Religious Habitus and Social Solidarity of Islamic Boarding School Students: A Sociological Analysis of Islamic Education from the Perspective of Ibn Khaldun's Thought

Rifka Haida Rahma[1], Charles[2], Ade Putra Hayat[2]

[1]Intitut Darul Qur'an (IDAQU) Payakumbuh
[2]UIN Sjech M. Djamil Djambek Bukittinggi
rifkahaidarahma@idaqupayakumbuh.ac.id

Abstract. *The phenomenon of declining social solidarity among modern santri (Islamic boarding school students) reflects a shifting value orientation within the pesantren environment. This condition raises an academic question about how pesantren, as traditional Islamic educational institutions, can maintain their religious habitus and social cohesion amid the growing forces of modernization and individualism. The gap between the ideality of Islamic education—emphasizing the formation of religious-communal character—and the increasingly fragmented social reality necessitates a profound sociological investigation. This study aims to analyze the religious habitus and social solidarity of santri within the framework of Islamic educational sociology based on Ibn Khaldun's thought. The research employs a qualitative library-based method with an integrative approach that combines modern sociological theories (Pierre Bourdieu's habitus and Émile Durkheim's solidarity) with Islamic paradigms (the Qur'an, Hadith, and Ibn Khaldun's Muqaddimah). Data were obtained through critical analysis of relevant classical and contemporary literature and examined using content analysis techniques to identify conceptual patterns and theoretical synthesis. The findings indicate that pesantren function not only as institutions for transmitting religious knowledge but also as arenas for the reproduction of values that shape the identity of santri. Religious habitus is formed through worship routines, moral discipline, and teacher–student relationships, while social solidarity grows through collective practices such as cooperation (gotong royong), ta'awun, and ukhuwah. Ibn Khaldun's concept of 'ashabiyyah provides a strong theoretical foundation for understanding santri solidarity as a social force sustaining the existence of pesantren. This study affirms that Islamic education should be understood as a social process that develops both religious individuals and empowered communities, while contributing theoretically to the development of Qur'an- and Hadith-based Islamic education studies within an interdisciplinary perspective.*

Keywords: *Religious habitus; Social solidarity of santri; Sociology of Islamic education; Ibn Khaldun's thought; Pesantren*

INTRODUCTION

Shifts in social solidarity among contemporary santri indicate a reorientation of behavior and social interaction within pesantren environments, alongside the growing influence of educational modernization and the dynamics of the digital era. Several empirical studies demonstrate that the transformation of pesantren toward more technologically adaptive educational models has implications for changes in the intensity of togetherness, patterns of social relations, and collective practices among *santri*, particularly as social interactions become increasingly mediated by digital technologies and differentiated learning systems (Farid et al., 2024). Another study on social capital in Pesantren Sidogiri reveals that social solidarity and communal bonds among *santri* continue to be reproduced through everyday practices and collective traditions, despite ongoing pressures from educational modernization (Kutsiyah, 2025). These findings indicate both challenges and opportunities for pesantren in sustaining social cohesion and the collective spirit that has long characterized traditional pesantren. This phenomenon suggests that the dynamics of *santri* social

solidarity cannot be separated from the process of internalizing religious values that occurs through daily practices and the social structures of pesantren. Therefore, the study of religious habitus and *santri* social solidarity becomes crucial for understanding how pesantren can maintain their identity as Islamic educational institutions deeply rooted in communal and spiritual values amid ongoing social change.

Within the dynamics of Islamic education in Indonesia, pesantren function not only as centers of religious learning but also as social spaces that shape the identities and behaviors of *santri*. Through practices of religious habituation and everyday interactions, pesantren serve as arenas in which Islamic values and social solidarity are continuously constructed and reproduced. The concept of habitus was introduced by Pierre Bourdieu (1990) explains how deeply embedded dispositions within individuals are formed through repeated social practices and structural environments. In the pesantren context, *santri* religious habitus reflects how religiosity becomes an inseparable part of their lifestyle, attitudes, and social relations. Meanwhile, social solidarity— understood as social attachment and collective responsibility within a community—plays a vital role in maintaining internal cohesion within pesantren and shaping their relationships with the broader society. Classical thought, such as that of Ibn Khaldûn in *The Muqaddimah* (2015)Likewise, it emphasizes the importance of social groups, solidarity (*asabiyyah*), and cultural formation in societal life. Accordingly, studies that connect religious habitus, *santri* social solidarity, and Ibn Khaldûn's theoretical framework are essential for understanding how Islamic education through pesantren produces not only religious individuals but also social agents capable of building empowered and sustainable communities.

Nevertheless, within existing research on pesantren education, systematic attention to the duality between religious internalization (habitus) and *santri* social solidarity practices remains relatively limited. The central concern of this study is how the religious habitus formed among pesantren *santri* influences and relates to their social solidarity, and how Ibn Khaldûn's perspective can help explain this dynamic within the framework of Islamic educational sociology. The formation of *santri* religious habitus—manifested in worship routines, daily rituals, *kyai* mentorship, and disciplinary practices—has been identified in recent studies, such as Taufiq, Sahdan, and Setianingsih (2024) On the construction of religious habitus in Indonesian pesantren. Meanwhile, Kurniawan (2024) emphasizes that social solidarity within *santri* communities is shaped by specific, locally nuanced social mechanisms. However, few studies have explicitly integrated these two variables—religious habitus and social solidarity—within the analytical framework of Ibn Khaldûn's thought.

This gap in the literature indicates that limited research has comprehensively examined how *santri* religious habitus is not only practiced at the individual level but also transformed into collective social solidarity, particularly through the lens of Ibn Khaldûn's theoretical foundation, which emphasizes *asabiyyah* and socio-cultural dynamics. Several studies highlight pesantren's focus on religious character formation through hidden curricula (Firdausi & Turasih, 2024) and the utilization of pesantren social capital for community empowerment (Sutomo et al., 2018). However, these studies do not directly link the concept of habitus with Ibn Khaldûn's framework. Moreover, research on habitus in pesantren contexts was analyzed through Bourdieu's theory (Yani et al., 2025) has rarely been connected to the formation of social solidarity among *santri*.

To address this gap, the present study offers an analysis that integrates three key elements: *santri* religious habitus (Bourdieu), *santri* social solidarity within the pesantren context, and Ibn Khaldûn's intellectual perspective on *asabiyyah* and social group dynamics. This approach enables a deeper understanding of how everyday practices in pesantren shape religious dispositions that subsequently influence social relations, including solidarity among *santri* and within the pesantren community. The study employs a theoretical and analytical framework that elucidates the mechanisms through which religious internalization manifests socially in the form of solidarity and collective action. Thus, this research not only describes social phenomena but also proposes a conceptual model that can be empirically tested and applied within pesantren education.

Several factors drive the motivation for this research. First, pesantren, as institutions of national character education, possess significant potential to cultivate individuals who are religious both personally and socially; however, empirical understanding of the underlying mechanisms remains limited. Second, in an era of social transformation and globalization, pesantren face internal challenges related to value shifts and external pressures from modernization, making studies on religious internalization and social solidarity increasingly urgent. Third, integrating Ibn Khaldûn's classical perspective into contemporary Islamic education contributes to the development of a more theoretically and historically enriched sociology of Islamic education.

Based on this background, the study aims to analyze the formation of *santri* religious habitus and its relationship with social solidarity, while developing a conceptual framework grounded in Ibn Khaldûn's thought. Specifically, the objectives of this study are: (1) to describe the forms of *santri* religious habitus; (2) to analyze the role of religious habitus in fostering social solidarity among *santri* and between *santri* and the pesantren community; (3) to interpret empirical findings through the perspectives of Ibn Khaldûn (*asabiyyah*, culture, and social groups) and Bourdieu (habitus and social capital); and (4) to formulate implications for pesantren educational practices and the development of Islamic educational sociology.

This study is expected to contribute both theoretically and practically. Theoretically, it enriches the literature on Islamic educational sociology by integrating the concepts of religious habitus, social solidarity, and Ibn Khaldûn's thought, which have often been examined separately. Practically, the findings may serve as a reference for pesantren administrators and Islamic education policymakers in designing religious habituation programs that simultaneously strengthen social solidarity among *santri* and surrounding communities. In this way, pesantren function not merely as "sites of religious instruction" but also as "laboratories of social solidarity" that shape *santri* who are both religiously committed and socially responsible. This study further supports the optimization of pesantren's educational role in fostering inclusive communities and social harmony.

METHOD

This study employs a qualitative library research approach, as the primary focus of the inquiry is theoretical and conceptual rather than empirical. This approach is considered appropriate given that the object of the study consists of scholarly ideas embedded in classical and modern texts, such as Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus, Ibn Khaldun's concept of *'ashabiyyah*, as well as the normative values contained in the Qur'an and Hadith related to social solidarity (*solidarity*), *ukhuwah*, and the formation of religious habitus within the pesantren context. According to Zed (2014) Library research involves the systematic exploration, reading, and critical examination of relevant written sources to obtain an in-depth understanding and a solid argumentative foundation. Therefore, this method is particularly suitable for producing a conceptual synthesis within the framework of Islamic educational sociology.

Library research also enables scholars to construct critical arguments without engaging in direct field data collection. As emphasized by George (2008)Library research provides opportunities to capitalize on the richness of the existing literature—ranging from classical texts and theoretical works to contemporary empirical studies—thereby broadening intellectual horizons. Accordingly, this study is oriented toward the processes of discovery, integration, and comparison of ideas and theories in order to develop a new, integrative conceptual framework.

This research is descriptive-analytical in nature. It is descriptive insofar as it seeks to present a clear and systematic exposition of Bourdieu's theory of habitus, Ibn Khaldun's notion of *'ashabiyyah*, and Qur'anic and Hadith teachings concerning *ukhuwah* and social solidarity. It is analytical because the study goes beyond mere description by engaging in critical examination, comparison, and synthesis of ideas derived from diverse bodies of literature. (2018) assert that the

analytical dimension of qualitative research is essential for developing a deeper understanding and identifying conceptual relationships across theories.

The data sources in this study are divided into two categories. First, primary sources consist of authoritative texts such as the Qur'an, Hadith collections, Ibn Khaldun's seminal work *al-Muqaddimah*, and major writings by Pierre Bourdieu, including *Outline of a Theory of Practice* and *The Logic of Practice*. Second, secondary sources comprise books, journal articles, dissertations, and research reports that support the analysis, including studies on pesantren in Indonesia (Dhofier, 2011; Bruinessen, 2015; Howell, 2010), works in the sociology of education (Grenfell, 2012; Swartz, 2013), and contemporary discussions on religious habitus (Abdullah, 2014; Reay, 2004). These two types of sources are treated in a balanced manner: classical and normative texts serve as the primary analytical foundation, while modern literature functions as a critical dialogue that enriches interpretation.

Data collection was conducted through a review of documentation and a systematic review of relevant secondary sources. At this stage, the researcher applied explicit inclusion and exclusion criteria to ensure the relevance and quality of the selected literature. The inclusion criteria comprised: (1) sources that explicitly address the concepts of habitus, social solidarity, Islamic education, and pesantren; (2) academic literature in the form of scholarly books, reputable journal articles, and classical works with recognized intellectual authority; and (3) publications that are conceptually and contextually relevant to the focus of the study, drawn from both Islamic intellectual traditions and modern educational sociology. The exclusion criteria encompassed non-academic sources, popular writings lacking scholarly peer review, and literature with no direct relevance to the research theme.

Sources meeting these criteria were then systematically organized through bibliographic documentation, content summarization, and thematic categorization. Subsequently, a cross-referencing process was conducted by comparing classical sources such as the Qur'an, Hadith, and Ibn Khaldun's *al-Muqaddimah* with modern literature, including Bourdieu's theory of habitus and contemporary studies in educational sociology. This process aimed to identify points of convergence, divergence, and potential synthesis between classical Islamic intellectual traditions and modern sociological perspectives in understanding students' religious habitus and social solidarity.

Data analysis was conducted using a combination of content analysis and a hermeneutic approach. Content analysis was employed to identify themes, categories, and patterns of meaning within the texts. (Krippendorff, 2018) explains that content analysis enables researchers to draw valid inferences from texts while accounting for contextual factors. Through this method, Bourdieu's ideas on habitus, Ibn Khaldun's concept of *'ashabiyyah*, and Qur'anic–Hadith values were classified into analytical categories such as religious habitus, social solidarity, and the internalization of pesantren-based education. Meanwhile, the hermeneutic approach was applied to interpret texts within their historical and cultural contexts. In line with Gadamer (2004)Hermeneutics emphasizes that texts should be understood through a dialogical horizon between the author's context and the reader's context. This approach allows for a deeper exploration of the meanings embedded in Qur'anic–Hadith texts and *al-Muqaddimah*, and for their relevance to contemporary Islamic educational realities.

Research validity was ensured through source triangulation, namely the use of diverse references drawn from different authors, historical periods, and academic disciplines. Bowen (2009) emphasizes that in library-based research, validity can be enhanced by combining multiple sources to avoid single-interpretation bias. Reliability was maintained through analytical consistency, transparent bibliographic referencing, and the application of well-established qualitative research methods. Consequently, the findings of this study are academically accountable.

The selection of this methodology is grounded in several fundamental considerations. First, the conceptual nature of the research object is more appropriately analyzed through textual examination than through field observation. Second, Islamic intellectual tradition has historically

emphasized text-based scholarship, such as *tafsir*, *sharḥ*, and *turāth* studies. Third, library research provides broader access to international sources, thereby enriching analytical perspectives. Fourth, this method offers space for interdisciplinary engagement, linking Western sociology, classical Islamic thought, and normative Qur'anic–Hadith texts.

Interpretation of Qur'anic–Hadith texts was conducted with reference to authoritative exegetical works and by avoiding approaches that could lead to interpretive bias. This is consistent with the principle of academic integrity that underpins scholarly research.

The limitation of library research is the lack of direct empirical field data, which may make the analysis predominantly theoretical. However, this limitation simultaneously constitutes a strength, as it allows for a more focused and in-depth theoretical synthesis. The findings of this study are therefore expected to serve as a conceptual foundation for future empirical research.

In sum, the research methodology is designed to present an integrative analysis through library research by utilizing primary sources such as the Qur'an, Hadith, the works of Ibn Khaldun, and Bourdieu, complemented by secondary literature from various disciplines. Through the combined use of content analysis and hermeneutics, this study seeks to explore the interrelationship between religious habitus and students' social solidarity within the framework of Islamic educational sociology, integrating classical Islamic intellectual heritage with modern sociological theory.

FINDINGS

This study presents a set of conceptual findings concerning the relationship between Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus, Ibn Khaldun's concept of 'ashabiyyah, and Qur'anic–Hadith values in shaping religious habitus and social solidarity among santri within Islamic boarding school institutions, locally known in Indonesia as *pesantren*. Based on a systematic literature review, the analysis suggests a theoretical alignment between Western social theory, classical Islamic thought, and normative religious sources, enabling the construction of an integrative analytical framework for the sociology of Islamic education. These conceptual findings are articulated through several interrelated dimensions that collectively illuminate the dynamics of religious formation and social cohesion in pesantren.

First, Bourdieu's theory of habitus can be conceptually mapped onto the process of religious value internalization in pesantren. In Bourdieu's framework, habitus refers to historically formed dispositions that guide perception, thought, and action through continuous socialization (Bourdieu, 1990). Within pesantren, the religious habitus of santri can be understood as being shaped through repetitive and structured practices such as Qur'anic recitation, memorization, congregational prayers, and sustained interaction with kiai and fellow santri. These practices function not merely as ritual routines but as mechanisms through which religious values are embodied and normalized, allowing Islamic norms to become an integral part of santri identity. From this perspective, pesantren education may be understood as operating as a social space that reproduces a religious way of life rather than merely transmitting doctrinal knowledge.

Second, Ibn Khaldun's concept of 'ashabiyyah offers a complementary analytical lens for understanding social solidarity within pesantren communities. In *al-Muqaddimah*, Ibn Khaldun (2015) conceptualizes 'ashabiyyah as a form of collective cohesion rooted in shared commitment, loyalty, and mutual responsibility that sustains group continuity. When applied to the pesantren context, 'ashabiyyah can be interpreted as moral and spiritual solidarity manifested in collective discipline, loyalty to the kiai, and shared participation in communal practices. This form of solidarity extends beyond kinship ties and reflects value-based cohesion grounded in religious commitment, enabling pesantren communities to maintain continuity across generations.

A significant conceptual insight emerging from this study is the theoretical convergence between habitus and 'ashabiyyah in explaining pesantren dynamics. Both concepts emphasize the formation of durable social dispositions through sustained collective interaction. Religious habitus

provides the internalized moral orientation guiding individual conduct, while 'ashabiyyah reinforces external social bonds sustaining collective life. Conceptually, these two dimensions may be understood as mutually reinforcing: religious dispositions facilitate social cohesion, and solidarity strengthens the reproduction of religious practices. This synthesis suggests that pesantren education simultaneously shapes religious subjectivity and social collectivity.

In addition, Qur'anic and Hadith sources provide a normative foundation that conceptually reinforces both habitus and solidarity. Qur'anic principles such as *ukhuwah Islamiyah* (QS. al-Hujurat [49]: 10) and moral equality grounded in piety (QS. al-Hujurat [49]: 13), as well as Prophetic traditions emphasizing collective responsibility (e.g., the metaphor of believers as one body, HR. Muslim), may be understood as normative frameworks guiding social practice. Within pesantren, these values are not merely prescriptive ideals but are conceptually embedded in daily routines and institutional norms, enabling the reproduction of religious habitus and social solidarity through lived practice.

From a Bourdieusian perspective, pesantren can be theorized as a social arena (*field*) in which various forms of capital—religious, cultural, and symbolic—are unequally distributed and contested (Grenfell, 2012). Kiai occupy a dominant position within this field due to their symbolic authority and religious capital, while santri internalize dispositions shaped by hierarchical relations. Although pesantren life is often described as cohesive, such cohesion may be understood as being maintained through symbolic power relations and the misrecognition of authority rather than purely voluntary solidarity. Obedience, discipline, and collective conformity are reproduced through symbolic domination that renders hierarchical relations legitimate and morally justified. Acknowledging these dynamics preserves the critical core of Bourdieu's theory while adding sociological depth to the analysis of pesantren cohesion.

Furthermore, the formation of religious habitus in pesantren can be conceptually linked to non-formal and informal practices embedded in pesantren culture, such as early morning prayers, wirid, and khidmah to the kiai. These practices function as long-term disciplinary mechanisms that gradually sediment religious dispositions within santri. In line with Bourdieu's (1986) notion of habitus as a product of repeated practice, such routines illustrate how institutional structures and daily discipline interact in producing durable religious orientations.

From Ibn Khaldun's perspective, pesantren communities can be conceptually interpreted as contemporary manifestations of groups sustained through value-based forms of 'ashabiyyah. Within the framework of this literature-based analysis, the solidarity often associated with santri and alums networks may be understood as a conceptual illustration of social cohesion grounded in shared moral and religious commitments rather than as empirical observation. The sustainability of many pesantren institutions can thus be theoretically mapped not only to the authority of the kiai but also to collective attachments embedded in communal religious life. In this sense, Ibn Khaldun's concept of 'ashabiyyah, originally formulated within the socio-political context of tribal societies, can be conceptually recontextualized as moral–spiritual solidarity operating within contemporary Islamic educational institutions.

Theoretical analysis also suggests that religious habitus and social solidarity can be understood as crucial mediators of pesantren responses to modern social transformations. Globalization, individualism, and digitalization pose challenges to collective cohesion; however, pesantren habitus may function as a moral framework sustaining collective identity. Likewise, 'ashabiyyah-based solidarity conceptually enhances institutional resilience, allowing pesantren to adapt without losing their normative core.

Overall, the integration of Bourdieu's habitus, Ibn Khaldun's 'ashabiyyah, and Qur'anic–Hadith values offers a theoretically enriched framework for understanding Islamic education. Rather than presenting empirical generalizations, this study provides a conceptual synthesis demonstrating how religious dispositions and social cohesion are mutually constituted within pesantren. This framework contributes to the sociology of Islamic education by bridging classical

Islamic thought, modern social theory, and normative religious sources in a coherent analytical model.

DISCUSSION

The results of this study indicate that the concepts of religious habitus and social solidarity among santri from the perspective of Islamic educational sociology can be comprehensively understood by integrating Pierre Bourdieu's habitus theory, Ibn Khaldun's concept of 'ashabiyyah, and the normative values of the Qur'an and Hadith. Pesantren, as traditional Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia, have long been known not only as places for the transmission of religious knowledge, but also as social arenas that shape the religious habitus of santri. Bourdieu's habitus theory provides a framework for understanding how these religious dispositions are formed and reproduced through daily practices in pesantren. According to Bourdieu (1990), habitus is a mental structure formed through historical experience and social practice, so that santri not only learn religious teachings in the cognitive realm but also internalize them in their daily actions. Thus, the religious habitus of santri is born from repetitive practices, such as congregational worship, recitation of religious texts, and social interactions in the pesantren environment, which ultimately create a collective religious disposition.

This concept is in line with Reay's (2004) research, which asserts that habitus is dynamic, adaptive, and continuously reproduced in accordance with changes in social structure. In the context of pesantren, this can be seen in how these institutions can maintain their traditions amid modernization, while continuing to produce religious generations of santri. Nilan's (2009) Research even found that santri view pesantren not only as a place to study religion, but also as a space for the formation of moral identity and solidarity. This confirms that the religious habitus formed in pesantren encompasses spiritual, moral, and social dimensions.

Meanwhile, Ibn Khaldun's thoughts on 'ashabiyyah provide further explanation of how social solidarity among santri is formed and functions in maintaining the cohesion of the pesantren community. In al-Muqaddimah, Ibn Khaldun (2015) explains that 'ashabiyyah is a social bond that unites a group, gives them collective strength, and enables the creation of civilization. In pesantren, santri solidarity is formed through togetherness in daily activities, loyalty to the kiai, and commitment to pesantren traditions. This solidarity not only strengthens the internal cohesion of the pesantren but also expands its influence in the surrounding community. Howell (2010) asserts that santri solidarity often transcends institutional boundaries, as santri are actively involved in religious social activities in the community, so that pesantren play a significant role in strengthening social cohesion at the local level.

When compared, religious habitus and 'ashabiyyah both emphasize the importance of social dispositions formed through collective interaction. Religious habitus focuses on the internalization of values through repeated practice, while 'ashabiyyah emphasizes social bonds born of togetherness and collective spirit. In Islamic boarding schools, the two complement each other: religious habitus produces individuals who are obedient to Islamic values, while social solidarity strengthens bonds among them, enabling the Islamic boarding school community to survive and thrive. The integration of these two concepts enables a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of Islamic education in Islamic boarding schools.

Furthermore, the Qur'an and Hadith provide a normative basis that reinforces this theoretical construct. The Qur'an emphasizes the importance of ukhuwah Islamiyah (QS. al-Hujurat [49]: 10) and the obligation to hold fast to the rope of Allah and avoid division (QS. Ali Imran [3]: 103). The Hadith of the Prophet emphasizes the importance of social concern, as in his saying that a believer is to another believer like one body, where if one part hurts, the whole body feels it (Muslim, 2007). These values align with the principles of social solidarity and religious habitus, which, in pesantren practice, are manifested through collective rituals, khidmah, and

community service. Thus, pesantren are not only educational institutions, but also spaces for the reproduction of Qur'anic-Hadith values in a social context.

Further discussion shows that Islamic boarding schools can be seen as an arena or field in Bourdieu's perspective, where various forms of capital (cultural, social, symbolic) are exchanged. The kiai has great symbolic capital, which gives him the legitimacy to guide the santri. The santri, on the other hand, acquire cultural capital in the form of religious knowledge and social capital through the boarding school alum network. Interactions in this arena form a distinctive social structure, hierarchical but solid, which enables the formation of the religious habitus of santri (Grenfell, 2012; Swartz, 2013). The pesantren arena thus demonstrates how Bourdieu's theory can be used to analyze the dynamics of Islamic education rooted in local traditions.

However, this discussion also highlights the limitations of pesantren in facing the challenges of modernity. Globalization, individualism, and secularization pose serious challenges to social solidarity. The religious habitus of santri, if not continuously maintained, can be eroded by materialistic values. Therefore, the pesantren needs to strengthen religious habitus and social solidarity through educational innovations rooted in the Qur'an and Hadith. Feener (2013) asserts that Islamic education in Southeast Asia has a high adaptive capacity to modernization, so that pesantren have a great opportunity to maintain their relevance. Furthermore, this study is literature-based and does not involve empirical field data. This is a methodological limitation that may affect the validity of inferences in real-world practice, even though the resulting theoretical synthesis provides a deep conceptual framework.

Within the epistemological framework of Islamic education, the integration of Bourdieu's theory, Ibn Khaldun's concepts, and Qur'an-Hadith values aims to develop a new interdisciplinary paradigm. This paradigm not only explains social phenomena but also provides normative direction for Islamic education. For example, the religious habitus of santri can be seen as a form of integration between social structures and normative religious values. In contrast, the social solidarity of santri is a practical manifestation of the Qur'an and Hadith teachings on ukhuwah and ta'awun. Thus, this study contributes to enriching the epistemology of Islamic education through an interdisciplinary approach that combines Western theory, classical Islamic thought, and normative religious sources.

In practical terms, the success of Islamic boarding schools in shaping religious students and fostering strong social solidarity depends heavily on the consistency of their practices and the exemplary behavior of the kiai. The symbolic capital of the kiai, as explained by Bourdieu (1990), plays an important role in the process of internalizing values. Therefore, the role of the kiai is not only that of a teacher but also that of a role model who influences students' habitus. Similarly, the social solidarity of students is not only built through formal activities, but also through informal interactions such as cooperation, discussions, and togetherness in everyday life. This shows that education in Islamic boarding schools is holistic, covering cognitive, affective, and psychomotor aspects.

In a global context, this discussion has broader relevance. Pesantren can be used as a model of education that emphasizes a balance between the formation of religious individuals and social cohesion. Amidst the crisis of identity and individualism that plagues modern society, pesantren offer an alternative in the form of education rooted in religious values and social solidarity. This is in line with Esposito's (2018) view that Islamic education has a strategic role in maintaining the identity of Muslims while facing the challenges of globalization.

From an academic perspective, this study shows that the study of Islamic education can be enriched by drawing on Western sociological theories, such as Bourdieu's, as long as it is done with a critical and integrative approach. This shows that Western social sciences and classical Islamic thought are not two separate entities but can complement each other in understanding educational phenomena. Thus, this discussion emphasizes the importance of an interdisciplinary approach in the development of Islamic education studies.

Overall, this discussion shows that the religious habitus and social solidarity of santri are two interrelated and inseparable dimensions. Both are formed through interactions between the pesantren structure, Qur'an-Hadith values, and the daily practices of santri. Religious habitus ensures the internalization of values at the individual level, while social solidarity preserves them at the community level. By integrating Bourdieu's theory, Ibn Khaldun's concept, and normative religious sources, this study provides a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of Islamic education in pesantren, while clearly emphasizing the theoretical and practical contributions and limitations of the study.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that religious habitus and santri social solidarity are central to understanding Pesantren within the sociology of Islamic education, with Ibn Khaldun's thought providing a foundational analytical lens. Religious habitus is formed through institutionalized daily practices such as congregational prayers, classical Islamic studies, khidmah to the kiai, and structured communal interactions which internalize Islamic values across cognitive, affective, and behavioral dimensions. Simultaneously, social solidarity operates as a form of collective moral consciousness that sustains group cohesion and reinforces Pesantren's broader socio-religious networks. The integration of habitus and solidarity reveals a mutually reinforcing dynamic: religious dispositions provide internal moral orientation, while solidarity ensures communal continuity and resilience amid modern transformations. In practice, these findings imply the need for structured initiatives, such as cross-level mentoring, collective khidmah programs, and deliberative forums, to strengthen communal bonds. Theoretically, this study contributes an integrative Habitus–'Ashabiyyah framework that synthesizes modern social theory and Islamic intellectual tradition. As a conceptual and library-based inquiry, it invites future empirical research to test and refine this model across diverse Pesantren contexts. Ultimately, religious habitus and social solidarity should be viewed not merely as analytical constructs but as strategic foundations for sustaining Pesantren as an integrative and socially resilient model of Islamic education.

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