in the community's standard of living is the primary motivation for the establishment of *Pesantren* Al-Islam because the cost of education was affordable for the lower middle class then.

The founders of *Pesantren* Al-Islam consisting of religious figures and community leaders, are working hard to lay a strong foundation for the establishment of *Pesantren* by preparing all the organizational tools, starting from the philosophy, direction, and orientation of *Pesantren* as well as the characteristics of *Pesantren* that will be formed. The educational process must have religious values that will produce sincerity, simplicity, and *ukhuwah Islamiyyah* (brotherhood), and socio-cultural norms produce traits such as critical thinking. Determining life choices and national values will produce the nature of moderation in religion, instilling *tasamuh* between religious communities and love for the homeland and nation. The construction and transmission of religious habitus through a long process while becoming a student.

The construction of religious habitus must include words or appeals and actions simultaneously so that students get objective evidence of the lessons they have learned by providing good examples for students. Religious habitus starts from small things of discipline, obedience, and perseverance, which become daily habits. *Pesantren* creates time schedules to make it easier for students to carry out activities that encourage the construction of religious habitus. The activity schedule is divided into daily, weekly, monthly, and annual activities.

Table 1. Students' activities in the construction of a religious habitus at *Pesantren Al-Islam*

Daily activities		Weekly activities		
Time	Activities	Day	Activities	
03.30 – 04.00	Waking up, Subuh prayer	Monday	19.00 - 20.00	Muhadlarah (Speech practice)
04.00 – 05.00	Morning prayer, congregation			
05.00 – 05.30	language strengthening	Tuesday	05.00 – 05.30	Ta'limul muta'alim
05.00 – 07.30	School preparation, breakfast		14.00 -16.00	Extra curricular
07.30 – 12.00	Morning school	Thursday	18.00 – 19.00	Read the tahlil together
12.00 – 12.30	Dhuhur prayer and lunch			
12.30 – 14.00	After school hours			
14.00 – 15.30	Rest	Friday	03.00 – 03.30	Evening prayer
15.30 – 16.00	Asr prayer			
16.00 – 17.00	Reciting the yellow book			
17.00 – 18.00	Take a break, take a bath	Friday	05.00 – 06.00	Clean Friday, sports
18.00 – 18.15	Maghrib prayer			
18.15 – 19.00	Sorogan Al-Qur'an			
19.00 – 19.30	Isha prayer'	Saturday	13.00 – 15.00	Scouting
19.30 – 20.30	Dinner		16.00 – 17.00	Fashih Alquran
22.00 – 03.30	Sleep			

Source: Interview with the Vice Principal for Student Affairs and Dormitory Coordinator.

The habitus of *Pesantren Al-Islam*, especially for students, is built when students enter this institution to internalize everything around them, from waking up until going to sleep again. To create good habits and strengthen the spirituality of students, routine activities are carried out, ranging from daily, weekly, monthly, and annual activities.

The monthly activities are reciting the Al-Qur'an; there are also afternoon *Pesantren* activities for Class I deepening *Fashahih, Mabadi' Fiqhiyyah Juz 1, Akhlaq li al-Banin, Aqa'id* and Writing *Pegon*. Class II deepening of *Fashahih, Mabadi' Fiqhiyyah Juz 1, Aqa'id, Akhlaq li al-Banin, Fath al-Qarib, Tafsir al-Ghayah*. Meanwhile, Class III deepens *Fashahih, Fath al-Qarib, Aqa'id, Irsyad al-Ibad, and Tafsir al-Ghayah*. For the annual activities, namely *Khutbatul Iftitah* (Introduction Week) for new and old students. Class VI *khataman* and speech competition using four languages. These activities will strengthen the religious habitus of students because they are routinely embedded in their thought patterns and behavior.

The process of transmitting religious habitus at *Pesantren Al-Islam* is as follows:

First, Socialization is the first step in the cultural process that produces culture. This happens when people are taught behavior patterns, driving factors, and values (Grusec and Hastings 2014). At *Pesantren Al-Islam*, socialization is carried out by introducing and understanding the central values in Islamic teachings. Socialization activities include formal classroom activities that specifically explore morals, such as lessons on *Mahfudhat, Hadith, Ta'lim Muta'allim* and many others. Meanwhile, non-formal activities outside the classroom include *Khutbatul Iftitah* which instill a philosophy of life speech practice. The actors who transmit religious habitus knowledge are caregivers, *ustaz*, and senior students to junior students according to the activities carried out: daily, weekly, monthly, and annually.

Second, Internalization is an appreciation of teaching, ideology, doctrine, or values, which is a belief and awareness of the existence of reality or values manifested in attitudes and behavior (Tafsir 2013). Internalization of values is a process or way of instilling normative values that determine the desired behavior of an educational system through Islamic guidance towards forming a Muslim personality with a noble character (Azzahrah, Setiawan, and Supana 2018). The internalization process for students takes the form of absorbing all religious lessons, philosophy of life, motto, five souls, and reflection on activities in *Pesantren Al-Islam*. The results of absorbing religious values, philosophy, and mottos become references and ways of thinking and behaving for

concept, all processes or activities carried out by students at *Pesantren* Al-Islam if there are critics, suggestions for input from kyai or teachers must be accepted sincerely and gracefully because there are no other intentions except for the improvement of everyone.

Instilling *Panca Jiwa* (Five Souls) of *Pesantren* Al-Islam

Pesantren Al-Islam education has values that can shape the students' character into good individuals who are helpful to society. Five of the many values possessed are embedded in the Islamic boarding school environment, called *Panca Jiwa* of *Pesantren* Al-Islam. The five souls train students to build and shape character towards becoming human beings who benefit the entire community, especially *Pesantren*. The five souls are not only considered as provisions that must be memorized but must be applied through habits in daily activities. In other words, the souls of *Pesantren* Al-Islam are not just used as slogans or theories. However, they are implemented in the form of traditions or *sunnah* (routine activities carried out by *Pesantren*) that occur daily (Ummah 2017).

The five souls are, first, the soul of sincerity. The spirit of *Pesantren* Al-Islam is not driven by any ambition to obtain certain benefits, especially materially, but solely by worshipping Allah SWT. This spirit of sincerity is based on the belief that Allah SWT will reward good deeds with good things, even many times over. The soul of sincerity means *sepi ing pamrih* (not having the desire to obtain certain benefits), namely simply to worship Allah SWT. This must include the entire atmosphere of the Islamic boarding school.

Second, the spirit of simplicity. Simplicity is defined as an attitude that is not excessive. A simple attitude does not mean you are prohibited from pursuing wealth, so living simply is not the same as living in poverty (Rachman 2017). However, living means avoiding a lifestyle that is so luxurious that it makes everything wasteful. In other words, living means rejecting a wasteful lifestyle that often involves spending money on things that are not needed (Ummah 2017). The spirit of simplicity is based on reasonableness and needs; this contains a spirit of strength, fortitude, ability, and self-control to face life's struggles (Zarkasyi 2005).

Third, souls are independent, meaning they can stand on their own feet, are responsible for themselves, and have no dependence on others. Independence is one characteristic of a mature attitude, which will later lead to autonomous children who constantly strive towards achieving achievements and goals (Suharso & Retnoningsih, 2012). Independence is felt in *Pesantren*; students wash their clothes, clean their bedrooms, prepare their school equipment, etc. To achieve independence, you need ideals and hard work to achieve them (Ummah 2017).

Fourth, *ukhuwwah Islamiyyah*, means establishing brotherhood. It is likened to a Muslim and another Muslim being like a building, one part strengthening the other (Kuswandi and Amalih 2015). *Ukhuwwah Islamiyyah* is an atmosphere of life in a *Pesantren* that lasts twenty-four hours. There is an intense spirit of brotherhood, always together in trouble and joy (Suharso and Ana 2012).

Fifth, a free spirit is a condition free from pressure and compulsion to do or not do something. A free person has a conscious attitude of acting and choosing. Freedom to think, freedom to act, and freedom to determine one's future. This free spirit is related to the spirit of independence because, with it, students can be creative in determining what they choose. For example, *Pesantren* can create curricula and determine academic calendars and other activities (Zarkasyi 2005). However, freedom here does not mean without rules but still with controlled rules, such as freedom to think within Islamic boundaries (Hidayat 2016).

Strengthening Local Curriculum

As an institution of education with its own distinguished, *pesantren* have a traditional science different from other institutions. *Pesantren* is a unique culture (Muslich 2011). At least, Independent leadership patterns, traditional literature, and formal and non-formal education demonstrate this uniqueness (Abdurrahman 2017).

Pesantren Al-Islam has a vision, mission, and goals to be achieved: creating intelligent and ethical people. The distinctive feature of *Pesantren* Al-Islam compared to other *Pesantren* is that it combines three curricula: First, from the Ministry of Religion. Second, the curriculum from *Pesantren* Modern Gontor. Third, the curriculum from Salaf Islamic Boarding School (Interview with Ustaz Masrur, July 2021).

All subjects have the same goal, namely to form the morals of students. However, several subjects are more specifically for forming morals: *Ta'limul Muta'allim*, *Aqidah Akhlak*, *Qur'an Hadith*, *Fiqh*, *Mahfudhat*, and *Mutala'ah*. The main aim of *Ta'limul Muta'allim* subject is for students to have a *tawadu'* (humble) attitude towards anyone, especially *Kyai*, and teachers; for example, sitting and talking with etiquette and politeness, when the teacher is speaking, it is forbidden to interrupt the conversation, raise your right hand if you want to talk, shake hands when you meet, bow when you meet or pass the teachers.

The policy carried out by *Pesantren* Al-Islam is to provide *Kitab Kuning* (Islamic Books) in formal learning, which means that all students must follow the programs. The aim is to strengthen the attitude of *tawadu'* attitude among students towards the teachers and each other. This is in line with what Al-Hilali (2007) expressed as students have to always *tawadu'* because it is very important in their environment, this is illustrated by the presence of something in a lower position, so there will be a lot of water pooling in that place which will provide benefits to the surrounding area. Amr (2014) stated that *tawadu'* means a friendly attitude and a gentle attitude when interacting with others, starting from people with lowly professions.

Pesantren have a scientific tradition that differs from the scientific traditions of other Islamic institutions such as madrasahs or schools. One of the main characteristics is the teaching of *kitab kuning* as their curriculum. *Kitab kuning* has a special place in the curriculum of *Pesantren* (Dhofier 1985). Generally, the content used as a source for *kitab kuning* can be divided into two parts: the primary teaching group in Al-Qur'an and Hadith. Second, the group of *Kitab Kuning* examines Islam as a result of the development of Islam in history, such as books dealing with social institutions, culture, and scientific methods (Nasuha 2011).

Kyai's Role Model

Harikoshi stated that *Kyai* plays a creative role in social change. *Kyai* is not just passive but is pioneer of that change in his own way (Horikoshi 1976). The aims of *Pesantren* education are chosen intuitively by *Kyai* himself or his assistants (Madjid 1985). Internally, *Kyai* is central figure in *Pesantren*. *Kyai* has duties as parents, teachers, religious spiritual leaders, and physical health, responsible for developing the mental and personality of students.

The position of *Kyai* is the successor and inheritor of the teachings and treatises of the prophet, so he teaches various religious knowledge and also includes law and religious practices, from matters in the form of rituals to daily actions. So, a conducive environment is critical, such as huts and mosques, which are places for students to learn *kitab kuning* (Dhofier 1985).

Kyai at *Pesantren* Al-Islam act as role models because their position is the leader and caretaker of *Pesantren*. The role of *Kyai* is carried out in various ways, including through lessons and exemplary practice; he displays it in his daily life in *haliyah* (visible attitude). *Kyai* teaches simplicity through concrete actions in his own life; classrooms and offices are nicer (better) than his house. He prioritizes study space for his students rather than personal needs (Sumardi 2013). One of the good examples set by *Kyai* is that he will not convey orders to his students before he carries them out. Therefore, giving the example of the *Kyai* to students has a powerful and profound influence. This reinforces what Bourdieu said that the most effective transmission of habitus is the most implicit. For example, in the conducive environment in *Pesantren*, there are the role models of *Kyai* and teachers, as well as an environment that supports the growth and development of *Pesantren* culture.

Kyai is also the one who determines the direction of *Pesantren* policy. *Kyai* holds the highest policy authority in *Pesantren*. *Kyai* is also a second parent to students. *Kyai*, with the assistance of the teachers, always patiently and sincerely monitors the students' behavior and speech, listens to their complaints, and pays attention to the development of their education. As explained by Said Hawa, every Muslim plays the role of *Da'i* (caller to Allah), Muslim (teacher of goodness), and *Murabbi* (person who educates the human soul) (Haryanto 2012).

The Deep Meaning of *Barakah* (Blessing) Concept

The concept of *barakah* is very popular among *Pesantren* and is the desire of all students to get it. *Barakah* means growth and addition. In English literature, *barakah* means blessing. Allah is the only one who can grant *barakah* (to bless). *Mubarak* refers to blessed individuals, things, and times (Fritz Goerling 2010). *Barakah* is a key component of *Pesantren* leadership. Nearly all significant *Kyai* who have successfully created their *Pesantren* are always regarded as individuals with *karamah* and *barakah* (Dhofier 1985). It is impossible to separate *tabarruk*, or ask *Kyai* for blessings. This has always been the primary objective of the students, in addition to acquiring religious knowledge (Lukens-Bull 2005). The students think that by *tabarruk* to *Kyai*, they will receive the blessing of *Kyai* and gain helpful knowledge. *Pesantren's* educational model positions students as subjects and servants. This pattern characterizes the dominance of teacher influence and the demand for students to be passive, called *talmadhah* (Zakiah and Faturachman 2004).

If the students want blessings, they are forbidden to dispute what *Kyai* says. What is ordered will be carried out; even to get *barakah* after teaching, the students do not hesitate to scramble to help carry bags or books for *Kyai* and teachers. The teachers seem authoritarian because they enforce discipline in *Pesantren*, and none of his students dares to fight because the students think that it is all the truth. Whatever the teacher orders, the students will obey and carry it out. In the view of *Kyai* and teachers, this action is to provide guidance or advice, not to position themselves as rulers; they are second parent figures caring about their students.

In *Pesantren*, *Kyai* or teachers have authority over the relationship between *Kyai*, teacher, and student. *Tausiah* (religious teaching) spoken by *Kyai* and teachers are considered to be accurate by their students; this is because *Kyai* and teachers are considered to have high knowledge and authority due to the subjective views of *Kyai* from the past to the present and are still well maintained because they are considered very useful for motivating in *Pesantren*.

Anatomy of Religious Habitus at Pesantren Al-Islam

According to Bourdieu, there are three-dimensional schemes of habitus: First, the process of acquisition. Second, personality. Third, social logic. In the context of *Pesantren* Al-Islam, the three dimensions are found in the aspect of the acquisition process in the form of internalization of values, philosophy, motto, and rules created by the founder through activities in the form of daily, weekly, monthly, and annual activities.

One of the formal activities is providing lesson material that contains moral virtues. Meanwhile, non-formal activities include intra-curricular and extra-curricular activities such as *muhadarah* (speech practice) scouting, student organizations (OPMI), etc.

Habitus is a source of creativity; their children will follow their parents' speaking style, and good attitudes in the family will also greatly influence their children. In *Pesantren*, all the words, attitudes, and actions of the *Kyai* will significantly influence the students. The basis of personality is formed through philosophy in the form of *Panca Jiwa*.

Habitus also has essential characteristics, which are the characteristics and properties that will determine thoughts, attitudes, and actions. Three characteristics of habitus are embedded or attached: *hysteresis*, transposability, and generator

(Haryatmoko 2016). In the context of *Pesantren* Al-Islam, the nature of habitus can be seen as follows:

Table 2. Essential Characteristics of Habitus at *Pesantren* Al-Islam

Habitus Nature	Definition	Implementation at <i>Pesantren</i> Al-Islam
<i>Hysteresis</i>	It lasts a long time and is not easy to change. It is difficult to change once it is formed.	One of the values that constitutes the habitus of <i>Pesantren</i> is <i>Panca Jiwa</i> , which is inherent in the internalization of students starting at <i>Pesantren</i> , as well as when the students have graduated and even when they are already working and occupying certain social positions.
<i>Transposable</i>	It can be inherited or transferred; it can be learned	The habitus values of the <i>Pesantren</i> founder and manager are transferred to <i>Kyai</i> and teachers. The teachers are transformed into students through a learning process in a conducive environment. Habitus can also be transformed through learning in subjects related to values at <i>Pesantren</i> .
<i>Generator</i>	Encouraging the growth of new social praxis	Students who used to internalize the values at <i>Pesantren</i> 's habitus will later, when they graduate, externalize or express the habitus that they have acquired at <i>Pesantren</i> in a new place or arena. This is called internalizing externalities and externalizing internalities.

Source: Author conceptual framework

Table 2 shows that *Pesantren* Al-Islam has long-lasting values that do not change easily from generation to generation. For example, the value of independence students possess will stick with them until they graduate. Likewise, the values of work ethic, creativity, and strong discipline will always be carried over until he graduates and is active in society. The values in *Pesantren* are inherited through a formal learning process which is carried out in the classroom by studying books that contain content about moral virtues. To instill these values, concrete examples (role models) are always provided by caregivers, and *ustaz*, and create a constructive *Pesantren* environment in maintaining and implementing the values, attitudes, and behavior following the boarding school's character and norms.

Habitus is also regular and patterned but does not constitute submission to specific rules. Habitus is not only a state of mind but also a state of body and even the site of incorporated history. Initially, students had to follow all the rules and regulations at *Pesantren* Al-Islam, but because they were used to their activities, attitudes, and behavior, when students outside of *Pesantren* still showed this pattern of attitudes and behavior, even though there was no security department (*qismul amni*) who usually always supervised their actions and attitudes students. The habits carried out in *Pesantren* are integrated with their body and soul wherever and whenever, for example, the use of Arabic or English as a means of communication both inside and outside *Pesantren*.

The Urgency of Maintaining Religious Habitus in Islamic Boarding School

Habitus is a historical product that arises after a person is born and interacts with society in a specific time and space. Habit is not innate or natural but the result of growing up in society and social learning. The learning is subtle, unconscious, and natural (Takwin 2009).

The values of *Pesantren* that are internalized in the minds of the students are part of the dominant system that has built the students' habitus, thereby displaying the civilization of *Pesantren*. This means that *Pesantren* traditions built over centuries have been able to shape the students' habitus. The argument for why habitus must continue

to be maintained and implemented in *Pesantren* is that habitus is characteristic of *Pesantren* as a sub-culture, a treasure of Islamic traditions in Indonesia, and a means of strengthening the spiritual morals of students. Building moral and spiritual aspects from the social aspect to help students in the future will be very beneficial to maintaining religious harmony in society (Ilyasir 2017). Second, *Pesantren* habitus can be seen as an expression of Islamic culture. In this case, the idea of cultural preservation is also reflected in the intellectual traditions of *Pesantren*. By implementing habitus continuously, it is hoped that students will be aware, concerned, and accustomed to implementing good things in everyday life (Inawati 2017). From the psychology and educational management perspective, a religious student can overcome the psychological pressure he experiences in learning activities

Third, *Pesantren* habitus functions as a way to defend against the threat of cultural entry from outside the Islamic boarding school that is not by the values and principles of life in Islam. Currently, there is a phenomenon of a very significant decline in children's morals. There are often cases of children who speak impolitely, like to imitate scenes of violence, and also imitate adult behavior that is not appropriate for children (Setiawati 2006).

Fourth, to strengthen soft skills, two types of competencies must be possessed by every student, including students, namely soft skills and hard skills. Hard Skills can be interpreted as a person's skills in mastering science, technology, and technical skills related to their field of knowledge. It relates to cognitive and psychomotor abilities. In other words, hard skills represent intellectual and kinesthetic intelligence. In the UNESCO concept, hard skills are the expectations of the educational pillars of learning to know and learning to do.

Soft skills are characteristics, behaviors, and abilities connected to one's personality and attitude rather than formal or technical expertise (Mahasneh and Thabet 2015). Soft skills are natural abilities that individuals possess and are ingrained behaviors (Al Abdwani 2012). It refers to language skills, personal habits, interpersonal communication, people management, and leadership (Chowdary and Ponnuru 2016). Refers to various skills, knowledge, and fundamental values of life and are high personal habits, friendliness, and optimism (Abbas, Kadir, and Azmie 2013), communicate well, work well, influence others, and get along with others (Agarwal and Ahuja 2014).

Today, in addition to technical skills, soft skills are an important factor that many organizations consider in the future career development of graduates (Robles 2012). In *Pesantren*, soft skills are similar to good habitus, which can be obtained more often outside the formal curriculum. Soft skills are oriented towards how to shape a student's personality, starting from behaving, communicating, interacting with fellow students and *ustaz* and caregivers, and having a good spirit. It gives strength to students of determination and tenacity, having credibility, honesty, simplicity, flexibility, and several other traits that help someone achieve the desired goals apart from fulfilling hard skills.

The soft skills given in *Pesantren* are connected to values, traits that will be the source of student's personality, and that a person must have a strong mentality that will guide them in life in society later. The soft skills that are very dominant in *Pesantren* are the implementation of the five souls and spirits, which will guide, direct, and maintain the survival of students. All *Pesantren* members internalize the Five Souls and are deeply ingrained in them, even until the students graduate from *Pesantren*. Extra-curricular activities also provide provisions or competencies to the students, such as khutbah and speech practice, to train the student's mental ability to speak in public, which is mandatory for all students using four languages: Indonesian, Arabic, English, and Javanese. *Pesantren* organizations also provide managerial training and management of conflict dynamics and various other activities.

CONCLUSION

Pesantren are Indonesian Islamic educational institutions that are different from other educational institutions, with more intensive learning methods and interaction patterns between teachers and students and students and their seniors because they live in the same dormitory. However, in the modern and globalization era, it is currently a challenge for *Pesantren* to educate students to prepare future leaders because the swift pace of globalization and the advancement of information technology will influence changing attitudes and values in education. To prevent the above negative actions, it is necessary to strengthen the religious habitus as a counterculture against foreign cultures.

The habitus construction of *Pesantren* Al-Islam through a long dialectical process by the founders as agents with the social structure in their environment in the form of the curriculum, the role models of *Kyai*, the cultivation of *Panca Jiwa*, and *Pesantren's* motto. The students have firm religious values, which form their habitus.

Three characteristics of *Pesantren* habitus: First, it lasts a long time and is not easily changed; once formed, it is difficult to change; second, it can be passed on or inherited and can be learned; third, it encourages the growth of new social practices. Religious habitus is important to preserve because it is a treasure of Islamic traditions in Indonesia, as a strengthening of the spiritual morals of students, which are very useful when they graduate from *Pesantren*.

This research was only carried out in one *Pesantren*; it certainly has limitations and shortcomings, especially in the data collection process, which requires completeness, such as using quantitative data as a complement to this research. Further research needs to be carried out using multiple sites for various *Pesantren* by selecting types such as traditional, modern, and a combination of the two models of *Pesantren* so that we will be able to describe many forms of habitus in different *Pesantren*.

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