

The Practice of Religious Environmentalism: a Bourdieuan Study of Qur'anic and Hadith-Based Ecological Ethics at Pondok Pesantren Al-Hidayah Karangsuci Purwokerto

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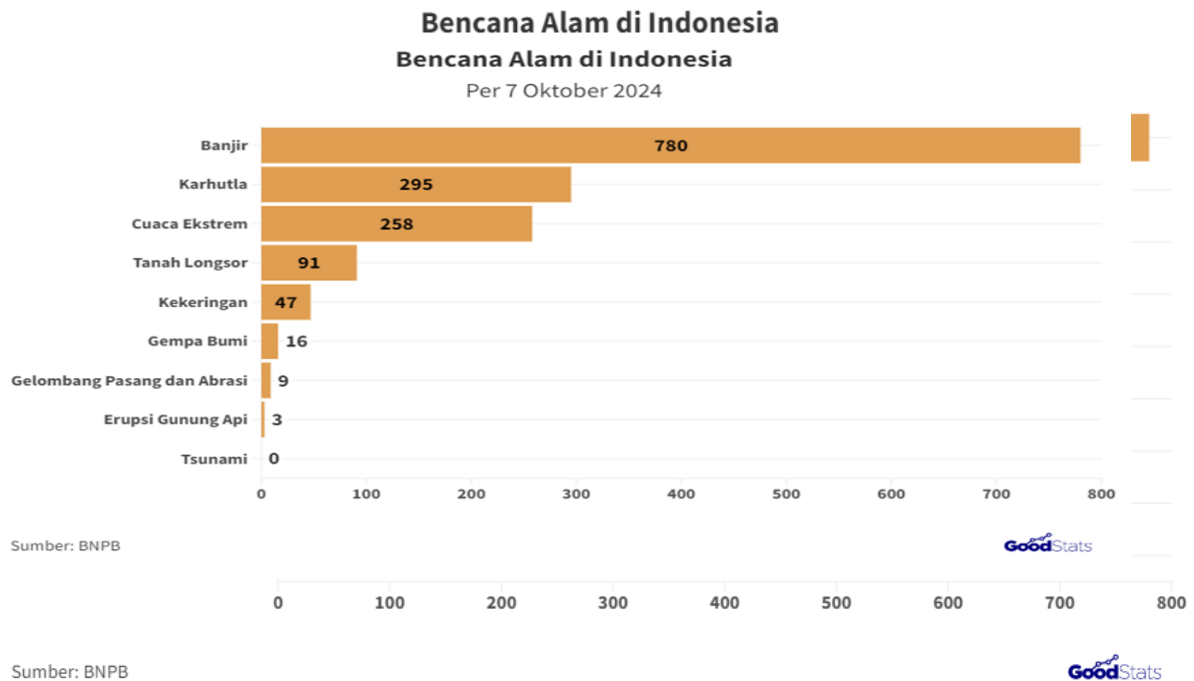
Abstract

This study examines the practice of religious environmentalism in an Indonesian Islamic boarding school by applying Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice. Focusing on *Pondok Pesantren Al-Hidayah Karangsuci Purwokerto*, this article analyses how Qur'anic and hadith-based ecological ethics are practiced in everyday lives of *santris*. This study employed ethnographic approach. The data were collected through participant observation, in depth interviews, and document analysis. The findings of the study demonstrate that, first, environmental practices are the result of institutional rules and routines, *santris*' religious capital, as well as their habitus. Second, religious knowledge plays as symbolic capital that legitimizes ecological behaviour. However, its translation into embodied practice is strongly supported by prior habitus and structural conditions. Third, *santris* of this study express compliance, negotiation, and resistance in their practice of religious environmentalism. Fourth, this study argues that the practice of religious environmentalism in *pesantren* should be understood as the dynamic process shaped by power, disposition, and institutional authority rather than as the direct outcome of normative religious teachings.

Keywords: Religious Environmentalism, Bourdieu's Theory of Practice, Living Qur'an and Hadith.

A. INTRODUCTION

The global environmental crisis has grown more serious in recent decades. Climate change, biological diversity loss, and environmental degradation are interconnected and difficult to address. In 2024, Europe experienced the hottest year on record affected more than 400,000 people by extreme weather, including floods and storm (theguardian.com). Likewise, in Indonesia, the years 2015 – 2024 were the hottest decade as recorded by The Meteorology, Climatology, and Geophysics Agency (Badan Meteorologi Klimatologi dan Geofisika). This phenomenon contributed to the intensity of extreme weather such as floods and droughts (bmkg.go.id). Based on the data from BNPB, throughout the year 2024, there were 780 incidents of flooding, 259 forest and land fires, 258 of extreme weather, and 91 landslides. This trend continued in 2025, when heavy rains and storms led to major floods and landslides across Aceh, North Sumatera, and West Sumatera. Millions people were affected, many of them lost their families and houses (nortal.humas.polri.go.id).



Various efforts have been made to reduce ecological damage ranging from infrastructural project to environmental education (e.g., Kahhat et al., 2008; Udawatta et al., 2015; Suryani, 2014; Sakti & Gofur, 2021). However, these initiatives still fall short in bringing long term changes in the behaviour of people towards environment. Here, religious institutions such as Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*) have a significant role.

Pesantren hold strong moral authority, have structured learning systems, and influence large communities. Several studies show that integrating Islamic teachings with environmental awareness can strengthen sustainability practices (Mardhiah & Aulia, 2017; Nurulloh, 2019; Lutfi & Sukei, 2023). Nevertheless, some challenges remain, such as their limited environmental literacy, weak institutional policy, and also *pesantren* student (*santri*) participation (Hasanah et al., 2018; Rozinah & Sa'diyah, 2021).

Although theological foundation on environmental care is found in Islamic teachings, the implementation of these values into daily practices is not always smooth. Many *pesantrens* teach their students ecological ethics based on the Qur'an and hadith, such as Pondok Pesantren Al-Hidayah, one of the oldest *pesantren* in Purwokerto central Java, where this research was conducted. However, many students often struggle to put these ethics into practice (Purwokerto, November 2023). This fact shows that there is a gap between knowledge and behaviour. In addition, it indicates that environmental awareness requires not only religious knowledge, but other factors such as consistent guidance, practical routines, and supportive environments.

Various studies have been conducted on the issues of *pesantren* and environmental problems. Many of these research focus specifically on *pesantren* culture in relation to waste management (Depag RI, 2003; Jannah, 2016; Rozinah & Sa'diyah, 2021; Lutfiah, 2022; Warliah et al., 2022; Zulfa et al., 2022). Other studies concentrate on efforts to manage waste in *pesantren* (Ernyasih, 2020; Saputra et al., 2021; Zulfa et al., 2022; Hidayah et al., 2022; Rozinah et al., 2021; Suryani, 2014; Faid & Jasri, 2017; Hasanah et al., 2018; Qomariyah & Abdullah, 2022), and the enhancement of environmental knowledge as well as the internalization of environmental ethics (Mulyana, 2009; Dzakirotillah et al., 2018). Little has been written about how *santri* internalize Islamic environmental values in daily lives. By understanding their daily practices, we can reveal why some ecological programs succeed while others do not.

To address the research gap, this study attempts to explore how Qur'anic and hadith ecological based are understood and practiced by *santri* at Pondok Pesantren Al-Hidayah. According to Bourdieu (1992), practices emerge from the interaction between *habitus* (dispositions shaped by historical experience), *capital* (social, cultural, and symbolic resources), and *field* (the contextual environment). Adopting Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice and applying this lens allows us to explore how religious environmental values are internalized, performed, and practiced within the sociocultural structures of Pondok Pesantren Al-Hidayah Karangmulya Purwokerto. By investigating the intersection between Islamic ecological ethics and everyday environmental practices in a *pesantren* setting, this article seeks to contribute to broader discussion on religious environmentalism, the role of religious institution in sustainability, and the practices of religious-environmental values among Muslim students.

B. METHOD

This study uses ethnographic approach which allows the researcher to directly access the perspectives of the participants, explore the nuances and complexities of *santri's* daily practices, as well as observe the dynamics within the field. As described by Sutopo and Nurhadi (2018), ethnography focuses on socio cultural phenomena by utilizing the community's cultural context to identify existing and enacted patterns, which are then analysed through objective theoretical frameworks.

The fieldwork was conducted at Pondok Pesantren Al-Hidayah Karangsucu, Purwokerto, Central Java. This site was selected for several reasons: (1) It is one of the oldest *pesantren* in the area which officially operating since May 1986 under Yayasan Nurul Hidayah, established in 1957. (2) Qur'anic exegesis and hadith commentary were core subjects taught to the students. (3) The *pesantren* integrated formal schooling which enables value transmission through both religious and academic curricula. (4) Over 200 students were university-level which can contribute to diverse understandings and practices. (5) The *pesantren* faced challenges in environmental issues and awareness.

This study employed three main techniques of data collection: participant observation to observe the *santri's* practice from February to September 2024, semi structured and in-depth interviews with purposefully selected 15 participants, and document analysis such as *pesantren* curriculum and related Islamic texts. The data were analysed through repeated listening, transcription review, meaning identification, coding, categorization, and pattern recognition related to how institutional structure and individuals' dispositions influence practice. To ensure validity, the study applied multiple strategies, such as data triangulation, member checking, clarification of researcher bias, and peer debriefing. The analysis was guided by the research focus to minimize researcher's bias.

C. ENVIRONMENTAL ETHICS IN ISLAMIC TEACHINGS

Islam provides a comprehensive framework for environmental ethics. The Qur'an and hadith as the two primary sources of Islamic knowledge emphasize three concepts: *al-istikhlāf* (stewardship), *at-taskhīr* (subjugation of nature), and *al-i'mār* (prospering the earth).

1. *Al-istikhlāf*

The Qur'an describes human as *khalīfah* (successor) on earth who are entrusted with moral responsibility for maintaining balance and preventing destruction. In the Qur'anic verse al-Baqarah (2:30), God announces that He appoint human as the successor of earth. The concept of *khalīfah* (vicegerency) is understood as a mandate to

fulfil the message of the One who grants it. *Khalīfah* in this verse does not imply ownership, as the Qur'an makes clear that the entire universe belongs to God.

In a hadith narrated by Muslim, it is stated: “*Indeed, the world is sweet and green, and indeed Allah will appoint you as successors (on earth) to see how you will act...*” (Muslim, 2000, p. 298). In his comments on this hadith, Imam Nawawi explains that *mustakhlifukum fihā* means Allah appoints humankind as *khalīfah* after previous generations. Allah observes whether they will obey Him or follow their desires and commit disobedience (Nawawi, 2011, p. 59). The implementation of human vicegerency is thus reflected in their obedience and sense of responsibility in managing and preserving the natural environment.

2. *At-taskhīr*

The Qur'an frequently uses the term *sakhkhara* (to subjugate), referring to how God has made the elements of nature serve the needs of human. In QS. al-Jathiyah (45:13), it states that everything in the heavens and earth has been subjected for human benefit. Ibn Kathir elaborated that God subjugated stars, clouds, rain, snow, and the heavens as shelter, and provided rivers, trees, crops, and fruits on earth. He also sent prophets and scriptures to guide humanity, highlighting the spiritual dimensions of divine favour (Ibn Kathir, 2005, pp. 370, 569). Just as the universe has been subjected by God, as explained in various verses (QS. an-Nahl (16:14), QS. az-Zukhruf (43:13), QS. Shad (38:36), and QS. al-Hajj (22:36)), so too has humankind been subjected by Him. However, unlike other creatures, humans have been granted the power of choice. Like the rest of creation, humans are under God's subjugation. Thus, they should not perceive themselves as conquerors of the universe. It is in fact God who has subjugated and brought the universe under control. Humans have merely been endowed with the potential to benefit from this subjugation by God's permission. In relation to human interaction with the environment, according to Shihab, this subjugation should not be interpreted as a license to exploit the earth and all that it contains. He emphasizes that humans are obligated to use natural resources responsibly and with gratitude, recognizing that these are divine gifts intended to support their role as *khalīfah* (Shihab 2003, p. 70).

3. *Al-I'mār*

Stewardship also includes the command to cultivate and prosper the earth, as stated in QS. Hud (11:61): “He brought you forth from the earth and settled you therein,” which scholars interpret as a divine instruction to develop the earth responsibly. The verb *ista'marakum* is derived from *'amara* (to build or prosper), the opposite of *kharāb* (ruin). The structure implies command or empowerment which mean God instructs humans to truly prosper the earth. This includes spiritual and material efforts that enhance the environment without causing harm.

Historical records in the Qur'an such as in QS. ar-Rum (30:9) warns against the fate of past civilizations that were stronger and more prosperous but ultimately destroyed as the consequences of neglecting this responsibility.

The above Islamic teachings offer moral foundation and environmental ethics. These knowledge form as the basis of how *pesantren*, including Pondok Pesantren Al-Hidayah Karangsucu, Purwokerto justify and promote environmental preservation among their students.

D. BOURDIEU'S THEORY OF PRACTICE

According to Bourdieu, Social or individual practices must be analyzed as the interaction between the field as the arena of action, capital, the resources or competencies possessed by individuals, and habitus, a set of dispositions also shaped by history. Bourdieu summarizes the relationship as: Practice = (Habitus × Capital) + Field (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 101).

Habitus is defined by Bourdieu as “history turned into nature” (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 78), representing the embodiment of personal experience and social conditions that shape an individual’s thoughts, actions, and perceptions within a field. It is a “system of dispositions” rooted in one’s social position (Grenfell, 2014, p. 50; Harker et al., 2005, p. 13). Habitus is shaped by past and present conditions and evolves over time, influencing future practices. It serves as a lens for interpreting reality and guiding behaviour in accordance with objective structures (Bourdieu, 1994). Despite its durable nature, habitus can change—both across an individual’s lifetime and between generations.

Although often associated with economics, Bourdieu applies the concept of capital more broadly (Grenfell, 2014, p. 99). Capital includes both tangible and intangible resources such as prestige, authority, and status (symbolic capital), as well as cultural capital such as taste, cultural consumption patterns, and competencies (Harker et al., 2005, p. 16). Types of capital include economic such as money or property; cultural capital such as language, skills, taste, books, and educational qualifications; as well as social capital which refers to membership of a group, networks, and social recognition.

A field in the opinion of Bourdieu is a “structured space of positions (or posts) whose properties depend on their position within these spaces, and which can be analysed independently of the characteristics of their occupants” (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 72). Each person’s position within a field is determined by the capital they possess. According to Thomson in Grenfell (2014, p. 71), although fields are structured and often dominated by powerful agents or institutions, there remains room for agency and transformation. Each field operates with its own logic of practice, in which individuals share common beliefs and rules (Bourdieu, 1990).

The above threefold model of habitus, capital, and field is a theoretical framework for examining how religious environmental values are internalized and practiced by the *santri* of Pondok Pesantren Al-Hidayah Karangsucu, Purwokerto.

E. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

1. Environmental Preservation Practices at the *Pesantren*

Based on the data collected in this study, the environmental preservation is implemented at *Pondok Pesantren* Al-Hidayah Karangsucu Purwokerto through a combination of formal regulations, daily routines, and student's personal initiatives. Although the *pesantren* has instituted regular cleaning activities, the consistency of the *santri*'s engagement varies. Almost all *santris* regularly participated in the environmental programs initiated by The Department of Environmental Affairs (DLH), such as daily cleaning which involves sweeping, tidying shared areas, and managing waste; scheduled communal clean up activities (*roan*) on designated days. Nevertheless, observations and interviews show that not all *santris* demonstrate the same level of environmental care. Some of them are proactive in maintaining cleanness, while others were only contributed minimally or participated only when supervised. They admitted that they were still reluctant to dispose of waste properly. They were not accustomed to maintain the *pesantren* environment outside of their assigned duties, and refused to concern for environmental conservation. This inconsistency indicates that environmental awareness has not been internalized fully as their habitus.

The *santri* of the *pesantren* came from diverse educational backgrounds. The majority were enrolled in Islamic junior high school (*Madrasah Wustho*) and vocational high schools (*Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan*, SMK), while others were university students from various institutions in Purwokerto, located not far from the *pesantren*. Additionally, some *santri* only engaged in religious study (*ngaji*) without participating in formal education called *santri salaf*. The daily practices of both male and female *santri*, in general, are similar. However, there are differences between junior *santri* and senior *santri*, including university students and *santri salaf*. Observations conducted between May and July 2024 showed that senior *santri* exhibited a higher level of environmental awareness and concern for cleanliness compared to the younger counterparts.

Afifah, female leader of *santri* organization affirmed this distinction. She said: "University students aren't necessarily more diligent. Sometimes, they're preoccupied with their phones and ignore overflowing trash bins unless prompted by the student council. However, when it comes to environmental concern and waste awareness, university students are more mindful" (Purwokerto, May 24th, 2024). Ririn, the head of DLH also offered a similar opinion: "Some *santri* are indifferent, throwing trash carelessly and refusing to help clean. But others are diligent, such as they help clean the

bathrooms and even pick up scattered trash. Usually, the more diligent ones are university students, while those less committed are still in school. The most challenging group regarding environmental preservation tends to be students from the *Madrasah Wustho* level” (Purwokerto, 24 May 2024).

Maria, a university student is one of the diligent students who showed a strong concern for environmental preservation. Not only did she clean up her own trash, but she also took the initiative to clean up after her friends to set a good example. She shared, “I often take the initiative to clean up and throw away the trash because if I rely on them, I don’t know when it will ever get done. Later, I just ask the vocational school students to dispose of it.” (Purwokerto, May 24th, 2024). In addition to cleanliness, Maria also cared about environmental greening. She mentioned that she planted trees in pots she made herself, as a way to make use of available seeds.

Rani, a student of *Madrasah Wustho* level, on the other hand told me that since living in the *pesantren*, she followed the rules that require her to take part in daily room cleaning duties or weekly cleaning of other designated areas. She told me that she washed her clothes immediately after bathing, although sometimes she felt too lazy and delayed doing laundry until the dirty clothes accumulate. Also, she tried to throw away food wrappers in the trash bin right away, but occasionally she left them in her room. She attributed this to laziness, despite knowing that as a Muslim, she is supposed to care about cleanliness. In her view, her roommates also do not have a habit of maintaining cleanliness. Clothes are often scattered, the room is dirty, and when the floor mattresses are lifted for tidying at night, many food wrappers are found underneath. She confessed that when she is not feeling lazy, she helps clean and dispose of the trash in the room, but when laziness takes over, she tends to ignore such matters. (Purwokerto, May 24th, 2024)

According to Salim, the male leader of *santri* organization and a senior *ustadz*, these differences stem from the younger age and level of maturity among school-age *santri*, as well as their constant presence in the *pesantren* environment. These factors contribute to the higher volume and poorer management of waste in the school-level dormitory areas. In contrast, senior *santri*, being more mature and spending part of their day outside the *pesantren*, tend to maintain cleaner living quarters with better waste management.

“As for the younger *santris*, since they’re still children, they tend to throw away food wrappers or leftovers carelessly after eating. As a result, the caretakers have to patrol and inspect each dorm area regularly. Waste among younger students is noticeably higher than among university students, primarily because the former spend 24 hours a day within the *pesantren*, leading to increased snacking. In contrast, university students spend their daytime on campus, so their midday waste is not present in the *pesantren*. Sometimes they return in the evening, bringing only an extra portion of food for dinner” (Purwokerto, May 24th, 2024).

However, not all junior *santris* are negligent toward the environment and not all senior *santris* are environmentally conscious. Farhan, for example, a student of *madrasah Wustho*, can be considered diligent and particularly concerned with cleanliness. He demonstrates a strong commitment to fulfil his responsibilities in the daily cleaning duties. In his everyday life, whether during meals or when dealing with personal waste, he consistently makes an effort to dispose of food wrappers or other personal trash in the designated waste bins. He stated, “When it’s my own trash, I immediately throw it in the bin [...] Sometimes it’s just a little bit and I throw it away right away; other times there’s more, but that’s usually because I’m collecting trash from my friends as well.” (Purwokerto, May 24th, 2024). Khoiri, on the other hand, is not particularly diligent when it comes to cleanliness. When eating snacks, he tends to set aside the wrappers rather than dispose of them immediately. In fact, he sometimes forgets to throw them away altogether. He also admits that he is not very active during communal cleaning activities although he tries to fulfil his responsibilities for daily cleaning duties. He stated: “Sometimes I don’t throw away my own trash because it’s only a little and I feel too lazy to walk to the trash bin [...] As for *roan*, I’m not that diligent. Usually, it already looks clean, so I feel like there’s no need to clean it again” (Purwokerto, May 24th, 2024).

In general, environmental practices are present but uneven: Some students show strong ecological commitment, while others rely on supervision or pressure.

2. *Pesantren* Field and Practice Structure

To understand why the practices of *santri* differ, it is important to analyze the institutional structure, what Bourdieu refers to as the field. The *pesantren* field is shaped by hierarchical authority, cultural norms, and routine based discipline.

Pesantren Al-Hidayah Karangsucu Purwokerto was established in 1986 and founded by the late *Kiai Haji* Noer Iskandar al-Barsani and his wife, *nyai Hajjah* Nadhiroh. The vision of Pondok Pesantren Al-Hidayah is: "To establish the pesantren as a source of mercy for all creation, committed to excellence and the mission of Islam in the fields of education, community service, and Islamic propagation." (UPT Ma’had Al-Jami’ah IAIN Purwokerto, 2018)

Obligations, prohibitions, recommendations, sanctions, and additional provisions of the students of Pesantren Al-Hidayah are written in the Qanun Pondok Pesantren Al-Hidayah. As stated in the Qanun, students are obligated to participate in cleaning duties and maintain environmental ethics. While specific environmental rules are limited in the *qanun*, breaches of general discipline often result in cleaning-related punishments. Furthermore, some regulations related to environmental care are informal and come from *pesantren* leadership rather than written.

Pesantren Al-Hidayah provides both non-formal and formal education. Non-formal institutions include Madrasah Diniyah Salafiyah Al-Hidayah which focuses on

Islamic studies and Madrasah Diniyah Al-Kautsar which focuses on Islamic jurisprudence and Quranic studies, and Madrasah Qur'ani Al-Hadi which focuses in Quranic recitation and Islamic ritual practices. Formal education includes Madrasah Wustho Karangsucu (junior secondary level) and Al-Kautsar Vocational High School. These institutions accommodate national and pesantren curricula, with 70% are religious content. This structure produces diverse student schedules and levels of responsibility. University students spend more time outside the pesantren for their campus activities, while younger students (Wustho or SMK) spend most hours inside the pesantren. Thus, they tend to produce more waste within the pesantren.

In this pesantren, the leaders (*pengasuh*), teachers (*ustadz, ustadzah*) and senior santri leaders (*pengurus*) hold symbolic authority in shaping behaviour. Their instructions are often perceived as moral guidance not only rules. Announcements by pesantren leaders and teachers during Friday morning gatherings and religious classes, for example, reinforce cleanliness as an Islamic obligation. When a *kiai* or teacher links environmental care to Qur'anic verses about stewardship (*khalīfah*) or the prohibition of corruption (*fasād*), students tend to respond with greater seriousness. However, the field also contains limitations such as the absence of structured environmental education in the formal curriculum, and inconsistent supervision to enforce ecological norms. As a result, institutional expectations do not always translate into good behavioural patterns.

3. Religious capital of the santri

Religious capital here is defined as *santri's* understanding of religious texts, particularly related to environmental care; participation in programs related to environmental preservation.

Qanita, one of the *pesantren's* leaders explained that she has frequently conveyed Qur'anic and Hadith-based teachings regarding the environmental ethics. These messages are delivered during religious study sessions, administrative meetings, or directly to students. She stated that most of the students of the *pesantren* know the religious texts or scriptural evidence concerning a Muslim's duty to maintain environment. Furthermore, they understand the meaning of the texts (Purwokerto, August 17th 2024).

Salim stated that there is no curriculum specifically addressing environmental care. However, teachers are encouraged by the leaders of the *pesantren* to integrate environmental care themes into any lesson, particularly religious subject (Purwokerto, May 24th, 2024). Afifah and Ririn added that although there is no specific classical text studied that focuses exclusively on environmental preservation, nearly all students at Pondok Pesantren Al-Hidayah are aware of religious teachings addressing this issue. This knowledge is acquired through lessons in the Madrasah Diniyah, particularly in fiqh and ethics classes, as well as through school instruction, general sermons, and regular student gatherings. Through these religious texts, both from the Qur'an and the

Hadith, the students understand that Islam commands environmental care and prohibits corruption on earth.

“In our study sessions, hadiths are also taught. Every Friday morning there are group activities which is conducted separately for male and female students. For the female students, this program takes place in the mosque. At the end of these activities, we always remind students about cleanliness and other *pesantren* regulations. However, in practice, not all students are diligent. They know and understand the teachings, but they are simply lazy.” (Purwokerto, Afifah, May 24th, 2024)

“In my opinion, they do understand. When it is conveyed that cleanliness is part of faith, they are aware of it. For a day or two, their dormitory area is clean, but the habit does not continue.” (Purwokerto, Ririn, May 24th, 2024)

Maria, a senior student from Brebes who graduated from one Islamic university in Purwokerto, told us that she gained knowledge about Qur’anic and Hadith-based principles concerning environmental preservation from reading books and learning at the *pesantren*. Through this knowledge, she came to understand that Islam calls for a clean way of life and encourages individuals to preserve their environment. She believes she can contribute to others by caring for environmental care. (Purwokerto, May 24th, 2024)

Like Maria, Khairi, a fourth-semester student at a university in Purwokerto, shared that he is aware of and understands the religious teachings regarding a Muslim’s obligation to maintain cleanliness and care for the earth. Among the implementations of these teachings at the *pesantren* in his opinion are cleaning the dormitory rooms, disposing of waste properly, and preserving the *pesantren* environment. (Purwokerto, May 24th, 2024)

Rani conveyed that she acquired knowledge about hadiths concerning cleanliness through her moral education lessons. She learned that cleanliness is an integral part of a person’s faith. Furthermore, she understood that a Muslim is expected to maintain personal hygiene and is obligated to preserve his/her environmental cleanliness. (Purwokerto, May 24th, 2024) Similarly, Farhan stated that he gained knowledge about living a clean life both from religious study sessions at the *pesantren* and from fiqh lessons at school. According to him, the relevant religious texts emphasize that a Muslim must uphold purity and cleanliness. (Purwokerto, May 24th, 2024)

Maria, Khairi, Rani, Farhan and the other informants of this study, Sari, Nurul, Barok, and Yunus are also aware of several religious texts concerning the obligation of Muslims to care for the environment. They understand that cleanliness and purity are integral parts of faith. Through these religious texts, they also comprehend that Islam, the religion they adhere to, commands its followers to live cleanly, avoid causing damage on earth, and show concern for their surrounding environment.

4. The formation of *santri*'s environmental habitus

The development of environmental habitus, *santris*' internalized dispositions toward ecological behaviour, is shaped by a combination of *pesantren* routines and personal background. At *pesantren* Al-Hidayah, environmental values are internalized through various program managed by The Department of Environmental Affairs. The Department of Environmental Affairs implements various kinds of work programs on a daily, weekly, monthly, and incidental basis. The department's daily programs include the *pesantren* environmental duty, which covers several areas. First, the upper-floor of *kiai*'s residence duty involves watering plants, sweeping the yard, disposing of trash, and tidying the surroundings. Second, the mosque duty includes arranging the shelves for Qur'an and religious books, cleaning impurities (*najis*), sweeping and mopping the floor, and disposing of garbage. Third, the waste management duty entails collecting scattered trash and transferring waste from bins around the dormitory and *pesantren* area into the garbage truck.

Weekly work programs include several duties. First, the Sunday communal cleaning (*Ro'an Ahad*), which consists of collecting scattered trash, sweeping dormitory floors and the *pesantren* area, removing cobwebs, organizing items by placing them in their designated places, mopping floors, picking up clothes that have fallen in the attic, handling the *kiai*'s residence duties on both upper and lower floors, caring for plants, and disposing of waste. Second, the department inventories cleaning tools by checking the availability of equipment for daily duties and evaluating their utility. Third, the Clean Friday (*Jum'at Resik*) activity focuses on ensuring that no litter is scattered throughout the *pesantren* area and that all trash is properly disposed of via the garbage truck.

Monthly work programs include waste segregation, especially separating bottles and unused items for resale to scrap collectors or transforming them into artworks and crafts. The *selapanan* (35-day cycle) program involves checking and ensuring that no litter is found in the courtyard or outside areas of the *pesantren*. Annual programs include the major communal cleaning (*Ro'an Akbar*), which involves thoroughly cleaning the entire *pesantren* complex and ensuring no dirty clothes or other items are left behind. In addition, environmental greening is promoted by requiring students who violate *pesantren* regulations to contribute one plant seedling, such as medicinal or vegetable plants, as a consequence of their infraction (Department of Environmental Affairs Work Program Document, 2023)

Qanita also noted that the *pesantren* strives to undertake various efforts to preserve the environment. These efforts include ensuring that all cleanliness-related activities are carried out properly and optimally, such as communal cleaning, regular waste sorting and disposal, the provision of waste bins at multiple locations, and waste recycling (for example, repurposing used water gallon containers as flower pots among other uses). Supervision and monitoring are also being strengthened. In addition, the

students (*santri*) are continuously provided with insights and advice on the importance of waste management and maintaining environmental preservation by delivering Islamic rules based on the Quranic verses and hadiths during religious teachings. (Purwokerto, August 22nd, 2024)

Although the *pesantren* attempted to guide *santri*'s conduct regarding environmental care, their habitus is different from one another. According to Bourdieu, habitus is shaped by past and present conditions and evolves over time (Bourdieu, 1994). The *santri*'s habitus at home play a significant role in shaping their environmental behaviour in the *pesantren*. *Santri* who were raised in households where cleanliness and environmental awareness were emphasized tend to maintain those values in the *pesantren*. On the other hand, those who were not accustomed to such practices at home generally show less concern for cleanliness and the environment within the *pesantren*. The case of Maria, Farhan, and Rani show this fact. Maria has been accustomed to living cleanly and doing small acts of cleanliness and maintain environmental care since she was at home. In addition, she felt her awareness grew even more after she was at the *pesantren*. Similarly, since childhood, Farhan recounted that since elementary school, he had been consistently trained by his mother to tidy up his bed immediately after waking up, sweep the house, and water the plants. On the other hand, Rani told me that she did not receive much guidance regarding cleanliness or the maintenance of the environment around her home.

5. Negotiation, Resistance, and Compliance in Everyday Practices

As previously discussed, according to Bourdieu, the practices of social groups or individuals are the result of the dynamic interactions between the field in which these actors operate, the forms of capital they possess, and their habitus.

Students at Pondok Pesantren Al-Hidayah engage with environmental practices in varied and sometimes unpredictable ways. Their practices are shaped not only by institutional rules but also by their personal habits and everyday social interactions. Consequently, their behaviour related to environmental care in the *pesantren* is not the same. Instead, it reflects compliance, negotiation, and resistance.

Some *santris* show active compliance with *pesantren* rules and routines. These *santris* clean their room regularly, throw and separate waste properly, and participate in cleaning works without needing close supervision. They even initiate to help others or clean outside the scheduled clean times. Furthermore, their practice is more active after their religious capital related to the environmental care increase. This compliance is not only a response to the rules, but reflects internalized responsibility in the environmental preservation. Based on interviews and observations, their behaviour is strongly shaped by individual habitus formed before staying at the *pesantren*. Especially, among students who come from families that emphasized discipline, cleanness, and religious responsibility. Now, environmental care is natural for them, rather than forced by

others. In addition, religious capital encourages their practice. This fact indicates that compliance can grow from embodied values.

At the same time, many *santris* participate in the *pesantren*'s program related to environmental protection under certain conditions. They follow the program only during supervised activities, such as weekly *roan* or a scheduled cleaning duty. However, when no one is supervising their behaviour, they tend to become less consistent. This phenomenon shows that their compliance to the rules is often situational, influenced by external monitoring not by internal habitus. Their commitment to maintaining cleanness in particular, and preserving environment in general weakens. This reveals that *pesantren* (institutional) rules have influence but is not always internalized.

In the *pesantren* setting, resistance does not appear as open disobedience. Rather, it is seen in *santri*'s small behaviours everyday. For example, some *santris* postpone their cleaning tasks and are busy with their phones during cleaning programs or perform them minimally, only to be noticed by the senior *santri* leaders. Other *santris* quietly throw their trash in hidden corners of their rooms or depend to their peers to complete the tasks.

The patterns above highlight the tension between *santri*'s personal habitus and structural expectations of *pesantren*. Compliance, negotiation, and resistance in *santri*'s everyday practices is not only a product of structural routines. Instead, it comes from the interaction between *santri*'s habitus, institutional structure, and social dynamics of everyday life. Environmental practices are best understood as negotiated process, shaped by rules, individual dispositions, capital, and the dynamic of the *pesantren* field where the *santri* lives.

F. CONCLUSION

Although most *santri* possess religious knowledge regarding environmental ethics from the Qur'an and Hadith, the internalization of these values into everyday practice varies. Some *santris* exhibited strong commitment towards environmental care. Meanwhile, others only contributed minimally or participated only when supervised. This inconsistency indicates that environmental awareness has not been internalized fully as their habitus. In their practice of religious environmentalism, *santris* of this study express compliance, negotiation, and resistance.

These findings suggest that religious environmentalism in the *pesantren* context operates as a negotiated process rather than a direct outcome of Islamic knowledge. Therefore, strengthening environmental practice does not only require institutional rules and religious teachings, but also efforts to cultivate environmental habitus through various ways as well as structured environmental education within the formal curriculum. This study contributes to the broader discussion on Islamic ecological ethics

and sustainability education by highlighting the importance of practice, power, and embodiment in shaping religiously grounded environmental action.

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