

Cendekia: Jurnal Kependidikan dan Kemasyarakatan

Vol. 21 No. 2 (2023) : 148-162

Available online at <https://jurnal.iainponorogo.ac.id/index.php/cendekia>

Madrasah as Habitus for Increasing Tolerance in Multi-Religious Society

Ahmad Salim¹, Mukhibat², Aida Hayani³, Muhammad Wafa'⁴, Muhammadafeefee Assalihee⁵

^{1,3,4}University of Alma Ata, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

²Institut Agama Islam Negeri Ponorogo, Indonesia

⁵Prince of Songkla University, Thailand

ARTICLE INFO

ABSTRACT

Article History:

Received: June 1, 2023

Revised: October 19, 2023

Accepted: November 15, 2023

Keywords:

madrasah; habitus; tolerance

Tolerance is essential in harmonizing people's lives, especially in a multi-religious society. As a legal institution, madrasah is essential in instilling a tolerant attitude that students can apply later in their lives. This study explains the essential role of madrasah as a habitus field for inculcating a tolerant attitude to students using the Bourdieu habitus concept. It employed descriptive qualitative research. The data were collected through observation and in-depth interviews at MTsN 4 Kulon Progo, Yogyakarta. The results show that the madrasah can instill a tolerant attitude in students with the support of teachers as actors. It is a field and social capital (trust, values, and networks) that are integrated in the process of social reproduction of tolerant attitudes to students. The result also provides evidence that the madrasah is not merely an Islamic educational institution that teaches religion from a textual aspect but also a place where universal religious behavior is shaped in society, including an attitude of tolerance. Society will have tremendous confidence in the madrasah when it can contribute significantly to solving various social problems.

Corresponding Author:

Ahmad Salim

Email: ahmadsalim0305@almaata.ac.id

How to Cite:

Salim, Ahmad, Mukhibat, Aida Hayani, Muhamad Wafa', and Muhammadafeefee Assalihee. "Madrasah as Habitus for Increasing Tolerance in Multi-Religious Society." *Cendekia: Jurnal Kependidikan dan Kemasyarakatan* 21, No. 2 (2023): 148-162.

<https://doi.org/10.21154/cendekia.v21i2.6341>

INTRODUCTION

A madrasah is a formal educational institution under the authority of the Ministry of Religion. The Ministry supervises the management of madrasah, both related to learning and other dimensions that are part of the system of an educational institution. The education is divided into 2 levels: the elementary level (Madrasah Ibtidaiyah and Madrasah Tsanawiyah) and the secondary level (Madrasah Aliyah). Although madrasahs are under the authority of the Ministry of Religion, in reality, many madrasahs are managed by private institutions. These madrasahs are established and managed by private foundations. It shows that madrasahs have had long relations with the community and become part of the community system.¹

As a community system, the existence of madrasah cannot be separated from the dynamics that occur in society. Social changes in the community will have implications for the madrasah system. The education process in madrasah is part of human activity that always intersects with other aspects, not a process that stands on its own. Education, including madrasah, is part of social change and, if possible, can be influenced by education.² The relationship between the madrasah and the community is shown by the extent to which educational services are provided to the community, which, in the end, is a change in society itself.³ This reality indicates that the relationship between the madrasah and the community is inseparable. While a madrasah is necessary for the community, the community system is also a driving force for the change and development of the madrasah towards an ideal direction.⁴

Girimulyo Kulon Progo in Yogyakarta is one example where madrasah continues to increase in academic quality and quantity (students). This development is strongly influenced by the increasingly open government policies that align madrasahs with schools. In addition, the improvement is supported by the better quality of madrasah internal management, which is now more professional. As a result, public perception of madrasah is increasingly positive, which has implications for increasing public trust.⁵ This reality signifies the mutual relationship between the madrasah and the community that needs each other.⁶

The habituation of religious values by the madrasah component is evidence and an essential factor for the community to put trust in the madrasah. It is so for the context of Girimulyo. It is a multi-religious society with Muslims, Buddhists, and Christians as community entities who have inhabited the Girimulyo area for a long time. In this

¹ Ahmad Suradi, "The Challenges of Education Based on Multicultural in National Local Culture Conservation in Globalization Era," *Cendekia: Jurnal Kependidikan Dan Kemasyarakatan* 16, no. 1 (2018): 103.

² H.A.R Tilaar, *Paradigma Pendidikan Nasional* (Bandung: Reneka Cipta, 2004).

³ Chand Basha, "Role of Education in Social Change," *International Journal of Advanced Educational Research* 2, no. 5 (2017): 236–40.

⁴ Ahmad Salim, Maragustam, and Radjasa, "Relasi Sosial Madrasah Terhadap Perubahan Nilai Masyarakat Perbukitan (Kajian Atas Internalisasi Sikap Hormat Dan Santun Di MI Maarif Kokap Kulon Progo DIY)," *Literasi* 9, no. 2 (2018): 113–23.

⁵ Muh. Mustakim, Kana Safrina Rouzi, and Tumin Tumin, "Spiritualization of Child Education in the Qur'anic Sufism Perspective in the Covid-19 Era," *International Journal of Islamic Educational Psychology* 2, no. 1 (2021): 53–66.

⁶ Sunhaji, "Between Social Humanism and Social Mobilization: The Dual Role of Madrasah in the Landscape of Indonesian Islamic Education," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 11, no. 1 (2017): 125–44.

community, tolerance becomes very important as the value of building harmony in society. These virtues are embodied in the madrasah activities directly interacting with the community. Until this process, it can be said that public trust in madrasah is related not only to the academic aspect but also to the values needed by the community. The madrasah presents several activities that maintain religious values that appear in social and humanitarian activities. These activities are essential and can help the community trust this institution. Madrasahs have become alternative educational institutions for some people worried about eroding the value of tolerance in this multi-religious society.

Many researchers have claimed madrasah as a place to build tolerance. For example, the research of Ashoumi, Hidayatulloh, and Ashari explain the madrasah strategy in strengthening tolerance by creating a religious atmosphere, internalizing values and habituation, and leading by example. In this way, madrasahs can develop a moderate attitude in students.⁷ Next, research conducted by Supriadi et al. stated that PAI teachers have an essential role in stopping radicalism in schools. They can carry out the learning process by adhering to 5 main principles: respect for others, moderation, respect for creators, tolerance, and fairness.⁸

Another example is research by Chotimah et al., who state that building an academic-religious culture based on religious moderation is essential to prevent extremism. These cultures are promoted by strengthening religious practices based on the essence of religious teachings. They explore data related to the pattern of religious-academic development based on religious moderation. They also examine the forms of supporting activities for academic-religious culture and the contribution of Ma'had al-Jami'ah in building an academic-religious culture based on religious moderation.⁹ Next, Susilawati et al. reported that tolerance was viewed from several aspects, such as peace, respect for differences and individuals, and awareness, which were in the very good or tolerant categories. It was indicated by the average score for the three aspects in the interval of 3.75 - 5.00. This score means that students' religious tolerance is maintained well to create harmonious student relationships.¹⁰ The difference between this research and several of the studies above is that this research focuses more on the role of teachers as actors, madrasahs as fields, and madrasahs social capital, which consists of beliefs, norms, and networks in instilling tolerant attitudes in multi-religious communities.

From this point of view, it can be seen that madrasah can become part of the dominant system that has built the civilization of a multi-religious society. The tolerant attitude played by the madrasah has become a community habitus.¹¹ Thus, this study aims

⁷ Hilyah Ashoumi, M Kris Yuan Hidayatulloh, and Dwiky Maulana Ashari, "Character Building: Strategies to Build Student's Moderate Attitudes in Madrasah Culture," *Tadris: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 18, no. 1 (2023): 36–51.

⁸ Udin Supriadi et al., "The Role of Islamic Education Teachers in Preventing Radicalism at Madrasa Aliyah," *Nazbruna: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 4, no. 1 (2021): 74–90.

⁹ Chusnul Chotimah, Ahmad Tanzeh, and Syahril Siddiq, "Building Academic-Religious Culture Based on Religious Moderation," *Cendekia: Jurnal Kependidikan Dan Kemasyarakatan* 20, no. 2 (2022): 212–24.

¹⁰ Evi Susilawati et al., "Attitudes of Religious Tolerance in Junior High School Students," *AL-ISHLAH: Jurnal Pendidikan* 15, no. 1 (2023): 219–26.

¹¹ Lely Nisvilyah, "Toleransi Antarumat Beragama Dalam Memperkokoh Persatuan Dan Kesatuan Bangsa (Studi Kasus Umat Islam Dan Kristen Dusun Segaran Kecamatan Dlanggu Kabupaten Mojokerto),"

to discuss the role of madrasah as a habitus for internalizing tolerance in several academic and non-academic activities. The study focuses on understanding how madrasah can relate and have dialectics in the context of arena and capital to create social reproduction of the community, ultimately giving birth to habitus.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research was conducted using the principles of qualitative research. It emphasizes the understanding and meaning of each action of the research subject. The authors deeply investigated and observed the objects and acted as if they occurred naturally. The setting of this research was located at MTsN 4 Kulon Progo Yogyakarta. The madrasah was selected based on social data that shows that this madrasah is one of the arenas for maintaining tolerance in a multi-religious society. The data were collected through observation and interviews. Observations were carried out to obtain data related to the habituation of the madrasah on the attitude of tolerance by directly witnessing the activities in the madrasah. On the other hand, in-depth interviews were conducted with 40 respondents to obtain data on agents (actors) and the capital involved in internalizing tolerant attitudes in the madrasah. The study invited a vice-head of the madrasah, three religious teachers, a counseling guidance teacher, and 35 madrasah students as participants to obtain the data.

The field data was validated by employing in-depth observations with the help of observation guidelines. Further, in-depth interviews with respondents were determined by the researcher under the formulation of the problem that would be answered. Meanwhile, the researchers discussed the documentation data with experts and scholars in sociology. The data were collected using the Spradley model. Data analysis and collection were carried out simultaneously to obtain conceptual domain information. The analysis explored important domains and subdomains by referring to library materials to gain an in-depth understanding and contrasted elements in the obtained domains, subsequent relevant categorizations, and theme analysis.¹²

Operationally, data analysis was conducted by comparing data from interviews and observations. The data consisted of several domains, such as teachers as actors building tolerant attitudes, madrasahs as fields or places that have high legality to develop tolerant attitudes, and the social capital possessed by the madrasah (trust, norm, networking) to build tolerant attitudes with the surrounding community. These data were analyzed and compared according to the theory of Bourdieu's habitus. The researchers carefully analyze the data to determine which domains are related and unrelated to the theory and what variables influence these unrelated domains.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Result of the Reality of Tolerant Behavior in Madrasah

Tolerance is an important material that must be instilled in and accustomed to students. This attitude promotes harmonization, which is vital to be maintained in a

Kajian Moral Dan Kewarganegaraan 1, no. 1 (2013): 382-96.

¹² James P. Spradley, *Metode Etnografi*, Trans. *Misbah Zulfa Elizabeth* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 1997).

society, especially a pluralistic or plural society. A plural society has differences in several dimensions, including ethnicity, belief, and religion. It requires mutual respect and awareness to accept these differences. Thus, differences that occur in a society must be conveyed to students.¹³

In the community around MTsN 4 Kulon Progo, the plurality of society occurs in the dimension of belief. Communities in this region consist of three official religions: Islam, Christianity, and Buddhism. On the other hand, plurality in terms of ethnicity is not widely found because all residents in the hamlets of Sibolong and Jonggrangan or the community around the madrasah are of Javanese descent from their ancestors several years ago. Thus, indicators of tolerant behavior,¹⁴ such as mutual respect and respect for differences, must always be present in the students of this madrasah to maintain the harmony of the community life. Tolerance is a legacy of tradition that previous generations have practiced to harmonize society and avoid extinction.

Madrasah teachers are aware of the plurality in internal Islam. This fact is used as a medium or example to encourage and familiarize students with tolerance towards differences, both to friends, teachers, and madrasah's staff.¹⁵ In practice, this reality is manifested in the *aqidah akhlak* subject. This subject is related to teachings that show positive values in adolescent relationships. In this lesson, the teacher explains how teenagers relate to or socialize in society. An attitude of respect for differences that exist in the community environment is necessary to create harmonization in the community concerned.

Formal and incidental activities cultivate tolerant behavior. Formal activities refer to a predetermined schedule that has been routine, such as ceremonial activities, Friday prayers, and Ramadan activities in madrasah. Meanwhile, incidental activities are carried out when there are several important events, so the execution time depends on the schedule of the event. In the context of the ceremony, whether the flag ceremony is held on Monday or at a ceremony to commemorate a particular big day, the value of tolerance is implied in the series of events. The reading of the 1945 Constitution, Pancasila and the text of the student promise,¹⁶ for example, are some activities that aim to instill the value of tolerance.

Inculcating tolerance is also implemented through the mandatory Friday prayer for male students at the madrasah mosque (Ali Makhsudi).¹⁷ This activity is one of the

¹³ Ika Fatmawati Faridah, "Toleransi Antarumat Beragama Masyarakat Perumahan," *Komunitas: International Journal of Indonesian Society and Culture* 5, no. 1 (2013): 14–25.

¹⁴ Tri Susanto et al., "The Message of Peace From the Village: Development of Religious Harmony From Nglinggi Village," *Al-Balagh : Jurnal Dakwah Dan Komunikasi* 7, no. 1 (2022): 119–50.

¹⁵ Results of an interview with Surati (a teacher of morals) on February 19, 2021

¹⁶ The text of the student's promise read by the ceremony officers and imitated by all ceremony participants is respect for parents, teachers and upholding the degree and dignity of the madrasah. Be polite, be polite, look attractive. Be a good citizen and responsible Indonesian youth.

¹⁷ Interview with Thofa Elfaiz (Vice of Principle on Curriculum MTsN 4 Kulon Progo) on November 4, 2021. He further explained that male students are required to attend Friday prayers at the madrasah mosque (Masjid Ali Makhsudi) located in this madrasah environment. BK teachers and PAI subjects are tasked with supervising students so that students can participate in this worship. This condition was carried out on the grounds that teachers were worried that students would not be able to attend Friday prayers because of the distance between their homes and the madrasah, or for other reasons, namely that students deliberately did not attend Friday prayers.

strategies for teaching many values, including the value of tolerance, because there are some *kebiasayaan* differences in the procedures and series of Friday prayers between students and those in the mosque belonging to the madrasah. Ramadan activities are arranged as “Ramadan Cottage”. This program has various programs to strengthen religious understanding and practice. These programs are carried out from the afternoon until the morning. Activities carried out at night enable the inculcation of tolerance values, especially Tarawih and *Subuh* prayers.

Inculcating the value of tolerance is also carried out by carrying out several incidental activities, for example, giving respect to madrasah neighbours or students’ families with different religions (e.g., Muslim-Buddhist).¹⁸ This activity implies at least two values that are interrelated with each other, namely social care and tolerance between different religious communities. Although not all students are involved in this activity (only representative), *takziah* funds are also contributed by student donations. Students are equipped with the knowledge that a tolerant attitude is needed to create harmony in the life of a pluralistic society.

Takziah is a visit to the community around the madrasah, the students’ families, or the parents who are sick. It is one form of inculcating social care values. *Takziah* is carried out with costs derived from student donations every Friday and contributions from teachers and madrasah education staff.¹⁹ It means that the student’s Friday donations (*infaq*) are constantly added to the contributions of teachers and education personnel so they can be collected more appropriately. This activity also reflects the caring attitude of teachers and education staff towards their students, who will carry out social activities in the form of mourning or visiting someone sick. Caring is one form of realization of the tolerant attitude internalized in the madrasah.

Discussion of the Function of Madrasah as Habitus to Build Tolerance in Multi-Religious Society

Bourdieu argues that habitus is a system through a combination of objective structures and personal histories, enduring and changing dispositions that serve as a generative basis for objectively structured and integrated practices. It is often interpreted as internalizing socio-cultural values, creating various movements adapted to the game. Habitus is the result of internalizing the structure of the social world or the inner social structure.²⁰ Bourdieu further stated that habitus is a historical product formed after humans are born and interact with society in a particular space and time. It is not innate or natural but results from learning through parenting and socializing in society. Dialectics and human relations in a particular system are some examples that form the habitus.

¹⁸ Interview with Thofa Elfaiz (Vice of Principle on Curriculum MTsN 4 Kulon Progo) on April 13, 2021. He further explained that there are some madrasah students whose families are Buddhist, so when one of their families is affected by an accident such as death, the madrasah comes to pay tribute. Madrasah also do the same thing with the community around the madrasah if someone who is affected by a family disaster dies, the madrasah conducts *takziah* led by the teacher and is followed by representatives of the students.

¹⁹ Interview with Thomas Elfaiz (Vice of Principle on Curriculum MTsN 4 Kulon Progo) on April 13, 2021.

²⁰ Pierre Bourdieu, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, Tranlated by Richard Nice, with Forward by Tom Bottomore (London: SAGE Publication, 1990).

The learning process is very subtle, unconscious, and natural. Individuals are not entirely free agents or passive products of social structures. Habitus is closely related to the field or arena because some of the practices or actions of agents are habitus formed by the field. Therefore, habitus is understood as a cultural action. Bourdieu's theoretical approach is to illustrate that what a person says and does in his life is basically something other than his desires or just from social and material structures. Individuals' actions are influenced by the structure or the collective/social. Some of the existing structures in society are internalized by social actors so that they function effectively.

At first glance, habitus seems natural or a gift, but it is a construction. Actors or agents in acting are not like puppets or machines that move when someone orders them. Agents are individuals who are free to move according to their wishes. On the one hand, an agent is an individual bound in a collective/social structure. On the other hand, they are individuals who are free to act.²¹ The explanation of Bourdieu's concept of habitus above indicates that the process of social reproduction, which ultimately leads to a habitus, requires several instruments, such as actors, arenas, and capital. Habitus is not natural or given but the result of dialectics and construction in a social context. It is the result of learning through a series of exercises. Sometimes, the process seems smooth and natural until the individual does not realize it.²² In society, the actions of individuals are strongly influenced by the community's social structure, including the madrasah community.

Actor of Social Reproduction of Tolerance in Madrasah

Teachers play an essential role in socially reproducing tolerant attitudes toward students. Their actions frequently become students' habits. Some teachers, reflected in classroom learning or activities outside the classroom, try their best to increase students' tolerant attitude towards all existing group entities, especially in the community around the multi-religious madrasah. The success of teachers in carrying out their roles as learning actors in madrasah is the primary key to maintaining several noble values, including tolerance.²³

Rationality puts the teacher as the leading actor in reproducing a tolerant attitude based on the reality that the teacher has legality and power over students to create a tolerant attitude.²⁴ Their roles as actors or educators give them an enormous opportunity to interact with students. They can interact with students on several occasions, both during the learning process in class or in some activities outside the classroom. The intensity and quality of teacher-student interactions correlate with the success of cultivating a tolerant attitude toward students.²⁵

²¹ Cheleen Mahar. "Posisi Teoritis Dasar", in *Habitus X Modal, Ranah Praktis; Pengantar Paling Komprehensif Kepada Pemikiran Pierre Bourdieu*, Ricard Harker, et al (Ed), Trans. Pipiet Maizier (Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2005).

²² Siti Ma'rifah, "Pesantren Sebagai Habitus Peradaban Islam Indonesia," *Jurnal Penelitian* 9, no. 2 (2015): 347.

²³ Dirga Maulana, "The Exclusivism of Religion Teachers: Intolerance and Radicalism in Indonesian Public Schools," *Studia Islamika* 24, no. 2 (2017): 395–401.

²⁴ Magdalena Lipnicka and Tomasz Peciakowski, "Religious Self-Identification and Culture—About the Role of Religiosity in Cultural Participation," *Religions* 12, no. 11 (2021).

²⁵ Husniyatus Salamah Zainiyati, "Curriculum, Islamic Understanding and Radical Islamic Movements

In madrasah, certain teachers, like Islamic Education (PAI) and counseling guidance teachers, have more opportunities to socialize the value of tolerance to students because the subjects specifically have materials on tolerance. Teaching PAI and counseling guidance subjects allows teachers to instill a tolerant attitude in theory and practice. In this socialization context, the teacher's role is more visible in teaching activities. The internalization of tolerant attitudes is mainly carried out by learning in the classroom. The teachers explain the concept of tolerance with various examples and suggestions so that students can apply tolerant attitudes in various life activities.

To strengthen the madrasah students' tolerance, the internalization of tolerant attitudes must also be implemented in activities outside the classroom and direct contact with the community. The role of the teacher cannot be separated from several activities outside of this learning. Teachers have an essential role in internalizing tolerant attitudes in the form of habituation of students so that they have the persistence of a tolerant attitude. The teachers must mentor the students in several social and humanitarian activities. This mentorship is a tangible form of the teacher's role that cannot be overstated. Teachers can play an individual or collegial role in reproducing a tolerant attitude towards students.²⁶ Individually, the teachers with the most opportunities are PAI subject teachers because they can teach this value to students on materials related to tolerance. While cultivating a tolerant attitude is collegial, all teachers have the same opportunity to reproduce this attitude.

On this axis, the competence of teachers as agents of change is non-negotiable. Teachers must have adequate competence in reproducing some noble values, including tolerance, as a value needed to harmonize people's lives. The competence of teachers must be supported by a tolerant attitude that has been internalized in their behavior and habits so that teachers can become role models in the socialization process. In this way, the learning process will have a whole meaning in influencing student attitudes.²⁷

At this stage, the teacher's role as an actor in learning is crucial in strengthening these values. PAI teachers must be adequately competent in religious values, such as cognitive, affective, and psychomotor aspects. This competence will significantly affect their ability to transform the subjectivity of values in each student into an objective reality that all madrasah students can accept.²⁸ The teacher's competence is proven when he transforms values into his students that must be realized in daily activities. Thus, a role model will appear easy for students to follow. Through this role model, students will easily imitate the teacher's behavior in the activities carried out by students.

in Indonesia," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 10, no. 2 (2016): 285–307.

²⁶ Falasipatul Asifa, "Peran Guru PAI Dalam Pengembangan Toleransi Peserta Didik Melalui Budaya Sekolah Di SMA N 8 Yogyakarta," *Literasi: Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan* 9, no. 2 (2018): 148-55.

²⁷ Syamsul Arifin, "Islamic Religious Education and Radicalism in Indonesia: Strategy of de-Radicalization through Strengthening the Living Values Education," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 6, no. 1 (2016): 93–126.

²⁸ Wina Sanjaya, *Strategi Pembelajaran Berorientasi Standar Proses Pendidikan* (Jakarta: Prenadamedia Group, 2010).

Madrasah as an Arena for the Social Reproduction of Tolerance

Habituation of tolerance in a social entity requires an arena/field. Bourdieu states that social reproduction requires an arena as a place to fight for one's social class.²⁹ The arena will be a comfortable instrument for individuals to maintain and increase their social class through the social reproduction they create. The dialectic among humans for social production will be related to the context of the institutions surrounding them. Thus, human actions will always be related to their social structure. They are not free to move in expressing their behavior but are bound to the social structure as an arena. Habitus is not a cultural pattern that can be accepted as it is. Instead, it is a process that requires regular practice, thus requiring an arena for socialization. Habitus is developed through initial socialization, and external structures are internalized into a social system.³⁰

In the context of social reproduction of this tolerant attitude, the arena that plays a critical role is the madrasah. It is vital legality to socialize several virtues with students, including tolerance.³¹ Through its legality, madrasahs are equipped with various components adequate for the social reproduction of this tolerant attitude.³² The madrasah system as an educational institution is supported by adequate facilities, curriculum, teachers, and structures to internalize a tolerant attitude towards students. Through its system, madrasahs have the power to become places of regular practice to instill tolerance in students.³³

As an objective reality, madrasah plays a significant role in socializing religious values to the people they live in. Strengthening the value of religiosity in madrasah is a tangible form of the role of this institution as a bulwark of religious values in society.³⁴ Typically, this role is manifested in classroom learning and several community activities. Although the main focus of strengthening and habituating tolerant attitudes in madrasahs is students, the madrasah's socialization to the community is also carried out because students are part of the community system.³⁵ The habituation practiced by madrasah students about tolerance can become an objective reality of society and then be used as a dialectic arena by the community, at least in the families of each madrasah student.

Madrasah Social Capital for the Reproduction of Tolerance

In Bourdieu's theory, habitus building cannot be separated from social capital. Social capital covers all material with cultural significance, such as prestige, status, and cultural

²⁹ Bourdieu, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, Translated by Richard Nice, with Forward by Tom Bottomore.

³⁰ David Swartz, *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1997).

³¹ Ahmad Salim, "The Madrasa Resistance Against Radicalism," *Nadwa, Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 13, no. 2 (2020): 315.

³² Casram, "Membangun Sikap Toleransi Beragama Dalam Masyarakat Plural," *Wawasan: Jurnal Ilmiah Agama Dan Sosial Budaya* 1, no. 2 (2016): 187-98.

³³ Arifin, "Islamic Religious Education and Radicalism in Indonesia: Strategy of de-Radicalization through Strengthening the Living Values Education."

³⁴ Mukhammad Abdullah, "School Culture to Serve Performance of Madrasah in Indonesia," *Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies* 7, no. 1 (2019): 71-100.

³⁵ Lathifatul Izzah and Muhammad Hanip, "Implementasi Pendidikan Akhlak Dalam Pembentukan Akhlak Keseharian Santri," *LITERASI (Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan)* 9, no. 1 (2018): 63.

capital. Social capital is always related to actual or virtual resources, all obtained by individuals or groups based on network ownership. Social capital is an attempt to form social agents in habitus as individuals who construct the world around them so that social capital is not something that stands alone but is always related to other capital.

Social capital is an achievement of cooperation, developing trust, and building social relationships. Building social capital manages a social environment that is rich in participation as well as opportunities. The large number of community participation in carrying out an idealization of society collectively is a manifestation of the success that social capital can be used in the community, including madrasah as part of the community system.³⁶

Social capital will always be related to the relationship between madrasahs as educational institutions and the surrounding community. Social capital will not be able to exist and be built without a relationship between the madrasah and the community. This social capital greatly facilitates the strength and existence of the madrasah. This social capital includes trust, norms, and networks. However, the madrasah's inability to manage its strength will have implications for the opposite, weakening the existence of the madrasah itself. Therefore, the social capital owned by the madrasah can improve the quality of the madrasah, especially if it is approached and managed with a relevant approach in line with the context of the demands of the surrounding community.³⁷

As argued earlier, social capital includes trust, norms, and networks. Trust is a form of social capital essential to improving relations and dialectics between the madrasah and the community. In the end, this relationship develops madrasah in multiple aspects.³⁸ Without trust from both levels, some programs to improve madrasah will be challenging to realize. Moreover, some of these programs are related to the community. The trust between MTsN 4 Kulon Progo and the community is not instant. Instead, it has been built since the madrasah was founded until now and continues to increase. Of course, this trust does not constantly develop linearly. It fluctuates according to the context of the relationship between the two. Until now, public trust in this madrasah has remained consistent. It has become an effective social capital because community expectations for the madrasah can be facilitated.³⁹

The second social capital is norms. Norms can serve as ethical guidelines for the madrasah and the surrounding community. They will provide meaning for the madrasah organization if these values come from the noble values agreed upon in advance. The community will benefit from their practice. If the opposite applies, the norms at the madrasah will contribute to the effectiveness of the course of education in the madrasah. The existence of the madrasah in specific communities can even be threatened. Several norms related to the values that are the reference for the behavior of this madrasah are

³⁶ Binti Maunah, "Social and Cultural Capital and Learners' Cognitive Ability: Issues and Prospects for Educational Relevance, Access and Equity towards Digital Communication in Indonesia," *Journal of Social Studies Education Research* 11, no. 1 (2020): 163–91.

³⁷ Salim, Maragustam, and Radjasa, "Relasi Sosial Madrasah Terhadap Perubahan Nilai Masyarakat Perbukitan (Kajian Atas Internalisasi Sikap Hormat Dan Santun Di MI Maarif Kokap Kulon Progo DIY).

³⁸ Robert Putnam, "The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life," *The American Prospect*, 1993.

³⁹ Salim, "The Madrasa Resistance Against Radicalism."

directly proportional to the norms around the madrasah, namely tolerance. This value is also reflected in the norms held by the madrasah as a value that must always be built to create mutual trust between the madrasah and the community. It is also one way to achieve harmonization in a large society. Hence, the public's anxiety related to the fading of some of the values mentioned above due to the pressure of modernity and globalization has also become the concern of the madrasah to respond and rebuild values that have become community virtues and are characteristic of the mountainous community.

MTsN Kulon Progo is a state madrasah. With this status, the madrasah has an extensive network around the madrasah or at a broader level. With this strong support from the community, madrasahs can continue to maintain and develop their networks at a broader level. For example, the support enables the madrasah to interact and collaborate with banks, health centers, and other religious social institutions. Through this network, madrasah can continually optimize their presence in the broader community. The network does not only play a role in symbolic legitimacy or collective affirmation. Still, it is a strong bond between the madrasah and the wider community.

In addition, this madrasah also has a non-formal network built through the community around the madrasah, such as a network of recitation groups around the madrasah. This network contributes significantly to supplying prospective madrasah students through specific policies carried out by the recitation group for madrasah. In addition, several activities in the madrasah involve the congregation of this study. The involvement of madrasah networks in several activities strengthens madrasah social capital so that the community can support the internalization of tolerant attitudes. Through this network, madrasah can use it to socialize several programs that the community needs, namely tolerance as a builder of harmonization of community life.⁴⁰ Given that reality, the madrasah has a strong network that can be strengthened to serve as effective social capital for improving the quality of the madrasah. Social capital in the form of this network will have an impact. Its strength will be maintained when the community's and madrasah's trust is also effectively established, thus giving birth to meaning for the madrasah and society in general. This mutually beneficial relationship will make it easier for the madrasah to internalize tolerance for students. Madrasah students are part of a multi-religious society that needs this tolerant attitude to maintain the existence and meaning of their lives. Without a tolerant attitude as the key to harmonizing people's lives, achieving the meaning of one's life in society will be challenging.⁴¹

Students as individuals need the integration of actors, arenas, and social capital in the habitus process they carry out. The three components of the habitus cannot be separated for the optimal habituation process. As actors in internalizing tolerant attitudes, teachers cannot carry out their roles without the arena and social capital the madrasah owns. Additionally, madrasahs as arenas cannot play a role without teachers as implementers of activities in madrasahs. Meanwhile, strong social capital will not be of much benefit

⁴⁰ Akhsanul Fuadi and Suyatno, "Integration of Nationalistic and Religious Values in Islamic Education: Study in Integrated Islamic School," *RISS Journal* 1, no. 3 (2020): 555–70.

⁴¹ M. Syahrani Jailani and Makmur Haji Harun, "Education Empowerment of Madrasah at Fisherman Society in Suku Laut Kuala Tungkal Jambi," *Al-Ta'Lim Journal* 27, no. 3 (2020): 258-271.

without the support of teachers and madrasah as a mutually supportive system.

The success of the madrasah in reproducing noble social values to students is not only determined by the role model displayed by the teacher in daily behavior who always carries out a moderate attitude but is also supported by the community. The multi-religious community realizes the vital role of tolerance in building prosperity and the meaning of life. Tolerance is proven to build togetherness and harmony in religious diversity among the people. The community is aware that madrasahs are legal institutions capable of increasing student tolerance. Madrasahs are believed to be the right place to increase student tolerance. Thus, the community always supports some madrasah activities that inculcate student tolerance.

The findings regarding madrasah as a habitus for increasing tolerant attitudes can be illustrated in the picture below.

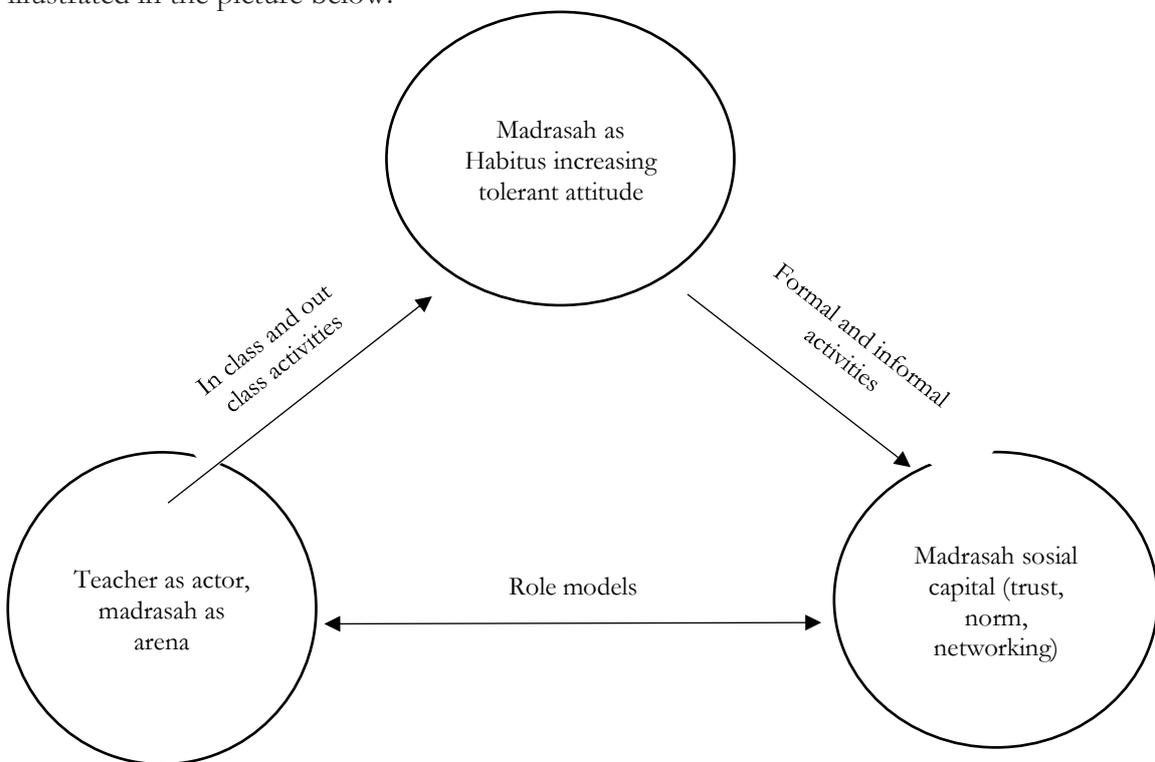


Figure 1. Madrasah as a Habitus for Increasing Tolerant Attitudes

This reality makes a significant contribution to the academic field. This research emphasizes that habitus is not something natural but a process for reproducing social values for individuals. Therefore, madrasahs as educational institutions can be a suitable place to instill a habitus of noble values, including a tolerant attitude.

CONCLUSION

Integrating teachers, madrasah, and social capital plays a significant role in habituating tolerant attitudes in madrasah. As an actor, the teacher is essential in socializing tolerant attitudes in the classroom and outside the madrasah. The moderate behavior of the teacher can be used as a role model for students to be imitated in student life. Meanwhile, madrasahs as arenas have high legality to train and control students' tolerant attitudes so

that tolerant attitudes can turn into students' life habits. Social capital, which consists of trust, values, and networks, also plays an essential role in students' tolerance attitude habituation. This reality reinforces the concept of habitus expressed by Bourdieu, who said habitus is not something natural but a process for reproducing social values towards individuals.

REFERENCES

- Abdullah, Mukhammad. "School Culture to Serve Performance of Madrasah in Indonesia." *Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies* 7, no. 1 (2019): 71–100.
- Fuadi, Akhsanul, and Suyatno. "Integration of Nationalistic and Religious Values in Islamic Education: Study in Integrated Islamic School." *RJSS Journal* 1, no. 3 (2020): 555–70.
- Arifin, Syamsul. "Islamic Religious Education and Radicalism in Indonesia: Strategy of de-Radicalization through Strengthening the Living Values Education." *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 6, no. 1 (2016): 93–126.
- Ashoumi, Hilyah, M Kris Yuan Hidayatulloh, and Dwiky Maulana Ashari. "Character Building: Strategies to Build Student's Moderate Attitudes in Madrasah Culture." *Tadris: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 18, no. 1 (2023): 36–51.
- Asifa, Falasipatul. "Peran Guru PAI Dalam Pengembangan Toleransi Peserta Didik Melalui Budaya Sekolah Di SMA N 8 Yogyakarta." *Literasi: Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan* 9, no. 2 (2018): 148-55.
- Basha, Chand. "Role of Education in Social Change." *International Journal of Advanced Educational Research* 2, no. 5 (2017): 236–40.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, Translated by Richard Nice, with Forward by Tom Bottomore. London: SAGE Publication, 1990.
- Casram. "Membangun Sikap Toleransi Beragama Dalam Masyarakat Plural." *Wawasan: Jurnal Ilmiah Agama Dan Sosial Budaya* 1, no. 2 (2016): 187-98.
- Chotimah, Chusnul, Ahmad Tanzeh, and Syahril Siddiq. "Building Academic-Religious Culture Based on Religious Moderation." *Cendekia: Jurnal Kependidikan Dan Kemasyarakatan* 20, no. 2 (2022): 212–24.
- Mahar, Cheleen. "Posisi 'Teoritis Dasar', in *Habitus X Modal, Ranah Praktis; Pengantar Paling Komprehensif Kepada Pemikiran Pierre Bourdiue*, Ricard Harker, et al (Ed), Trans. Pipiet Maizier. Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2005.
- Faridah, Ika Fatmawati. "Toleransi Antarumat Beragama Masyarakat Perumahan." *Komunitas: International Journal of Indonesian Society and Culture* 5, no. 1 (2013): 14–25.
- Izzah, Lathifatul, and Muhammad Hanip. "Implementasi Pendidikan Akhlak Dalam Pembentukan Akhlak Keseharian Santri." *LITERASI (Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan)* 9, no. 1 (2018): 63.
- Jailani, M. Syahrani, and Makmur Haji Harun. "Education Empowerment of Madrasah at Fisherman Society in Suku Laut Kuala Tungkal Jambi." *Al-Ta'Lim Journal* 27, no. 3 (2020): 258-271.
- Lipnicka, Magdalena, and Tomasz Peciakowski. "Religious Self-Identification and Culture—About the Role of Religiosity in Cultural Participation." *Religions* 12, no. 11

- (2021).
- Ma'rifah, Siti. "Pesantren Sebagai Habitus Peradaban Islam Indonesia." *Jurnal Penelitian* 9, no. 2 (2015): 347.
- Maulana, Dirga. "The Exclusivism of Religion Teachers: Intolerance and Radicalism in Indonesian Public Schools." *Studia Islamika* 24, no. 2 (2017): 395–401.
- Maunah, Binti. "Social and Cultural Capital and Learners' Cognitive Ability: Issues and Prospects for Educational Relevance, Access and Equity towards Digital Communication in Indonesia." *Journal of Social Studies Education Research* 11, no. 1 (2020): 163–91.
- Mustakim, Muh., Kana Safrina Rouzi, and Tumin Tumin. "Spiritualization of Child Education in the Qur'anic Sufism Perspective in the Covid-19 Era." *International Journal of Islamic Educational Psychology* 2, no. 1 (2021): 53–66.
- Nisvilyah, Lely. "Toleransi Antarumat Beragama Dalam Memperkokoh Persatuan Dan Kesatuan Bangsa (Studi Kasus Umat Islam Dan Kristen Dusun Segaran Kecamatan Dlanggu Kabupaten Mojokerto)." *Kajian Moral Dan Kewarganegaraan* 1, no. 1 (2013): 382-96.
- Putnam, Robert. "The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life." *The American Prospect*, 1993.
- Salim, Ahmad, Maragustam, and Radjasa. "Relasi Sosial Madrasah Terhadap Perubahan Nilai Masyarakat Perbukitan (Kajian Atas Internalisasi Sikap Hormat Dan Santun Di MI Maarif Kokap Kulon Progo DIY)." *Literasi* 9, no. 2 (2018): 113–23.
- . "The Madrasa Resistance Against Radicalism." *Nadwa, Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 13, no. 2 (2020): 315.
- Sanjaya, Wina. *Strategi Pembelajaran Berorientasi Standar Proses Pendidikan*. Jakarta: Prenadamedia Group, 2010.
- Spradley, James P. *Metode Etnografi*. Trans. Misbah Zulfa Elizabeth. Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 1997.
- Sunhaji. "Between Social Humanism and Social Mobilization: The Dual Role of Madrasah in the Landscape of Indonesian Islamic Education." *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 11, no. 1 (2017): 125–44.
- Supriadi, Romli, Usup, Muhammad Rindu Fajar, Muhamad Romli, Parhan, and Nurti Budiyanti. "The Role of Islamic Education Teachers in Preventing Radicalism at Madrasa Aliyah." *Nazhruna: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 4, no. 1 (2021): 74–90.
- Suradi, Ahmad. "The Challenges of Education Based on Multicultural in National Local Culture Conservation in Globalization Era." *Cendekia: Jurnal Kependidikan Dan Kemasyarakatan* 16, no. 1 (2018): 103.
- Susanto, Tri, Sumardjo, Sarwititi Sarwoprasodjo, and Rilus A. Kinseng. "The Message of Peace From the Village: Development of Religious Harmony From Nglinggi Village." *Al-Balagh: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Komunikasi* 7, no. 1 (2022): 119–50.
- Susilawati, Evi, Nimim Nimim, Agung Suharyanto, and Darmayasa Darmayasa. "Attitudes of Religious Tolerance in Junior High School Students." *AL-ISHLAH: Jurnal Pendidikan* 15, no. 1 (2023): 219–26.

Swartz, David. *Culture and Poer: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*. Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1997.

Tilaar, H.A.R. *Paradigma Pendidikan Nasional*. Bandung: Reneka Cipta, 2004.

Zainiyati, Husniyatus Salamah. "Curriculum, Islamic Understanding and Radical Islamic Movements in Indonesia." *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 10, no. 2 (2016): 285–307.