

Construction of the Tahfidzul Quran Islamic Boarding School Curriculum through Social Reproduction

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Abstract

This research discusses the construction of the Tahfidzul Quran Islamic Boarding School curriculum through social reproduction. The research methodology used in this study is qualitative descriptive research. By using the concept of Habitus as a structure of social reproduction, this study concludes that the curriculum at Ubay Bin Ka'ab Islamic Boarding School is constructed by reproducing ideologies, theological and moral beliefs, lifestyles adopted by lodge caregivers in particular and Tablighi congregational institutions in general. Although the curriculum focuses on memorizing the Quran, this pesantren teaches its students various religious knowledge and practices they need to participate in society as preachers. In addition, the curriculum also adjusts national education policies.

Keywords: Curriculum Construction, Tahfidzul Quran Islamic Boarding School, Social Reproduction, Curriculum Structure.

INTRODUCTION

The era of world desecularization rose (Andriy Kovalenko, 2022; Składanowski & Smuniewski, 2022), marked by the emergence of the phenomenon of religious revivalism, fundamentalism, hybrid spirituality, and spiritual markets. The cultural phenomenon of religious revivalism in the eighteenth century appeared on the outer East coast (Gastéum, 2021). Several pesantren in Indonesia turned out to give birth to Islamic fundamentalism and terror actors felt by the community. It makes pesantren convey Islamic teachings that are rahmatan lil'alam (Giving love to all nature), inclusive, tolerant, and peaceful, which can strengthen the Indonesian nation (Dian, 2023). The claim of pesantren as institutions that build extremism and radicalism is a negative assessment of the community. It contradicts the reality that pesantren are inclusive, tolerant (Aryati & Suradi, 2022), and accommodating institutions to various issues of modernity (Mappiasse & Hayadin, 2022; Puspitarini et al., 2023). It can be seen in the study of curriculum and learning in pesantren (Rohman & Muhtamiroh, 2022).

The religious revival is seen in the interest of the Muslim community towards the Quranic Tahfidz program. One form of religious revivalism is reflected in the ethical consumption of Muslims (Mohamed Nasir, 2022). Religious revival is a fundamental belief system in maintaining Islamic culture, identity, and poverty alleviation (Rahman, 2022). Acculturation of Islam with local culture as a form of religious response from the local community realizes the existence of pesantren in that place (Yuli et al., 2023). One's behaviour following individual and communal life is the goal to be achieved by Islamic education (Muhajir et al., 2020). Therefore, Islamic education greatly emphasizes intellectual, spiritual, physical, and imaginative dimensions guided by Islamic values (Kosim et al., 2023; Raihani, 2012). It makes Muslims care about the Quranic Tahfidz program (Djuddah et al., 2021).

Non-formal educational institutions emerged by focusing on the Quranic Tahfidz program. The Tahfidzul Quran program is a prominent feature of non-formal educational institutions, particularly Islamic education. This program focuses on

memorizing the Quran and is widely implemented in Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia (bin Umar et al., 2023). Research has been conducted to analyze the planning, implementation, and evaluation of the Tahfidzul Quran program, emphasizing its significance in the educational landscape. The program is a fundamental aspect of Islamic education, reflecting the high interest of the Indonesian Muslim community in memorizing the Quran and imparting this knowledge to the next generation (Nordin et al., 2023). The

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educational evaluation of the Tahfidzul Quran program has been a subject of scholarly interest, demonstrating its importance in the non-formal educational sector (Addas et al., 2022).

The presence of the Hafidz Indonesia program on one of the private televisions received a positive response from the Indonesian Muslim community (Fonsén et al., 2023). It then stimulated the emergence of non-formal educational institutions that focus on the Quran Tahfidz program (Rasyid et al., 2022), such as the Darul Quran Memorization Nursery Program with its Rumah Tahfidz program, which until this year numbered 1,200 throughout Indonesia (Agung Sasongko, n.d.).

The Quranic Tahfidz program is one of the educational options for pesantren students. Reality shows that not all students attending the tahfiz program can maintain memorization (A. M. Ahmad et al., 2024). There is a lack of motivation and less effective rote repetition models (Misnan et al., 2021). Therefore, the Quranic Tahfidz program specifically appeared in pesantren as a solution to the lack of memorization of the students (Nordin et al., 2023).

But in reality, each pesantren has a different ideology manifested in its education system (Kosim et al., 2023). Puritanical tendencies in religious understanding appear in some Puritan pesantren affiliated with Muhammadiyah institutions or organizations, Persis, LDII, the Indonesian Da'wah Council, Salafi, and Wahabi ideology (Basori et al., 2023). Although these pesantren are categorized as puritanical, they have diverse religious understanding, which can be distinguished into three categories: radical, accommodationist, and modernist (Aryati & Suradi, 2022). The existence of ideology in education in the pesantren is mediated through its curriculum (Rohman et al., 2023).

The determination and improvisation of the objective structure of the curriculum carried out by the Pesantren Tahfidzul Quran is different from the accurate structure of the old Pesantren curriculum (Rohman et al., 2023). Suradi et al. said that Pesantren Wali Songo accommodates the moderate ideology of Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jama'ah in its curriculum construction (Suradi et al., 2021). Elsewhere, a rational religious ideology emerged in the curriculum epistemology at the Indonesian Al-Munawir pesantren and a religious conservative ideology in the Malaysian Pasir Tumboh pesantren (Andi Prastowo, 2023).

The old pesantren education system played a role in creating cadres of the Muslim generation who *tafaqqub fi addin*, who were able to master religious knowledge from various sides, including mastery of the Quran (Zulfikar et al., 2023). However, the presence of the Tahfidzul Quran program and the Tahfidzul Quran pesantren reduces the existing Pesantren education system (Irawan, 2022) because it only focuses on mastering the memorization of the Quran alone (Hidayah, 2021).

The structure of the Quranic Tahfidz pesantren curriculum becomes very complex due to the intersection of various phenomena in pesantren education, namely religious revivalism in the form of the Quranic Tahfidz phenomenon, pesantren education curriculum and ideology (M. Ahmad et al., 2021; Mappiasse & Hayadin, 2022). This intersection results in the diverse points of each pesantren manifested as a diverse Quranic Tahfidz pesantren curriculum (Akrim et al., 2022).

The diversity of the curriculum is the result of social construction involving various objective structures surrounding it and pesantren agencies that improvise the curriculum while determining existing objective structures (Islah Gusmian, 2022). It includes the pesantren seeking to respond to public interest in the tahfizul Quran (Quran memorization program) at the Ubay Bin Ka'ab (UK) Islamic Boarding School Tanjung Purwokerto. This pesantren is interesting to study because of the pesantren's affiliation with Tablighi Jama'ah, which falls under the category of Islamic revivalism ideology. For this reason, this research is important to understand and analyze how the curriculum of the Quranic Tahfidzul pesantren was formed by the Ubay Bin Ka'ab Islamic Boarding School and how the process of social reproduction affects its construction.

METHODS

Research Design

This field research uses a qualitative descriptive research approach (Almoghirah et al., 2023; Hennink et al., 2020). His research aims to understand and analyze how the curriculum of the Quranic Tahfidzul pesantren is formed and how the process of social reproduction affects its construction. The population of this study was Pesantren Ubay bin Ka'ab Tanjung, Banyumas. The research samples were Islamic boarding school caregivers, ustadz companions of the Tahfidzul Quran, and Santri Tahfidzul Quran.

The data collection method used unstructured in-depth interviews, document studies, and moderate participant observations of phenomena in pesantren (Aurini et al., 2022; Mujlli et al., 2023). The data validation used in this data collection is the triangulation method (Emmert et al., 1971; Sugiyono, 2015) and the triangulation technique of data sources (Simanihuruk et al., 2023). This method is used to obtain data about pesantren that are used as samples that include the history of pesantren and pesantren education, curriculum construction, adjustment of Quranic Tahfidz Pesantren with prudent conditions in the realm of education, utilization of Tahfidz Pesantren capital, and Quranic Tahfidz Pesantren strategies in increasing position and dominance in the realm of education in the context of social reproduction.

After the data is collected, the organization and processing of data are carried out through analysis data interaktif Miles and Huberman (Silverman & Patterson, 2021), namely, data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification (Laverty, 2016). The theory that will be used to analyze the data is Pierre Bourdieu's habitus theory (Bourdieu, 2007).

RESULTS

Tahfidzul Quran Curriculum Ubay Bin Ka'ab Islamic Boarding School (Uk) Tanjung Purwokerto Selatan, Banyumas

Pesantren UK, as Pesantren Tahfidzul Quran, has its characteristics in addition to general characteristics, as in most pesantren. As a pesantren, the curriculum taught is the same as pesantren in general by teaching several *turrets* (yellow books) even though it is taught not with a classical model. However, there are still levels, namely level 1 to level 7, with a *balaqa* learning system. In addition, it is the study of *Tahfidzul Quran*.

The target of memorization of the Quran for students set by pesantren is three years completed 30 juz. The Quran mushaf used as a standard in memorizing the Quran is the "corner Quran," which consists of 15 lines on each page, and one juz is ten sheets. Thus, if one day can achieve memorization of 1 page, then in 20 days, memorization of 1 juz can be achieved, so that memorization of 30 juz can be achieved for a maximum of 3 years (Misbah, 2022).

However, memorizing the Quran 30 juz in 3 years is a target for students in general. Those with more abilities may be able to complete memorization faster than the target in general, as well as students who do not have capital before going to school, including students who are blind and deaf. The target is adjusted to their respective abilities.

The memorization process is learning, justifying the *makbarijul kburuf* and tajwid, and reading them well and honestly. When the santri has felt capable and suitable for *makbarijul kburuf* and its tajwid, it is only beginning to recite the Quran *bin Nazar*, which is extended with the *occult bill*.

Tahfidzul Quran Learning Activities

The learning carried out in this pesantren generally includes learning related to the Tahfidzul Quran and additional material on religious knowledge (learning/recitation of the book). Activities carried out by the students began at 03.00 WIB by carrying out the Tahajjud prayer, followed by the Shubuh prayer in the congregation.

After the Shubuh prayer, all students gather in the mosque and the foyer of the mosque to read, memorize, and *muraja'ah* (memorization repetition) the Quran until 07.00 WIB. 07.00-08.00 WIB is breakfast time, followed by memorizing the Quran again until 12.00 WIB, then continued with Zuhur prayer in congregation.

After Zuhr's prayer, it is continued with book study activities, the Book of Jurisprudence, Morals, and the Book of Tajweed. Only then did the students have lunch together and continued to rest until 'Asr Prayer. After Asr

Prayer, *ijtima'* is held to read Surat Yasin and others together until Maghrib prayer time comes, then Maghrib prayer together, and read the Quran independently until Adzan 'Isya, then have dinner together followed by prayer 'Isya in the congregation. After the 'Isya prayer, it continued with *mutbala'ab* until 21.00 WIB and continued with deliberation and rest activities.

For the implementation of Tahfidzul Quran to run optimally, the activity could not only be accompanied by a caregiver (K.H. Khudri) but also accompanied by senior students who had finished Tahfidzul Quran 30 juz, a total of 11 senior students. The learning models used are private lessons, independent, and classical models. The personal model is also called individual learning or *Sorogan* or deposit. In this case, learning is carried out by the ustadz or kiai with one of his students directly facing (*musyafahah*). This individual model of learning is used for Quranic learning, especially in aspects of *Tahsinul Qira'ah* (recitation improvement) of the Quran, *Talaqqi* (students imitating the teacher's recitation), Deposits of memorization, as well as *Muraja'ab* (repeating memorization).

In addition to these learning activities, the UK Tanjung Islamic boarding school students are also oriented to be preachers who always spread sincerity, charisma, and invitations to prosper the mosque. Therefore, pesantren equips its students to always alternate in *halaqa* and, after congregational prayers, hold Ta'lim, even if only for a few minutes. Likewise, for Friday sermons, the khatib is the santri.

The activity carried out in *Ta'lim activities* is reading hadith or the story of companions. The primary reference book is the book of *Fadhailul A'mal* by Muhammad Zakaria AlKandahlawi. They must recite the book after Zuhr, 'Asr, 'Isha prayers. It is done so that the students, when they finish learning from the UK pesantren, get the expertise to preach and preach the knowledge obtained from them.

DISCUSSION

Habitus Education Curriculum Pesantren Tahfidz Quran

Theoretically, Habitus can bridge the duality between objectivism and subjectivism, between social structure and agent (Taha et al., 2023). Habitus provides explanations related to the coherence between society and agents, the production and social reproduction of agent actions, and the logic of the functioning of society. The uniformity of a group's lifestyle presupposes the existence of beliefs, tastes, practices, political opinions, philosophical and moral beliefs, aesthetic tastes, and the same food, clothing, and culture within the group (Webber, 2023). The lifestyle of this community also differs from that of other communities in society (Misbah, 2019a).

For Bourdieu, conditioning associated with conditions that require the existence of a particular class would produce Habitus (Córdoba-Rentería & Trujillo-Losada, 2023). Habitus becomes a durable and heritable dispositional system as a constitutional structure that can then form structures in the form of principles that produce and organize practices and representations that can be obtained objectively without conscious effort and mastery of how to operate them to obtain them. Habitus becomes a practical action that occurs naturally and unconsciously and develops in specific social environments. Because of its naturalness, regularity in Habitus is not obedience to rules but is automatically acted out by agents collectively, even without instructions or orders (Halewood, 2023).

Habitus is an interpretive framework for understanding and assessing reality and producing social practices corresponding to its objective structures. Interpretive frameworks and practice producers are inseparable (Jalari et al., 2023). Even Habitus is the basis of the agent's personality, whose formation strongly considers the results of behavioral regularity and practice modalities that rely on improvisation, not adherence to rules. In this case, two reciprocal motions, the internalized objective structure and the subjective motion (perception, classification, evaluation), reveal the definition, usually in the form of values (Jalali & Kouchaki, 2023).

In general, the type of curriculum created and implemented by pesantren depends on the typology of the pesantren. The Salafi type of pesantren will make and implement a curriculum that teaches religious knowledge about classical books with traditional learning methods such as Bandongan, Sorogan, etc. The Khalafiyah type of pesantren teaches religious and general science by applying the classical learning system (*madrasas*) and

providing skill education. The combination pesantren type combines the Salafiyah and Khalafiyah pesantren in learning activities that use the classical system and accommodation of general and religious lessons (Zulfikar et al., 2023). On the other hand, some religious subjects also refer to the classics, some of which are taught by traditional methods such as Bandongan or Sorogan (Assa'idi, 2021). It shows the adaptability of pesantren to the historical context that surrounds them, as stated by Isbah: The adaptability of pesantren has been one of the causes of the growth of pesantren in Indonesia throughout history. Evidence of its adaptability is the adoption of pesantren into the modern school system, the integration of non-religious subjects into their curriculum, and the dynamic integration of pesantren into the national education system (Isbah, 2020).

In response to this condition, pesantren changed routine educational activities, introduced new teaching methods, and created a classical system, teaching general and religious subjects (Lutfauziah et al., 2023). These adjustments, in turn, have implications for the institutional transformation of pesantren. The diversity of the curriculum is primarily determined by the response of the Kiai as the central figure and authority of pesantren in accommodating state education policies and social demands (Isbah, 2020).

This diversity of responses is shown in many pesantren in Indonesia, not only pesantren in general but also pesantren that specifically emphasize the memorization of the Quran. For example, research by Harahap et al. shows differences in the tahfidz curricula in the two Tahfidzul Quran Pesantren. Pesantren Tahfidz Darul Quran Tangerang adopts the curriculum of the Ministry of Religion through the *mu'adab*. At the same time, Pesantren Tahfiz Terpadu Darul Qur'an Mulia Bogor integrates four curricula, namely the curriculum of the Ministry of Education, the curriculum of pesantren, the curriculum of education, and the curriculum of tahfiz (Harahap et al., 2022).

However, it turns out that not all pesantren accommodate integrated state policies by creating mechanisms or strategies that allow their students to gain state recognition either through an integrated curriculum. For example, Pesantren Kuttab al-Fatih retains its original identity (Hidayat, 2018) by designing a curriculum that does not accommodate the Ministry of Agriculture's curriculum. The curriculum taught in Kuttab is different from Islamic schools in general. The Kuttab curriculum only teaches the science of the Quran with a faith orientation. Although general subjects are not taught in Kuttab, teachers try to integrate science with the Quran in faith learning. This curriculum emphasizes the "faith" and "Quran" curricula. The concepts offered are (1) adab before science, (2) science before charity, and (3) faith before the Quran (Andi Prastowo, 2023).

This difference in response is not only based on the response to state policies in the education system with the establishment of the national curriculum but also on considering the extent to which the ideology owned by pesantren can be negotiated with the education system and national curriculum. In the case of Kuttab Al-Fatih for example, with a conservative-fundamentalist-religious ideology (Misbah, 2019b) which is oriented towards historical romanticism of Islamic glory in the past, the independent curriculum is a representation of its original identity that cannot accommodate the national curriculum, because the presence of the curriculum is a criticism of the existing curriculum which is unable to create a quality generation following its vision and mission (Asror Yusuf & Taufiq, 2020).

Meanwhile, the curriculum applied at the Ubay b. Ka'ab pesantren is a manifestation of the purpose of establishing the pesantren, which is oriented towards efforts to: "produce a generation of Quranis who are charismatic and qualified and sincere in preaching." It shows that your curriculum is designed to produce a generation of Qurans with a focus and intensification on the tahfidz of the Quran. For this reason, Pesantren stipulates that the target of students' memorizing the Quran is within 3 years can complete the memorization of 30 Juz. Therefore, to achieve these targets, students are expected to memorize 1 page in 1 day so that in 3 years, students have finished memorizing the Quran. The memorization process goes through several stages: learning about *Makbarijul Khuruf* and *Tajweed* and reading well and correctly. When the student is considered capable and good at *Makbarijul Khuruf* and the *tajweed*, start reading the Quran *bin Nadzar*, followed by *the magic bill*.

The existence of state policy related to the national curriculum became one of the objective structures, borrowing Bourdieu's habitus theory (Halewood, 2023), which mediated the construction of the Quranic Tahfidzul Pesantren curriculum. This structure provides a new perspective on seeing the reality of education

during the development of modernity and social reality. However, the existence of the objective structure of the national curriculum has experienced a "twist" from the thoughts and consciousness of the kiai or founders of pesantren, giving birth to a variety of different responses in seeing the national curriculum.

It has implications for the attitudes and types of curriculum set and applied in the pesantren. Pesantren Ubay bin Ka'ab only focuses on learning the Tahfidzul Quran and does not accommodate the national curriculum in its education system. If students want to get a national diploma, then the pesantren allows them to take part in the pursuit of package B to take the national exam and get a diploma.

In addition, the ideology owned by the kiai or the founder of the pesantren also becomes an objective structure that becomes an interpretive framework to construct and implement the pesantren curriculum. The traditional ideological background of Ubay bin Ka'ab's Islamic boarding school also constitutionalized his perspective in creating and implementing the curriculum. The existence of a national curriculum that must be implemented as a demand from the state, the pesantren still maintains the traditionality side of the pesantren by teaching religious mapel by referring to classical books/yellow books, such as *Aqidatul Awam*, *Mabadi' Fiqhiyyah*, *Alala*, *Nahwul Wadhbih*, etc. with the *bandongan* method.

The objective structure of the curriculum (Irawan, 2022) also represents the disposition system occupied by the kiai and applied to the students. By emphasizing the learning of the Tahfidzul Quran, students must make memorization of the Quran a learning priority and familiarize it with everyday life. The intensification of learning the Tahfidzul Quran in the Ubay bin Ka'ab pesantren is done through various patterns such as independent memorization, Semaan with friends, and deposits to class teachers and kiai.

For the implementation of Tahfidzul Quran to run optimally, the activity could not only be accompanied by a caregiver (K.H. Khudri) but also accompanied by senior students who had khatam Tahfidzul Quran 30 juz, a total of 11 senior students. The learning models used are private lessons, independent, and classical models. The personal model is also called individual learning or *Sorogan* or deposit. In this case, learning is carried out by the Ustadz or Kiai with one of his students directly facing (*musyafahah*). This individual learning model is used for Quranic learning, especially in aspects of *Tabsinul Qiraah* (recitation improvement) of the Quran, *Talaqqi* (students imitate the teacher's recitation), memorization deposit, as well as *Muraja'ah* (repeating memorization).

Habitus is acquired in various social positions within a domain as a dispositional system. Here, the agent makes subjective adjustments to the position, affecting the postures in his subconscious (Morantes-Africano, 2023). Habitus combines the agent's objective structure and personal history in this sense. Habitus then becomes the generative basis of the agent's social actions or practices that are structured and objectively integrated. Therefore, the place and Habitus of a person form the basis of friendship, love, and other personal relationships and also transform theoretical classes into natural groups (Bourdieu, 2007).

The disposition system contained in the Tahfidzul Quran curriculum in UK Pesantren constitutes different practices of the Tahfidzul Quran, especially when the curriculum is integrated with other values developed in each pesantren. In UK Islamic boarding schools, students are oriented to become preachers who always spread sincerity, charity, and invitations to prosper the mosque. Therefore, pesantren equips its students to always alternate in both *halaqahs* and after congregational prayers held in ta'lim, even if only for a few minutes. Likewise, for Friday sermons, the *khatib* is the santri.

In turn, the students in the pesantren will adjust the curriculum set by the kiai or caregivers of the pesantren in their learning practices and daily life practices per the established system and rules. Even if there is unemployment against the principles and regulations of the pesantren, then the students will undergo punishment from the pesantren.

Capital Accumulation of Tahfidzul Quran Islamic Boarding School in Banyumas Regency

For Bourdieu, capital acts as a social relation within a system of exchange (Jalali & Kouchaki, 2023). Capital could then be expanded to include "any form of good, both material and symbolic, which represents itself as rare and worthy of search in a particular social formation." Capital is the logic that governs legitimate positions and authority in the realm. Capital becomes a modality for acquiring and fighting for power. In this context,

capital becomes the basis of domination because the bigger and more capital owned, the greater the chance of becoming the dominant class (Taha et al., 2023).

This capital theory is used to analyze each Islamic boarding school's capital in the middle of the ideological contestation of the pesantren. In addition, this theory also reveals the process of exchanging various capitals to obtain legitimate authority so that it is considered authoritative in naming, representing public opinion, and creating an official social life (Abdullah et al., 2023).

Kiai occupies a central position in the pesantren education system because of their religious capacity and mystical power. Kiai plays a role in creating an identity that holds fast to traditional values and its significance as a global society. This identity construction effort is carried out in two ways. First, kiai seeks not only to create Muslims in the contemporary Indonesian era but also to create human resource development programs through pesantren. Second, through debate and opinion about the need to be an Indonesian society (Assa'idi, 2021).

The above statement shows the central role of Kiai in constituting and transforming the pesantren education system. As explained in the previous section, the ideality and ideology of kiai constitute the curriculum set and implemented in the pesantren. The diversity of curriculum types reflects the diversity of Kiai improvisation amid the various objective structures surrounding it, such as national curriculum policies, the reality and needs of society, and the subjectivity of Kiai itself. However, public acceptance of the education system imposed in pesantren, including the curriculum applied, is influenced by the capital owned by each Kiai (Saif et al., 2024). Bourdieu distinguishes four types of capital (Abdullah et al., 2023). First, economic capital is a resource that can be a means of production and finance and can be converted into other capital. Second, cultural capital in the form of diplomas, knowledge, cultural codes, speaking, writing skills, bearing, and ways of getting along play a role in determining social position. Third, social capital is a network of relationships that is a resource for determining social relations. Fourth, symbolic capital that produces symbolic power. This capital can be an untouchable attribute with cultural significance, such as prestige, status, authority, surname, etc. (Halewood, 2023).

This concept of capital can be used to explain how public acceptance of the Tahfidzul Quran curriculum in the UK pesantren by looking at how much capital can be accumulated and exchanged by the kiai so that students and society accept its definition of the reality of education and curriculum.

In the context of UK pesantren, the work of KH. Khudri, as the founder, cannot be separated from his relationship with several figures, namely Soni Harsono (former Minister of Agrarian State/Head of the National Land Agency for the period 1993-1998 during the VI Development Cabinet), Faisal Tanjung, Ario Al Atas, and Gen. Mulyadi. The meeting with some of the figures above initiated the establishment of a UK pesantren that is being nurtured today. Even until 2017, this pesantren still received financial support from Mr. Soni Harsono and his son. The support of some of these significant figures certainly has implications for the breadth of social networks it has.

In addition, KH. Khudri also has an intellectual background as a graduate of S1 and S2 from the International Islamic University (IIU) Islamabad, Pakistan. His educational background became a cultural capital for Kiai, thus gaining the trust of Mr. Soni Harsono to manage the UK pesantren. In addition, 200 students from various regions from Indonesia and abroad make the pesantren known to many people. In fact, this pesantren is also the center of *tablighi jama'ah halaqah* around Banyumas, Purbalingga, Banjarnegara, Cilacap and Kebumen (Barlingmascakeb)..

According to Bourdieu, different types of capital are interchangeable (Taha et al., 2023). Economic capital, for example, can be exchanged for other capital. However, symbolic capital is considered to have a significant exchange effect because this form of capital is most perceived to present something or legitimate authority. With this ownership of capital, one can be seen as a legitimate authority with "the power to name (activities, groups), the power to represent public opinion and, above all, the power to create an "official version of the social world."

In this context, the cultural capital possessed by Kiai Khudri can be exchanged with symbolic capital that allows them to have religious authority and privilege in the realm of the Qur'anic Tahfidzul Pesantren. In addition, the

pesantren is often used as a gathering place for Tablighi worshippers around the Barlingmascakeb area. Kiai Khudri is also frequently invited to be an imam in various countries such as Japan, Thailand, China, and others.

In addition, his educational background in Pakistan, which is one of the centers of spreading Tabligh pilgrims (Saepuloh et al., 2022), his involvement in the Tablighi organization provides space to build a broad social network, not only within the country but also abroad. His many activities show it during visits to various regions in and outside Indonesia. Likewise, there are students from abroad who study religion in their pesantren. In this case, Kiai Khudri has social capital through a relationship network that determines religious and social ties within the Tablighi congregation and the general public.

This explanation of caregivers in the Tahfidzul Quran pesantren shows that the ownership of diverse and accumulated capital makes them dominate the realm of the Tahfidzul Quran pesantren, which has implications for public acceptance of the Tahfidzul Quran pesantren curriculum.

The strategy of Tahfidzul Quran Islamic Boarding School in Banyumas Regency

Bourdieu states that strategy and struggle are related in a realm. The struggle is fundamental in social life. The struggle is also interpreted as a struggle to accumulate symbolic capital. Strategy and Struggle depend primarily on knowledge, especially knowledge of the social world that applies schemes of thought and expression and the involvement of agents in structuring activities in response to invitations and threats from the social world whose meaning he also plays a role in producing them (Abdullah et al., 2023). The realm of pesantren education is a space for power contestation in social class struggles. As Hidayah stated, in the middle of the growth of the middle class in Indonesia, pesantren responded to this reality by designing three curriculum models, one of which is pesantren. The connotation of commodification can be seen in Pesantren, which still maintains its religious curriculum as in traditional pesantren but provides good student facilities and charges high fees (Hidayah, 2021).

This research shows the relationship between social class and pesantren education, especially in the curriculum aspect. The realm of education becomes the space in which the expansion of social positions and classes occurs. The three models created by Pesantren above are all oriented to provide space for class reproduction and social status for the middle class (Hidayah, 2021), including Pesantren focusing on the Tahfidzul Quran program.

In addition to this, pesantren, seen as social agencies, can play a role in improving social status. Class mobility in pesantren correlates with the increase in students' social status. Pesantren is seen not only as teaching and developing religious education but also as "The center for destroying "poverty" and replacing these negative characteristics turns into something good (Assa'idi, 2021)." This structuration principle is a "system of schemes internalized and realized after being formed in the course of collective history, acquired in the history of individual journeys." The agent then constructs his social world and acts to reproduce his social position and gain his position in the social world. With this understanding, Bourdieu classifies strategies in three ways. First, a reproductive strategy is defined as a set of practices designed to maintain and improve position. Diverse dispositions mediate this strategy toward the future with its various objective possibilities. The form of this strategy depends mainly on the amount of capital and the conditions of the instruments of production (law, education system, labor market), which depend on the state of power relations between classes. Second, the exchange strategy related to social movement is structured in two dimensions: the amount of capital and the structuring of the dominant and dominated types of capital. Third, the strategy of distinction differentiates oneself from the dominant class and other dominant classes.

Referring to several studies on the relationship between pesantren, including Pesantren Tahfidzul Quran, and social class, Bourdieu's theorization of class struggle strategies in the realm of pesantren is very relevant. However, it cannot be generalized that one particular pesantren is all middle-class students, as in the case of UK pesantren, which provides free tuition fees for all students regardless of their family background. Even though some come from well-off families, the pesantren still does not charge tuition fees. In this pesantren, what happens is not the reproduction of the upper middle class, but precisely the lower class because the Kiai strongly emphasizes simplicity in life. In this pesantren, the lower class's expansion and the decline in position due to the value of simplicity developed and internalized by this Tahfidzul Quran Pesantren to its students.

From the explanation above, the strategy of Tahfidzul Quran pesantren in Ubay bin Ka'ab pesantren shows a reproduction strategy, a set of practices designed to maintain and improve the position. The position here is not solely seen from social class because this pesantren creates a uniform curriculum regardless of socioeconomic background, but rather ideological reproduction in maintaining the traditional curriculum only.

CONCLUSION

The article presents a detailed analysis of a pesantren's curriculum and educational practices in Indonesia, particularly the Ubay Bin Ka'ab Islamic Boarding School, which focuses on the Quranic Tahfidzul program. The curriculum is formed to meet the needs of the students and the community, incorporating various ideologies and adapting to modern educational practices. The article emphasizes the importance of the Tahfidz Program in promoting religious revivalism and the role of pesantren in fostering a sense of community and Islamic identity among students.

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