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The Urgency of Social Ethics in Santri Tradition at Muhammadiyah's Pesantren

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Keywords:

Social ethics; Santri tradition; Muhammadiyah's Pesantren

Abstract

This research aims to analyze the characteristics of social ethics in Santri (student) traditions, symbols and symbolic meanings of social ethics in Santri traditions, and the urgency of social ethics in the context of developing Santri traditions. The approach in this research is a case study in Pondok Pesantren Modern Al-Manar Muhammadiyah Boarding School Ogan Komering Ilir. Data collection used observation, interview, and documentation techniques. At the same time, the research data was analyzed using qualitative analysis techniques, such as the Miles & Huberman model. The results showed that the characteristics of social ethics in the Santri tradition can be identified into four forms of social action, namely instrumental rationality action, valueoriented rationality actions, traditional actions, and affective actions. As the perpetrators of the tradition, Santri only understands the Santri tradition in its theological and sociological meanings. Ustaz (teacher), as the shaper of the Santri tradition, understands the sense of tradition in various contexts, namely theological, philosophical, sociological, psychological, political, economic, and cultural. The urgency of social ethics in the context of developing the Santri tradition is as a value system in the process of forming the Santri tradition, as a code of ethics contained in the Santri tradition, and as a moral philosophy to explain the existence of the Santri tradition.

Abstrak

Kata kunci: Etika social; tradisi santri; Pesantren Muhammadiyah

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Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis: karakteristik etika sosial dalam tradisi santri, simbol dan makna simbolik etika sosial dalam tradisi santri, dan urgensi etika sosial dalam konteks pengembangan tradisi santri. Pendekatan dalam penelitian ini adalah studi kasus di Pondok Pesantren Modern Al-Manar Muhammadiyah Boarding School Ogan Komering Ilir. Pengumpulan data menggunakan teknik observasi, wawancara, dan dokumentasi. Sementara analisis data penelitian menggunakan teknik analisis kualitatif model Miles & Huberman. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa karakteristik etika sosial dalam tradisi santri dapat diidentifikasi ke dalam empat bentuk tindakan sosial, yaitu: tindakan rasionalitas instrumental, tindakan rasionalitas yang berorientasi nilai, tindakan tradisional, dan tindakan afektif. Sebagai pelaku tradisi, santri hanya memahami tradisi santri dalam makna teologis dan sosiologis. Sementara oleh ustaz, selaku pembentuk tradisi santri, pemaknaan tradisi dipahami dalam konteks beragam, yaitu: teologis, filosofis, sosiologis, psikologis, politis, ekonomis, dan kultural. Adapun urgensi etika sosial dalam konteks pengembangan tradisi santri yaitu sebagai sistem nilai dalam proses pembentukan tradisi santri, sebagai kode etik yang terkandung dalam tradisi santri, dan sebagai filsafat moral untuk menjelaskan eksistensi tradisi santri.

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INTRODUCTION

Pesantren is an Islamic educational institution in Indonesia with a long history (Azizah, 2021; Firmansyah, 2022). The pesantren model of educational institutions is believed by historians to have existed in Indonesia long before Islam entered the archipelago, namely during the Hindu-Buddhist period (Ansori, 2020; As'ad, 2022; Dhofier, 1990). At that time, pesantren model educational institutions functioned as religious educational institutions to produce elites in the Hindu-Buddhist religion (Sunyoto, 2016). The pesantren institution was formed and developed today as one of the traditional Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia that has managed to maintain its existence amid globalization and modernization (Hastasari, Setiawan, & Aw, 2022; Jannah, Rodliyah, & Usriyah, 2023). While in various other Muslim countries, many traditional Islamic educational institutions have been displaced and lost due to the growth of the general education system (Bashori, 2017). The existence of pesantren cannot be separated from its function and role in community life. Pesantren, in this case, becomes one of the centers of community development, namely as an Islamic educational institution that functions as a subculture and social laboratory to significantly improve the social living conditions of the community (Chanifah, Hanafi, Mahfud, & Samsudin, 2021; Ikhwansyah, Tanjung, Maspul, Firmanysah, & Amalia, 2023)

In that regard, pesantren is an independent community, where Kiai, Ustaz, Santri, and pesantren managers live together in a complex pesantren environment, which is based on Islamic values (Kardi, Basri, Suhartini, & Meliani, 2023; Syamsuar, Al-Fairusy, Junaidi, & Mulia, 2023). They follow specific norms and traditions that differ exclusively from the surrounding society. All rules governing individual behavior in pesantren are adjusted to religious principles and are considered part of religious worship (Bruinessen, 1990, 1994). In pesantren life, the Kiai's worldview becomes a norm that incarnates as social ethics in the association of life in pesantren (Misbahudin & Setiawan, 2022; Munir, 2016; Yuliyanti, 2017). Social ethics taught in pesantren is a valuable provision for Santri in establishing social relationships between others in the pesantren environment and outside the pesantren so it is the key to success for Santri success in other fields that exist in the social life of Santri. Pesantren has a strong tradition of providing ethical education and inheriting the thoughts of previous generations to its Santri (students) (Hanafi et al., 2021). Through this traditional mechanism, education to Santri in pesantren is carried out. The position of pesantren with its unique characteristics is expected to be an option in development that focuses on the community itself and at the same time a center for developing development that is oriented towards values (Firmansyah, 2021). This is what drives the growth of pesantren institutions in Indonesia.

The growth and development of pesantren institutions shows a very large number. In Emis PD-Pontren of the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia (Indonesia, n.d.) It was informed that the number of pesantren institutions recorded at the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia until November 2022 was 37,626 institutions, spread throughout Indonesia. When looking at pesantren data based on the affiliation of Islamic organizations, the NU organization has the highest number compared to other Islamic organizations, namely 26,107 pesantren, while Muhammadiyah is ranked second with 515 pesantren. This is understandable considering the historical roots of NU's establishment which departed from the world of pesantren as its main base. Meanwhile, Muhammadiyah in its early days responded differently from NU, countering the secularized Dutch educational institutions by adopting Dutch school models such as MULO, HIS, AMS, and others by including religious education in the curriculum (Setiawan, 2021; Zainudin, Sa, & Noupal, 2022). This pattern is called met de Qur'an by Muhammadiyah, which Azyumardi Azra calls "public school plus" (Yusra, 2018). Thus, NU and Muhammadiyah-style education both develop Islamic-based value education with different approaches, NU with traditional patterns while Muhammadiyah uses modern patterns.

Based on the social facts of pesantren revealed by Najib (Burhani, 2006, 2019), It is stated that in general, pesantren will be run in accordance with a set of tastes, preferences, and habits inherent in certain individuals or groups of people in their group traditions, such as the Islamic mass organizations that become their affiliates, both in systems, management, and religious behavior. So the traditions contained in a pesantren will strongly reflect the pesantren's affiliation to its affiliated mass organizations. In this case, Muhammadiyah's pesantren can be said to be traditionally different from NU pesantren. The difference in tradition, especially in the santri tradition, has not been comprehensively discussed in previous studies. The results of research related to santri ethics and pesantren traditions that already exist, such as Zamakhsyari (Dhofier, 1990), Aguk (Irawan M.N., 2018), and Syamsul (Hadi, 2021) the traditions in NU pesantren. Meanwhile, research on Muhammadiyah's pesantren has not yet received its portion. For this reason, this research will discuss the santri tradition in Muhammadiyah's pesantren by focusing on the characteristics of social ethics in the santri tradition, the characteristics of symbols and symbolic meanings of santri traditions, and the urgency of social ethics in the santri tradition in Muhammadiyah's Pesantren by taking a case study at Pondok Pesantren Modern Al-Manar Muhammadiyah Boarding School Ogan Komering Ilir.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research is a skinative research that uses a case study approach at Pondok Pesantren Modern Al-Manar Muhammadiyah Boarding School Ogan Komering Ilir, which is located at Jalan Raya Kepayang RT. 02 RW. 04 Kepayang Village, Lempuing District, Ogan Komering Ilir Regency, South Sumatra Province. This research aims to describe systematically, factually, and accurately about the characteristics of social ethics in the santri tradition at Pondok Pesantren Modern Al-Manar Muhammadiyah Boarding School Ogan Komering Ilir, the characteristics of symbols and symbolic meanings of the santri tradition at Pondok Pesantren Modern Al-Manar

Muhammadiyah Boarding School Ogan Komering Ilir, as well as the urgency of social ethics in the context of developing santri traditions at Pondok Pesantren Modern Al-Manar Muhammadiyah Boarding School Ogan Komering Ilir which will be studied using Max Weber and Talcott Parsons' social action theory and George Herbert Mead and Herbert Blumer's symbolic interactionism theory as a scalpel. Social action theory is used to reveal the reasons behind the ethical behavior of santri at Pondok Pesantren Modern Al-Manar Muhammadiyah Boarding School Ogan Komering Ilir. Meanwhile, the theory of symbolic interactionism is used to see the embodiment of symbols and symbolic meanings contained in the santri tradition.

To limit the conceptual definition of research variables, social ethics as a research variable is interpreted as behavioral institutions or rules of behavior followed by santri in pesantren, which are derived from the interpretation of Islamic teaching values by kiai and pesantren managers. Meanwhile, the santri tradition in this study is interpreted as a habit of the entire social world that surrounds the lives of santri in the pesantren environment and becomes a system of values and norms in the pesantren community. The research procedure was carried out through three stages, namely: 1) a review of the literature relevant to the research, 2) field data collection using observation, interview, and documentation techniques, and 3) analysis of data and field findings using the (Miles & Huberman, 1994) model qualitative analysis technique with the following steps: 1) data reduction, 2) data display, and 3) conclusion drawing/verification.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Characteristics of Social Ethics in Santri Tradition in Pondok Pesantren Modern Al-Manar Muhammadiyah Boarding School Ogan Komering Ilir

The social ethics of santri is the behavior of santri that reflects the norms of life in daily interactions in the pesantren social environment with kiai, ustaz, fellow santri, parents, and the community, so that social interactions are formed in accordance with the desired goals of the santri. The social ethics are contained in the santri tradition so that through this tradition an integral value education pattern is created for santri (Schmidt, 2021). The characteristics of santri social ethics related to this research are the characteristics of ethical values contained in the santri tradition. In that regard, the santri tradition found in Pondok Pesantren Modern Al-Manar Muhammadiyah Boarding School Ogan Komering Ilir according to Hajar Istia Rahmi (Azzahra, 2023), the santri advisor, is the result of a consensus with the pesantren management, he said:

"There are not so many traditions in this pesantren. The current tradition is the result of the interpretation of pesantren managers to choose various traditions from various pesantren where they used to study and several existing Muhammadiyah's pesantren which are then constructed as a joint consensus to be applied in pesantren as a tradition." (Azzahra: Interview: 2023).

In connection with that, based on the results of observations and interviews that have been conducted, an overview of the characteristics of social ethics in the santri tradition at Pondok Pesantren Modern Al-Manar Muhammadiyah Boarding School Ogan Komering Ilir as contained in table 1 below.

Table 1

Characteristics of Social Ethics in Santri Tradition in Pondok Pesantren Modern Al-Manar

Muhammadiyah Boarding School Ogan Komering Ilir

| No. | Forms of Santri Tradition | Characteristics of Social Ethics |
|-----|---------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | |
| 1 | Using songkok or peci as a head covering | Use of songkok according to place and time |
| 2 | Praying in congregation | The imam prayer is an ustaz or a senior santri |
| 3 | Reciting wirid after the obligatory prayer | Wirid is read independently in a low voice |
| 4 | Memorizing the Qur'an | Memorization activities are carried out in the mosque seriously and orderly |
| 5 | Al-Qur'an memorization deposit | Memorization is deposited with discipline and full responsibility |
| 6 | Speak Arabic or English | Use of Arabic or English according to a predetermined schedule |
| 7 | Tahdir (checking attendance) | Santri rush to the gathering place when they hear the whistle blowing |
| 8 | 'Iqab (punishment) | Santri are responsible for violations of the rules that they have committed |
| 9 | Dress in school uniform | Wear uniform according to the schedule that has been determined |
| 10 | 'Amaliyah al-tadris (teaching practice) | Follow the activities well and earnestly |
| 11 | Study at night | Study earnestly independently or in groups in or around the classroom environment |
| 12 | Muhadlarah (speech) | Participate in activities well and seriously |
| 13 | Eat and drink sitting down and using the right hand | Body gestures when eating and drinking |
| 14 | Kitchen and dining room picket | Carry out tasks according to the predetermined picket schedule |
| 15 | Rihlah (traveling) | Orderly follow the activities according to the direction of the ustaz or ustazah |
| 16 | Tadabur alam (thinking of nature) | Orderly follow the activities according to the direction of the supervisor, ustaz or ustazah, and IPM |
| 17 | Fasting on Monday and Thursday | Fasting with sincerity and pati |
| 18 | Dressed in white and <i>sarungan</i> for Friday prayers | Dressed in white and <i>sarungan</i> for Friday prayers |
| 19 | Mutual cooperation to clean the pesantren environment | Carry out activities seriously according to the direction of ustaz or ustazah and IPM |
| 20 | Reading Surah Al-Kahf every | Reciting Surah Al-Kahf as a form of following |

| 21Ramadan paradeCarry out activities seriously according to the direction of ustaz or ustazah and IPM22Tarawih prayer in congregationThe imam prayer is the ustaz23tadarus (reading) and khataman (completing the reading) Al-Qur'an according to the schedule determined by IPM.24Tahajud prayerThe imam prayer is a senior santri25Bowing and kissing the hands of ustaz, teachers, and parentsBowing and kissing hands as a form of respect and solemnity26Calling akhi and ukhti to senior santri (the gathering of santri)Junior santri greet senior santri with akhi and ukhti as a form of respect27Ijtima' santri (the gathering of santri)Santri rush to the source of the whistle to gather santri)28Sambangan santri (visiting santri)Dress neatly and kiss the hands of visiting parents or families29Santri devotionParticipate in activities properly and seriously according to the direction of the ustaz or ustazah and the mosque management at the activity location30Mubalig hijrah (dawah practicum)Participate in activities properly and seriously according to the direction of the ustaz or ustazah and the Muhammadiyah management | | Friday | the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH. |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| 22Tarawih prayer in congregationThe imam prayer is the ustaz23tadarus (reading) and khataman (completing the reading) Al-Qur'anCarry out reading the Qur'an activities according to the schedule determined by IPM.24Tahajud prayerThe imam prayer is a senior santri25Bowing and kissing the hands of ustaz, teachers, and parentsBowing and kissing hands as a form of respect and solemnity26Calling akhi and ukhti to senior santriJunior santri greet senior santri with akhi and ukhti as a form of respect27Ijtima' santri (the gathering of santri)Santri rush to the source of the whistle to gather28Sambangan santri (visiting santri)Dress neatly and kiss the hands of visiting parents or families29Santri devotionParticipate in activities properly and seriously according to the direction of the ustaz or ustazah and the mosque management at the activity location30Mubalig hijrah (dawah practicum)Participate in activities properly and seriously according to the direction of the ustaz or ustazah and the Muhammadiyah management | 21 | Ramadan parade | Carry out activities seriously according to the |
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| Bowing and kissing the hands of ustaz, teachers, and parents Calling akhi and ukhti to senior santri Santri Junior santri greet senior santri with akhi and ukhti as a form of respect Santri rush to the source of the whistle to gather santri) Sambangan santri (visiting santri) Dress neatly and kiss the hands of visiting parents or families Participate in activities properly and seriously according to the direction of the ustaz or ustazah and the mosque management at the activity location Mubalig hijrah (dawah practicum) Participate in activities properly and seriously according to the direction of the ustaz or ustazah and the Muhammadiyah management | | (completing the reading) Al-Qur'an | according to the schedule determined by IPM. |
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| santri ukhti as a form of respect 27 | | ustaz, teachers, and parents | and solemnity |
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| 28 Sambangan santri (visiting santri) Dress neatly and kiss the hands of visiting parents or families 29 Santri devotion Participate in activities properly and seriously according to the direction of the ustaz or ustazah and the mosque management at the activity location 30 Mubalig hijrah (dawah practicum) Participate in activities properly and seriously according to the direction of the ustaz or ustazah and the Muhammadiyah management | 27 | Ijtima' santri (the gathering of | Santri rush to the source of the whistle to gather |
| parents or families 29 Santri devotion Participate in activities properly and seriously according to the direction of the ustaz or ustazah and the mosque management at the activity location 30 Mubalig hijrah (dawah practicum) Participate in activities properly and seriously according to the direction of the ustaz or ustazah and the Muhammadiyah management | | santri) | |
| Participate in activities properly and seriously according to the direction of the ustaz or ustazah and the mosque management at the activity location Mubalig hijrah (dawah practicum) Participate in activities properly and seriously according to the direction of the ustaz or ustazah and the Muhammadiyah management | 28 | Sambangan santri (visiting santri) | Dress neatly and kiss the hands of visiting |
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| ustazah and the mosque management at the activity location 30 Mubalig hijrah (dawah practicum) Participate in activities properly and seriously according to the direction of the ustaz or ustazah and the Muhammadiyah management | 29 | Santri devotion | Participate in activities properly and seriously |
| activity location 30 Mubalig hijrah (dawah practicum) Participate in activities properly and seriously according to the direction of the ustaz or ustazah and the Muhammadiyah management | | | according to the direction of the ustaz or |
| 30 Mubalig hijrah (dawah practicum) Participate in activities properly and seriously according to the direction of the ustaz or ustazah and the Muhammadiyah management | | | ustazah and the mosque management at the |
| according to the direction of the ustaz or ustazah and the Muhammadiyah management | | | activity location |
| ustazah and the Muhammadiyah management | 30 | Mubalig hijrah (dawah practicum) | Participate in activities properly and seriously |
| | | | according to the direction of the ustaz or |
| | | | ustazah and the Muhammadiyah management |
| at the activity location. | | | at the activity location. |

Source: processed from research primary data.

According to Muhammad Tamim (Aufa, 2023), the various santri traditions above are carried out according to the place, time, and type of interaction, he stated:

"Traditions in this pesantren are carried out by santri according to the place and situation, there are traditions that are carried out in certain places, such as in mosques, dormitories, classes, kitchens and eating places. There are also traditions related to the context of time, such as traditions on Fridays, Ramadan, and special days. For example, on Mondays and Thursdays, in pesantren there is a tradition of fasting on Mondays and Thursdays. All santri who do not have an excuse will do it. In addition, there are also traditions related to the interaction relationship, to whom santri conduct social interactions, for example, when communicating between fellow santri, junior santri give akhi or ukhti greetings to more senior santri." (Tamim Aufa: Interview: 2023).

In carrying out existing traditions, santri have various reasons and perceptions, Muhammad (Syauqi, 2023), for example, gave the following response:

"For me, the traditions in pesantren are very good as a medium of education for santri. In the implementation itself, for me there are several traditions that I do because I feel the benefits directly, for example memorizing the Qur'an, praying tahajud. Although it feels heavy, but I feel the tradition is very important for me. Then, there are also traditions that I do because I follow the habits of other santri, for example wearing a cap during prayer, calling akhi and ukhti to senior santri." (Syauqi: Interview: 2023)

Based on these data, the characteristics of social ethics as social actions of santri can be identified as instrumental rationality actions, value-oriented rationality actions, traditional actions, and affective actions, as seen by Max Weber and Talcott Parsons in social action theory. Social action theory as a scalpel in this study, will explain the social ethical behavior of santri in the social definition paradigm, which focuses on the thought process of santri as individuals. In designing social interaction actions, santri as individuals are seen as free but responsible actors. This means that in acting or interacting, santri remain under the influence of social structures and institutions in the pesantren community (I.B.Wirawan, 2012).

The characteristics of santri social ethics based on social action theory, namely: *First*, the characteristics of social ethical behavior in the santri tradition as an act of instrumental rationality. This category of social action, according to Weber, is the highest level of rationality, which includes considerations and conscious choices related to the purpose of the social ethical action and the tools used to achieve the desired goal (Khonsa, 2019). In this case, there are several social ethics in the santri tradition of Pondok Pesantren Modern Al-Manar Muhammadiyah Boarding School Ogan Komering Ilir included in this category of instrumental rationality action, namely: 1) memorizing the Qur'an, 2) depositing the memorized Qur'an, 3) 'iqab (punishment), 4) 'amaliyah al-tadris (teaching practice), 5) muhadlarah (speech), 6) wearing white clothes and sarungan in Friday prayers, 7) Ramadan parade, 8) tadarus (reading) and khataman (completing the reading) Al-Qur'an, 9) bowing and kissing the hands of ustaz, teachers, and parents, 10) calling akhi and ukhti to senior santri, 11) santri devotion, and 12) mubalig hijrah (dawah practicum).

Second, the characteristics of social ethical behavior in the santri tradition as an act of value-oriented rationality. Compared to the act of instrumental rationality, the act of value-oriented rationality sees the tool only as an object of consideration and calculation, while the goals already exist in relation to individual values that are absolute or are the final value for him. For Weber, an individual who judges a goal to be morally good will use tools and means that are also morally good (Ulviani, 2020). In this case, there are several social ethics in the santri tradition at Pondok Pesantren Modern Al-Manar Muhammadiyah Boarding School Ogan Komering Ilir that can be qualified into this category of value-oriented rationality actions, namely: 1) praying in congregation, 2) reading wirid after the obligatory prayer, 3) eating and drinking by sitting and using the right hand, 4) fasting on Monday and Thursday, 5) reading Surah Al-Kahf every Friday, 6) praying tarawih in congregation, and 7) praying tahajud.

Third, the characteristics of social ethical behavior in the santri tradition as traditional actions. Traditional action in Weber's view, is a type of social action that is nonrational. The behavior carried out by individuals in this category is judged as an action that is a habit for him, he will always act in such a way because he follows the habits carried out by previous people (Ulviani, 2020). In this case, there are several social ethics in the tradition of the santri of Pondok Pesantren Modern Al-Manar Muhammadiyah Boarding School Ogan Komering Ilir that fall into this traditional

action category, namely: 1) using *songkok* or *peci* as a head covering, 2) speaking Arabic or English, 3) *tahdir* (checking attendance), 4) dressing in school uniforms, 5) study at night, 6) kitchen and dining room picket, 7) mutual cooperation to clean the pesantren environment, and 8) *ijtima santri* (the gathering of santri).

Fourth, the characteristics of social ethical behavior in the santri tradition as affective action. This type of action is characterized by the dominance of feelings or emotions without intellectual reflection or conscious planning. This action is completely irrational due to the lack of logical considerations, ideology, or other criteria of rationality (Baydarus, 2022). In this case, there are several social ethics in the tradition of the santri of Pondok Pesantren Modern Al-Manar Muhammadiyah Boarding School Ogan Komering Ilir that can be categorized into this form of affective action, namely: 1) *rihlah* (traveling), 2) *tadabur alam* (thinking of nature), and 3) *sambangan* santri (visiting santri).

Characteristics of Symbols and Symbolic Meanings of Social Ethics in Santri Tradition at Pondok Pesantren Modern Al-Manar Muhammadiyah Boarding School Ogan Komering Ilir

The santri tradition in pesantren has symbols that can be identified as an implied meaning. These symbols can be found in every santri tradition, for example in dress, santri are identical to *peci* and *sarung*. *Peci* and *sarung* are not just a dress tradition for pesantren residents, but there is a symbolic meaning in the tradition. In sociology terminology, symbols are part of social objects that have benefits and a definition. A symbol of any object, word, or event contained in a tradition, consists of meanings that are exchanged together by users or perpetrators (Alkouatli, 2018). Therefore, the understanding of symbols is the result of a social agreement or collective agreement to explain the meaning contained in the symbol (Turner & Nasir, 2016).

However, sometimes the existing symbolic meaning can be captured easily and sometimes, according to Arthur Asa Berger as quoted by Alex (Sobur, 2002, 2017), requires a context to understand it. So, what must be understood is that symbolism in the santri tradition and pesantren is based on the development of human emotions. The traditional emotions of a group are very difficult to be taken for granted by other social groups. Under ordinary circumstances, the acceptance of a group tradition by other groups runs very slowly and often requires a dynamic process (Herusatoto, 1984). In this context, it can be said that the santri tradition in a pesantren can be different from one another, especially in its symbols and meanings.

In general, the meaning of santri tradition symbols is understood by santri of Pondok Pesantren Modern Al-Manar Muhammadiyah Boarding School Ogan Komering Ilir as a form of social ethics and worship. As expressed by Tito (Rusmanto, 2023) as a santri, a practitioner of the tradition, as follows:

"We in the pesantren have a tradition that is always carried out by all santri. Carrying out a tradition is part of the discipline of santri in pesantren. I realize that the traditions we carry out at the pesantren are full of educational meaning. For example, when performing congregational prayers in the mosque, all male

santri are required to wear caps and wear clean and neat clothes. It certainly has an educational purpose for us. That the ethics of santris when performing congregational prayers in the mosque should be dressed like that. Likewise, with the tradition of memorizing the Qur'an, the goal must be good and as a form of worship." (Rusmanto: Interview: 2023)

Meanwhile, *Ustaz*, as the shaper of the santri tradition, has a complex interpretation of the symbols contained in the santri tradition. This is as stated by Ali (Azhari, 2023), as follows: "Yes, it is true that in the santri tradition there are symbols that have interpretative meanings as a form of education for santri. The meaning of the symbol is very diverse and is full of moral ethical messages for the santri." (Azhari: Interview: 2023)

Based on field data processing that has been carried out, it is known that there are many forms of santri traditions in Pondok Pesantren Modern Al-Manar Muhammadiyah Boarding School Ogan Komering Ilir, in which there are symbolizations used as part of implied messages to others. These existing symbols can be in the form of materials, behavior, and ideas or ideas, which need to be interpreted as an implied message. By observing the symbols contained in the santri tradition at Pondok Pesantren Modern Al-Manar Muhammadiyah Boarding School Ogan Komering Ilir, the interpretation of meaning according to the perception of santri as actors and the perception of ustaz as tradition makers as presented in table 2 below.

Table 2

The Symbolic Meaning of Santri Tradition According to the Perception of Santri and Ustaz in Pondok Pesantren Modern Al-Manar Muhammadiyah Boarding School Ogan Komering Ilir

| | | | Symbolic | Symbolic |
|-----|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| | Forms of Santri | | Meaning of Santri | Meaning of Santri |
| No. | Tradition | Symbol of Santri Tradition | Tradition | Tradition |
| | Hadition | | According to | According to |
| | | | Santri Perception | Ustaz Perception |
| 1 | Using songkok or peci as a head covering | Songkok or peci | Theological and sociological | Theological, philosophical, and sociological |
| 2 | Praying in congregation | Jamaah (congregation), imam-makmum, and the position of imam and makmum in prayer | Theological and sociological | Theological, political, and sociological |
| 3 | Reciting wirid after the obligatory prayer | Recitation of wirid and body gestures | Theological and psychological | Theological, cultural, psychological, and sociological |
| 4 | Memorizing the Qur'an | The Qur'an and memorizing the Qur'an | Theological and sociological | Theological, philosophical, and sociological |
| 5 | Al-Qur'an memorization deposit | Al-Qur'an memorization deposit | Sociological | Theological and sociological |

| 6 | Speak Arabic or English | Verbal language | Sociological | Cultural and sociological |
|----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 7 | Tahdir (checking attendance) | Row of santri and notification from IPM | Sociological | Political and sociological |
| 8 | 'Iqab (punishment) | Providing punishment | Sociological | Philosophical and sociological |
| 9 | Dress in school uniform | Uniform clothing | Sociological | Cultural and sociological |
| 10 | 'Amaliyah al-tadris (teaching practice) | Teaching practice | Sociological | Philosophical and sociological |
| 11 | Study at night | Study at night | Sociological | Philosophical and sociological |
| 12 | Muhadlarah (speech) | Podiums, religious lectures, and santri clothing | Theological and sociological | Theological, philosophical, cultural, and sociological |
| 13 | Eat and drink sitting down and using the right hand | Body gestures when eating and drinking | Theological and sociological | Theological, cultural, and sociological |
| 14 | Kitchen and dining room picket | Picket schedule and broom or broom stick | Sociological | Philosophical and sociological |
| | | | | |
| 15 | Rihlah (traveling) | Traveling | Psychological | Philosophical and sociological |
| 15 16 | Rihlah (traveling) Tadabur alam (thinking of nature) | Traveling Row of santri, outbound | Psychological Psychological and sociological | = |
| | Tadabur alam (thinking of | , and the second | Psychological and | sociological Philosophical and |
| 16 | Tadabur alam (thinking of nature) Fasting on Monday and | Row of santri, outbound | Psychological and sociological Theological, sociological, and | sociological Philosophical and sociological Theological, economic, and |
| 16 17 | Tadabur alam (thinking of nature) Fasting on Monday and Thursday Dressed in white and sarungan for | Row of santri, outbound Sahur, fasting, and iftar White shirt, <i>sarung</i> , and | Psychological and sociological Theological, sociological, and economic Theological and | sociological Philosophical and sociological Theological, economic, and sociological Theological, philosophical, cultural, and |
| 16 17 18 | Tadabur alam (thinking of nature) Fasting on Monday and Thursday Dressed in white and sarungan for Friday prayers Mutual cooperation to clean the pesantren | Row of santri, outbound Sahur, fasting, and iftar White shirt, sarung, and Friday prayers Mutual cooperation and | Psychological and sociological Theological, sociological, and economic Theological and sociological | sociological Philosophical and sociological Theological, economic, and sociological Theological, philosophical, cultural, and sociological Cultural and |

| 22 | Tarawih prayer in congregation | The number of rak'ahs of the tarawih prayer, the congregation, the imam- makmum, and the position of the imam and the congregation in the tarawih prayer. | Theological and sociological | Theological, cultural, and sociological |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| 23 | tadarus (reading) and khataman (completing the reading) Al- Qur'an | Al-Qur'an, tadarus procedure, loudspeaker, mosque, and Ramadan | Theological and sociological | Theological and cultural |
| 24 | Tahajud prayer | Tahajud prayer, congregation, imam- makmum, and the position of imam and makmum in prayer | Theological and sociological | Theological, philosophical, and sociological |
| 25 | Bowing and kissing the hands of ustaz, teachers, and parents | Body gestures when bowing and kissing hands | Theological and sociological | Theological, cultural, and sociological |
| 26 | Calling akhi and ukhti to senior santri | Calling akhi and ukhti to senior santri | Sociological | Theological, political, and sociological |
| 27 | <i>Ijtima'</i> santri (the gathering of santri) | Blowing whistle and row of santri | Philosophical | Philosophical, political, and sociological |
| 28 | Sambangan santri (visiting santri) | Meeting with parents and luggage for santri | Sociological | Cultural, psychological, and sociological |
| 29 | Santri devotion | Sanctify the mosque | Theological and sociological | Theological and sociological |
| 30 | Mubalig hijrah (dawah practicum) | Staying at mosques or residents' homes, proselytizing the mosque, and preaching of Islam | Theological and sociological | Theological, cultural, and sociological |

Source: processed from research primary data.

Based on the table above, it can be concluded that social ethics in the santri tradition applied at Pondok Pesantren Modern Al-Manar Muhammadiyah Boarding School Ogan Komering Ilir is a form of expression of the meaning of Islam as a religion, which is framed in the form of culture in a variety of existing traditions. So that in the objects in the form of Islamic symbols, the substance of the symbolic meaning of the santri tradition has not changed in the slightest from the teachings of Islam. As for the form, the santri tradition tends to experience harmonization with local traditions.

Through the description above, it can be concluded that the symbolic meaning in the santri tradition by santri as actors and ustaz as tradition makers looks very varied and more likely to strengthen each other. Santri understand more about the symbolic meaning of tradition in a sociological context, as a form of social interaction in accordance with what they feel directly. As for the ustaz, they emphasize the meaning in a theological and philosophical scope, as an ideal value for the values contained in the santri tradition.

In that regard, based on the results of interviews with several santri as research sources, it can be concluded that there are no socialization efforts related to the symbolic meanings contained in the santri tradition, both by the pesantren leadership and the ustaz. The meaning made by the santri is based on the santri's own reasoning or comes from the understanding gained from more senior santri (Dilia, Rony, & Trianawati, 2022). In this case, the santri tradition is carried out as a form of santri's daily habits as stated in the santri discipline. So, the tradition is carried out on the basis of santri compliance with existing rules, not based on a deep awareness of the symbolic meaning contained in the tradition.

The Urgency of Social Ethics in the Context of Santri Tradition Development in Pondok Pesantren Modern Al-Manar Muhammadiyah Boarding School Ogan Komering Ilir

On the basis of the previous description, it needs to be reaffirmed that the position of ethics in social life is seen in three positions, namely as a value system, code of ethics, and moral philosophy. Thus, the urgency of social ethics in the context of developing santri traditions at Pondok Pesantren Modern Al-Manar Muhammadiyah Boarding School Ogan Komering Ilir can be formulated as follows: 1) social ethics as a value system in the process of forming the santri tradition, 2) social ethics as a code of ethics contained in the santri tradition, and 3) social ethics as a moral philosophy to explain the existence of the santri tradition.

First, social ethics as a value system in the process of forming santri traditions. As a value system, social ethics becomes a guide for a santri and the pesantren community in regulating their behavior. The value system in the pesantren environment prioritizes Islamic religious values (Islamic ethics) as all norms and judgments used by the pesantren community to find out how a person should run life, and carry themselves when interacting with others (Fiqih, Hanief, & Sutarno, 2022). For the pesantren community itself, social ethics in social interaction is formed in a certain tradition according to the scope of space, time, and situation . Thus, in this position, social ethics plays an important role in the process of forming santri traditions.

Second, social ethics as a code of ethics contained in the santri tradition. In social relations, there is an internalization activity, where a santri will learn to understand and adjust to the behaviors and roles he plays. According to (Younos, 2011), If the process of self-understanding in internalization activities goes well, then a santri will accept his role in the pesantren community and at the same time adjust himself to the

proper behavior. In other words, it can be said that the role of the pesantren community in the process of forming the personality of santri through internalization activities is very important. This is where social ethics plays its role as a code of conduct.

Third, social ethics as a moral philosophy to explain the existence of the santri tradition. As a moral philosophy, social ethics serves as a science that explains the existence of santri traditions. In this position, the position of social ethics will explain why a behavior is made into a tradition and is still preserved in the pesantren environment. For pesantren, the foundation of moral philosophy in developing pesantren traditions as ethical behavior of pesantren communities, especially santri, is based on or at least does not contradict the Qur'an and sunnah (Sabarudin, Ayyubi, Rohmatulloh, & Indriyani, 2023). In the concept of Islamic teachings itself, unethical behavior not only has consequences in the life of the world, more than that, it will have direct consequences for the afterlife. This is because unethical behavior is related to sin, which will be accounted for in the afterlife. In this perspective, the santri tradition as a culture based on religion is considered to be a means of strengthening character to face the challenges of the times that can save santri and society from moral damage and destruction.

Based on the description above, it can be concluded that social ethics has an urgency to the formation of the santri tradition. The synergy of the three roles of social ethics is an important factor in the development of santri traditions (Assa'idi, 2021). Social ethics in the santri tradition describes the social reality that occurs in the pesantren community, so that it will shape the existing social definition, both internally and externally (Badrudin, Satori, Komariah, & Kurniady, 2021). The social and cultural environment is influential in the process of forming ethics that apply in the pesantren community, because the community has a moral authority that is reasonable enough to play this role (Fidayani & Ammar, 2023). Social ethics in the santri tradition is a very strategic vehicle for the formation of santri characters into individuals who are noble, independent, tolerant, dare to state arguments, can work together, and uphold Islamic values, all of which will be a very important provision for the life of santri in pesantren and in the midst of society after they complete their education in pesantren.

CONCLUSION

The pattern of forming santri traditions in Pondok Pesantren Modern Al-Manar Muhammadiyah Boarding School Ogan Komering Ilir is carried out through consensus with pesantren managers through efforts to construct various pesantren traditions of the managers and from several Muhammadiyah's pesantren which are considered relevant to local traditions. This is different from the pattern carried out in pesantren in general, which builds santri traditions based on the idealism value of the study of the Turos books taught to santri in pesantren. With such a pattern, it allows the formation of santri traditions at Pondok Pesantren Modern Al-Manar Muhammadiyah Boarding School Ogan Komering Ilir to occur flexibly and democratically, not only based on the

decision of one person, namely Kiai. In carrying out a tradition, there are several motives that underlie santri to do so. These motives can be identified into four forms of social action, namely: instrumental rationality actions, value-oriented rationality actions, traditional actions, and affective actions. As tradition actors, santri only understand santri traditions in theological and sociological meanings. While by ustaz, as the shaper of the santri tradition, the meaning of tradition is understood in various contexts, namely: theological, philosophical, sociological, psychological, political, economic, and cultural. The urgency of social ethics in the context of developing the santri tradition is as a value system in the process of forming the santri tradition, as a code of ethics contained in the santri tradition, and as a moral philosophy to explain the existence of the santri tradition.

The results of this study strengthen the position of pesantren as Islamic educational institutions that function as subcultures and social laboratories through efforts to internalize the values of Islamic teachings in the daily lives of santri in pesantren. The results of the study remember some limitations contained in this study, such as a very minimal sample of cases and the paradigm of discussion using only a sociological perspective. Therefore, it is considered necessary to refine these limitations by increasing the research sample and reviewing the study using other theories and perspectives, such as anthropology, history, and politics.

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