



# PRESERVING IDENTITY THROUGH EDUCATION: THE ROLE OF SYMBOLIC CAPITAL IN CULTURAL REPRODUCTION AT MMA BAHRUL 'ULUM

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## Abstract :

This study examines the process of cultural reproduction at Madrasah Mu'allimin Mu'allimat (MMA) Bahrul 'Ulum through the sociological lens of Pierre Bourdieu. The research focuses on how this traditional Islamic educational institution sustains religious and cultural values by shaping the habitus of its students. Using a qualitative approach and analyzing daily practices within the pesantren environment, the study finds that MMA Bahrul 'Ulum reproduces culture through internal mechanisms such as discipline reinforcement, classical Islamic text learning, and symbolic relationships between teachers and students. Symbolic and cultural capital play a crucial role in maintaining the institution's authority amid social change. The findings reveal that the process of cultural reproduction at MMA Bahrul 'Ulum is not passive but rather active and dynamic, enabling the institution to preserve tradition while adapting to contemporary challenges. This research highlights the strategic role of pesantren in maintaining cultural identity through the formation of a distinctive habitus.

**Keywords :** *Cultural reproduction, habitus, Pierre Bourdieu, MMA Bahrul 'Ulum*

## Abstrak :

Penelitian ini mengkaji proses reproduksi budaya di Madrasah Mu'allimin Mu'allimat (MMA) Bahrul 'Ulum menggunakan perspektif teori sosiologi Pierre Bourdieu. Fokus utama terletak pada bagaimana lembaga pendidikan Islam tradisional ini mempertahankan nilai-nilai budaya dan keagamaan melalui pembentukan habitus para santri. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dan analisis terhadap praktik keseharian di lingkungan pesantren, ditemukan bahwa MMA Bahrul 'Ulum mereproduksi budaya melalui mekanisme internal seperti penguatan disiplin, pembelajaran kitab klasik, dan relasi simbolik antara guru dan murid, junior dan senior. Kapital simbolik dan budaya berperan penting dalam memperkuat posisi institusi ini di tengah perubahan sosial. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa proses reproduksi budaya di MMA Bahrul 'Ulum tidak bersifat pasif, melainkan aktif dan dinamis, yang memungkinkan lembaga ini menjaga kesinambungan tradisi sembari merespons tantangan zaman. Studi ini menegaskan bahwa pesantren memiliki peran strategis dalam melestarikan identitas budaya melalui pembentukan habitus yang khas.

**Kata Kunci:** *Reproduksi budaya, habitus, Pierre Bourdieu, MMA Bahrul 'Ulum*

## INTRODUCTION

*Mu'allimin-Mu'allimat* in Indonesia represents a distinctive model of pesantren-based education that plays a significant role in producing future educators of Islamic sciences and *da'i* (preachers) who embody pesantren values, possess deep religious knowledge, and demonstrate strong moral character. These institutions are found in many prominent pesantren across Indonesia, particularly those affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), such as Bahrul 'Ulum Islamic Boarding School in Tambakberas Jombang, Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School in Kediri, Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School in Jombang, and others. The largest Muhammadiyah-affiliated *Mu'allimin-Mu'allimat* institution is Madrasah Mu'allimin Yogyakarta, established by KH. Ahmad Dahlan, with a similar mission of producing qualified religious educators and *da'i* (Suradi, 2021).

Islamic educational institutions are closely linked to the concept of pesantren, which serves as a traditional space for Islamic learning (Bafodhil, 2022). Education is a central medium for transmitting values, norms, and culture from one generation to the next (Rahman, 2018). Dalam konteks lembaga pendidikan berbasis pesantren, seperti *Madrasah Mu'allimin Mu'allimat* (MMA) Bahrul 'Ulum Tambakberas Jombang, pendidikan tidak hanya berfungsi sebagai proses transfer ilmu, tetapi juga sebagai media reproduksi budaya khas pesantren. Lembaga ini telah menjadi salah satu pilar penting dalam mencetak kader pendidik, *da'i*, dan pemimpin umat yang memiliki basis keilmuan tradisional yang kuat serta karakter moral yang kokoh.

In the context of pesantren-based institutions like Madrasah Mu'allimin Mu'allimat (MMA) Bahrul 'Ulum Tambakberas Jombang, education is not merely a process of knowledge transfer, but also a vehicle for the reproduction of pesantren's distinctive cultural identity. This institution has become a crucial pillar in shaping educators, preachers, and religious leaders grounded in traditional Islamic scholarship and strong moral values.

Based on observations and interviews, Madrasah Mu'allimin Mu'allimat 6-Year Program at Bahrul 'Ulum Tambakberas Jombang was founded in 1953 by KH. Abdul Fattah Hasyim. Its curriculum consists of 70% pesantren-based (salaf) subjects and 30% national curriculum. Students take national exams equivalent to the Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs) level in their third year, and the Madrasah Aliyah (MA) level in their sixth year. A distinguishing characteristic of this institution is the memorization of classical Arabic didactic poetry, such as *Nazham Alfiyah Ibn Malik*, a tradition also commonly practiced in other Islamic boarding schools.

What makes MMA Bahrul 'Ulum particularly unique is not only its integration of religious and general curricula, but also its embedded cultural practices that permeate every aspect of student life – from teacher-student relations, classroom learning methods, daily discipline, to the traditions of teaching and preaching. These cultural elements are unconsciously shaped and reproduced through various symbolic and social structures within the educational system.

To understand how such cultural values are maintained and transmitted amid modern social change, Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural reproduction

offers a relevant analytical framework. Concepts such as *habitus*, *cultural capital*, and *social field* are instrumental in unpacking how MMA Bahrul 'Ulum not only imparts knowledge but also shapes individuals within a particular social and cultural construct characteristic of pesantren. This paper thus aims to analyze the process of cultural reproduction within MMA Bahrul 'Ulum through Bourdieu's theoretical lens, and to examine the extent to which this process contributes to preserving the institution's identity and strategic role in society.

Nahdi, in his study titled "*The Dynamics of Nahdlatul Wathan Pesantren from the Perspective of Education, Society, and Capital*", applied Pierre Bourdieu's theory to explain how cultural and religious values are reproduced through *habitus* and *social capital* in pesantren communities. His findings show that the sustainability of traditional values heavily relies on symbolic power and social relations (Nahdi, 2013). Meanwhile, Atik Nur Azizah, in her research "*The Historical Development of Madrasah Mu'allimin Mu'allimat Bahrul 'Ulum Tambakberas, Jombang Jawa Timur (1956-1980)*", highlights the institutional history and transformation of MMA Tambakberas. She emphasizes how the institution was originally designed to produce Islamic educators using methods unique to pesantren pedagogy. Her study provides a historical foundation for understanding MMA's role in sustaining traditional values (Azizah, 2010).

From these two studies, it is evident that applying Pierre Bourdieu's theory to pesantren education is highly relevant for analyzing how cultural values, social structures, and *habitus* are formed and reproduced. However, no research to date has specifically examined MMA Bahrul 'Ulum Tambakberas through Bourdieu's theoretical framework. Therefore, this study is significant in addressing that gap, while also offering new insights into how pesantren-based educational institutions strategically preserve the cultural heritage of Islam Nusantara through the reproduction of *habitus* and *cultural capital*.

## RESEARCH METHOD

This study employs a qualitative research approach. Qualitative research is typically categorized based on the main strategy used to explore social and cultural phenomena in depth (Stadtländer, 2009). This research adopts a descriptive qualitative approach grounded in Pierre Bourdieu's cultural sociology framework. The qualitative approach was chosen because it allows for systematic procedures that move from general assumptions to detailed methods for data collection, analysis, and interpretation (Creswell, 2015). This approach aims to deeply understand the process of cultural reproduction within Madrasah Mu'allimin Mu'allimat (MMA) Bahrul 'Ulum and how *habitus*, *cultural capital*, and social structures contribute to the preservation of pesantren-based educational values.

In qualitative research, data collection emphasizes subjective meaning, social interaction, and natural context. Data is gathered in a deep, open, and flexible manner to capture social reality from the participants' perspectives (Broek & Elsa, 2012). Primary data in this study were obtained through in-depth interviews with stakeholders at MMA Bahrul 'Ulum, participant observations during learning activities, and observation of pesantren cultural symbols. Focus group discussions (FGDs) were also conducted with students and alumni to

gather collective perspectives on traditions and the role of MMA in shaping Islamic habitus. Secondary data were collected from institutional documents and other related sources. This study uses the Miles and Huberman model of qualitative data analysis, which consists of three main stages: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification (Walliman, 2021). The analysis is conducted from the beginning of data collection to the end of the research process. This continuous analysis ensures that each finding accurately reflects the dynamics of cultural reproduction at MMA Bahrul 'Ulum. Through this approach, the researcher gains insight into how values, ethics, and social structures are systematically and symbolically transmitted in the pesantren educational environment.

## **FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

### **Brief Biography of Pierre Bourdieu**

Pierre Felix Bourdieu was born on August 1, 1930, in Denguin, a small village in the Béarn region of southwestern rural France. Bourdieu grew up in a lower-middle-class family; his father was a part-time farmer who also worked at the French Post Office. He was raised speaking Gascon, a regional language in France that is now nearly extinct. His father never completed formal schooling, which motivated Bourdieu to achieve academic excellence. His mother was able to continue her education until the age of 16 while living with her aunt in Pau (Bakri, 2020). Bourdieu received his secondary education at the Lycée in Pau before transferring to the Lycée Louis-le-Grand in Paris, and eventually attending the École Normale Supérieure. He studied philosophy with Louis Althusser at the École Normale Supérieure in Paris in 1951. After graduating, he worked as a lycée teacher in Moulins from 1955 to 1958. He then served in the military and was sent to Algeria. In 1958, he became a lecturer at the University of Algiers, Bourdieu, 1990 in (Umanailo, 2018).

In 1960, he returned to the University of Paris, teaching there until 1964. Bourdieu held the position of Director of Studies at the École Pratique des Hautes Études (later École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales) in the Section VI from 1964 onwards. Since 1981, he served as Chair of Sociology at the Collège de France, also in Section VI. In France, he founded the Centre for the Sociology of Education and Culture. He authored several books, including *Sociologie de l'Algérie* (1958; *The Algerians*, 1962), *La Distinction* (1979; *Distinction*, 1984), *Le Sens pratique* (1980; *The Logic of Practice*, 1990), *La Noblesse d'état* (1989; *The State Nobility*, 1996), and *Sur la télévision* (1996; *On Television*, 1998). His works mainly critique neoliberal economics, globalization, intellectual elitism, and the media (Siswadi, 2024).

In short, Bourdieu became one of the central figures in the Parisian intellectual circle and eventually gained global recognition. His thoughts and ideas have influenced various fields including education, sociology, and anthropology (Karnanta, 2013). Bourdieu's thoughts were largely influenced by Marxist theory and thinkers. Rather than existentialism or structuralism, Bourdieu practiced a form of praxeology that adopted liberational elements, showing that he was concerned with liberating people from political and class domination. As was the case with Sartre and Levi-Strauss, Bourdieu is seen to

have developed his ideas by grounding them in Marxist concepts, which led to the publication of several major works before his passing on January 3, 2002, at the age of 71 (Munafi, 2024).

### **The Continuity of Tradition: Efforts to Preserve Heritage**

The pesantren tradition in Indonesia is one of the forms of Islamic educational institutions with deep and long-standing historical roots. In academic studies, the existence of pesantren is often explained through the theory of continuity—the view that pesantren are a direct continuation of the classical Islamic education and knowledge transmission system that has developed since the arrival of Islam in the archipelago (Dhofier, 1980). Prominent figures who have discussed this idea of continuity include Zamakhsyari Dhofier, Clifford Geertz, Martin van Bruinessen, and Azyumardi Azra. These scholars emphasize that pesantren are not modern innovations or solely influenced by external forces, but rather organically grown institutions rooted in the intellectual and spiritual legacy of Islam that has been alive for centuries.

Since its establishment, MMA Bahrul Ulum has manifested this continuity of pesantren tradition, especially in upholding the values of classical Islamic education, knowledge transmission, and strong Islamic character. Institutionally, MMA has become a popular choice for students both before and after attending formal schools. One example is the construction of new buildings located in two areas within the Bahrul Ulum pesantren complex. One of the most distinctive features of MMA Bahrul Ulum is its continuous practice of teaching classical yellow books (*kitab kuning*). The role of *kyai* and teachers is also a tangible embodiment of continuity at MMA Bahrul Ulum. Moreover, alumni and seniors play a significant role in maintaining the tradition and scholarly continuity within the MMA Bahrul Ulum environment.

### **Pierre Bourdieu's Cultural Reproduction Theory in MMA Bahrul Ulum**

Paul A. Erickson and Liam D. Murphy describe Bourdieu's theory as one that places the individual at the center of the social process, differing from Foucault, who views individuals as executors of power discourse. In his theory, Bourdieu posits that human social practices are the result of meaning-making, creation, and the reproduction of various taxonomies that serve as the basis of social relations. These taxonomies contain symbolic representations that not only reflect ideas about the world but also shape the world for the people who live in it (Erickson & Murphy, 2018)

The theory of cultural reproduction is the process of preserving values, norms, practices, and socio-cultural structures passed down from one generation to the next, primarily through social institutions such as the family, school, and pesantren (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Pierre Bourdieu is a sociologist who explains how social and cultural inequalities are reproduced across generations through education systems, families, and other social institutions. He argues that education and culture are not neutral tools for social mobility, but rather mechanisms for maintaining upper-class dominance (Ritzer, 2011).

#### **1. Habitus**

The word “habitus” comes from Latin, the past participle of *habere*, which

means “to have,” “to possess,” or “to maintain.” In classical Latin, *habitus* referred to physical condition, moral habit, or one’s general demeanor—including body posture, clothing habits, or intellectual and moral dispositions (Lamaison & Bourdieu, 1986). In Aristotelian philosophy, *habitus* (translated from Greek *hexis*) refers to dispositions acquired through practice—for example, virtue as a *habitus* obtained through moral exercise (Sainsaulieu, 1972). In Scholastic thought, especially in the theology of Thomas Aquinas, *habitus* refers to a stable mental or moral state that shapes action (Bourdieu, 2020).

In Bourdieu’s terms, *habitus* is a system of structured and structuring dispositions embedded in individuals through social experiences, shaping how they think, feel, and act (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). *Habitus* is a mental or cognitive structure that relates to the social world, equipping individuals with internalized schemes for perceiving, understanding, appreciating, and evaluating that world, which in turn results in social practices. *Habitus* is acquired over time through long-term exposure to social environments Ritzer & Goodman ini (Adib, 2012) Bourdieu asserts that *habitus* results from acquired skills transformed into practical actions, either consciously or unconsciously, within a given social setting, appearing natural (Septiana & Fauzi, 2022). In MMA Bahrul Ulum, the deeply rooted forms of *habitus* include:

- a. Memorizing Alfiyah Ibn Malik, This activity is mandatory for all students: 150 verses for grade 1, 200 for grade 2, and 250 for grade 3, to be completed within a year. Memorization schedules are flexible. While students are not required to memorize all 1,000 verses, they are encouraged to do so voluntarily. This tradition reflects the transmission of scholarly values and habits of preserving knowledge.
- b. Taqror and Halaqah, Although not mandatory, these practices have become a tradition. Taqror involves reviewing lessons with peers and sometimes asking seniors for help. This builds time management and independence in learning.
- c. Tawassul, Before lessons begin, *tawassul*—prayers for the founders of Tambakberas and MMA—is performed by teachers and students, symbolizing the pursuit of spiritual blessings (*barakah*) through knowledge.
- d. Lalaran, Students recite Alfiyah or *amsilah* while waiting for teachers. This reinforces memorization, deepens knowledge, and ensures correct pronunciation.
- e. Social Structure Regeneration, Many teachers at MMA are alumni, ensuring the preservation of *pesantren* traditions and values. Students who internalize the *pesantren* culture may become teachers, maintaining the institutional structure and continuity.

## 2. Capital Culture

The concept of *cultural capital* (*capital culturel*) was introduced by Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron in *Les Héritiers* (1964) and further developed in *La Reproduction* (1970) and *Distinction* (1979) (Cooper & Whyte, 2022). They argued that success in education and society is not solely due to natural intelligence, but to inherited cultural assets from the family (Grenfell, 2014). Borrowing the term *capital* from economics, Bourdieu redefined it for the social

sphere. While economic capital refers to assets used to generate profit, cultural capital refers to non-material assets—knowledge, skills, and lifestyle—that can translate into social advantages (Rivaldy, Tihami, & Gunawan, 2024).

Cultural Capital is one of the key concepts in Pierre Bourdieu's theory, referring to non-material assets possessed by individuals that can be used to gain social, educational, or economic advantages. According to Bourdieu, cultural capital exists in three forms: (1) Embodied: Cultural capital inherent in a person's body and self. This includes manner of speaking, sitting posture, knowledge acquired since childhood, and confidence in academic settings (2) Objectified: Cultural capital manifested in the form of objects or artifacts—such as books, paintings, musical instruments, and other items that hold not only material but also symbolic value (3) Institutionalized: Cultural capital formally recognized by institutions, such as diplomas, academic degrees, certificates, and other documents that validate a person's cultural worth (Rudi & Haikal, 2014).

In the context of MMA Bahrul 'Ulum, the forms of cultural capital are as follows:

- a. Embodied Cultural Capital, This refers to the culture embedded within the students (santri) of MMA Bahrul 'Ulum: 1) Consistency (Istiqomah): Students are highly consistent in performing memorization, recitation, and studying during breaks. Self-motivation and commitment are deeply embedded in their character. They absorb the values of pesantren not only through formal teaching but also through their daily experiences within the school and pesantren environment. 2) Tawadhu' (Humility): Students show great respect toward the kyai, caretakers, and teachers (asatidz). When meeting a teacher or kyai, they humbly approach them, bowing politely, shaking hands, and sometimes carrying their books. This respectful behavior also includes never walking ahead of their elders. Traditional values like *ta'dzim* (reverence), *barakah* (blessing), humility, and respect for the scholarly lineage are strongly upheld. 3) Simplicity: Simplicity remains deeply ingrained, as seen in their dress code. For instance, female students still wear the traditional *jilbab minang* as a uniform, which has remained unchanged despite the wide variety of modern hijab styles. Furthermore, the monthly tuition fees are very affordable. 4) Independence and Time Management: Students actively use their free time for learning and memorization. During breaks, many dedicate themselves to memorizing texts such as *Alfiyah* or *Amsilah*. 5) Reading Classical Texts (Kitab Kuning) without Diacritics: This tradition is still maintained. Reading practice exams are held at the end of each academic year and are used as a promotion requirement. Examiners come not only from MMA but also from outside the Bahrul 'Ulum Foundation, serving as a long-established quality control measure.
- b. Objectified Cultural Capital, This form is manifested in the intellectual wealth found in the religious texts used as sources of knowledge and symbols of MMA Bahrul 'Ulum's scholarly tradition: 1) Kitab Alfiyah Ibnu Malik: A monumental work by an Andalusian scholar. Every student is required to memorize its verses; failure to do so means they cannot advance to the next grade. 2) Classical and Traditional Texts (Turats): In addition to *Ibnu Malik*,

other texts such as *Fathul Qarib*, *Fathul Bari*, *Al-Hikam*, *Ummul Barahim*, and many other classical Islamic texts are taught. Disciplines like *Arudh wa Qawafi* (Arabic prosody), *Ilmu Falak* (Islamic astronomy), and *Mantiq* (logic) are also studied. 3) Teaching Practicum: Sixth-year students are required to complete a teaching practicum as a graduation requirement.

- c. Institutionalized Cultural Capital. This refers to the legal recognition and public acknowledgment of the institution and its graduates: 1) Learning Curriculum: The religious curriculum at MMA sets it apart. It consists of 70% religious studies and 30% general studies. This specialization is a unique attraction for MMA—not only due to affordable tuition but also the widely recognized and proven academic quality of its students. 2) Diploma Legitimacy: Graduates receive several diplomas, including the national exam certificate, teaching practicum certificate, school diploma, and a certificate for classical text reading proficiency. These diplomas are officially recognized by both the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Religious Affairs and can be used for university admissions, domestically or abroad. 3) No Age Limit: One unique feature of MMA is that there is no age restriction for enrollment. Some students register after graduating from formal institutions such as MA (senior Islamic high school) or MTs (junior Islamic high school).

### 3. A Social Arena (*Field*)

The word *field* originates from the Old English *feld*, meaning open land or pasture. Literally, it refers to a physical space where something takes place or is cultivated. However, in Bourdieu's sociological theory, the term has shifted to a metaphorical meaning. A *field* refers to a social arena in which actors compete, strategize, and struggle for capital (Lyons, 1980). Bourdieu borrowed this term from physics—specifically the concept of a force field or magnetic field—to describe how individuals in society are influenced by invisible yet powerful social forces that shape their positions and actions. Thus, although it originates from the real world (as open land), in social theory, it represents a field of social forces (Bourdieu, 1985).

Field theory is one of Pierre Bourdieu's central concepts used to explain how social structures are formed and how individuals or groups struggle within those structures to gain position, power, or influence (Wijaya & Pujihartati, 2024). In the context of education, a field refers to schools, universities, training institutions, and similar arenas where individuals and groups compete for legitimacy, recognition, and social status. Examples include competition for degrees, academic performance, or symbolic recognition such as best student, valedictorian, or elite university graduate (Papoulia - Tzelepi, 1993; Recke, 2011). MMA's Educational Field includes the following characteristics:

- a. Relative Autonomy, The institution has the freedom to design its curriculum but remains subject to the oversight and regulations of higher authorities—namely, the Foundation and the Ministry of Religious Affairs (Horvath, 1991). The school curriculum is distinctively shaped, placing greater emphasis on religious knowledge compared to general subjects such as science, social studies, and technology. Despite this, MMA Bahrul 'Ulum remains competitive on national and even international levels.



- b. Hierarchical Structure: The institutional organization is stratified by authority and status (Fatimah, Putra, Viono, & Busri, 2024) As part of a pesantren, the roles and positions of kyai and senior ustadz (teachers) are highly dominant. Symbolic power – such as scholarly knowledge and experience – shapes the internal social structure. Senior students and alumni play important roles as examples of *habitus* through their experiences and networks. The *kyai* and caretakers are figures of authority and charisma at the top of the hierarchy, setting norms and values. The *asatidz* carry out cultural transmission through their mastery of classical texts and teaching experience.

## CONCLUSION

This study analyzes the process of cultural reproduction at Madrasah Mu'allimin Mu'allimat (MMA) Bahrul 'Ulum through the theoretical framework of Pierre Bourdieu, focusing on the concepts of habitus, cultural capital, and field. The findings indicate that MMA Bahrul 'Ulum serves as a strategic arena for the transmission of cultural and religious values through structured and sustained mechanisms. The daily practices of the students – such as disciplined study routines, mastery of classical Islamic texts (*kitab kuning*), and reverence for authoritative figures like kyai and ustadz – are key instruments in shaping a distinctive habitus. The symbolic capital possessed by dominant actors (kyai, senior ustadz, and alumni) plays a central role in maintaining institutional legitimacy and preserving traditional values amidst ongoing social changes. Thus, MMA Bahrul 'Ulum does not merely reproduce pesantren traditions passively but actively rearticulates these values in response to contemporary social demands, positioning itself as a dynamic and contextually relevant site of cultural production.

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