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Habitualization of Pesantren Values as Social Capital in Building Moderate Islamic Education

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to interpret the value system built by pesantren and its existence as social capital. It is believed to inspire, influence, and mobilize individual social actions and behavior in society. Thus, this research employed a qualitative approach through Pierre Bourdieu's social practice theory regarding practice (action and behavior) as the outcome of the interaction between an individual's habitus and available capital within a specific domain/field. It produces a grounded theory to provide a holistic and comprehensive understanding. This research practically shows some findings. First, pesantren values result from creating creative individuals based on the logic of thought and scientific genealogy of kiai based on their understanding of various Islamic texts, which then inspire the formation of a value system. Second, the existence of these values is made into a shared belief and transmitted within the pesantren institution so that, in the end, it becomes part of the pesantren tradition. Third, the habitualization of pesantren values is understood as social capital and can be used as a core value in building a moderate Islamic education model. So, it then shapes the character or attitude of *tawassuth*, *tawāzun*, *tasāmub*, *tabaddubur*, *musāwab*, *i'tidāl*, *al-Islāh*, *tathawur wa Ibtikār*, and *shurā*, according to the typology of each pesantren.

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INTRODUCTION

The dynamics of the presence of pesantren since the 20th century have played a role in society, both as educational institutions (*al-bai'ah al ta'lim wa al-tarbiyah*), community guidance services (*al-bai'ah al ta'awun wa al takafuly wal al ittijabi*) and a place of struggle (*al-bai'ah al-jihadi li 'iz'zi al-Islām wal muslimin*) in gaining independence.¹ Therefore, the existence of pesantren education has a moral responsibility to maintain the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia by carrying out its functions in the fields of education, social religion, and society so that the existence of pesantren can be at the forefront and become a strong fortress (*al-hisnul basin*) in preventing the development of radicalism, liberalism, and *takfiri* movements have begun to influence various aspects of social life in the country since the last decade. Considering these social conditions, a moderate Islamic education model is needed by exploring the values of pesantren as the basis for the formation of the education in question² so that the existence of pesantren is not only identified with Islam but also contains Indonesianness.³

In this context, how vital the pesantren value system is essential apart from being the basis and embryo for the birth of Islamic education. Its existence is also believed to be able to influence all individual social actions and behavior,⁴ so the above view indeed cannot be separated from the words or advice of the kiai, which is part of the above manifestation of kiai's understanding of the Qur'an and al-Hadith is under their respective knowledge and scientific geology, so that it then helps inspire and move individual behavior in society, and can be used as a basis for building moderate Islamic education.⁵ Thus, the kiai's form of understanding of the Qur'an has different styles according to his understanding and interpretation in dialogue with the social conditions that occur in society,⁶ so that it then gives birth to various forms of differences in expressing his religion,⁷ as this is reflected in the life of pesantren both under Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah and Salafi groups so that in the end they can influence the formation of pesantren value systems,⁸ including in building moderate Islamic education and this can be significantly seen from individual thought patterns and behavior in displaying an attitude of openness when responding to various problems, differences, and disputes that occur in today's society.⁹

Thus, the existence of the pesantren value system has differences and is continuously

¹ Ahmad Fauzi, "Persepsi Barakah Di Pondok Pesantren Zainul Hasan Genggong: Studi Interaksionalisme Simbolik," *Al-Tabrir: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 17, no. 1 (2017): 105–32.

² Muhammad Tholchah Hasan, *Pendidikan Multikultural Sebagai Opsi Penanggulangan Radikalisme* (Malang: UNISMA Press, 2019), 89.

³ Nurcholis Madjid, *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren* (Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 1997), 90.

⁴ Faton et al., "Multicultural Inclusive Education in the Deradicalization of Islamic Education in Indonesia," *Tadris: Jurnal Keguruan Dan Ilmu Tarbiyah* 6, no. 2 (2021): 401–8.

⁵ Ahmad Fauzi, "Konstruksi Pendidikan Pesantren: Diskursus Fundamentalisme Dan Liberalisme Dalam Islam," *Al-Tabrir: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 18, no. 1 (2018): 85–110.

⁶ Saihan, *Ideologi Pendidikan Pesantren* (Surabaya: Imtiyaz, 2020), 40.

⁷ Masdar Hilmy, "Whither Indonesia's Islamic Moderatism? A Reexamination on the Moderate Vision of Muhammadiyah and NU," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 7, no. 1 (2013): 20–21.

⁸ Ahmad Najib Burhani, "Al-Tawassut Wa-l I'tidāl: The NU and Moderatism in Indonesian Islam," *Asian Journal of Social Science* 40, no. 5–6 (2012): 564.

⁹ Siswanto, "The Islamic Moderation Values on the Islamic Education Curriculum in Indonesia: A Content Analysis," *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 8, no. 1 (2019): 121–52.

maintained until it finally becomes part of the pesantren's tradition (habitualization) so that it can then influence the pesantren's institutions, as this is reflected in the attitudes and behavior of the kiai in proclaiming moderate Islamic values in pesantren life and practically can be seen from the institutional vision, curriculum structure, and organizational culture of pesantren,¹⁰ including in formulating moderate Islamic education.¹¹ Therefore, the existence of kiai in pesantren life is more dimensional, both as founding fathers, central figures, and highest leaders of pesantren, so that all forms of statements or advice from kiai can be used as reference material and legitimization for the actions and behavior of other individuals, not only for internal pesantren but also people outside the pesantren.¹² In this way, exploring the values of pesantren and making their core values in building moderate Islamic education is seen as more representative of influencing and moving individual behavior to become more humanist, tolerant, and democratic.¹³

In this context, the existence of pesantren's values is understood as a source. It becomes the leading force for forming individual social ethics so that they become effective, and their existence can be used as social capital in building moderate Islamic education amidst the diversity of Indonesian society.¹⁴ Therefore, this research aims to explore, interpret and interpret the value systems built by the three pesantren both under Nahdlatul Ulama, represented by the Kunuuzul Imam Kauman Bondowoso pesantren, Muhammadiyah, represented by the Muhammadiyah Paciran Lamongan Modern pesantren, and the Salafi group represented by the pesantren or the Imam Syafi'i foundation Jember, by transmitting the noble values of pesantren in moderate Islamic education, apart from being an effort for pesantren institutions to protect every individual and graduate from the influence of radicalism and liberalism, at the same time pesantren institutions are understood to be the last moral bastion of all educational systems so far.¹⁵

RESEARCH METHOD

This research practically aims to interpret the value system built by the Pesantren Kunuuzul Imam Kauman Bondowoso, the Pesantren Modern Muhammadiyah Paciran Lamongan, and the Pesantren Imam Syafi'i Jember, East Java. It provides a holistic and comprehensive understanding.¹⁶ This research used a qualitative approach, which is

¹⁰ Ahmad Fauzi et al., "Local Wisdom of Pesantren as Core Value in Building an Islamic Education Organizational Culture in Indonesia," *Cendekia: Jurnal Kependidikan dan Kemasyarakatan* 21, no. 1 (2023): 16–28.

¹¹ Bambang Qomaruzzaman and B Busro, "Tolerance Islam Theology of Education Hermeneutic Reading of Tariq Ramadan Thought," *QIJS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 7, no. 2 (2019): 203–38.

¹² Abdurrahman Mas'ud, *Intelektual Pesantren: Perhelatan Agama Dan Tradisi* (Jogjakarta: LKis, 2004), 57.

¹³ Fuad Fachruddin, *Agama Dan Pendidikan Demokrasi Pengalaman Muhammadiyah Dan Nahdlatul Ulama* (Jakarta: Pustaka Alvabet, 2006), 97.

¹⁴ Dakir and Ahmad Fauzi, "Qur'anic-Based Educational Leadership: An Inquiry Into Surah Al-Fatihah," *Nadwa: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 14, no. 2 (2020): 277–304.

¹⁵ Ahmad Fauzi, "Transkulturasi Social Capital Pesantren; Sebagai Paradigma Pendidikan Islam Moderat," in *2St Annual Conference For Muslim Scholars, Strenghtbening The Moderate Vision of Indonesia Islam*, vol. II (Surabaya, 2018), 751–65.

¹⁶ Kholis Amrullah, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif Dilengkapi Lima Pendekatan: Etnografi, Grounded Theory, Fenomenologi, Studi Kasus, Dan Naratif*, Ed. Firmansyah (Surabaya: Insan Cendekia, 2002), 87.

descriptive and inductive¹⁷, so that it can then produce a grounded theory.¹⁸ Therefore, this research is more focused on forming a value system in pesantren institutions to be used as social capital in building moderate Islamic education in Indonesia. It is an effort to build the educational model. This research used Pierre Bourdieu's social practice theory. The practice (actions and behaviors) is the outcome of the interaction between an individual's habitus and their available capital within a specific domain.¹⁹ In this context, habitus means that the pesantren value system is part of the pesantren tradition, such as the attitudes of *tawassuth*, *tawāzun*, *tasāmuh*, *tabahdhubur*, *musāwāb*, *i'tidāl*, *al-Islāb*, *tathanur wa ibtikār*, and *shurā*,²⁰ so all the values above are then transmitted in various pesantren activities so that in the end it can be used as social capital. This dialectical relationship becomes a domain in practicing or building moderate Islamic education.²¹

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Habitualization of Pesantren's Values in Building Moderate Islamic Education

Pesantren and kiai are two entities that cannot be separated. Through pesantren, kiai can teach Islam to their students and the community around the pesantren²² so that the existence of pesantren continues to grow and develop in society, while through pesantren, kiai can give birth to a value system which is then used as part of the pesantren tradition. Therefore, the existence of pesantren cannot be separated from the value system built by a kiai based on the kiai's interpretation and understanding of the Al-Qur'an and al-Hadith, which are understood to be the primary sources of pesantren knowledge.²³ The habitualization of the values above can significantly influence the implementation of pesantren as a foundational and operational basis.²⁴ These values are used as the primary basis and common goods in managing pesantren, both a basis for formulating vision and mission, policy making, curriculum structure, and orientation pesantren institutional development.²⁵ In this context, each pesantren has a different value system, even though in some aspects, it also has similarities, this is of course, based on the perspective and scientific genealogy of each kiai, both pesantren under Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, and Salafi groups.

¹⁷ Robert C Bogdan & Sari Knopp Biklen, *Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theory and Methods* (Boston: Allyn and Bocan, 1992), 66.

¹⁸ James A & Jaber F. Gubrium Holstein, *Fenomenologi, Etnometodologi Dan Praktek Interpretif, Dalam Handbook of Qualitative Research, Ed. Terj Dariyanto Dkk* (Jogjakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2009), 53.

¹⁹ Cheelen Mahar dan Chris Wilkes Richard Harker, *(Habitus x Modal) + Ranah = Praktek: Pengantar Paling Komprehensif Kepada Pemikiran Pierre Bourdieu, Terj. Pipit Maiqier* (Yogjakarta: Jalsutra, 2019), 19-25.

²⁰ Muchlis M. Hanafi, *Tafsir Tematik Moderasi Beragama, Ed. Muhammad Fatichuddin Reflita* (Jakarta: Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Qur'an, 2022), 25.

²¹ Mats Alvesson & Kaj Skoldberg, *Reflexive Methodology: New Vistas for Qualitative Research* (London: SAGE Publications, 2001), 109.

²² Sudjoko Prasadjo, *Profil Pesantren Dalam Abudin Nata (Editor) Sejarah Pertumbuhan Dan Perkembangan Lembaga Pendidikan Islam Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Grasindo, 2001), 167.

²³ Zulmuqim, "The Existence of Pesantren, Kiai and Kitab Kuning Learning as the Main Element of Islamic Education in Indonesia," *Khalifa: Journal of Islamic Education, Universitas Negeri Padan* 1, no. 2 (2017): 113-34.

²⁴ Ahmad Fauzi, *Filsafat Manajemen Pendidikan Islam (Mengurai Benang Kusut Pengelolaan Pendidikan Islam Dari Pendekatan Filosofis Menuju Praktis)* (Jogjakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2018), 88.

²⁵ Jamhari and Saifudin Asrori, "The Making Of Salafi Based Islamic Schools In Indonesia," *AL-Jami'ah, UIN Jogjakarta* 60, no. 1 (2022): 227-64.

Practically, the value system of the Imam Syafi'i Pesantren, referred to as Sekolah Tinggi Dirasat Islamiyyah (STDI) Imam Syafi'i, is built based on Islamic teachings originating from the *al-Qur'an, as-sunnah and assafabus salaf*, as this is then symbolized in the STDI symbol which is practically formulated in the vision institutional mission by making Islamic universities leading, producing Muslim intellectuals, with *ablussunnah* insight, professionalism and progress. In this context, the formation of the three fundamental values is based on hope and ideals built by a group of young people who graduated from the Islamic University of Madinah to provide an understanding of Islamic teachings based on the social conditions of society, which are filled with various problems, such as the occurrence of a moral crisis, anarchism, liberalism, and radicalism which is caused by shallow religious understanding. However, then the enthusiasm and efforts to teach Islam in a *ka'ffah* manner, according to the original source, sometimes get a negative response and are considered to be based on *Salafi* ideology. This view is only a claim that can undermine the spirit of struggle in teaching and providing understanding about Islam through a pesantren institution, as stated by Burhanudin. He said that the existence of STDI, which is considered to be based on *Salafi* ideology, is a claim from various parties, and institutionally, STDI is no longer a problem because the Salafi group itself has become a style of Islamic da'wah in Indonesia. It was later divided into several groups, even though de jure STDI is more directed towards Salafi in preaching. However, this enthusiasm is only to restore purity and provide a religious understanding of Islamic teachings as a whole (*ka'ffah*) through an Islamic educational institution.

Thus, the existence of the values significantly influences STDI institutions both at the foundational and operational levels, such as the formulation of the vision and mission, curriculum structure, which includes mastery of information technology and Arabic language programs (*i'dād al-lughawi*); organizational cultures such as *ithbāl*, *robe* and *niqāb* clothing.²⁶ Therefore, the value system is so vital that it can then color the pattern of pesantren's existence both as an identity and a distinction between institutions, which in the end can influence the mindset and all social behavior of individuals in society,²⁷ including attitudes of openness, tolerance, humanism, and democracy, even including regarding the conception of moderate Islamic education.²⁸

Meanwhile, the value system built by the Pesantren Modern Muhammadiyah Paciran, known as PMM Paciran, cannot be separated from the scientific genealogy and kiai's understanding of the Qur'an and al-Hadith as a source of knowledge in the life of the pesantren, so that it can then influence the implementation of the pesantren and how it is understood as a distinction for the PMM Paciran institution. Thus, the internalization of the values of the pesantren in question can practically be formulated as a *rahmatan lil 'alamin*-based pesantren, as stated by the leadership of the pesantren that the construction of pesantren values. In general, it is a representation of the Muhammadiyah organization,

²⁶ Hasnah Nasution, *Berdamain Dengan Pemerintah, Sejarah Dan Ideologi PTKIS Salafi Di Indonesia* (Medan: Merdeka Kreasi Group, 2021), 77.

²⁷ Syamsuriana Basri, Andi Aderus, and Muhammad Amri, "Salafi Based Schools," *Jurnal Ilmiah Wabana Pendidikan* 9, no. 11 (2023): 599–607.

²⁸ Ajibah Quroti Ain, "Islam Moderat di Pesantren: Sistem Pendidikan, Tantangan, dan Prospeknya," *Edukasia Islamika, Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 3, no. 2 (2018): 218–33.

namely realizing an actual Muslim society (*kaffah*) which is based on the Al-Quran Surah Fushshilat (*wa man absanu qawlan min man da'ā Ilā allāh wa 'amila sbāliban waqaala innanii min al-muslimin*) as a da'wah movement in the religious, social and educational fields, while (*wa 'amila sbāliban*) is understood as a form of program. At the same time (*waqaala innani min al-muslimin*) is interpreted as a goal in order to create an actual Muslim society. Thus, the value system is then broken down in each educational institution unit, in particular Muhammadiyah Modern Pesantren, by creating a dialogue between the kiai's religious knowledge and the social conditions of the community around the pesantren so that the value system that is built can provide beneficial values and suit the needs of the wider community, with the term *la 'ifdrāf wa lā tasrif*, namely being in the middle of society (*wasathiyah*), and live side by side with anyone according to their respective beliefs. Mr. M. Rifqi Rosyidi, PMM Paciran, states it.

Thus, the value system built by PMM Paciran can practically influence the pesantren institutional system, starting from formulating the vision and mission, curriculum structure, organizational culture, and pesantren institutional development. The significance of these values, as then transmitted in learning activities, such as prioritizing attitudes of love and mutual respect, building an attitude of togetherness, and not differentiating between students so that graduates can reflect good individual character and social behavior by prioritizing universal human values such as an egalitarian, humanist, tolerant and democratic attitude, while still adhering to *aqidah Islamiyah* as the institutional identity of PMM Paciran, under the pesantren's value system which is based on *rahmatan lil 'ālamīn*.

The internalization of the values built by the pesantren Kunuzul Imam Kauman Bondowoso, sociologically, cannot be separated from the role of KHR. Abdul Lathif as the founder of the pesantren and a NU figure who has a significant influence in Bondowoso Regency, with the capital of religious knowledge possessed by kiai, based on his interpretation of the al-Qur'an and his understanding in other fields of science, such as; *Hadith, fiqh, tauhid, Tarikh and Sufism*, as well as the kiai's ability to dialogue with various social problems being faced by muslims, especially the Bondowoso community, then he was able to build an Islamic boarding school value system, by making the fundamental values of *ablussunnah wal jama'ah an nabdliyah* as a symbol and its social movements in pesantren education, as stated by the chairman of the pesantren foundation, that: the value system of the Pesantren Kunuzul Imam Kauman is built based on universal values, by adhering firmly to the al Qur'an, al-Hadith and Salaf scholars as the body of knowledge in tradition pesantren, practically internalizing the values above are then oriented towards instilling Islamic religious teachings (*tafaqqub fiddin*) which emphasize aspects of faith and devotion, so that all institutions under this pesantren can produce students who have exemplary attitudes (*akhlakul karimah*), responsibility, disciplined, creative and independent, (interview with Mr. Suheri, at Pesantren Kunuzul Imam Kauman, 11/10/2023).

That is how important the value construction is. Besides its existence containing the noble hopes, ideas, and ideals of the founder of the pesantren, it is also the basis for the institutional development of pesantren.²⁹ Therefore, these values can influence the

²⁹ Nurcholis Madjid, "Merumuskan Kembali Tujuan Pendidikan Islam," dalam Dawam Rahardjo (Ed), *Pergulatan Dunia Pesantren: Membangun Dari Bawah* (Jakarta: P3M, 1985), 29-31.

pesantren education system, even graduates can display different social behavior. These views cannot be separated from the value system built by the Pesantren Kunuzul Imam Kauman, so they can then be transmitted in various educational components, including curriculum structure, learning activities, teacher profile, and pesantren organizational culture.

Thus, the value systems of the three pesantren contain the ideas, hopes, and ideals of a kiai as the founder of the pesantren. Therefore, the mentioned values' existence is transmitted in various institutional elements of pesantren so that its graduates can represent according to the above-value system.³⁰ This value is significant because apart from being a distinction for pesantren institutions, it is also believed to be the last moral bastion of all current educational models. It is considered the most effective for influencing and mobilizing all forms of individual action and behavior in society, and practically, the process of internalizing the values of the three pesantren above can be carried out as follows:

Table.1 Internalization of Pesantren’s Values

Basic Pesantren Values	Pesantren Value System	The Process of Internalizing Pesantren Values
Al-Qur'an, <i>sunnah</i> and opinions of ulama <i>Salaf (ijmā')</i>	<i>ablussunnah wal jamā'ab an nabdliyah</i> based pesantren	Transmitting pesantren values in the formulation of educational vision and mission Transmitting pesantren values based on <i>ablussunnah wal jamā'ab an nabdliyah</i> in the curriculum structure Transmitting pesantren values in organizational culture
Al-Qur'an, al-Hadith and Muhammadiyah Ideology	<i>Rahmatan lil ālamīn</i> based pesantren	Transmitting pesantren values in the formulation of educational vision and mission Transmitting pesantren values in the educational curriculum structure Management of pesantren and schools is integrated. Learning activities are carried out openly, democratically, and tolerantly.
Al-Qur'an, <i>as-sunnah</i> and <i>Assafabus Salaf</i>	<i>Salafi</i> based pesantren	Transmitting pesantren values in the formulation of educational vision and mission Transmitting pesantren values in the educational curriculum structure Transmitting pesantren values in learning activities through the <i>i'dād al-lughawi</i> program Transmitting pesantren values in organizational cultures, such as <i>Ithbāl, Robe, and Niqāb</i>

³⁰ Syamsun Ni'am, "Pesantren: The Miniature of Moderate Islam in Indonesia," *IJIMS, Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 5, no. 1 (2015): 111–34.

Based on the explanation above, the internalization of values between the three pesantren has different styles, even though they also have several elements of similarity in formulating and building pesantren value systems. This view indeed cannot be separated from the kiai's understanding of the al-Qur'an through his interpretation and mastery of the field of other knowledge, according to the scientific genealogy of each kiai, so that it then also influences the pesantren's value system. In this context, religious understanding of several Islamic texts owned by a kiai ideologically also colors the pesantren institution, which ultimately becomes a pesantren value system, such as the typology of *salaf*, *khalaf*, and integrated pesantren, so the form of naming the pesantren above symbolizes an idea, the hopes and dreams of a kiai as the founding father and founder of the pesantren.³¹ The significance of these values can then influence the entire life of the pesantren, both in the formulation of the vision and mission, curriculum structure, and organizational culture, so that ultimately, it can inspire, influence, and move individual behavior and actions in society.

The Value of Pesantren as Social Capital in Building Moderate Islamic Education

Based on the various explanations above, the existence of pesantren education since its existence has played a role in all social life and has played an active role in building Islamic civilization in Indonesia. Besides that, pesantren is believed to be a moral bulwark against the current multidimensional crisis.³² The institutional portrait of pesantren, in essence, cannot be separated from the form of the role of a kiai. Thus, the relationship between pesantren and kiai are two essential, inseparable elements. This view is what inspired the journey of the pesantren Kunuzul Imam Kauman, the pesantren modern Muhammadiyah Paciran and the pesantren or foundation Imam Syafi' i Jember.³³ Thus, the existence of these three pesantren is a form of manifestation of the thoughts and ideas of a kiai, based on his understanding of the al-Qur'an through his interpretation and mastery of various other fields of religious knowledge, according to the scientific genealogy of each kiai, so that it then also influences the existence of pesantren which is ultimately understood as a value system in pesantren.³⁴

In this context, the pesantren value system is the result of the creation of a creative individual, based on the logic of thought and scientific genealogy of a kiai based on his understanding of various religious texts, taking into account the social conditions around him on various problems that are currently occurring in the world. In society, through a process of in-depth and continuous observation, so that in turn it can inspire the formation of a value system and continuously maintain it and make it part of the traditions of pesantren life, so the habitualization of these values is then transmitted and internalized

³¹ Abd A'la, *Pembaharuan Pesantren* (Jogjakarta: LKis, 2006), 85.

³² Dakir, Ahmad Fauzi, and Khairil Anwar, "Pesantren Quality Management Government Intervention in the Policy of the Pesantren Law in Indonesia," *International Journal of Innovation, Creativity and Change* 14, no. 3 (2020): 1603–20.

³³ Sakinah Saklaili and Rengga Satria, "The Existence Of An Integrated Salafi-Based Islamic School In Padang City," *EDUMALSYS; Journal of Research in Education Management* 1, no. 2 (2023): 183–94.

³⁴ Sofyan Sauri, Nunung Nursyamsiah, and Yayan Nurbayan, "A Critique of Local Wisdom Values in Indonesia's Pesantren," *Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 26, no. T (2018): 37–50.

within the pesantren institution,³⁵ both as a basis foundational and operational. The significance of the values above is believed to influence each individual's views and thought patterns so that they can move all forms of individual social action and behavior to become more effective, open, tolerant, humanist, and democratic in society. Therefore, these values can be understood as social capital for pesantren and used as core values in building moderate Islamic education.

In Berger's perspective, the value system mentioned does not just appear but is built through a dialectical relationship among externalization, objectivation, and internalization.³⁶ Therefore, the existence of an individual or kiai can act according to his own will based on the social conditions around him so that he can then give birth to a value system and become a social fact whose existence is recognized. In the moment of externalization, the existence of the kiai has an essential role in the life of the pesantren. The relationship between the two cannot be separated and even influence each other, with the scientific capital that the kiai has based on his understanding of various sciences in Islam, such as the *al-Qur'an*, *hadith*, *ushul fiqh*, *taswuf*, *tarikh*, and its ability to dialogue with social conditions, can then give birth to a value system and encourage the formation of pesantren institutions. In this context, the formation of objectivation of pesantren values takes place over a relatively long time. Through the knowledge capital of the kiai and his ability to dialogue with various social problems, he can express his knowledge into something symbolized by what is experienced as social reality (objective reality). This process is then known as objectivation so that, in the end, it can be accepted as a value system and become a common guideline in pesantren life. This process became known as internalization.

The internalization of these values then becomes legitimacy for the pesantren institution. It is continuously preserved for the next generation so that it eventually becomes a tradition or habit (habitualization) in pesantren life,³⁷ so its existence is believed to be able to influence thought patterns as well as inspire, influence, and mobilize all forms of action or individual social behavior,³⁸ under the value system built by each pesantren, and the existence of the above values is part of the social capital for pesantren institutions so that they can then be used as core values in building moderate Islamic education in Indonesia.³⁹ In social practice theory, Pierre Bourdieu, regarding (Habitus x Capital) + Domain = Practice, explains that habitus contains meaning as a system of pesantren values and is part of pesantren habits or traditions, such as the attitude of *tawassuth*, *tawāzun*, *tasāmuh*, *tabaddhur*, *musāwāh*, *i 'tidāl*, *al-Islāh*, *tathawur wa Ibtikār* and *shurā*, all the values above are then transmitted in various pesantren activities, so that in the end they can be used as social capital, and this dialectical relationship gives birth to a realm in practicing or building moderate Islamic education.⁴⁰

³⁵ Ahmad Salim, et al., "Madrasah as Habitus for Increasing Tolerance in Multi-Religious Society," *Cendekia: Jurnal Kependidikan Dan Kemasyarakatan* 21, no. 2 (2023): 148–62.

³⁶ Peter L Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (New York: England: Penguin Group, 1996), 89.

³⁷ Peter L Berger, *Langit Suci; Agama Sebagai Realitas Sosial* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1991), 77.

³⁸ Ritzer George, *Sociological Theory* (New York: University Mayland, 2011), 69.

³⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production Essays on Art and Literature* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), 79.

⁴⁰ Graham Charles Kinloch, *Sociological Theory: Its Development and Major Paradigms* (New York: McGraw

As follows the construction of a moderate Islamic education model built through habituation of pesantren values, theoretically, can be described as follows:

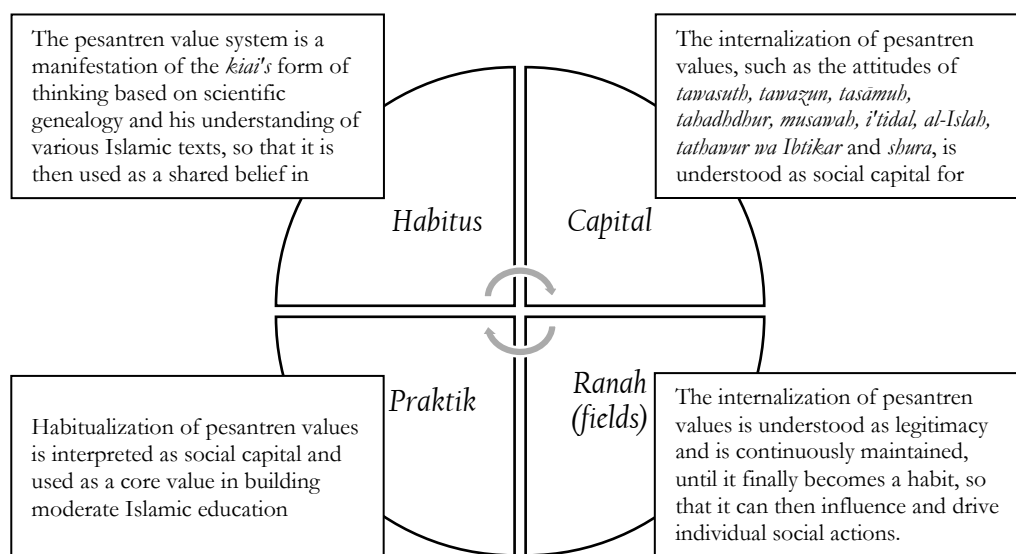


Figure. 1 Theoretical Model of Moderate Islamic Education in Social Practical Theory

Based on the theoretical building above, all forms of individual action and behavior can essentially be influenced, inspired, and driven by the existence of a value system.⁴¹ Therefore, the existence of values built by pesantren is understood as a social magnet that can influence individual actions to become more effective, open, tolerant, humanist, and democratic.⁴² This value construction is the result of the creation of a creative individual or *kiai* based on the logic of thought and scientific genealogy of the *kiai* based on his understanding of various Islamic texts, as well as his ability to pay attention to the social conditions around him regarding various problems currently occurring in society, so that then inspire the formation of a value system and its existence is continuously maintained until it finally becomes part of the tradition of pesantren life, the habituation of these values can then be used as social capital for pesantren institutions in building a model of moderate Islamic education in Indonesia, so the form of moderation above is under the value system built by each pesantren.

CONCLUSION

Based on the various discussions above, this research can be concluded as follows: First, the pesantren value system is a creation of a creative individual or *kiai* based on the logic of the *kiai's* scientific thinking and genealogy based on his understanding of various Islamic texts, such as the *al-Qur'an, hadith, ushul fiqh, aqidah, tarikh, and sufism*, by paying attention to the social conditions around them regarding various problems that are

Hill Book Company, 1977), 65.

⁴¹ Haidar Putra Daulay, *Historisitas Dan Eksistensi Pesantren, Sekolah Dan Madrasah* (Yogyakarta: PT Tiara Wacana, 2001), 55.

⁴² Brahm Norwich, Annamari Ylonen, and Ruth Gwernan-Jones, "Moderate Learning Difficulties: Searching for Clarity and Understanding," *Research Papers in Education* 29, no. 1 (2014): 1–19.

currently occurring in society, so that they can then inspire the formation of pesantren values and significantly their existence is believed to be able to influence individual thought patterns and social actions so that they become more effective, open, tolerant, humanist and democratic. Second, the existence of these values can be used as a basis and shared belief in pesantren management, both as a foundational and operational basis, such as the formulation of a vision and mission, curriculum structure, learning activities, organizational culture, and Islamic boarding school development orientation, so that in the end it can become part of the pesantren tradition. Third, the habitualization of pesantren values can be used as social capital and can be used as a core value in building a moderate Islamic education model so that it is then able to give birth to the character or attitude of *tawassuth*, *tawāzun*, *tasāmuh*, *tabadhdhur*, *musāwabah*, *i'tidāl*, *al-Islāh*, *tathawur wa Ibtikār*, and *shurā*. Thus, moderate Islamic education is meant to be under the culture and value system built by each pesantren. Even though all pesantren proclaim moderate Islamic education, it has significant differences according to the typology of each pesantren.

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