

THE VALUES OF LOCAL WISDOM IN ISLAMIC EDUCATION AT PESANTREN TEBUIRENG

A Philosophical Study on The Role of Pesantren in Building Social Harmony

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Abstract: *This article examines the integration of local wisdom values in Islamic education at Pesantren Tebuireng as an effort to build social harmony, using Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Cultural Socialization as an analytical framework. Bourdieu emphasizes that educational institutions, such as pesantren, play a crucial role in the reproduction and preservation of culture through habitus, which refers to patterns of thinking, acting, and feeling shaped by the social environment. This study explores how Pesantren Tebuireng implements local values such as tolerance, mutual cooperation, and respect for cultural diversity in its educational process, and how these values are reproduced and preserved in the daily lives of the students. The philosophy of education at Pesantren Tebuireng, influenced by the thoughts of Hadratussyaikh KH Hasyim Asy'ari, plays a key role in shaping the habitus of students, enabling them to accommodate differences, maintain interfaith harmony, and contribute to social harmony. The results of this study show that education based on local wisdom at Pesantren Tebuireng not only strengthens the cultural and religious identity of the students but also contributes to creating a more tolerant and harmonious society amidst diversity.*

Keywords: *Local wisdom, Pesantren Tebuireng, habitus, Pierre Bourdieu, social harmony, tolerance, Islamic education.*

INTRODUCTION

Islamic education in Indonesia, particularly through pesantren institutions, plays a crucial role in shaping the character and identity of the younger generation, with a focus on religious teaching and the preservation of local values.¹ Pesantren, as a traditional educational institution, functions as a center for in-depth religious learning while also serving as a guardian of local wisdom, making a significant contribution to the development of individuals with social and cultural awareness.² Pesantren Tebuireng, one

¹ Muhaemin Muhaemin and Yunus Yunus, "Pengamalan Nilai Moderasi Beragama Berbasis Kearifan Lokal Di Lingkungan Pesantren," *Jurnal Konsepsi* 12, no. 2 (2023): 13–27.

² Ayub Mursalin and Ibnu Katsir, "Pola Pendidikan Keagamaan Pesantren Dan Radikalisme: Studi Kasus Pesantren-Pesantren Di Provinsi Jambi," *Kontekstualita: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 25, no. 2 (2010): 37096.



of the oldest and most influential pesantrens, serves as an example of how the integration of Islamic teachings with local traditions can be effectively implemented in the education system. This pesantren not only educates students in comprehensive religious knowledge but also develops their ability to adapt and contribute to a multicultural and tolerant society.³ The educational system developed at Tebuireng teaches students to appreciate diversity and create social harmony amidst differences, which is a key value in community life in Indonesia.⁴ Thus, pesantren plays a strategic role not only in teaching religious teachings but also in shaping the character of the younger generation with integrity, tolerance, and a high sense of social awareness.

Pesantren Tebuireng implements a unique educational system by combining Islamic theological teachings with local wisdom, making it an educational model that not only focuses on religious instruction but also on the development of social and cultural values relevant to Indonesian society.⁵ The curriculum of this pesantren emphasizes the importance of mutual cooperation (*gotong royong*), respect for traditions, and tolerance as integral parts of community life.⁶ With this approach, students are educated to deeply understand religious teachings while developing the ability to interact in a pluralistic and multicultural environment. In addition to studying religious texts, they are also taught to appreciate and preserve local traditions, enabling them to grow into individuals who can lead and contribute positively within a diverse society.⁷ Values such as *gotong royong*, which reflect the spirit of cooperation and togetherness, as well as respect for local customs, are taught alongside theological principles, creating harmony between religious and cultural identity. This system makes Pesantren Tebuireng a successful educational institution in preparing young generations who are not only religious but also tolerant and able to appreciate diversity.

This educational approach is highly relevant in addressing the challenges of globalization and modernization, which often pose threats to cultural and religious diversity. Pesantren, as a religious-based educational institution, has great potential in fostering social harmony by instilling important values such as tolerance and cooperation among students. Through holistic education, pesantren can create a younger generation that is well-prepared to face the challenges of modernization without losing their identity as Muslims who appreciate cultural diversity. In this context, the role of Pesantren Tebuireng is highly significant in preserving cultural and religious diversity in Indonesia.

³ M Munawara, A Rahmanto, and I A Satyawan, “Pemanfaatan Media Digital Untuk Dakwah Pesantren Tebuireng: Studi Pada Akun Media Sosial Tebuireng. Online. KOMUNIKA: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Komunikasi, 14 (1), 29–45,” DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24090/komunika.v14i1.3226> (2020).

⁴ Asep Abbas Abdullah, Abdul Muhid, and Winarto Eka Wahyudi, “Humor in Da’wah: Socio-Linguistic Analytic of Kyai Ishaq Latif Da’wah from Pesantren Tebuireng Jombang,” *Ilmu Dakwah: Academic Journal for Homiletic Studies* 14, no. 2 (2020): 211–30.

⁵ Moch Lukluil Maknun, Muhammad Aji Nugroho, and Yuyun Libriyanti, “Kontribusi Ulama Nusantara Terhadap Keilmuan Islam Di Indonesia; Studi Kasus Inventarisasi Manuskrip Ponpes Tremas Dan Tebuireng,” *Muslim Heritage* 7, no. 1 (2022): 111–40.

⁶ Moch. Khoirul Walid, “INTEGRALISTIK-INTERKONEKTIF PENDIDIKAN SALAF DAN KHALAF PONDOK PESANTREN TEBUIRENG JOMBANG,” *Rabbani: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam* 2, no. 2 (September 30, 2021): 81–95, <https://doi.org/10.19105/rjpai.v2i2.4645>.

⁷ Salahuddin Wahid, *Transformasi Pesantren Tebuireng: Menjaga Tradisi Di Tengah Tantangan* (UIN-Maliki Press, 2011).



The education applied in this pesantren not only focuses on understanding Islamic teachings but also serves as a means to strengthen social cohesion in a multicultural society.⁸ Pesantren Tebuireng teaches the importance of harmony and tolerance amidst Indonesia's plurality. Through a curriculum integrated with local wisdom values, this pesantren successfully creates social agents who not only have a deep understanding of religion but also serve as guardians of social harmony in a diverse society.

Pierre Bourdieu, with his concept of *habitus*, offers a relevant theoretical framework for analyzing the role of educational institutions in cultural reproduction, particularly in the context of pesantren. *Habitus*, as a set of dispositions shaped by social environments, helps explain how local values and Islamic education at Pesantren Tebuireng mutually reinforce one another. Pesantren Tebuireng, with its rich cultural background, integrates values such as *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation), respect for tradition, and tolerance into Islamic education, creating a harmonious blend between religious teachings and local wisdom.⁹ This process allows for the formation of a *habitus* that simultaneously reflects religious and local cultural norms. These values are reproduced in the daily lives of the students through the habits and practices taught at the pesantren. In Bourdieu's theoretical framework, the *habitus* formed at the pesantren not only embodies religious teachings but also encompasses strong cultural values. This enables students to internalize local wisdom and reproduce it in their lives after graduating from the pesantren. Thus, the pesantren functions not only as a place of religious learning but also as an agent of cultural preservation, where education and socialization occur simultaneously. Pesantren Tebuireng becomes an institution that not only produces devout individuals but also active social agents who contribute to preserving culture and maintaining diversity within their communities.

This research holds significant relevance, considering the strategic role of pesantren as an educational institution capable of influencing the formation of the *habitus* and worldview of the younger generation. As a center for cultural socialization and religious education, pesantren has great potential to integrate local wisdom with Islamic education, which directly impacts social cohesion in a multicultural society like Indonesia.¹⁰ Using Bourdieu's theoretical approach, particularly the concepts of *habitus* and cultural capital, this research aims to identify the internal mechanisms within pesantren that reproduce and transmit local values. A deeper understanding of this process will provide substantive contributions to the development of a more contextual and socially relevant pesantren curriculum, aligned with local socio-cultural dynamics. This research is expected to enrich the theoretical discourse in Islamic education and the sociology of education, particularly regarding the role of educational institutions as agents of tradition preservation in

⁸ Nur Kholidah Jauharoh and Siti Rofi'ah, "Internalisasi Nilai Moderasi Islam Dalam Membentuk Moral Santri Milenial (Studi Kasus Di Pondok Pesantren Tebuireng Diwuk Jombang)," *MUNAQASYAH: Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan Dan Pembelajaran* 2, no. 2 (2020): 182–95.

⁹ M A Rosyidin, "The Absorption of Islamic Education Thought of KH. M. Hasyim Asy'ari through Teaching of Adab Al-'Alim Wa Al-Muta'Allim among the Santri at the Pesantren Tebuireng," *Millah: Journal of Religious Studies* 22, no. 2 (2023): 611–40, <https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol22.iss2.art12>.

¹⁰ Syarifatul Marwiyah, "Pengembangan Budaya Pesantren Berbasis Kearifan Lokal Di Pondok Pesantren Putri Salafiyah Bangil Dan Pondok Pesantren Ali Ba' Alawi Kencong Jember," *Edukasi Islami: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 10, no. 02 (2021).



multicultural societies. Additionally, the findings of this research may have implications for the formulation of more adaptive educational policies, oriented towards strengthening the character and cultural identity of students.

This research aims to explore how Pesantren Tebuireng implements local values such as tolerance, cooperation, and respect for cultural diversity in its educational process. The educational philosophy developed by the founder of Pesantren Tebuireng, Hadratussyaikh KH Hasyim Asy'ari, plays a crucial role in shaping the mindset and habitus of the students.¹¹ This philosophy emphasizes the importance of respecting differences and encourages students to actively contribute to creating a tolerant and inclusive society. Through pesantren-based education, students are equipped with the ability to coexist harmoniously with the diverse differences found in society. The habitus formed through this educational process enables students to not only become preservers of religious teachings but also social agents of harmony, capable of maintaining cohesion in a multicultural society. Thus, pesantren plays a crucial role in building an inclusive and tolerant community, where religious and cultural differences are valued and preserved.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural socialization highlights how individuals in society internalize values, norms, and social practices through institutions such as education.¹² One of the main concepts in his theory is habitus, which refers to a set of tendencies and dispositions shaped by an individual's social experiences, particularly from an early age. This habitus includes perceptions, actions, and preferences that are influenced by the social environment, indirectly shaping the way individuals think and act.¹³ In the context of education, Bourdieu views educational institutions as playing a key role in reproducing social and cultural values, meaning that education not only serves as a means of transferring knowledge but also acts as a tool for preserving existing social structures.¹⁴ This is highly relevant in analyzing the role of pesantren as an educational institution that also preserves local wisdom values.

Pesantren, as one of the Islamic educational institutions, not only focuses on religious teachings but also serves as a medium for preserving local culture. In pesantren, values such as *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation), respect for tradition, and tolerance are internalized by students through daily interactions with teachers and the pesantren environment. This educational process creates a *habitus* that aligns religious values with

¹¹ Muhammad Zaim, “PEMIKIRAN PENDIDIKAN KH. HASYIM ASY’ARI (Studi Kompetensi Kepribadian Guru Dalam Kitab Adab Al-‘Alim Wa Al-Muta’Allim): PEMIKIRAN PENDIDIKAN KH. HASYIM ASY’ARI (Studi Kompetensi Kepribadian Guru Dalam Kitab Adab Al-‘Alim Wa Al-Muta’Allim),” *Muróbbi: Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan* 4, no. 2 (2020): 151–70.

¹² Sarip Hidayat, “Teori Sosial Pierre Bourdieu Dan Sumbangannya Terhadap Penelitian Sastra (Pierre Bourdieu’s Social Theory and Its Contribution toward Literary Research),” *METASASTRA: Jurnal Penelitian Sastra* 3, no. 1 (2017): 43–52.

¹³ Cahyaningrum Dewojati and Nadhilah Nurtalia, “Konsep Habitus Bourdieu Dan Dinamika Masyarakat Tionghoa Dalam Pendidikan Jang Kliroe Dan Korban Dari Peroentoengan,” *Arif: Jurnal Sastra Dan Kearifan Lokal* 3, no. 1 (2023): 1–23.

¹⁴ Katni Katni, “Jilbab Dalam Al-Qur’an Dan Al-Hadits Serta Aplikasinya Pada Pendidikan Islam Perspektif Teori Habitus Pierre Bourdieu,” *AL-ASASIYYA: Journal Of Basic Education* 1, no. 1 (2017).



local wisdom, enabling graduates of the pesantren to continue their role as guardians of tradition and agents of social harmony in a multicultural society.

Bourdieu's theory emphasizes the importance of educational institutions in maintaining social stratification. Education not only reflects individual adaptation to dominant values but also functions to reproduce social power through cultural legitimacy accepted by all layers of society. Those who have greater access to cultural capital—such as skills or intellectual values recognized by institutions—are positioned higher in the social hierarchy. In this context, pesantren also plays a role in teaching and reproducing values that are relevant to the local social environment, strengthening social cohesion through education that integrates religious teachings and local wisdom.

Within Bourdieu's framework of cultural socialization theory, pesantren functions as an agent for the preservation of local values by shaping the *habitus* of students in alignment with local norms and culture. Students internalize these values through the curriculum and daily practices, such as mutual cooperation, tolerance, and respect for diversity.¹⁵ Pesantren serves as a place where students not only learn religious teachings but also undergo cultural socialization that teaches them how to live harmoniously in a plural society. Thus, the *habitus* formed in pesantren prepares students to adapt to social changes while maintaining their local identity. The concept of *habitus* in Islamic education explains how students' mental and behavioral dispositions are shaped through social experiences in the pesantren. The learning process at pesantren focuses not only on theological aspects but also on shaping the character and social attitudes of students. Interaction with the *kiai* and fellow students, along with daily life enriched with local values, creates habits that reflect local social and cultural norms. Students formed by this *habitus* carry these values into their lives after graduation, making them agents of continuity for local cultural identity.¹⁶

At Pesantren Tebuireng, the thoughts of Hadratussyaiikh KH Hasyim Asy'ari serve as a crucial foundation in shaping the *habitus* of students. The education system emphasizes the importance of ethics, morality, and social harmony, guiding students to internalize these values as part of their character formation.¹⁷ This philosophy instills dispositions that encourage students to appreciate differences and promote tolerance in society. These values are integrated into the curriculum, which combines religious teachings with local traditions, forming a *habitus* that positions students as agents of social harmony capable of contributing to the creation of an inclusive and peaceful society. In this research, the concept of *habitus* is used to understand how local values are reproduced in the pesantren. The pesantren not only transfers religious knowledge but also plays a role in shaping individuals who can maintain the continuity of local values amid social change. This process demonstrates how education rooted in local wisdom creates

¹⁵ Gede Agus Siswadi, "Reproduksi Kekuasaan Melalui Kekerasan Simbolik Dalam Sistem Pendidikan: Analisis Kritis Pemikiran Pierre Bourdieu," *Widya Aksara: Jurnal Agama Hindu* 29, no. 1 (2024): 21–31.

¹⁶ Muh Asroruddin al Jumhuri, "Peran Pondok Pesantren Dalam Mengembangkan Karakter Disiplin Santri (Studi Kasus Di Pondok Pesantren Nurul Haramain Putri NW Narmada)," *Al-Amin Journal: Educational and Social Studies* 4, no. 01 (2019): 34–58.

¹⁷ Muhammad Ramdoni, Agus Suryana, and Ernawati Ernawati, "Konsep Pemikiran Pendidikan Islam Dan Sistem Pendidikan Islam Menurut Hadratussyaiikh KH M Hasyim Asy'ari," *Transformasi Manageria: Journal of Islamic Education Management* 1, no. 1 (2021): 54–76.



students with a strong cultural identity, while also strengthening social cohesion in the community. Through the internalization of local values in both formal and informal education, the pesantren serves as a key agent in preserving local cultural stability.¹⁸

The integration of Bourdieu's theory of cultural socialization and the concept of *habitus* offers a rich analytical framework for understanding how pesantren, such as Pesantren Tebuireng, reproduces and preserves local wisdom values. Pesantren not only serves as a place of religious education but also acts as a social agent that shapes the *habitus* of students through holistic education. By internalizing local cultural values, students are equipped to face the challenges of modernization without losing their identity. Thus, pesantren plays a crucial role in maintaining the continuity of local values and creating individuals who can live harmoniously in an increasingly plural society.

In this research, Bourdieu's theory of cultural socialization and the concept of *habitus* provide deep insights into how pesantren contributes to the character formation of students. Pesantren not only reproduces religious values but also preserves local wisdom through integrative education. The findings of this study can contribute to the development of a curriculum that is more relevant to contemporary social challenges and offer practical insights into shaping individuals with a balanced religious and cultural identity.

CONTEXT OF PESANTREN TEBUIRENG

To fully understand how Pesantren Tebuireng integrates local wisdom values into Islamic education, it is essential to review its historical background and strategic role. This pesantren was founded by Hadratussyaikh KH Hasyim Asy'ari in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Since its establishment, Pesantren Tebuireng has played a key role in both religious education and the preservation of local values, acting as a bridge between Islamic teachings and the cultural wisdom of the community.¹⁹ From the beginning, Pesantren Tebuireng has functioned not only as a religious educational institution but also as an intellectual center that integrates Islamic values with Javanese local traditions. The educational philosophy developed by KH Hasyim Asy'ari focuses on the principles of moderation (*wasatiyyah*), tolerance, and respect for local traditions. This makes Pesantren Tebuireng a space where students can build an identity that is both deeply religious and harmoniously aligned with local culture.²⁰ In its curriculum, Pesantren Tebuireng emphasizes the teaching of kitab kuning (classical Islamic texts), adab (manners), and social practices that reflect Javanese values. This shapes the students' *habitus*, integrating religious and cultural values. KH Hasyim Asy'ari's thought places great importance on contextual and relevant education, enabling students to adapt to changing times while maintaining their cultural and religious identity. Thus, Pesantren Tebuireng

¹⁸ Ali Rif'an, "Nilai Multikultural Berbasis Kearifan Lokal Di Pesantren Kulon Banon-Kajen," *TA'LIMUNA: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 9, no. 2 (2020): 170–82.

¹⁹ Angga Fery, "Perkembangan Pondok Pesantren Tebuireng Jombang 1929-1945" (UNIVERSITAS AIRLANGGA, 2012).

²⁰ Jauharoh and Rofi'ah, "Internalisasi Nilai Moderasi Islam Dalam Membentuk Moral Santri Milenial (Studi Kasus Di Pondok Pesantren Tebuireng Diwrek Jombang)."



functions not only as a religious educational institution but also as an agent of local cultural preservation and social stability.

Pesantren Tebuireng, one of the oldest and most influential pesantrens in Indonesia, was founded in 1899 by KH Hasyim Asy'ari, who also established Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia. This pesantren has played a key role in shaping both religious education and the socio-cultural landscape of Indonesia.²¹ Pesantren Tebuireng has become a prominent center of Islamic education in Indonesia, teaching moderate, inclusive, and contextual values. From its early days, Pesantren Tebuireng focused on religious education while integrating local wisdom into its learning process. Students are taught not only to understand Islamic teachings but also to appreciate local traditions and culture. During the independence era, Pesantren Tebuireng played a significant role in Indonesia's nationalist struggle. KH Hasyim Asy'ari, through his leadership in Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and his contribution to the Resolusi Jihad, positioned the pesantren as an intellectual hub that supported the nation's fight for independence.²²

Pesantren Tebuireng also instills national values in its students, preparing them to engage in social and political struggles. Over time, Tebuireng has consistently adapted to social changes while upholding its core principles of moderation, tolerance, and the preservation of local culture. These values continue to guide the pesantren in preparing students to contribute meaningfully to society.

1. Pesantren Tebuireng plays a significant role in Islamic education in Indonesia, with several key functions:
2. Formal and Non-Formal Education: Pesantren Tebuireng offers formal education through madrasah and religious study programs, while also providing non-formal education, including extracurricular activities and character development programs.
3. Preservation of Local Culture: By integrating local values into its curriculum, the pesantren actively preserves cultural traditions and teaches students the importance of respecting cultural diversity.
4. Character and Identity Formation: Pesantren Tebuireng focuses on shaping students with noble character, tolerance, and a positive contribution to society. This is achieved through a holistic and humanistic approach to education.
5. Contribution to Social Harmony: The pesantren emphasizes values of tolerance and cooperation, helping foster a harmonious society that embraces cultural and religious differences.²³

²¹ Fauzul Azmi and Siti Ardiandi, "Kisah Keteladanan KH. Hasyim Asy'ari," *LECTURES: Journal of Islamic and Education Studies* 2, no. 2 (2023): 111–17.

²² Syamzan Syukur et al., "Measuring the Role of Kiai and Santri in Creating the Spirit of Nationalism (Historical Approach in Reconstructing the Meaning of Jihad Resolution)," *Journal of Ecohumanism* 4, no. 1 (2025): 134–49.

²³ Abdul Hakim, "Interview" (Jombang, July 12, 2023).



The educational philosophy at Pesantren Tebuireng is profoundly influenced by the thoughts of KH Hasyim Asy'ari, who emphasized the balance between religious knowledge and worldly knowledge. He also stressed the importance of character and ethical formation as foundational elements in life. KH Hasyim Asy'ari believed that education should not only provide deep religious understanding but also equip students with practical skills that are beneficial to society.

Pesantren Tebuireng places moderation (*wasatiyyah*) at the heart of its educational philosophy, emphasizing tolerance, openness to modern knowledge, and respect for social and cultural diversity. This value of moderation is reflected in the curriculum, which integrates deep Islamic teachings with a respect for pluralism in culture and belief. The pesantren stresses that education is not solely about academic achievement but also about moral development, with a strong emphasis on ethics as the essence of learning. Students are not only taught religious and modern knowledge, but are also nurtured to develop discipline, social responsibility, and tolerance.

Pesantren Tebuireng successfully balances intellectual and moral aspects, producing graduates who are both knowledgeable and of noble character, capable of contributing positively to a diverse society.

1. The key aspects of the educational philosophy at Pesantren Tebuireng include:
2. Holistic Education: The pesantren integrates religious knowledge with the personal, moral, and social development of its students.
3. Emphasis on Morality and Ethics: A strong focus is placed on internalizing moral values in everyday life.
4. Independence and Leadership: Students are encouraged to become independent individuals and develop leadership qualities.
5. Harmony between Tradition and Modernity: The pesantren aims to merge local traditions with modern knowledge, ensuring that students can adapt to change while maintaining their identity.²⁴

The thoughts of KH Hasyim Asy'ari have profoundly shaped the educational philosophy at Pesantren Tebuireng, with several key influences:

1. Moderation in Religion: KH Hasyim Asy'ari emphasized the importance of moderation in practicing religion, a principle reflected in Tebuireng's educational approach.
2. Importance of Knowledge and Morality: His philosophy stresses that knowledge without morality is useless, a concept deeply implemented in the pesantren's education.
3. Openness to New Knowledge: KH Hasyim Asy'ari's openness to modern knowledge encourages the pesantren to integrate contemporary knowledge into its curriculum.

²⁴ Muhamad As'ad, "Interview" (Jombang, July 10, 2023).

4. Preservation of Local Culture: He acknowledged the significance of local culture as part of Islamic identity, which is actively preserved at the pesantren.²⁵

This educational philosophy allows Pesantren Tebuireng to create a balanced environment between tradition and modernity, and between religious and worldly knowledge, shaping a generation of intellectually capable students who can adapt to the dynamics of the times. With its long history and strategic role in Islamic education, Pesantren Tebuireng serves as a relevant educational model for Indonesia. By integrating moderate Islamic values with local wisdom, the pesantren plays a key role in preserving tradition while preparing students for social change. Influenced by the thoughts of KH Hasyim Asy'ari, the pesantren successfully creates harmony between religion and culture, becoming an agent for the preservation of local culture.

INTEGRATION OF LOCAL WISDOM VALUES IN PESANTREN TEBUIRENG'S CURRICULUM

Pesantren Tebuireng is known as an Islamic educational institution that has successfully integrated local wisdom values into its curriculum, making it a model of holistic education. In addition to providing deep religious instruction, this pesantren instills values such as tolerance, mutual cooperation, and respect for cultural diversity. These values are implemented through various educational methods and programs designed to shape the character of the students. These programs include social activities, group discussions, and daily ethical teachings, which not only reflect inclusive Islamic teachings but also align with local culture. Pesantren Tebuireng produces graduates who are not only strong in religious knowledge but also possess social skills and a deep cultural awareness, enabling them to contribute positively to a pluralistic society.

The educational approach at Pesantren Tebuireng creates a harmony between religious teachings and cultural values, positioning it as an agent of local cultural preservation in line with the spirit of moderate and progressive Islam. Through the educational methods it employs, the pesantren successfully shapes students who are prepared to face global challenges without losing their local identity. In applying the values of tolerance, Pesantren Tebuireng uses an inclusive and moderate approach to religious teaching. The curriculum not only covers theological aspects but also emphasizes the importance of peaceful coexistence with various religious and cultural groups. Students are taught religious concepts that stress justice, humanity, and harmony, and they are encouraged to understand that differences are not a source of conflict but a form of richness to be respected.

Additionally, Pesantren Tebuireng regularly organizes interfaith activities, such as dialogues between different religions and visits to places of worship. These activities are designed to broaden the students' understanding of religious diversity and to strengthen mutual respect. Through these interfaith dialogues, students have the opportunity to engage directly with followers of other religions, understand their viewpoints, and discover common ground in shared human values. This approach ensures that Pesantren

²⁵ Lukman Hakim, "Interview" (Jombang, August 12, 2023).



Tebuireng not only educates its students in religious knowledge but also helps shape them into open-minded and tolerant individuals.

Reciprocal cooperation is a key aspect instilled at Pesantren Tebuireng. Through cooperative learning methods, students are encouraged to work in groups to complete tasks or projects together. This approach enhances both academic understanding and fosters a sense of responsibility and teamwork among the students. Team-based extracurricular activities such as debates, sports, and arts further reinforce the values of reciprocal cooperation. Students learn to value each team member's contributions and collaborate to achieve common goals, strengthening not only their technical and intellectual skills but also their social bonds and cooperation.

Respect for cultural diversity is a key element in the education at Pesantren Tebuireng. The pesantren actively integrates local wisdom into its curriculum, including subjects on local culture, regional history, and community traditions. Students are taught to understand the importance of their regional traditions and history, while also learning to appreciate the cultural diversity around them. Through cultural festivals, art exhibitions, and traditional music performances, students gain practical experience in expressing and learning about local culture. Moreover, cultural exchange programs and study visits with other pesantrens or educational institutions further enrich students' understanding of Indonesia's cultural pluralism.

Teaching local languages is also part of Pesantren Tebuireng's efforts to preserve cultural diversity. By incorporating local language instruction, the pesantren strengthens the students' identity as members of a pluralistic society, while also helping to preserve cultural heritage that is often at risk of being lost. Through learning these languages, students not only acquire verbal communication skills but also gain insights into the values, customs, and philosophies embedded within the language. This approach deepens their connection to the local community and fosters a greater understanding and respect for cultural diversity.

The multicultural environment at Pesantren Tebuireng provides valuable opportunities for students to interact with individuals from diverse cultural backgrounds. Daily interactions help students learn important values such as tolerance, mutual respect, and harmonious coexistence within diversity. Pesantren Tebuireng fosters a strong community where the values of tolerance, cooperation, and respect for cultural diversity are firmly upheld. Students are encouraged to internalize and apply these values in their daily lives, both in academic settings and social activities.

Pesantren Tebuireng also provides students with leadership opportunities in various activities. Those in leadership roles learn to apply principles of inclusivity and collaboration, encouraging them to listen to diverse perspectives, value differences, and promote active participation from all team members. These leadership experiences help internalize the values of cooperation and respect for diversity. With its holistic approach, Pesantren Tebuireng not only educates students with broad knowledge but also develops strong character for maintaining social harmony. By integrating local values such as tolerance, reciprocal cooperation, and respect for cultural diversity, the pesantren shapes students who are firmly rooted in their religious and cultural identities and capable of contributing to a harmonious and inclusive society.



REPRODUCTION AND PRESERVATION OF LOCAL WISDOM VALUES THROUGH THE FORMATION OF STUDENTS' HABITUS

In the framework of Pierre Bourdieu's Cultural Socialization Theory, the concept of habitus plays an important role in understanding how local values such as tolerance, cooperation, and respect for cultural diversity are internalized and applied by students at Pesantren Tebuireng. Habitus, as a dispositional structure formed through social and cultural experiences, guides individual actions and thoughts. At Pesantren Tebuireng, these local values are not only taught through the formal curriculum but also reproduced and preserved in the daily lives of the students through social practices, dormitory life, and extracurricular activities. This socialization process continuously shapes the students' habitus, making cooperation, mutual respect, and tolerance for differences part of their daily actions. In various situations, students practice these values in leadership, decision-making, and conflict resolution. Through this process, local values become not just abstract norms but deeply internalized in the students' mindset and behavior, shaping how they act both inside and outside the pesantren as they interact with society. Thus, Pesantren Tebuireng functions not only as a religious educational institution but also as a space for the formation of habitus rooted in local wisdom and appreciation for cultural diversity.

Education at Pesantren Tebuireng includes formal instruction in religious subjects and local wisdom, along with non-formal education provided through extracurricular activities and daily social interactions. This approach allows students to deeply internalize important values such as tolerance, cooperation, and respect for diversity. The consistent learning process ensures that these values are not only taught theoretically but also practiced in everyday life. Through social interactions, students become accustomed to collaborating, supporting one another, and respecting differences, both in academic and non-academic contexts. These values, continuously practiced in the multicultural environment of the pesantren, gradually shape the students' habitus, making tolerance and cooperation natural dispositions in their actions.

Teachers and caregivers at Pesantren Tebuireng play a vital role in instilling local wisdom values in students by modeling these values in their daily behavior. The consistent demonstration of tolerance, cooperation, and respect by educators provides tangible examples for students to follow. Through direct interactions, teachers not only provide theoretical teachings but also show how to apply these values in real-life situations, both in interpersonal relationships and in problem-solving. This helps students grasp the significance of these values in fostering social harmony and leading an inclusive life. By emulating their teachers, students learn to practice tolerance, cooperation, and respect for differences, both within the pesantren and when they re-enter society.

The harmonious and supportive social environment at Pesantren Tebuireng plays a key role in shaping students' habitus in line with local values. Students live and learn in a community that emphasizes cooperation, solidarity, and respect for differences. These values are internalized through daily practices, as students actively interact in an environment that promotes openness, tolerance, and teamwork. Through these interactions, students not only grasp these values intellectually but also put them into



practice in their behavior and decision-making. This process forms a habitus centered on reciprocal cooperation, respect for diversity, and an inclusive attitude as core dispositions in navigating social life.

Daily activities at Pesantren Tebuireng, such as congregational prayers and group discussions, are intentionally designed to emphasize tolerance and mutual respect. In religious discussions, for example, students are encouraged to listen to and understand a variety of perspectives, both in religious interpretations and social views, fostering a tolerant habitus. This practice not only enhances their understanding of different viewpoints but also teaches them how to interact harmoniously amidst differences. Through these experiences, tolerance becomes more than just a concept—it is embedded in their daily actions and becomes part of their habitual behavior.

Collective activities such as communal work and social projects at Pesantren Tebuireng instill reciprocal cooperation among students. Through these activities, students learn to help one another and work together toward shared goals, which strengthens social bonds and shapes a habitus of collaboration. Students are encouraged to collaborate in completing tasks, sharing responsibilities, and respecting each team member's role. These activities enhance their social skills and prepare them for active participation in broader society with a cooperative spirit. Additionally, students are taught to respect cultural diversity through programs like cultural exchanges with other pesantrens and participation in local cultural events. These experiences help them appreciate and celebrate cultural differences as a source of social richness. The activities foster inclusiveness and tolerance, forming a habitus that values diversity. Participation in cross-cultural activities broadens their understanding of pluralism and strengthens their ability to live harmoniously in a culturally diverse world.

The traditions and rituals at Pesantren Tebuireng, such as the celebration of Islamic holidays and local customs, play a vital role in shaping the cultural identity of the students. Through active participation in these traditions, students form a deeper connection to their cultural heritage. These traditions not only preserve local values but also strengthen the sense of community and collective identity among the students. As a result, students learn to celebrate their identity as part of the pesantren community while ensuring that these values are carried into their daily lives beyond the pesantren. Opportunities for students to take on leadership roles are an essential part of habitus formation at Pesantren Tebuireng. In these roles, students learn to apply values such as cooperation, respect, and responsibility while leading and managing groups. These leadership experiences reinforce a positive habitus that embodies local wisdom values like *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation), tolerance, and appreciation for differences. Through this, students not only sharpen their managerial skills but also internalize social ethics that promote community harmony.

Through formal education, non-formal activities, and leadership experiences, the local wisdom values at Pesantren Tebuireng are not only learned theoretically but also practiced in daily life. The habitus formed through this process ensures that the values of tolerance, cooperation, and respect for cultural diversity become an integral part of the students' identity. Pesantren Tebuireng successfully shapes young generations who not



only possess deep religious knowledge but also harmonious character, ready to contribute to maintaining social harmony amidst diversity.

THE IMPACT OF LOCAL WISDOM EDUCATION ON SOCIAL HARMONY

The integration of local wisdom values into Islamic education at Pesantren Tebuireng has a significant impact on shaping the cultural and religious identity of the students, as well as their contribution to creating a more tolerant and harmonious society. This integration strengthens two key aspects: the reinforcement of students' identity and their contribution to the community. The local values internalized by the students through their education at the pesantren foster a deep awareness of the importance of tolerance, cooperation, and respect for diversity, all of which serve to build social harmony.

First, the integration of local wisdom into education at Pesantren Tebuireng directly strengthens the cultural and religious identity of the students. They are shaped through a combination of deep religious education and the preservation of local values. This process not only provides a profound understanding of Islamic teachings but also instills a sense of pride and attachment to local culture. Students learn to express their identity in a balanced way, harmoniously blending religious and cultural aspects. Education that teaches history, traditions, and local values encourages students to appreciate and take pride in their cultural heritage. This sense of pride reinforces their personal identity and motivates them to preserve these values even after they leave the pesantren. With a strong attachment to local culture, students are more likely to become guardians and preservers of traditions passed down from generation to generation.

Religious values are integrated into the local cultural context, helping students see the practical relevance of religious teachings in their everyday lives. The religious values taught at Pesantren Tebuireng become more contextual and relevant, enabling students to authentically internalize these values. With a deep understanding of religion that is relevant to their local environment, the students' religious identity becomes stronger. Moreover, education at Pesantren Tebuireng also focuses on the development of a strong and consistent character. Values such as tolerance, cooperation, and respect for cultural diversity are internalized in the students' daily lives, both through formal education and social interactions. These values are not merely taught as theoretical concepts but are practiced in daily interactions, shaping a character that reflects the integration of local wisdom and religious teachings.

Second, the integration of local wisdom values makes a significant contribution to society, particularly in creating a more tolerant and harmonious environment. The students at Pesantren Tebuireng not only experience personal development but also have a positive impact on the broader community. Through an education that emphasizes tolerance and respect for differences, students grow into individuals who are capable of accepting and appreciating cultural and religious diversity. This is crucial in a multicultural society, where conflicts can arise due to differences in beliefs and cultures. Education based on local wisdom helps reduce potential conflicts by promoting cooperation and harmony. The values instilled in students prepare them to contribute to a peaceful and cohesive society, as they bring with them an understanding and respect for the diversity



that exists in their communities. By embodying these values, they play a role in fostering social cohesion and mitigating tensions that may arise from cultural or religious differences.

Students at Pesantren Tebuireng are also taught to work together in various activities, both within and outside the pesantren. The values of cooperation, instilled through collective activities, strengthen social solidarity within the community. Students learn to support one another and work together towards shared goals, which ultimately fosters a sense of togetherness and social cohesion. This solidarity has a positive impact beyond the pesantren environment, as students carry these values of cooperation into their interactions with the wider society, strengthening harmonious social relationships. Furthermore, students of Pesantren Tebuireng, having internalized local wisdom values, often play an active role in promoting social harmony. They can become agents of positive change, promoting interfaith dialogue and participating in social activities aimed at improving the well-being of the community. The values of tolerance and cooperation they learn encourage them to engage in efforts to create a more inclusive and peaceful society.

With a deep understanding of the importance of tolerance and respect for differences, students play a key role in reducing the potential for social conflict. They often act as mediators in resolving social conflicts or tensions within the community, employing an inclusive approach that values diversity. This role is crucial in creating a peaceful and harmonious environment, where diversity is viewed as an asset that enriches social life. The education at Pesantren Tebuireng also fosters an inclusive and just environment, where every individual is valued regardless of cultural or religious differences. Students are taught to respect everyone based on universal human values, which in turn helps create a fair and equitable society. The local wisdom values integrated into their education form a strong foundation for building a harmonious community, where differences are respected, and justice is upheld. This emphasis on inclusivity and fairness empowers students to contribute to a society where diversity is celebrated, and social harmony is maintained through mutual respect and cooperation.

Empirical studies show that students of Pesantren Tebuireng who have undergone education based on local wisdom demonstrate a high level of tolerance and the ability to adapt in various social situations. Their active participation in interfaith activities and social projects reflects how they are able to contribute to creating a more peaceful and inclusive society. Successful alumni from Pesantren Tebuireng across various fields of life also demonstrate that education, which combines religious values with local cultural wisdom, not only strengthens their personal identity but also prepares them to become leaders capable of making a positive impact on society.

Overall, the integration of local wisdom values into education at Pesantren Tebuireng has a significant impact on strengthening the cultural and religious identity of students, while fostering a more tolerant and harmonious society. This process shapes a habitus that reflects the values of tolerance, reciprocal cooperation, and respect for cultural diversity. Students of Pesantren Tebuireng are not only knowledgeable individuals but also agents of change who are capable of building social harmony amidst diversity. This holistic educational approach serves as an important model for shaping



young generations who are prepared to face social and cultural challenges in the modern era.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The integration of local wisdom values in Islamic education at Pesantren Tebuireng significantly contributes to shaping the cultural and religious identity of its students, as well as their active role in creating a more tolerant and harmonious society. This section aims to analyze in-depth this process using Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Cultural Socialization. Bourdieu's theory, which emphasizes the importance of educational institutions in shaping and reproducing cultural values through habitus, is relevant to understanding how Pesantren Tebuireng functions as an agent of local cultural reproduction. By utilizing this framework, we can assess the extent to which the integration of local wisdom values has successfully achieved educational goals that produce not only knowledgeable individuals but also those with tolerant and harmonious character.

In Bourdieu's theory, educational institutions are seen as the primary agents of cultural socialization, where dominant cultural values are transmitted to younger generations. In the context of Pesantren Tebuireng, the pesantren plays a role that goes beyond just being a religious educational institution. It functions as an institution actively instilling local wisdom values in its students through a comprehensive curriculum. Within the pesantren, values such as tolerance, reciprocal cooperation, and respect for cultural diversity are not only conveyed through formal lessons but also practiced in daily life, shaping the mindset and behavior of students in harmony with local culture. The formation of students' *habitus*, in line with Bourdieu's perspective, occurs through consistent social interactions within the pesantren. The formal and non-formal education processes applied at Pesantren Tebuireng help students form patterns of action and ways of thinking that reflect the integration of religious values and local wisdom. Formal education includes the teaching of religious subjects and materials related to local culture, while non-formal education involves extracurricular activities, group work, and daily social interactions that reinforce the embedding of these values. Through these activities, the students' *habitus* is organically formed, allowing them to internalize these values deeply.

In Bourdieu's theory, cultural capital is one of the important aspects individuals possess as a result of the education and knowledge they acquire. Pesantren Tebuireng, through its integrated curriculum, enhances the cultural capital of students by providing a deep understanding of religion and an appreciation for local cultural values. The social interactions that take place in the pesantren also strengthen the students' social capital, which refers to the social networks that enable them to interact with the wider community while maintaining values of tolerance and cooperation. These values are reinforced through collective activities such as discussions, group projects, and other social engagements, where students learn to collaborate and respect differences.



Pesantren Tebuireng not only reproduces existing local cultural values but also adapts them to the continuously evolving social challenges. This adaptive process allows students to maintain their cultural identity while adjusting to the dynamics of modernization and globalization. Thus, students are trained to respect local values while remaining open to changes in the times. This aligns with Bourdieu's theory of the flexibility of *habitus*, where individuals are capable of adapting to new social contexts without losing the essence of their cultural identity. The effectiveness of integrating local wisdom values in education at Pesantren Tebuireng can be observed through several indicators. First, the strengthening of students' cultural and religious identity is one of the primary impacts of this integration. Research indicates that students of Pesantren Tebuireng possess a strong identity, both in religious and cultural aspects. They take pride in their local cultural heritage and are able to internalize religious values within a culturally relevant context. This strengthens the students' personalities, enabling them to express their religious and cultural identity in a balanced and harmonious manner.

Second, the character of students at Pesantren Tebuireng, shaped to be tolerant and harmonious, is formed through daily interactions at the pesantren. Values such as tolerance and respect for cultural and religious differences are not only taught theoretically but also practiced directly in everyday life. Students learn to accept and appreciate differences, both through interfaith activities and social projects that involve cooperation with various groups. These experiences enrich the students' character, preparing them to be individuals ready to play a role in a pluralistic and multicultural society. Third, the contribution of students in creating a more inclusive and harmonious society is clearly evident. Pesantren Tebuireng students are actively involved in social activities that promote interfaith dialogue, cross-community cooperation, and efforts aimed at improving the welfare of society. This contribution reflects the success of integrating local wisdom values in shaping individuals who actively participate in building social harmony. Equipped with values of tolerance and cooperation, the students become agents of change in society, reducing the potential for social conflict and promoting peace.

Pesantren Tebuireng has also successfully navigated the challenges of modernization and globalization. Despite the growing global influence, students are able to maintain their cultural identity while adopting skills and knowledge relevant to the demands of the modern world. The integration of local wisdom values enables students to remain competitive and relevant in an ever-changing world, without sacrificing the essence of the local values they learn at the pesantren. Additionally, surveys indicate that students are satisfied with the education they receive. They believe that Pesantren Tebuireng not only provides them with a deep understanding of religion but also important social values necessary for everyday life. This high level of satisfaction reflects the effectiveness of integrating local wisdom values in creating a holistic and meaningful educational experience for the students.

However, there are several challenges that must be addressed in the integration of local wisdom values. These challenges include the influence of modernization, which could erode local values if not properly managed, limited resources that may hinder the implementation of educational programs, and social changes that could affect the acceptance of local values among students. On the other hand, there are opportunities



to further develop the integration of local wisdom values, particularly through the development of innovative curricula, collaboration with other institutions, and strengthening the role of alumni as ambassadors of local values.

Overall, this analysis shows that the integration of local wisdom values at Pesantren Tebuireng has successfully shaped a harmonious and tolerant habitus among the students, in line with Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Cultural Socialization. Pesantren Tebuireng has not only succeeded in reproducing local wisdom values among the students but has also enabled them to adapt these values in facing the challenges of modernization and globalization. This holistic educational process not only strengthens the students' cultural and religious identity but also prepares them to become agents of change capable of building social harmony in a diverse environment. The effectiveness of integrating local wisdom values at Pesantren Tebuireng is clearly reflected in the students' ability to internalize values such as tolerance, cooperation, and respect for differences, and in how these values are practiced in their daily lives. This habitus formation process is crucial because students do not just learn about these concepts theoretically, but they live them out through everyday social practices in the pesantren. Through continuous interaction in a multicultural environment, students are encouraged to respect and cooperate with one another, creating a strong foundation for building an inclusive and peaceful society.

Furthermore, students who have completed their education at Pesantren Tebuireng carry these values into their lives outside the pesantren, whether in social interactions, work environments, or their contributions to the wider community. The values of tolerance, reciprocal cooperation, and respect for diversity that they learned during their time at the pesantren remain internalized, shaping strong characters capable of navigating the complex social dynamics beyond formal educational settings. However, as mentioned earlier, there are challenges that need to be addressed. Modernization and globalization can threaten the preservation of local values if there are no systematic efforts to maintain the relevance and resilience of these values in the face of rapid changes. The pesantren must continuously innovate and seek new ways to integrate local wisdom with advancements in technology and science without losing the cultural essence that forms the core of pesantren education. This balance is key to ensuring that the values remain impactful and meaningful for the students as they engage with an increasingly globalized world.

Resource limitations present their own challenges. To maintain the effectiveness of educational programs that integrate local wisdom values, adequate support is needed, both in terms of infrastructure and competent, dedicated educators. With limited resources, pesantren may struggle to sustain the quality of education, particularly when facing the growing pressures of globalization. On the other hand, there are significant opportunities to strengthen the integration of local values at Pesantren Tebuireng. One such opportunity is through the development of a more innovative curriculum that not only focuses on religious subjects but also incorporates elements of technology and modern teaching methodologies. By utilizing digital technology, the pesantren can expand the reach of its teachings and enrich the students' learning experiences, while still maintaining local wisdom values as the foundational core. This approach can help



Pesantren Tebuireng stay relevant in the face of modern challenges while ensuring that students are equipped with both traditional values and contemporary skills.

Collaboration with other institutions, both nationally and internationally, also presents an opportunity to enrich the educational process at Pesantren Tebuireng. Through the exchange of ideas and experiences with other institutions, the pesantren can gain new insights into the best ways to integrate local values with global developments, ensuring that its students remain relevant in an ever-changing world. Moreover, Pesantren Tebuireng alumni can play a key role in supporting the preservation of local values. Alumni who have achieved success in various fields can act as ambassadors of local wisdom, providing real-life examples and inspiration for the next generation of students. With the active involvement of alumni in various programs and activities at the pesantren, the institution can strengthen its social networks and ensure that local values remain relevant and respected across different layers of society. This alumni engagement helps reinforce the connection between past and present, ensuring that the core values of the pesantren are carried forward into future generations.

The conclusion of this analysis demonstrates that the integration of local wisdom values at Pesantren Tebuireng has been highly effective, shaping a *habitus* among students that reflects a harmonious blend of religious teachings and local wisdom. Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Cultural Socialization provides a strong framework for understanding this process, where the pesantren functions not only as a religious educational institution but also as an agent for the preservation of local culture. This plays a crucial role in shaping the character of the younger generation to be tolerant, harmonious, and ready to contribute to a pluralistic and multicultural society. Although there are challenges that need to be addressed, the opportunities for further development of this educational model remain vast. With continuous innovation, strategic collaborations, and support from alumni and the wider community, Pesantren Tebuireng can continue to be a pioneer in integrating local wisdom values into Islamic education. Ultimately, this educational model can serve as an example for other institutions, both in Indonesia and abroad, in their efforts to build more inclusive, tolerant, and harmonious societies in the era of globalization.

CONCLUSION

This study examines the integration of local wisdom into Islamic education at Pesantren Tebuireng using Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Cultural Socialization as the analytical framework. The findings show that local wisdom values such as tolerance, cooperation, and respect for diversity have been successfully internalized by students through both formal and non-formal education. Through this process, students are not only equipped with a strong understanding of religion but also with the ability to appreciate and preserve local culture. Bourdieu's theory, which emphasizes the importance of *habitus*—the internal structure that influences individual actions—helps explain how students develop a balanced identity between religion and local culture. Pesantren Tebuireng effectively uses education as a tool for cultural socialization, where local values are absorbed and applied by students in their daily lives. This creates graduates who are not only intellectually capable but also possess tolerant and



harmonious character with a high level of social awareness. These students then actively contribute to building an inclusive and multicultural society, reflecting the success of the pesantren in integrating religious education with local cultural values.

The effectiveness of integrating local wisdom at Pesantren Tebuireng is clearly reflected in the positive contributions of its students to society through various social initiatives, interfaith dialogues, and community projects focused on inclusivity and tolerance. The pesantren has successfully navigated the challenges of modernization and globalization while maintaining local values as the core of its educational approach. Students are not only provided with a deep understanding of religion but are also equipped with skills and knowledge relevant to the demands of the modern era. They are able to adopt modern technology and contemporary knowledge while preserving their cultural and religious identity, creating a balance between progressive thinking and the preservation of tradition. In this context, Pesantren Tebuireng functions not only as a center of religious education but also as an institution that prepares students to take active roles in the ever-evolving global society. The effectiveness of this approach is reflected in its ability to produce graduates who are not only intellectually capable but also possess strong character, tolerance, and readiness to lead in a pluralistic society.

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