



The Transformation of Religious Habitus Among Mahasantri Through a Dormitory Program: A Sociological Analysis from Pierre Bourdieu's Perspective

Syifa Qamari (1), Riza Saputra (2), Mutmainnah (3), Nor Amalia Husna (4)

UIN Antasari Banjarmasin (1,2,3,4)

Corresponding Author: syifanurqamari@gmail.com

Abstract

The dormitory program serves as a strategic initiative for cultivating students' religious character through an immersive communal living. Functioning beyond its role as a residential facility, the dormitory operates as a structured social field that facilitates the internalization of religious dispositions. This study employs a descriptive qualitative methodology, drawing on in-depth interviews with alumni of the dormitory program and document analysis of the *Ma'had al-Jāmi'ah* curriculum. Guided by Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework, particularly the interrelated concepts of habitus, field, and capital, this research examines how religious practices, institutional oversight, and peer interactions within the dormitory contribute to the formation of a religious habitus among *mahasantri*. The findings indicate that while the dormitory program substantially shapes students' religious orientations, the durability of this habitus after residency depends on individuals' access to cultural and social capital, as well as the characteristics of the new social fields they enter. These results underscore the transformative potential of the dormitory program, while also highlight the transformative potential of the dormitory program and underscore the need for sustained strategies to preserve religious values beyond the institutional setting.

Keywords: religious habitus; dormitory program; mahasantri, Pierre Bourdieu, Ma'had al-Jāmi'ah

Introduction

The dormitory program (*pemondokan*) functions as a strategic social space in the transformative process of university students, particularly in shaping their religious values and practices. Intensive student interactions and the dynamics of communal life foster an educational atmosphere that facilitates the continuous internalization of spiritual values and religious practices. In this context, dormitory life not only supports the institution's mission to produce morally upright graduates but also serves as a medium for cultivating students' religious character.

Dormitories within Islamic higher education institutions function far beyond accommodation facilities; they constitute an integral component of an educational system that harmonizes academic, spiritual, and social aspects into a unified process. Students acquire knowledge not only through formal classroom learning but also through daily

religious routines, spiritual mentoring, and habituation to Islamic ways of life. This integration significantly contributes to the stable development of a religious habitus among students.

Furthermore, dormitories play a central role in cultivating positive habits that shape student character both during their studies and after graduation (Huda & Dahliana, 2021). The religious values internalized during their residency become a foundational resource for navigating challenges beyond the campus environment. This system draws on the pedagogical heritage of *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools), which is deeply rooted in Indonesia's Islamic educational tradition, while adapting to the demands of modern higher education (Zakki, n.d., p. 30). Although higher education is increasingly modern and technology-driven, religious values remain essential in shaping the mindset and behavior of Muslim students (Muhaimin, 2009, p. 43). Accordingly, it is crucial to explore how dormitory experiences contribute to the formation and sustainability of *mahasantri's* religious habitus amid the varied social fields they encounter after leaving the dormitory.

The term *mahasantri* combines "*maha*" (meaning "higher," referring to university students) and "*santri*" (a student engaged in religious study). It denotes university students residing in campus dormitories (*Ma'had al-Jāmi'ah*) who undergo a boarding system modeled on traditional *pesantren*. Within Bourdieu's theoretical framework, *mahasantri* are actors transitioning from their previous social fields (public schools, *pesantren*, or family environments) into a new field, the *Ma'had al-Jāmi'ah*. Distinctions between students with prior *pesantren* experience and those without serve as a key analytical point in examining how cultural capital influences adaptation processes and the formation of religious habitus.

A central focus of the dormitory program is the development of *mahasantri's* religious habits through structured daily religious practices. The program is designed to instill Islamic values through routines such as communal prayers, Islamic study sessions, and spiritually oriented social activities. These habits extend beyond formal rituals to include ethical conduct, time discipline, collective responsibility, and Islamic ways of perceiving social reality (Siswati, 2021).

The cultivation of religious habits in the dormitory is intended as a sustainable process of value internalization aimed at producing a generation of Muslim intellectuals who are not only academically capable but also spiritually grounded and morally upright (Yunanto & Kasanova, 2023). Such an initiative aligns with religiously informed character education, which remains critical amid contemporary societal complexities.

However, the implementation of the dormitory program presents several challenges. One recurring issue concerns the difficulties some students, especially those without *pesantren* backgrounds, face in adapting to the rhythm and regulations of dormitory life. Additionally, the tension between academic demands and the consistency of religious activities often generates dilemmas in prioritization. A more substantial challenge emerges once students complete their dormitory period and transition into different social environments. Not all religious habits developed within the dormitory can be consistently sustained, particularly when students lack adequate social or cultural support systems outside the dormitory. In this regard, the sustainability of religious habitus heavily depends on the

structure of social and cultural capital possessed by the individual and the nature of the new social fields they enter.

This study adopts a descriptive qualitative approach to explore the lived experiences of students participating in the dormitory program and its influence on the formation and sustainability of their religious habits. This approach aligns with the study's objective of understanding social realities from the participants' perspectives and uncovering contextual meanings behind their behaviors and experiences (Creswell & Poth, 2016; Moleong, 1989). Data were collected through in-depth interviews with ten students of UIN Antasari Banjarmasin who had completed their residency in the university dormitory (*ma'had*). Participants were selected using purposive sampling to reflect variations in educational and socio-religious backgrounds and their willingness to provide reflective insights (Patton, 2002). Semi-structured interviews allowed flexible yet focused engagement with themes such as religious experiences, the influence of the dormitory environment, and the transformation of habits after leaving the dormitory. Additional data were gathered through document analysis, including institutional materials such as the *Ma'had al-Jāmi'ah* guidelines, daily schedules, and archives of religious development programs.

The selection of *Ma'had al-Jāmi'ah* at UIN Antasari Banjarmasin as the site of this study is grounded in both contextual significance and theoretical relevance within the sociology of religion. The institution represents a structured social field in which the dormitory program is intentionally designed to internalize religious dispositions through strict daily routines, such as communal prayers (*shalāt al-jamā'ah*) and Qur'anic recitation. Although previous research has examined this institution, existing studies have largely focused on technical aspects of the curriculum or program implementation. This study seeks to address that gap by applying Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework, particularly the concepts of habitus, field, and capital, to analyze not only the formation of religious habitus but also its continuity after *mahasantri* exit the dormitory environment.

Literature Review

Previous studies have examined the role of dormitory programs and the development of religious habits within educational contexts (Rohmah, 2019; Zulkhairi et al., 2022). Murtaza Marzuki, for example, investigated managerial aspects and student development strategies at *Ma'had al-Jāmi'ah*, including the urgency of dormitory construction as part of a pesantren based education model, and changes in students' religious behavior while living in the dormitory (Marzuki, 2023). Another study highlights the importance of dormitory governance and environmental design in shaping students' religious character (Ghozani, 2023; Rena Ulfa, 2024). Other studies, such as those by Faiq and Firyal, focus on character development through religious habituation at the junior high school level (Hafidzh & R.f, 2024). Meanwhile, research by Nur Avia Lutfiana explores the development of students' religious character through religious habituation programs at MAN 4 Madiun (Lutfiana, 2024). Although conducted at different educational levels, these findings demonstrate that systematic and

value oriented environments play a strategic role in shaping learners' religious attitudes and behaviors (Sari et al., 2023).

Although numerous studies have been conducted on the *Ma'had al-Jāmi'ah* program at UIN Antasari, most have focused on specific aspects such as Qur'anic literacy and religious learning methodologies. Previous research has examined students' ability to read the Qur'an (Arbainsyah, 2017; Noor, 2012), the effectiveness of Qur'anic instruction (Said, 2016), instructional procedures (Inayah, 2017), and evaluation of Qur'anic learning outcomes (Alfianur, 2018; Herlena, 2019). Other studies have addressed character education within the dormitory context (Huda & Dahliana, 2021; Matsuhdi, 2017; Nisa, 2019; Yuniarti, 2021), as well as the implementation of worship guidance, including efforts by musyriks to instill discipline in congregational prayer (Audina, 2018; Zaini, 2018), internalization of devotional values (Matsuhdi, 2019), fiqh learning methods (Ni'mah, 2016), purification practices (thaharah) (Khatimah, 2019), and general religious counseling (J. Jannah, 2012; Taupik, 2017). Further research has focused on da'wah activities (Ulfah, 2019), Arabic language instruction (Firdausi et al., 2015), and management aspects such as student finance (R. Jannah, 2018) and dormitory cooperatives (Siti, 2019). Despite this body of work, there is a notable lack of research specifically exploring the formation and sustainability of religious habitus among mahasantri within the *Ma'had al-Jāmi'ah* framework. None of the aforementioned studies engage directly with Pierre Bourdieu's sociological theory or its central concepts habitus, field, and capital—to analyze how students internalize religious practices during their time in the dormitory and how these practices persist (or diminish) after they leave the institutional environment. This study addresses that gap by investigating how the dormitory program serves as a formative social arena in shaping students' religious dispositions and how factors such as cultural and social capital influence their adaptation, transformation, and continuity of religious practice.

Nevertheless, there remains a gap in research that specifically explores the relationship between dormitory programs in Islamic higher education and the development of students' religious habitus from a sociological perspective. This study seeks to fill that gap by analyzing the student dormitory program at UIN Antasari Banjarmasin through the lens of Pierre Bourdieu's theory. Bourdieu's theoretical framework comprising the concepts of habitus, field, and capital is employed to analyze how the dormitory environment shapes students' religious dispositions. Habitus is understood as a system of dispositions formed through social interactions and repeated practices within a specific field in this case, the dormitory setting. This research also examines how students utilize the cultural and social capital acquired during their time in the dormitory in their post-residency lives, and how the social dynamics within the dormitory field influence the continuity of their religious practices. The study aims to offer insights by investigating the relationship between the dormitory program and students' religious habits at UIN Antasari Banjarmasin, using Bourdieu's theoretical perspective to understand both the formation of religious habitus and the challenges of sustaining it beyond the dormitory environment.

Results and Discussion

Habitus, Field, and Capital in Bourdieu's Sociology

Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1984, 1990), one of the most influential sociologists of the twentieth century, developed a theoretical model that explains how social practices are structured, reproduced, and transformed through the intersection of individual agency and objective social structures (Arisandi, n.d., p. 189). His core concepts, *habitus*, *field*, and *capital*, constitute an integrated analytical framework that illuminates the relationship between personal dispositions and broader institutional contexts. Bourdieu (1977) defines *habitus* as a system of durable, transposable dispositions acquired through long-term engagement with one's social environment (Salamah, n.d., p. 89). These dispositions are deeply embedded in the body and mind, shaping perceptions, thoughts, actions, and ways of being. *Habitus* is simultaneously structured by past experiences and structuring of present and future practices (Suyanto et al., 2023, p. 103). It provides individuals with a "feel for the game," enabling them to navigate complex social arenas without deliberate calculation.

Although the dormitory program as a mechanism of student integration could be examined through Talcott Parsons' structural functionalism (Parsons, 1991), this study argues that Bourdieu's theoretical framework, *habitus*, *field*, and *capital*, offers a more sensitive and contextually appropriate analytical lens. (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990) uniquely connects structure (the dormitory's rules, routines, and institutional expectations) and agency (individual actions and responses) through the concept of *habitus*, an internalized set of dispositions that generate practice.

Furthermore, the concepts of *field* and *capital* allow for nuanced analysis of variations in students' responses and the potential discontinuity of religious *habitus* after leaving the dormitory. Such variation reflects differences in access to social and cultural capital, as well as the demands of new social fields students enter after residency. These dynamics mark a clear departure from Parsons' emphasis on systemic stability and functional equilibrium, which is less suited to capturing the conflict, negotiation, and transformation inherent in students' religious trajectories.

Crucially, *habitus* is neither innate nor biologically determined; it is produced through socialization beginning in childhood and reinforced through daily practice. Bourdieu (1990) distinguishes between primary *habitus*, formed during early life, and secondary *habitus*, which is more malleable and shaped by new experiences, institutional transitions, and social contexts. In religious education, *habitus* manifests through routine worship, spiritual sensibilities, ethical reasoning, and interpretive orientations toward religious texts and authority. In this study, *habitus* is employed to examine how students at UIN Antasari Banjarmasin develop enduring religious dispositions through their participation in the dormitory (*pemondokan*) program. The internalization of daily religious routines, communal prayers, spiritual mentoring, and value-laden interactions, contributes to the formation of a religious *habitus* that extends beyond ritual acts to encompass broader dimensions of Islamic living.

To further contextualize *habitus*, Bourdieu introduces the concept of *field*, a structured social arena characterized by its own rules, norms, power relations, and stakes (Bourdieu, 2011). Each field, educational, religious, economic, or artistic, is semi-autonomous and governed by a particular logic that determines what is valued and how legitimacy is conferred (Mutahir, 2011). The dormitory or *Ma'had al-Jāmi'ah* can be conceptualized as a religious-educational field, a microcosm of Islamic society in which students are socialized into specific values, practices, and hierarchies. Within this field, students engage in symbolic struggles to define religious authority, demonstrate piety, and acquire recognition. Their behaviors are shaped not only by institutional regulations but also by internalized norms, products of their *habitus*, that align with the expectations of the field. Understanding the dormitory as a field thus allows researchers to examine how students adapt to, negotiate, and internalize the socioreligious structure surrounding them.

A third foundational concept in Bourdieu's framework is *capital*, defined as resources individuals employ to maintain or enhance their position within a field (Bourdieu, 1984). Departing from conventional economic interpretations, Bourdieu identifies four primary forms of capital: **Economic capital**: Material resources such as money, property, and assets. **Cultural capital**: Educational qualifications, intellectual competencies, and cultural knowledge acquired through schooling or family upbringing. **Social capital**: Social networks, relationships, and connections that provide access to support and opportunities. **Symbolic capital**: Prestige, honor, and recognition that are socially validated.

Capital is relational, convertible, and context-dependent. For instance, religious knowledge, a form of cultural capital, may become symbolic capital when it grants an individual prestige or authority in a religious field (Udaya, 2022). In the present study, students enter the dormitory field with varying amounts and types of capital: some possess strong religious capital from prior *pesantren* education, while others come from secular or urban backgrounds. These differences influence their adaptability, engagement, and likelihood of succeeding within the dormitory environment. Bourdieu's framework also explains why the sustainability of religious *habitus* after students leave the dormitory depends not only on the strength of that *habitus* but also on the capital they bring into new social fields. Students entering environments that do not support religious practice may struggle to maintain their dispositions, particularly if their social or cultural capital is limited.

Collectively, *habitus*, *field*, and *capital* constitute a dynamic relational system. *Habitus* equips individuals with dispositions for action; the *field* provides the context within which these actions occur; and *capital* determines the resources individuals can mobilize in navigating that field. This triadic framework underpins the analysis of religious transformation among students in the dormitory setting and its sustainability after they exit the institutional environment.

Ma'had al-Jāmi'ah as a Structured Religious Formation Program

The *Ma'had al-Jāmi'ah* dormitory program represents an integrated educational model that extends beyond providing student accommodation. It constitutes a

comprehensive system of religious and character formation designed to instill Islamic values through systematically cultivated daily practices. In this context, the dormitory functions not merely as a residential facility but as a pedagogical environment oriented toward students' moral and spiritual development.

The primary objective of the *Ma'had al-Jāmi'ah* is to cultivate graduates who are intellectually capable and religiously grounded, aligning with the university's mission of producing scholars with noble character (*akhlāq al-karīmah*). The program is regulated through institutional rules governing students' conduct and engagement. All residents, referred to as *mahasantri* (male) or *mahasantriwati* (female), are required to participate in a range of developmental activities encompassing cognitive, affective, and spiritual dimensions.

Core activities include structured religious learning, Islamic study circles (*kajian*), and daily devotional practices. Students attend study sessions three times a week after the *Maghrib* prayer, covering subjects such as 'aqidah (theology), fiqh (jurisprudence), and akhlāq (ethics). They are also habituated to perform obligatory (*fard*) prayers in congregation, along with recommended (*sunnah*) worship such as *tahajjud* (night prayer), *dhikr* (remembrance), *wird* (spiritual litanies), and daily supplications.

The dormitory operates as a conducive field, using Bourdieu's terminology, for the internalization of religious values, shaped by structured discipline, administrative oversight, and supportive peer interactions. These practices are not intended as mere routines; rather, they facilitate the formation of a religious habitus through repetitive and meaningful religious engagement.

Over time, consistent exposure to such practices fosters the development of a religious identity aligned with Bourdieu's (1977) notion of habitus as the product of durable social practice. Thus, the *Ma'had al-Jāmi'ah* plays a critical role in nurturing religious dispositions that ideally persist even after students transition into broader social fields.

Dormitory Program and the Correlation of Mahasantri's Religious Habits in Bourdieu's Perspective

In Islamic higher education institutions, the formation of students' religious character extends beyond formal classroom instruction to encompass the lived social experiences of campus life. One key component of this experience is the dormitory program (*pemondokan*), which is explicitly designed to cultivate students' religious routines and spiritual discipline. From a sociological standpoint, the dormitory operates as a social arena where processes of value internalization, habit formation, and identity construction occur (Mutia, 2021).

At *Ma'had al-Jāmi'ah*, or the university dormitory program, the relatively brief period of residence, typically two to four months, plays a significant role in cultivating students' religious habits. Through structured routines and consistent supervision, students are guided to perform acts of worship with discipline, attend religious study sessions, and develop spiritually oriented social relationships. Within Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework, the dormitory can be understood as a field in which students develop a new habitus oriented

toward religious practice (Firmando, 2022). One student described this transformation as a notable shift in his worship practices: “Before my experience in the dormitory at UIN Antasari, my worship was irregular. But once in the dormitory, we were required to be disciplined, to pray on time, attend congregational prayers, and recite the Qur’an. I believe the dormitory had a positive impact, especially in enhancing my understanding of religion through structured learning. Even after leaving the dormitory, I have continued to perform my obligatory prayers on time. (*Interview with M. F., 19 October 2024*)

This testimony indicates that prior to the dormitory experience, acts of worship such as prayer were performed inconsistently. The disciplinary system and structured guidance in the dormitory helped him develop punctual prayer habits, participate in Qur’anic recitation, and maintain other religious routines, some of which persisted after leaving. He acknowledged that the dormitory strengthened both his religious understanding and spiritual commitment.

The dormitory experience not only introduces new routines but also revives previously neglected religious practices. For some students, the program becomes a turning point in rekindling their spiritual engagement. One student, for instance, noted that he had rarely performed sunnah practices before entering *Ma’had al-Jāmi’ah*, but the immersive religious environment encouraged him to resume them: “Before joining the dormitory, I had neglected many sunnah practices. But during the *Ma’had al-Jāmi’ah* program, I was reminded and started practicing them again. It had a very positive impact, it helped restore my regular worship, which I had previously abandoned.” (*Interview with A., 18 October 2024*)

This statement reinforces the conclusion that the program positively shapes students’ religious engagement. Through Bourdieu’s theoretical lens, this transformation can be understood as the formation of a new religious habitus, shaped through social interaction and repeated practice within the dormitory field (Gunawan, 2014). Importantly, this habitus emerges through the interplay between the structure of the field and the students’ pre-existing forms of capital.

One influential form of capital is cultural capital, particularly religious background. Students from pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) or religious families tend to adapt more easily because Islamic values and worship habits are already ingrained. In contrast, students with limited religious exposure undergo more substantial change, as the dormitory functions as both a challenging and transformative learning environment.

Interview data show that students’ religious habits are positively shaped by the dormitory experience, and that habitus formation is mediated by their pre-existing cultural capital. Some students, especially those with strong religious backgrounds, described the program as a continuation of familiar routines: “I was already used to religious routines before entering the UIN dormitory. The activities were like what I experienced at my previous pesantren, except that there the religious activities ran from afternoon to night, while at UIN they were mostly in the evenings. So I didn’t find it too challenging.” (*Interview with L. B., 19 October 2024*)

Not all students, however, encountered the same level of ease. Differences in cultural capital strongly influenced students' adaptation to the dormitory's religious routines. Students from religious families tended to maintain stable worship habits. One explained that although he sometimes struggled with laziness, his supportive family environment consistently encouraged him: "Sometimes I feel lazy, but my religious family environment reminds and encourages me to stay consistent in worship, both obligatory and sunnah, including attending study circles." (*Interview with N. H., 21 October 2024*) Another student similarly noted that his upbringing facilitated smooth adaptation: "It was quite easy to adapt to the religious routines in the dormitory because I had already been used to them at home, praying regularly, attending religious gatherings, and joining *Habsyi* music groups." (*Interview with A. F., 21 October 2024*)

These accounts show that prior religious exposure prepared some students to continue established routines, generating continuity rather than novelty. Conversely, students without pesantren backgrounds found the program more demanding. One student described the challenge of entering the dormitory without prior religious training: "Living in the dormitory was a challenge because I had never attended a pesantren before. I felt there was a lot I didn't know, especially in Islamic studies and memorized prayers. But it was a positive challenge that motivated me and had a good impact." (*Interview with F. N. A., 19 October 2024*)

We acknowledge that power dynamics and contestation are central to Bourdieu's theoretical framework. Fields are not neutral arenas but sites of struggle where various forms of capital, economic, social, cultural, and symbolic, are negotiated and contested (Bourdieu, 1990). In the context of *Ma'had al-Jāmi'ah*, symbolic violence may manifest when the dormitory's doxa, its unquestioned ideal of a religious habitus, is imposed as normative. Students with limited religious cultural capital often internalize and adapt to these norms due to insufficient capital to resist, whereas those with higher levels of capital frequently assume leadership roles and wield symbolic authority (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

Our analysis further extends this perspective by examining how inequalities in capital among alumni shape their adaptive strategies and levels of contestation after transitioning into new social fields. Their responses illustrate ongoing negotiations with the institutional dominance previously internalized within the *Ma'had* environment. This variation reflects Bourdieu's assertion that fields are contested spaces governed by specific logics, values, and rules. Students entering such a field must adjust, thereby developing new forms of religious habitus. Structured routines, collective worship, and supervision act as key mechanisms in this process.

According to Bourdieu, habitus transformation results from the interaction between previous dispositions, the structure of the new field, and the capital one possesses. Entering a field characterized by consistent religious practices compels students to conform. For those unfamiliar with such practices, the dormitory becomes a transformative space for cultivating disciplined religious habitus, not merely through external enforcement but also through individual agency.

Peer interaction also plays a significant role. In line with Bourdieu's concept of social capital, this research found that students who associated with peers possessing strong religious capital, such as extensive religious knowledge or consistent worship, tended to be positively influenced: "What influenced my religious habits during dormitory life were the disciplinary rules and the consequences of violating them, guidance from *murabbīs* and *musyrifahs*, and encouragement from friends who motivated me to remain consistent." (Interview with S. M., 18 October 2024)

Students also recognized that peer dynamics could both support and hinder consistency. One informant noted: "The dormitory environment, its teachings and rules, was influential. But the challenge was peer pressure. Sometimes, when I wanted to go pray in the *musala*, friends would urge me to delay or skip it." (Interview with A., 18 October 2024)

This illustrates Bourdieu's view of the field as a contested social space where institutional structures and interpersonal dynamics intersect. The development of a religious habitus is shaped not only by formal mechanisms but also by social interactions. A key question concerns whether religious habits formed in the dormitory endure once students return to their everyday environments. Bourdieu (1977) argues that habitus, though durable, remains responsive to shifts in social fields. Thus, the sustainability of these practices depends on the characteristics of students' subsequent environments, home, workplace, or broader community. One student acknowledged a decline in his post-dormitory religious consistency: "After completing the dormitory program, I became less consistent with practices like *witr* and *sunnah* prayers. The reasons were lack of personal motivation, laziness, and an unsupportive environment. But I still try to maintain and develop my religious habits from the dormitory." (Interview with F. N. A., 19 October 2024)

Another student explained that while the initial transition out of the dormitory was smooth, maintaining the same level of religious discipline gradually became difficult due to increasing commitments: "Initially after leaving the dormitory, I was still able to pray *tahajjud* when I woke up at night and regularly read the Qur'an. But over time, due to many activities, it gradually declined." (Interview with M. Y. N. A., 21 October 2024)

Despite the absence of structural oversight, some students continued to uphold moral and symbolic values internalized during their dormitory experience. One student stated: "My religious routines like Qur'an recitation and obligatory prayers persisted. I also remember advice from our teachers, for example, removing makeup before prayer. Although I've dropped some *sunnah* practices, those teachings are still with me." (Interview with S., 19 October 2024) Another student similarly acknowledged that although her consistency decreased, moral and normative internalizations remained influential: "At first, I maintained my religious habits after leaving the dormitory, but gradually they decreased because there were no rules or supervision. Still, I feel a moral obligation, like a *superego*, that pushes me to retain certain teachings, such as *fiqh* on menstruation." (Interview with K. A. A., 19 October 2024) Interestingly, one student reported an improvement in her religious commitment after leaving the dormitory: "After leaving the dormitory, I became more disciplined and spiritually

mature. Now I'm more punctual in performing the five daily prayers." (*Interview with N. H., 21 October 2024*)

These findings indicate that even after the structural influence of the dormitory diminishes, the habitus developed within it may persist or evolve, depending on individual commitment and the presence of supportive social environments. Some students maintain or even strengthen their religious routines, while others face challenges due to the absence of institutional scaffolding. This pattern aligns with Bourdieu's argument that habitus, though durable, is not immutable; rather, it continues to be shaped by the dynamic interplay of structure, capital, and agency.

Conclusion

The dormitory (*pemondokan*) program demonstrates a significant relationship with the development of students' religious habits. Although its duration is relatively short, typically two to four months, the program exerts a notably positive influence on the formation and reinforcement of students' religious routines. Using Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework, the dormitory can be conceptualized as a field that provides the structural and cultural conditions necessary for cultivating a religious habitus. This includes heightened discipline in performing obligatory prayers, participation in congregational worship, regular Qur'anic recitation, and engagement in other religious activities.

Students' adaptation to the dormitory's routines is shaped by their pre-existing cultural capital. Those from religious families or with a pesantren background generally adjust more easily, as the dormitory environment resembles their earlier experiences. For these students, dormitory life reinforces already established patterns of religious practice. In contrast, students without such background often face greater difficulty meeting the program's expectations; yet many acknowledge that the experience significantly enhances their religious discipline and deepens their understanding of Islamic teachings.

The sustainability of these religious habits after leaving the dormitory varies among students. Some are able to maintain their religious routines due to continued social and familial support. Others struggle once the structured and supervised environment is removed, especially when confronted with competing activities or unsupportive social surroundings. Peer influence and prevailing community norms also play important roles in determining whether these dispositions endure. Overall, the dormitory program provides a strong institutional foundation for the development of a religious habitus. However, the continuation of these dispositions as students transition into new social fields depends heavily on individual agency and the availability of cultural and social capital in their subsequent environments. The durability of the religious habits formed in the dormitory is thus shaped by the interplay between internalized values and the structural characteristics of the new arenas they enter.

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