



ISSN Online: [2442-5605](https://doi.org/10.24014/potensia.v12i1.38806)



**Editorial Office:** Faculty of Teacher Training and Education, Universitas Islam Negeri Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau, Riau, Indonesia.

Phone: +62781365280889

E-mail: [potensia.ftk@uin-suska.ac.id](mailto:potensia.ftk@uin-suska.ac.id)

Website: <https://ejournal.uin-suska.ac.id/index.php/potensia>

## Habitus and Social Capital in Muhammadiyah Vocational Schools: Religious, Social, and Moral Formation

Efi Parinda<sup>a</sup>, Z.Zarkasih<sup>b</sup>, Mas'ud Zein<sup>b</sup>, Eva Dewi<sup>b</sup>, Nur Jahan Ahmad<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The Postgraduate Program, Universitas Islam Negeri Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau, Indonesia

<sup>b</sup> Faculty of Tarbiyah and Teacher Training, Universitas Islam Negeri Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau, Indonesia

<sup>c</sup> School of Educational Studies, University Sains Malaysia.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.24014/potensia.v12i1.38806>

### Article

*This study examines how Muhammadiyah vocational schools in Pekanbaru, Indonesia, implement religious habituation programs to shape students' religiosity, moral character, and social attitudes through the formation of religious habitus in everyday school life. Using a qualitative multiple-case study design, the research involved three Muhammadiyah vocational schools, with participants including school leaders, teachers, activity coordinators, and students. Data were collected through observations, semi-structured interviews, and document analysis, and analyzed thematically using Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field, and capital. The findings indicate that habituation practices such as congregational prayer, kultum (short religious talks), and charitable activities play varying roles in shaping students' religious dispositions. Practices that are structurally integrated into daily routines and supported by teacher role modeling tend to foster more consistent and internalized behaviors. In contrast, activities that rely heavily on supervision often result in formal participation without deep personal engagement. For instance, students continue prayer practices even without strict monitoring, while participation in kultum declines when supervision is reduced. Overall, the study demonstrates that religious habitus formation is not uniform but varies depending on the degree of institutional integration, symbolic reinforcement, and pedagogical support. These findings highlight the importance of aligning habituation programs with curriculum structures and reflective pedagogical strategies to promote students' religious autonomy.*

### Abstract

Islamic education; Habituation programs; Habitus; Student religiosity.

©2025; This is an Open Access Research distributed under the term of the Creative Commons Attribution Licence (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0>), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original works is properly cited.

### Correspondence:

Z.Zarkasih, Faculty of Tarbiyah and Teacher Training, Universitas Islam Negeri Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau, Indonesia.

E-mail: [zarkasih@uin-suska.ac.id](mailto:zarkasih@uin-suska.ac.id)

## Introduction

Within the context of accelerating digitalization and the increasing pragmatism of vocational education, schools are confronted with a fundamental challenge: sustaining the internalization of religious, moral, and social values among students while simultaneously responding to market-oriented demands for employability and productivity. Vocational education, particularly at the secondary level, is commonly framed within a skills-based paradigm that prioritizes technical competence, industry readiness, and economic efficiency (UNESCO, 2015; Biesta, 2010). While such an orientation is indispensable in preparing students for the labor market, it often narrows the educational space for character formation, spiritual development, and social ethics (Arthur et al., 2017). As a result, the cultivation of holistic human development encompassing religiosity, morality, and social responsibility risks becoming peripheral rather than integral within vocational schooling.

From the perspective of Islamic education, this tendency raises critical concerns. Education is not merely an instrument for economic advancement but a transformative process aimed at forming individuals who are morally grounded, socially responsible, and spiritually conscious (Hefner, 2011; Sahin, 2018). In the Indonesian context, national education goals explicitly emphasize the formation of faithful, ethical, and socially engaged citizens, including within vocational institutions. However, empirical realities suggest that vocational schools frequently struggle to balance character education with the intensive demands of skills training, extended practical hours, and industry-oriented curricula (Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology [MoECRT], 2023). This tension becomes particularly salient in Islamic vocational schools, where religious and moral education constitutes a core institutional mission rather than a supplementary component.

Habituation programs have been widely recognized as a key strategy for fostering students' character formation. These programs typically involve structured and repetitive practices embedded in everyday school life, such as congregational prayers, Qur'anic recitation, and social service activities. A number of studies report that such practices contribute positively to students' religious commitment, discipline, and moral behavior (Rahma, 2023; Kristjánsson, 2015). However, while these studies consistently highlight the effectiveness of habituation, they largely emphasize observable behavioral outcomes without sufficiently examining how these practices lead to the internalization of values.

Within Muhammadiyah educational institutions, habituation is formally institutionalized through the ISMUBA curriculum framework, which positions it as a central mechanism for integrating religious, moral, and social development (Majelis Dikdasmen PP Muhammadiyah, 2024). Despite this strong policy foundation, previous research indicates that the success of habituation programs varies significantly depending on factors such as consistency of implementation, teacher exemplarity, and students' active engagement (Al-Abrasy, 2001; Lickona, 1991). This suggests that habituation cannot be understood merely as a formal program but must be examined as a dynamic process shaped by institutional and social conditions.

At the secondary education level, recent studies have expanded the focus of habituation beyond ritual religiosity to include broader dimensions of social morality, such as responsibility, honesty, and cooperation (Kurniawan, 2018; Nucci et al., 2014). While this shift reflects a more holistic understanding of character education, much of the existing literature remains largely descriptive and normative. These studies tend to document program implementation and

its outcomes, but offer limited explanation of the underlying social processes that enable habituation to produce durable moral dispositions.

This limitation becomes more evident when viewed from a sociological perspective. Classical Islamic thought, as articulated by al-Ghazālī, conceptualizes moral formation as a gradual process of internalization through disciplined habituation. Similarly, contemporary social theory particularly Bourdieu's concept of habitus emphasizes that repeated practices within structured social fields generate enduring dispositions that shape individuals' perceptions and actions (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990; Harker et al., 2009). However, these theoretical perspectives have rarely been systematically integrated into empirical studies of school habituation, especially in Islamic educational contexts.

Existing research tends to rely predominantly on psychological and pedagogical approaches that foreground individual motivation and cognitive development, while paying less attention to the role of institutional structures, symbolic capital, and power relations (Reay, 2004; Maton, 2008). Consequently, the processes through which habituation contributes to the social reproduction or transformation of religious and moral dispositions remain underexplored. This gap highlights the need for a more theoretically informed and sociologically grounded analysis of habituation practices in educational settings.

This gap is particularly evident in vocational education contexts. Existing studies on habituation programs have primarily focused on general secondary schools and madrasahs, where they document positive outcomes such as improved religious discipline, moral behavior, and prosocial attitudes (Rahma, 2023; Kurniawan, 2018). However, these studies tend to emphasize program implementation and observable outcomes, with limited attention to the underlying social processes that shape students' dispositions.

In contrast, vocational schools represent a distinct educational field characterized by strong industry orientation, extended practical training, and performance-based evaluation systems (Wheelahan, 2010). Recent reports suggest that within such contexts, religious and moral habituation often becomes procedural and weakly integrated into the broader learning environment (MoECRT, 2023). Despite these indications, empirical research specifically examining habituation practices in vocational schools remains limited, particularly in Islamic institutional settings.

Studies focusing on Muhammadiyah educational institutions have highlighted the integration of religious values through structured programs such as ISMUBA. These studies generally conclude that such programs contribute to students' character development. However, they often adopt descriptive or normative approaches and rarely investigate how these practices are internalized by students or shaped by institutional structures. As a result, the relationship between formal habituation programs and the formation of durable dispositions remains insufficiently explained.

Field observations in Muhammadiyah vocational schools further reveal a gap between program implementation and students' lived experiences. While participation in religious activities is formally structured, it is frequently driven by external regulation rather than intrinsic commitment, as reflected in inconsistent worship practices and varying levels of social engagement. These findings point to the need for a more critical analysis that goes beyond program description to examine the processes of internalization.

Based on this review, this study identifies four key gaps in the existing literature. First, previous research has not sufficiently integrated religious, moral, and social dimensions within a unified analytical framework, particularly in vocational education contexts. Second, the dominance of descriptive approaches has limited the ability to explain how habituation produces durable dispositions. Third, sociological perspectives especially Bourdieu's theory of habitus, field, and capital have rarely been applied to analyze habituation practices in Islamic education. Fourth, empirical studies focusing specifically on Muhammadiyah vocational schools as distinct institutional fields remain scarce.

Addressing these gaps, this study offers a novel contribution by examining habituation programs in Muhammadiyah vocational schools through a Bourdieusian framework, focusing on how institutional practices, social structures, and forms of capital interact to shape students' religious, moral, and social dispositions. By moving beyond descriptive accounts toward a theoretically grounded analysis, this study provides a deeper understanding of the mechanisms through which habituation contributes to character formation.

Responding to these gaps, this study investigates habituation programs in Muhammadiyah vocational schools in Pekanbaru through the lens of Bourdieu's theory of habitus. Rather than merely documenting activities, the study analyzes how habituation practices operate as social mechanisms that shape students' religious, moral, and social dispositions over time. By situating habituation within the interplay of institutional structures, pedagogical practices, and student agency, this research seeks to contribute both empirically and theoretically to the discourse on Islamic character education in vocational schooling. In doing so, it positions Bourdieu's sociological framework as an analytical tool compatible with the normative aims of Islamic education, offering a nuanced understanding of how character is socially produced, reproduced, and potentially transformed within contemporary Islamic vocational institutions.

## **Methods:**

### **Research Design**

This study adopted a qualitative multiple case study design to examine the implementation of habituation programs in Muhammadiyah vocational schools. The design focuses on three Muhammadiyah vocational schools as bounded cases, allowing for in-depth and comparative analysis of how habituation practices are constructed, enacted, and experienced within different institutional contexts.

Data were collected through multiple qualitative techniques, including in-depth interviews, participant observation, and document analysis, to capture rich narratives and institutional practices. The narrative approach allowed the researcher to reconstruct participants' experiences and the chronological flow of habituation activities, while thematic analysis was employed to identify recurring patterns across the data. This combination of narrative and thematic strategies formed the core of the research design, ensuring both depth (through narrative accounts) and analytical rigor (through thematic categorization).

A qualitative approach was deemed appropriate because the study sought to explore meanings, practices, and social processes underlying religious and moral habituation rather than to measure predefined variables (Creswell & Poth, 2018). The research was positioned within an interpretive paradigm, emphasizing participants' experiences and institutional prac-

tices as socially constructed phenomena embedded within specific educational contexts (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018).

The study was analytically informed by Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus, field, and symbolic capital. Rather than applying Bourdieu's concepts as abstract theoretical labels, this research operationalized them as sensitizing concepts to guide data collection, coding, and interpretation (Bourdieu, 1990; Maton, 2008). Habituation programs were thus examined as structured practices situated within the institutional field of Islamic vocational education, shaping students' religious, moral, and social dispositions through repeated and legitimized actions.

### Research Setting and Participants

The research was conducted in three Muhammadiyah Vocational High Schools (SMK Muhammadiyah) located in Pekanbaru, Indonesia. These schools were selected through purposive sampling based on their formal adoption of habituation programs mandated by the Muhammadiyah Council for Primary and Secondary Education, as well as their comparable institutional characteristics in terms of curriculum structure, student demographics, and religious orientation (Majelis Dikdasmen PP Muhammadiyah, 2024).

Participants in this study were selected using a purposive sampling technique, involving school principals, vice principals for Al-Islam and Kemuhammadiyah (AIK) affairs, religious activity coordinators (*pembina ibadah*), and Islamic education teachers. These individuals were chosen as key informants due to their comprehensive oversight and operational expertise in the habituation programs. Their positions allow them to provide triangulated insights from the strategic planning handled by leadership to the day-to-day implementation and supervision managed by coordinators and teachers—ensuring a multi-layered validation of the data. Furthermore, observations focused on students as collective actors within the institutional field. To uphold ethical standards and prioritize institutional dynamics, individual student identities were kept anonymous (Orb et al., 2001).

### Data Collection Techniques

Data were collected through three primary techniques: non-participant observation, in-depth semi-structured interviews, and document analysis. This triangulation was employed to enhance the credibility and trustworthiness of the findings (Miles et al., 2014). Non-participant observations were conducted over a period of approximately six months (January–Mei 2025) across the three Muhammadiyah vocational schools. Observations were carried out on a regular basis, with each school visited multiple times (9 observation sessions per school), covering both daily and weekly habituation activities. These included congregational prayers, ablution routines, dhuha prayers, Qur'anic supplications, *infaq* and *sadaqah* collection, and *muhadharah* sessions. An observation checklist and field note protocol were used to systematically record data, focusing on students' participation patterns, teacher involvement, spatial arrangements, and the degree of supervision during religious practices. Field notes captured both observable behaviors and contextual dynamics relevant to habitus formation (Spradley, 1980).

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 12 key informants, including school principals, vice principals for Al-Islam and Kemuhammadiyah affairs, religious activity coordinators, Islamic education teachers, and selected students. Each interview lasted approximately 30–60 minutes and was conducted using an interview guide to ensure consistency

across participants while allowing flexibility to explore emerging themes. The interview protocol covered program design, implementation consistency, student engagement, institutional support, and strategies for fostering internalization. All interviews were audio-recorded with participants' consent and transcribed verbatim for analysis (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015).

Document analysis included school policy documents, habituation program guidelines, ISMUBA curriculum materials, schedules of religious activities, and administrative reports related to *infaq* and religious supervision. A document review matrix was used to systematically examine the content, focusing on the extent of institutional legitimation, formal integration, and evaluation mechanisms of habituation practices within the school structure (Bowen, 2009).

### **Data Analysis**

Data analysis followed an iterative and cyclical process inspired by the interactive model of Matthew B. Miles, A. Michael Huberman, and Johnny Saldaña (2014), consisting of data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification. To ensure analytical rigor, the coding process was conducted in three systematic stages: open coding, axial coding, and selective coding. In the first stage, all raw data from observations, interviews, and documents were transcribed and organized. Open coding was conducted line-by-line to identify meaningful units of data. Initial codes were generated inductively, capturing recurring patterns such as types of habituation practices, forms of supervision, student participation, and institutional support. At this stage, coding remained close to the data to avoid premature abstraction.

In the second stage, axial coding was employed to examine relationships among the initial codes. Similar or related codes were grouped into broader categories, such as “structured vs. non-structured practices,” “external supervision vs. internal initiative,” and “routine participation vs. low engagement.” These categories were then refined by identifying patterns of conditions, interactions, and consequences within the data. At this stage, Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field, and symbolic capital were used as sensitizing concepts to interpret how these practices were socially structured and reproduced (Bourdieu, 1977; Reay, 2004).

In the final stage, selective coding was conducted to integrate categories into overarching themes that explained the formation of students' religious habitus. Core themes such as “uneven institutionalization,” “differential internalization,” and “supervision-dependent practices” were developed through constant comparison across data sources. These themes were further validated by linking them to representative data extracts, as presented in the coding matrix and evidence table. To enhance the validity and trustworthiness of the findings, several strategies were employed. First, triangulation was applied by comparing data across observations, interviews, and documents. Second, constant comparison was used throughout the coding process to ensure consistency between data segments, codes, and categories. Third, analytic memos were written to document reflexive insights, coding decisions, and emerging interpretations (Saldaña, 2016). Finally, the use of coding matrices and evidence tables provides an audit trail, allowing the findings to be systematically traced back to empirical data.

### **Trustworthiness and Rigor**

To ensure the rigor of the study, several strategies were employed. Credibility was enhanced through methodological triangulation and prolonged engagement in the research setting. Transferability was addressed by providing rich, contextualized descriptions of the research

sites and institutional practices, allowing readers to assess the applicability of findings to similar contexts (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Dependability and confirmability were supported through systematic documentation of research procedures, coding decisions, and analytic steps. Peer debriefing with fellow researchers in Islamic education was conducted to minimize individual bias and strengthen interpretive validity. Reflexivity was maintained throughout the study by critically examining the researcher's positionality as an observer within Islamic educational institutions (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

### Ethical Considerations

Ethical principles were observed throughout the research process. Institutional permission was obtained from school authorities before data collection. All participants were informed of the research objectives and provided consent for interviews and observations. Anonymity and confidentiality were maintained by using role-based identifiers rather than personal names. The study adhered to ethical guidelines for qualitative educational research, ensuring respect, transparency, and accountability (BERA, 2018).

### Findings

This study examines the institutionalization and implementation of religious habituation programs in Muhammadiyah vocational schools and their role in shaping students' religious habitus. The analysis is based on observations, interviews, and document analysis conducted across three schools.

To ensure analytical transparency and rigor, the findings are grounded in systematically coded data. The coding process followed an iterative procedure, moving from initial codes to categories and themes. Table 1 presents selected coding evidence, demonstrating how empirical data were transformed into analytical constructs.

**Table 1. Coding Evidence for Religious Habitus Formation**

Data Extract (Evidence)	Open Coding	Category	Theme	Analytical Interpretation
“Most students did not recite supplications after dhuha and zuhr prayers.” (Observation)	Low participation; absence of routine	Weak institutional integration	Uneven institutionalization of religious habituation	Practice not internalized due to lack of structure
“Daily supplications are not included in the learning outcomes.” (Coordinator Interview)	Not part of curriculum; optional	Structural exclusion	Weak pedagogical legitimation	Low perceived importance reduces engagement
“Students automati-	Automatic	Embodied prac-	Strong habitus	Repetition pro-

<b>Data Extract (Evidence)</b>	<b>Open Coding</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Theme</b>	<b>Analytical Interpretation</b>
cally go to perform wudhu...” (Observation)	behavior; routine action	tice	formation	duces internalized disposition
“Some students still need reminders during prayer.” (Vice Principal)	Dependence on supervision	Controlled practice	Partial internalization	External control indicates weak autonomy
“Students’ family background affects prayer habits.” (Principal)	Home influence; lack of role model	External social influence	Habitus shaped beyond school	Weak prior socialization affects practice
“Sunnah fasting depends on rewards.” (Supervisor)	External motivation	Symbolic reinforcement	Instrumental religiosity	Practice driven by incentives
“Infaq is conducted regularly and transparently.” (Documentation)	Routine; structured practice	Institutionalized social practice	Socially embedded habitus	Strong integration fosters internalization
“Students voluntarily prepare donations from home.” (IPM)	Personal commitment	Internal motivation	Internalized social habitus	Shift from obligation to disposition

As shown in Table 1, the coding process reveals clear variations in the degree of institutional integration and habitus internalization across different religious practices

### **Institutionalization of Religious Habituation as School Routine**

The findings indicate that Muhammadiyah vocational schools in Pekanbaru have formally institutionalized religious habituation programs as part of the *Al-Islam* and *Kemuhammadiyah* (*ISMUBA*) curriculum. These programs aim to cultivate students’ religious commitment, moral conduct, and social responsibility through routine practices embedded in daily school life. However, despite their formal inclusion in the curriculum, the implementation of these habituation activities remains uneven across different practices and schools.

Field observations conducted across three Muhammadiyah vocational schools reveal that eight core habituation activities are routinely promoted, including daily supplications, proper ablution (wudu), congregational prayers, sunnah prayers, fasting practices, short religious talks

(kultum), public speaking activities (muhadharah), and organized charitable giving (infaq and sadaqah). While some practices have been consistently enacted and widely internalized by students, others remain contingent on supervision, institutional enforcement, or individual motivation.

### **Daily Supplications: Limited Institutional Integration**

One of the least effectively implemented habituation practices is the recitation of daily supplications (doa harian), which officially consists of 22 prescribed prayers. Repeated observations both non-participant and participant showed that after performing dhuha or zuhr prayers, most students did not engage in post-prayer supplications. This pattern was consistently reported across the three schools.

Interviews with religious activity coordinators indicate that daily supplications are not explicitly integrated into the learning outcomes of Phase E and Phase F of the curriculum, resulting in their treatment as optional rather than mandatory practices (Religious Coordinator, Interview). As a result, students do not receive systematic instruction, meaningful reinforcement, or evaluative feedback related to these practices. Consequently, daily supplications are perceived as supplementary religious activities rather than integral components of character education, leading to low student engagement and weak autonomous practice.

### **Ablution (Wudhu): A Relatively Internalized Religious Practice**

In contrast, the habituation of proper ablution (wudu) before prayer is among the most successfully internalized practices. Observational data demonstrate that most students automatically proceed to ablution facilities upon hearing the call to prayer, without requiring direct instruction from teachers or supervisors. This behavior reflects a relatively stable routine that has become embedded in students' daily school life.

Interviews with teachers and religious supervisors confirm that students generally perform ablution in accordance with Qur'anic and prophetic guidelines (Teacher Interview). Although some students still require occasional technical correction, wudu is no longer perceived as a major challenge within the habituation framework. This suggests that long-term repetition, combined with clear procedural guidance and consistent modeling, has enabled this practice to become a normalized religious routine.

### **Congregational and Sunnah Prayers: Between Routine and Dependence on Supervision**

Congregational prayers (particularly *zuhr* and *asr*), *dhuha* prayers, and *sunnah rawatib* prayers are formally scheduled and systematically implemented in all three schools, albeit with variations in frequency. While most students demonstrate readiness to perform prayers promptly when the call to prayer is announced, a significant minority still require continuous reminders and direct supervision.

School leaders and vice principals for *Al-Islam* and *Kemuhammadiyah* affairs noted that some students exhibit inattentive behavior during prayers, such as playing or showing minimal engagement, indicating incomplete internalization of worship practices (Vice Principal Interview). In several cases, teachers are strategically stationed to ensure compliance, underscoring the persistence of external control mechanisms.

Further interviews reveal that students' family backgrounds significantly influence prayer observance. Some students lack basic prayer literacy or do not receive religious role modeling at home, which affects their consistency and seriousness in school-based worship (Principal Interview; Islamic Education Teacher Interview). Although many students perform prayers routinely, the findings suggest that for some, prayer remains an obligation enforced by institutional authority rather than a fully autonomous religious commitment.

### **Fasting Practices: Strong Compliance with Obligatory Fasting, Limited Practice of Sunnah**

The habituation of fasting practices presents a clear distinction between obligatory and voluntary observance. All informants reported that students generally perform obligatory Ramadan fasting with discipline and strong institutional support. This indicates that fasting as a religious obligation has been well established among students.

By contrast, voluntary fasting (such as Monday–Thursday or *ayyām al-bīd* fasting) is promoted only as a recommendation rather than a structured program. Schools attempt to encourage participation through symbolic rewards or recognition, yet participation remains limited and dependent on individual motivation (Religious Supervisor Interview). While such incentives provide extrinsic motivation, voluntary fasting has not yet evolved into a shared or routinized religious culture within the schools.

### **Short Sermons and Public Speaking (*Kultum* and *Muhadharah*)**

Short religious talks (*kultum*) and structured public speaking activities (*muhadharah*) are regularly conducted, particularly during Friday religious assemblies. These activities serve a dual function: strengthening religious understanding and developing students' public speaking and leadership skills.

Observations indicate that *muhadharah* is well-organized and institutionally supported, especially for students with interest and aptitude in religious communication. However, *kultum* sessions conducted outside Friday assemblies such as before *zuhr* prayer remain irregular and lack systematic scheduling. This indicates unrealized potential for expanding religious habituation through more frequent and structured communicative practices.

### ***Infaq* and *Sadaqah*: Institutionalized Social Piety**

Among all habituation programs, organized charitable giving emerges as one of the most structurally embedded and socially impactful practices. *Infaq* activities are conducted three times per week and managed transparently through the Muhammadiyah Student Association (IPM) in coordination with the school-based *Lazismu* office.

Documentation analysis confirms that approximately 80% of collected funds are redistributed to economically disadvantaged students, while 20% is allocated to city-level *Lazismu* programs. Teachers and administrators reported that some students voluntarily prepare donations from home, reflecting emerging personal commitment beyond institutional obligation (IPM Coordinator Interview). These practices foster tangible experiences of solidarity, empathy, and social responsibility among students.

Overall, the findings demonstrate that the formation of religious habitus is not solely determined by the presence of formal programs, but by the degree of institutional integration,

consistency of practice, and the availability of meaningful social experiences. Practices that are routine, structured, and socially embedded tend to produce stronger internalization, while those that remain optional or externally enforced result in more superficial engagement.

## **Discussion:**

### **Habituation Programs as a Field of Religious Practice**

The findings of this study demonstrate that religious habituation programs in Muhammadiyah vocational schools operate not merely as instructional routines, but as institutionalized social practices embedded within a structured educational field. As shown in the Results section, practices such as *wudhu* and *infaq* are not only routinely performed but also supported by strong institutional structures, enabling their internalization into students' daily dispositions.

Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice, the school can be understood as a field in which religious norms are endowed with symbolic legitimacy and reproduced through regulated routines (Bourdieu, 1990; Emirbayer & Johnson, 2008). This finding confirms previous studies that highlight the role of schooling as a key site for the production of religious habitus through the normalization of ritual practices (Halstead, 2004; Sahin, 2018).

However, this study extends existing literature by demonstrating that the effectiveness of such institutionalization is not uniform across practices. While prior research tends to assume that routine religious activities lead to internalization, the present findings show that institutional presence alone does not guarantee the formation of durable dispositions.

### **Differential Internalization and the Formation of Religious Habitus**

A key contribution of this study lies in identifying differentiated levels of habitus internalization across religious practices. As evidenced in the findings, practices such as ablution and charitable giving are more likely to become internalized due to their repetitive nature, clear procedural structure, and strong institutional support. These findings are consistent with Bourdieu's notion of habitus as embodied and durable dispositions formed through repeated practice (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990).

At the same time, the study reveals that practices such as daily supplications and certain forms of prayer remain weakly internalized due to their limited curricular integration and lack of symbolic reinforcement. This finding extends Reay's (2004) critique by providing empirical evidence that habitus formation is not homogeneous, but contingent upon institutional reinforcement and pedagogical mediation.

Importantly, this study also challenges the implicit assumption in some Islamic education literature that repetition alone is sufficient for internalization. Instead, the findings demonstrate that repetition must be accompanied by institutional legitimacy and meaningful engagement to produce stable dispositions.

### **Supervision, Symbolic Power, and Heteronomous Religious Practice**

The findings further reveal that some religious practices remain dependent on supervision, particularly congregational prayer. As shown in the Results, a number of students require continuous reminders and monitoring, indicating that their participation is driven more by external control than internal conviction.

This finding supports Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990) concept of symbolic power, where authority is exercised through institutional roles rather than overt coercion. It also aligns with previous critiques in Islamic education that caution against equating ritual compliance with genuine religiosity (Al-Attas, 1999; Sahin, 2013).

However, this study adds a new dimension by showing that supervision plays a dual role. While it may produce heteronomous practices in the long term, it also functions as a necessary pedagogical scaffold in the early stages of habit formation (Vygotsky, 1978; Bakker et al., 2015). This highlights a transitional dynamic that has received limited attention in previous research namely, the shift from externally regulated practice to internalized religious autonomy.

### **Curriculum Integration, Symbolic Capital, and Sustainability**

Another important finding is the decisive role of curriculum integration in shaping the sustainability of religious practices. The Results clearly show that practices embedded in formal structures such as scheduled prayers and organized charity are more consistently performed and internalized than those treated as optional.

This finding confirms existing research in character education, which emphasizes the importance of aligning moral practices with institutional structures (Lickona, 1991; Arthur et al., 2017). At the same time, it extends Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital by demonstrating how curriculum functions as a mechanism for legitimizing certain religious practices within the educational field.

From an Islamic educational perspective, this also resonates with al-Ghazālī's concept of *mu'āwadah* (habit formation). However, this study adds empirical nuance by showing that repetition without curricular integration and reflective engagement risks producing mechanical rather than meaningful religiosity.

### **Toward Autonomous Religious Formation in Vocational Education**

Overall, the findings of this study demonstrate that religious habituation programs in Muhammadiyah vocational schools have successfully established a structured religious environment; however, they have not uniformly produced autonomous religious habitus. As consistently shown in the Results section, the coexistence of internalized practices (such as ablution and *in-faq*) and supervision-dependent behaviors (such as certain prayer practices and daily supplications) indicates that students occupy different stages in the process of religious internalization.

A key contribution of this study lies in demonstrating that religious habitus formation is inherently differentiated rather than uniform. While previous studies tend to assume that repeated religious practices naturally lead to internalization, the present findings show that such processes depend significantly on the degree of institutional integration, symbolic legitimacy, and pedagogical mediation. In this sense, the study extends existing literature by providing empirical evidence that internalization varies across practices and institutional conditions.

Positioned within the broader academic discourse, this study confirms that schools function as important sites for the formation of habitus through the normalization of structured practices. At the same time, it extends previous research by identifying the conditions under which internalization becomes stronger or weaker. Furthermore, it partly challenges the assumption that repetition alone is sufficient for internalization, demonstrating instead that meaningful en-

gagement and institutional support are necessary to transform routine practices into durable dispositions.

Theoretically, this study contributes to Islamic education scholarship by operationalizing Bourdieu's framework in the context of vocational education, which remains relatively under-explored. It shows that religiosity is not merely an individual or doctrinal outcome, but is socially produced through the interaction between institutional structures, symbolic power, and everyday practices. This perspective offers a more nuanced understanding of how religious subjectivities are formed within educational settings.

Practically, the findings highlight the need for Islamic vocational schools to move beyond routine enforcement toward more reflective and student-centered approaches. While supervision may function as an initial pedagogical scaffold, long-term reliance on external control risks reinforcing compliance rather than fostering genuine religiosity. Therefore, habituation programs should be strengthened through curriculum integration, teacher role modeling, and gradual autonomy-building strategies to support the development of internally regulated religious dispositions

## Conclusion

This study demonstrates that religious habituation programs in Muhammadiyah vocational schools function as structured institutional practices that shape students' religious, moral, and social formation in differentiated ways. The findings reveal that habituation does not operate as a uniform mechanism of internalization, but as a socially mediated process influenced by institutional integration, symbolic authority, and pedagogical support.

While certain practices such as ablution and charitable giving have developed into relatively stable and internalized dispositions, others remain dependent on supervision, indicating uneven levels of internalization. These findings suggest that repetition alone is insufficient to produce durable religious habitus without meaningful engagement and institutional legitimacy.

Theoretically, this study contributes by applying Bourdieu's framework to explain how religiosity is socially constructed within educational settings. Practically, it underscores the importance of integrating habituation programs into curriculum structures and promoting reflective pedagogical strategies to foster students' religious autonomy.

## References

- Al-Abrasyi, A. M. (2001). *Dasar-dasar Pokok Pendidikan Islam* (Terj.). Bulan Bintang.
- Al-Attas, S. M. N. (1999). *The Concept of Education in Islam*. International Institute of Islamic Thought.
- Al-Ghazali. (1990). *Ihya' 'Ulum al-Din* (Vol. 3). Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah.
- Al-Ghazali. (2005). *Ihya' 'Ulum al-Din* (Complete ed.). Dar al-Fikr.
- Arthur, J., Kristjánsson, K., Harrison, T., Sanderse, W., & Wright, D. (2017). *Teaching Character and Virtue in Schools*. Routledge.
- Bakker, A., Smit, J., & Wegerif, R. (2015). Scaffolding and dialogic teaching in mathematics education: Introduction and review. *ZDM—The International Journal on Mathematics Education*, 47(7), 1047–1065. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11858-015-0738-8>
- Biesta, G. (2010). *Good Education in an Age of Measurement*. Paradigm Publishers.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge University Press.

- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The Logic of practice* (R. Nice, Trans.). Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J. C. (1990). *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. Sage.
- Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 9(2), 27–40. <https://doi.org/10.3316/QRJ0902027>
- British Educational Research Association. (2018). *Ethical guidelines for educational research* (4th ed.). BERA. <https://www.bera.ac.uk/publication/ethical-guidelines-for-educational-research-2018>
- Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2018). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among five Approaches* (4th ed.). Sage.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2018). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research* (5th ed.). Sage.
- Emirbayer, M., & Johnson, V. (2008). Bourdieu and Organizational Analysis. *Theory and Society*, 37(1), 1–44. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11186-007-9052-y>
- Halstead, J. M. (2004). An Islamic Concept of Education. *Comparative Education*, 40(4), 517–529. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0305006042000284510>
- Harker, R., Mahar, C., & Wilkes, C. (2009). *An Introduction to the Work of Pierre Bourdieu*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hefner, R. W. (2011). *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*. Princeton University Press.
- Janah, S. Y. N., et al. (2025). Upaya Sekolah Menanamkan Karakter Religius Dan Sosial Siswa Melalui Pembiasaan Di MI NU Tuban. *Journal of Elementary School Research and Development*, 1(1), 50–59. Retrieved from <https://journal.staimun.ac.id/index.php/basico/article/view/56>
- Kementerian Pendidikan, Kebudayaan, Riset, dan Teknologi. (2023). *Panduan Teaching Factory*. Kemendikbudristek.
- Kristjánsson, K. (2015). Aristotelian Character Education and the Challenge of Relativism. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 63(2), 1–17.
- Kurniawan, W. A. (2018). *Budaya Tertib Siswa di Sekolah: Penguatan Pendidikan Karakter*. CV Jejak.
- Kvale, S., & Brinkmann, S. (2015). *InterViews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing* (3rd ed.). Sage Publications.
- Lickona, T. (1991). *Educating for Character*. Bantam Books.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Sage Publications.
- Majelis Dikdasmen PP Muhammadiyah. (2024). *Kurikulum ISMUBA berbasis penguatan karakter*. PP Muhammadiyah.
- Maton, K. (2008). Habitus. In M. Grenfell (Ed.), *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts* (pp. 49–65). Acumen.
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2014). *Qualitative data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook* (3rd ed.). SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Nucci, L. P., & Narvaez, D. (2008). *Handbook of Moral and Character Education*. Routledge.
- Orb, A., Eisenhauer, L., & Wynaden, D. (2001). Ethics in qualitative research. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, 33(1), 93–96. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1547-5069.2001.00093.x>
- Rahma, S. S. (2023). Religious Culture and Students' Moral Development in Indonesian Schools. *Journal of Islamic Education Studies*, 6(2), 101–115.

- Reay, D. (2004). 'It's All Becoming a Habitus': Beyond the Habitual Use of Habitus in Educational Research. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 25(4), 431–444. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0142569042000236934>
- Sahin, A. (2013). *New Directions in Islamic Education*. Kube Publishing.
- Sahin, A. (2018). Critical Issues in Islamic Education Studies. *British Journal of Religious Education*, 40(3), 231–243.
- Spradley, J. P. (1980). *Participant Observation*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- UNESCO. (2015). *Rethinking Education: Towards a Global Common Good?* UNESCO Publishing.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind in Society: The Development of Higher Psychological Processes* (M. Cole et al., Eds.). Harvard University Press.
- Wheelahan, L. (2010). *Why Knowledge Matters in Curriculum: A Social Realist Argument*. Routledge.