Sosioedukasi
JURNAL ILMIAH ILMU PENDIDIKAN DAN SOSIAL
ISSN: 2086-6135 E-ISSN: 2541-612x
Volume 15 No. 4. December 2026 https://ejournal.unibabwi.ac.id/index.php/sosioedukasi/index

THE FORMATION AND REPRODUCTION OF STUDENTS' RELIGIOUS HABITUS AT MI MA'ARIF NU 2 KALIWEDI: AN ANALYSIS OF HABITUS, CAPITAL, AND FIELD FROM PIERRE BOURDIEU'S PERSPECTIVE

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ARTICLE HISTORY
Received : 20-09-2026
Revised : 24-10-2026
Accepted : 19-11-2026

KEYWORDS
Religious Habitus; Madrasah; Cultural Capital; Social Capital; Habitus Reproduction.

ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the formation and reproduction of students' religious habitus at MI Ma'arif NU 2 Kaliwedi through Pierre Bourdieu's perspective. The study departs from the finding that religious habituation at the madrasah has been carried out routinely, but its level of internalization isn't uniform across religious practices. This article uses a qualitative approach with a case-study design. Data were obtained through direct observation of learning, religious habituation, worship, and social interaction; semi-structured interviews with the madrasah principal, students, and parents and documentation. The data were analyzed through the concepts of habitus, cultural capital, social capital, field, practice, and habitus reproduction, and then examined through source and technique triangulation. The results show that religious habitus is formed through the repetition of practices, educators' exemplary behavior, madrasah rules and schedules, peer support, and continuity of family habituation. However, internalization does not occur uniformly. Greetings and prayers tend to be performed more spontaneously, whereas prayer and Qur'an recitation, under certain conditions, still depend on reminders from adults. Cultural capital acquired from the family helps students prepare to enter religious practices at the madrasah, while relationships with educators, peers, and parents function as social capital that reinforces habituation. The findings also show that practices formed at the madrasah can be carried into the family environment, but their strength changes according to the context of the field. This, students' religious habitus is more appropriately understood as a gradual and relational process, rather than as the result of habituation that occurs automatically and uniformly.

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INTRODUCTION

The formation of religious behavior at the *madrasah ibtidaiyah* level does not occur only through the transmission of religious knowledge. Religious values become meaningful when they are present in practices that are repeated, exemplified by adults, accepted within social relations, and supported by the educational and family environment. Therefore, activities such as praying, greeting, reading the Qur'an, memorizing surahs, and performing prayer cannot simply be understood as a list of routine activities. Within them lies a process of forming behavioral tendencies that can gradually become part of the way students respond to everyday situations. Studies on habituation and the internalization of Islamic educational values in madrasah ibtidaiyah also show that teachers' exemplary behavior, madrasah culture, religious practices, and parental cooperation are important elements in building character through habituation (Syaiful et al., 2025).

Within this framework, it is important to distinguish three layers that are often conflated in discussions of character education: habit, internalization, and habitus. Habit refers to actions performed repeatedly; internalization refers to the process by which values begin to be accepted and become part of an orientation toward action; whereas habitus refers to dispositions that enable a person to act in a relatively directed manner without always needing external instructions. This distinction makes the analysis more careful. A high frequency of activities indeed creates conditions for the formation of dispositions, but it is not sufficient to prove that all students have developed a strong religious habitus. Rather, the difference between spontaneous actions and actions that still require reminders becomes important data for observing the stage of formation.

However, routine activities do not necessarily indicate full internalization, as student may perform religious practices due to institutional rules, supervision, or peer encouragement rather than personal dispotions. This difference is important because it reveals the distance between behavior produced by external structures and behavior that has become a practical tendency. In this context, Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus offers an analytical tool for understanding how repeated social experiences form dispositions that guide practice, while remaining open to the influence of different fields and social conditions (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990).

To demonstrate the position of this research in measurable terms, previous studies were mapped into four groups according to their analytical focus: (A) habituation and the internalization of values in madrasah ibtidaiyah, (B) Bourdieu's analysis of habitus and field in education, (C) social capital and cultural capital, and (D) the continuity of practices across environments. Each group was read through the same three questions: what is explained, in what context, and what remains unanswered for this study's research question. The mapping summary is presented in **Table 1.**

Table 1. Mapping of Previous Studies and the Position of This Research

Study Group	Studies and Context	Focus and Main Findings	Gap Relative to This Research
A. Habituation and value internalization	Syaiful et al. (2025); Hayya' et al. (2023); Muslih & Ariyanti (2025); Hanif & Khoeriyah (2026); Siswadi (2024, conceptual). Context: madrasah ibtidaiyah.	Exemplary behavior, madrasah culture, discipline, supervision, parental cooperation, and ubudiyah activities in character formation.	Has not differentiated spontaneity across practices; habitus, capital, and field are not the main framework.
B. Habitus and field (Bourdieu)	Anjarwati et al. (2026), elementary school; Amin et al. (2026), tahfiz madrasah aliyah; Yuliono & Hanif (2026), classroom management; Laili et al. (2026), university students.	Shift from external compliance to internal awareness; discipline and supervision; reproduction through routines and rules; space as a field.	Focus on discipline, classrooms, or particular spaces across various levels; the movement of practices into the family has not been traced.

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C. Social capital and cultural capital	Ningsih (2016), elementary school; Aziz et al. (2025), madrasah review; Fadilah & Hanif (2026), review; Parinda et al. (2026), vocational high school.	Cohesion, cooperation, and trust; habitus and cultural capital; habitus and social capital in religious, social, and moral formation.	Some are reviews or conducted at the secondary level; family cultural capital, social capital, and field have not been read together for madrasah ibtidaiyah children.
D. Continuity of practices across environments	Saputra et al. (2025), mahasantri; Anisah et al. (2026), madrasah ibtidaiyah (digital experience); Khoiroh & Mahsun (2025), madrasah ibtidaiyah (Qur'anic literacy).	Influence of new fields, out-of-school experiences, and family continuity on the continuity of practices.	Not diverse daily religious practices; madrasah–family spontaneity levels have not been compared.
This research	MI Ma'arif NU 2 Kaliwedi; qualitative case study.	Connects habituation, habitus, family cultural capital, social capital (teachers, peers, parents), the madrasah field, and madrasah–family practice transfer; practices are differentiated by their spontaneity.\	Explains why the spontaneity of practices differs and how habitus is negotiated across fields.

Source: Processed from previous studies cited in this article.

Group A positions habituation as a pathway for value formation. Syaiful et al. (2025) show that teachers' exemplary behavior, madrasah culture, religious practices, and parental cooperation support the internalization of Islamic values in madrasah ibtidaiyah; Hayya' et al. (2023) show that the internalization of tolerance values occurs through habituation, discipline, spontaneous activities, exemplary behavior, and supervision; Muslih and Ariyanti (2025) link structured ubudiyah activities to students' religious character; while Hanif and Khoeriyah (2026) highlight teacher–parent relations and children's moral control in worship habituation. Siswadi (2024) complements this group conceptually by positioning the principal's exemplary behavior as a "living curriculum." This group is strong in explaining that habituation is important, but it generally has not differentiated levels of spontaneity across practices and has not used habitus, capital, and field as a complete analytical framework.

Group B uses Bourdieu's framework to examine the formation of dispositions. Anjarwati et al. (2026) examine disciplinary habituation among elementary school students through the concepts of habitus and field, finding a shift from external compliance toward internal awareness; Amin et al. (2026) link religious habitus to discipline and supervision among tahfiz students at a madrasah aliyah; Yuliono and Hanif (2026) read routines, rules, and classroom organization as mechanisms for reproducing religious habitus; and Laili et al. (2026) show religious spaces as fields that shape students' habitus. This group affirms that habitus develops gradually and is influenced by the field, but its focus tends to be on discipline, classroom management, or particular spaces across various levels and institutions, and it has not traced how religious practices with different levels of spontaneity move beyond the school field.... Group C highlights capital as a resource. Ningsih (2016) shows that social capital in the form of cohesion, cooperation, solidarity, and religious routines contributes to the religious character of elementary school students; Aziz et al. (2025) compile studies on social capital as a strategic asset for strengthening madrasahs; Fadilah and Hanif (2026) review students' habitus and cultural capital from Bourdieu's perspective; and Parinda et al. (2026) connect habitus and social

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capital in religious, social, and moral formation in vocational high schools. These studies are closest to this research framework, but some are literature reviews or were conducted at the secondary level. Family cultural capital, social capital from teachers, peers, and parents, and the madrasah field have not yet been read together in relation to the religious practices of madrasah ibtidaiyah children.

Group D concerns the continuity of practices when individuals move between environments. Saputra et al. (2025) show that the transformation of mahasantri students' religious habitus is influenced by dormitory programs and the character of a new field; Anisah et al. (2026) show that out-of-school digital experiences influence the social interactions of madrasah ibtidaiyah students; and Khoiroh and Mahsun (2025) show that differences in initial ability and the continuity of family habituation relate to the continuity of Qur'anic literacy. This group opens the idea that field boundaries are not closed, but the movement of practices between environments has been examined among mahasantri, in digital experiences, or in one type of practice, rather than in diverse daily religious practices whose levels of spontaneity are compared between madrasah and family.

From this mapping, three interrelated gaps appear. First, studies on habituation in madrasah ibtidaiyah (Group A) explain what madrasahs do, but have not explained why some practices become spontaneous while others still require reminders. Second, Bourdieu-based studies (Group B) and capital studies (Group C) generally explain one or two elements, such as discipline, space, social capital, or cultural capital, at other educational levels and institutions, so the relationship between family cultural capital, school-relation social capital, and field structure has not been read as one continuum. Third, cross-environment studies (Group D) discuss the transfer or continuity of practices, but not the daily religious practices of madrasah ibtidaiyah students that move between madrasah and family. Within the body of research mapped in this article, these three gaps have not been addressed within a single analytical design.

This research departs from the context of MI Ma'arif NU 2 Kaliwedi. Documented field data show that the madrasah has relatively strong religious routines, including prayers before and after learning, Asmaul Husna, memorization of hadiths and short surahs, dhuha prayer, and congregational dhuhr prayer. However, the same data show that not all practices have reached the same level of spontaneity. Greetings and prayers more easily appear without instruction, whereas prayer and Qur'an recitation still require reminders under certain conditions. These findings mean that the research question does not stop at whether habituation forms religious behavior, but shifts to how habituation, capital, social relations, and the field work together in forming and reproducing students' religious habitus. Because this research uses a specific case, its contribution is not placed on statistical generalization. Its analytical value lies in the case's ability to reveal mechanisms often hidden behind the term "habituation." The data show that the same practice can have a different social status: greetings and prayers have become relatively ingrained, whereas prayer and Qur'an recitation may still depend on reminders. This difference enables a sharper discussion of how school structures, family support, and peer relations work together, yet do not always produce identical levels of internalization. Based on this mapping, this article positions the madrasah as a social field in which students bring capital and dispositions from their families, encounter rules and institutional culture, interact with teachers and peers, and then produce practices with different levels of spontaneity. Compared with the studies in Table 1, this article's novelty lies in three points. First, daily religious practices (greetings and prayers, prayer, and Qur'an recitation) are compared according to their level of spontaneity at the madrasah ibtidaiyah level, rather than treated as a single habituation variable. Second, family cultural capital, social capital from teachers, peers, and parents, and the structure of the madrasah field are read as one analytical continuum, not as separate factors. Third, the transfer of practices between the madrasah and family fields is traced as reproduction involving reinforcement, change, and negotiation, rather than as the copying of habits. This position distinguishes the article from studies that only measure the success of habituation: its focus is the dynamics of disposition formation and changes in the strength of practices when students move between the madrasah and family fields. The objectives of this article are to analyze: (1) how religious habituation works as a process of habitus formation; (2) how family cultural capital and social capital from teachers, peers, and parents support students' religious practices; (3) how the madrasah field regulates and reinforces these practices; and (4) how habits formed at the madrasah are reproduced or change when carried into the family environment and daily life. With these objectives, the article is expected to provide a more sociological reading of religious education at the madrasah ibtidaiyah level.

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METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach with a case-study design. This approach was chosen because the research focuses on students' religious practices that occur in the natural setting of MI Ma'arif NU 2 Kaliwedi and requires an understanding of the experiences, interactions, habits, and social context surrounding them. A case study was used to obtain a deep and contextual understanding of the formation and reproduction of students' religious habitus, while Pierre Bourdieu's perspective was used as an interpretive framework to examine the relationship between habitus, capital, field, and practice (Creswell & Poth, 2016).

The research data sources were obtained through direct observation, semi-structured interviews, and documentation. Observation was directed at learning, religious habituation, worship activities, break times, and students' social interactions. The observation instrument guided the recording of visible behavior, the context of events, and initial interpretations without drawing immediate conclusions. Interviews were used to explore informants' experiences, meanings, and observations regarding students' religious practices. Documentation was directed at religious programs and activities, rules, the madrasah's vision, mission, and culture, activity schedules, activity photographs, students' notes, religious facilities, and communication between the madrasah and parents. The instrument's structure also brought together observation, interview, and documentation data in several analytical focuses, including religious habituation, spontaneous behavior, the roles of teachers, peers, and family, cultural capital, the madrasah field, religious practices, and habitus reproduction.

Informants were selected purposively based on their involvement in the process of forming students' religious habitus. The final number of informants was five, consisting of one madrasah principal, one teacher, two students, and one parent. The principal was positioned as a source of information on the structure, policies, programs, and culture of habituation at the madrasah. The teacher was selected because of direct involvement in implementing habituation, exemplary behavior, supervision, and observation of variations in student behavior. Students were positioned as direct actors who provided information on their experiences of habituation and the level of spontaneity of religious practices. Meanwhile, the parent provided information on the religious cultural capital students acquired in the family and the continuity of those practices at home. This composition was not intended to produce statistical representation, but to obtain rich information from various social positions related to the formation and reproduction of religious habitus. To maintain anonymity, informants are referred to by the codes KM (madrasah principal), G1 (teacher), S1 and S2 (students), and OT1 (parent).

Data collection was carried out for three months, from July to September 2026, at MI Ma'arif NU 2 Kaliwedi. Observation was conducted in eight sessions covering classroom learning activities, religious habituation, dhuha and congregational dhuhr prayers, break times, and students' interactions with teachers and peers inside and outside the classroom. Semi-structured interviews were conducted in four sessions with the madrasah principal, teacher, students, and parent. Documentation was collected during the same period. The number of informants and sessions reported in this article reflects the data actually obtained and documented.

Data analysis was conducted in stages through data organization, coding, comparison across sources, presentation of patterns, and meaning making. The initial stage used coding based on Bourdieu's conceptual framework: H (habitus), MC (cultural capital), MS (social capital), A (field), P (practice), and RH (reproduction of habitus). Data from observation, interviews, and documentation were then compared according to their sources and contexts to identify consistencies, differences, and variations in experience. The analytical process proceeded iteratively through data organization, data presentation, examination of relationships among themes, and meaning making (Miles et al., 2019).

The analysis was not directed at counting the frequency of code occurrences, but at reading relationships among categories. Code H was linked with P to identify how religious dispositions are reflected in practices performed relatively spontaneously as well as practices that still require reminders. Code MC was read together with P to see how religious knowledge, experiences, habits, and values acquired in the family appear in students' actions. Code MS was linked with RH to analyze how relationships with teachers, peers, and parents can reinforce, maintain, or direct the continuity of a practice. Meanwhile, A was used to examine how the characteristics of the madrasah and family fields influence the form and strength of the same religious practice. This reading positions habitus not as a standalone

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variable, but as a disposition that works relationally in connection with capital, field, and practice (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu, 1990).

The next stage compared religious practices in the madrasah and family fields. This comparison was used to examine whether habits formed through madrasah routines can be carried into the home environment, whether changes occur when the context of practice changes, and which social factors reinforce or weaken their continuity. With this framework, habitus reproduction is not understood as the automatic copying of habits, but as a process that may undergo reinforcement, change, or negotiation when students move from one field to another. This perspective allows the analysis to move from merely describing religious activities to explaining the social mechanisms that enable a practice to persist and become increasingly internalized.

The validity of the findings was strengthened through source triangulation and technique triangulation. Source triangulation was conducted by comparing information from the madrasah principal, teacher, students, and parent, while technique triangulation was conducted by bringing together the results of observation, interviews, and documentation. In this way, information about a practice was not accepted based on a single perspective, but was examined through different sources and forms of data. The triangulation matrix in the instrument specifically brought together the themes of religious habituation, spontaneous behavior, the roles of teachers, peers, and family, cultural capital, the madrasah field, religious practices, and habitus reproduction with the sources of observation, principal/teacher, students, parents, and documentation.

The final interpretation maintained the possibility of both consistency and inconsistency across sources. The data were not forced to always align with Bourdieu's concepts. Instead, the concepts of habitus, cultural capital, social capital, field, practice, and habitus reproduction were used as tools to explain patterns that actually emerged from the data. Thus, the analysis could capture not only religious practices that had become routines, but also variations in spontaneity, the need for reminders, the role of social relations, and changes in the strength of practices when students were in the madrasah and family fields.

Research ethics. This research did not pass through a formal ethics committee; research permission was obtained in writing from MI Ma'arif NU 2 Kaliwedi, and its implementation followed the principles of qualitative research ethics. All informants were given an explanation of the research objectives and provided written informed consent before interviews. For student informants as child participants, consent was obtained from parents or guardians and from the students' willingness. Participation was voluntary, informants could end their involvement at any time, and informants' identities were anonymized in the report through the use of codes.

Results and Discussion

The research results show that the formation of students' religious habitus occurs through mutually reinforcing relationships among repeated practices, madrasah structures, the capital students bring from their families, teacher and peer relations, and the continuity of habits at home. However, this process is gradual. Not all frequently performed practices have become equally strong dispositions for all students. Informant quotations and field notes are included under each theme; their summary is presented in **Table 2.**

1. **Religious Habituation as Infrastructure for Habitus Formation.**

   Observation shows that prayers before and after activities have been performed routinely, both inside and outside the classroom. Greetings, salutations, and etiquette when meeting teachers have also become part of the madrasah culture; indeed, there is a tendency for students to continue greeting teachers when meeting them outside the madrasah. At the same time, Qur'an reading at the madrasah takes place at specific times through RTQ (Raudloh Tarbiyatul Quran) activities, whereas independent reading at home or at the mosque/TPQ still requires encouragement from teachers or parents in some conditions.

   Empirically, this pattern shows that habituation has achieved a fairly clear level of regularity. Prayer does not only appear at the beginning of learning, but is also recorded before and after activities, including when students are outside the classroom. The 5S culture—smiling, greeting, saluting, being polite, and being courteous—is described as a madrasah culture that can even appear when students meet teachers outside the madrasah. This is theoretically important because it shows that some practices have moved beyond the

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boundaries of formal activities. When an action reappears in a context not fully controlled by the class schedule, there is an indication that the action has gained support from a more stable disposition, although the data do not allow the claim that this disposition has become established for all students.

The principal's explanation reinforces this pattern. Asmaul Husna, memorization of selected hadiths, memorization of short surahs, prayers before and after learning, dhuha prayer, and congregational dhuhr prayer are mentioned as routine activities. According to the informant, these habits become formed because they are performed continuously and collectively. Thus, repetition does not stand alone; it occurs within a social situation that makes certain actions expected and natural to perform.

The principal's statement in the interview shows that habituation is understood as a collective activity performed continuously: "[KM verbatim quotation: routine activities become formed because they are performed continuously and together]" (KM, [11 August 2026]). Field notes reinforce this: "[brief field-note quotation about prayers and greetings, including when meeting teachers outside the madrasah]" (CL, [15 August 2026]).

The series of activities mentioned by the principal also shows that habituation does not stand as a single activity. Asmaul Husna, memorization of selected hadiths, memorization of short surahs, prayers before and after learning, dhuha prayer, and congregational dhuhr prayer form an ecosystem of practices. Diverse repetitions expose students to religious values through many forms of action, not only through subject matter. From the perspective of habitus, this diversity of experiences can expand the situations in which religious dispositions are learned and practiced. Thus, what shapes habitus is not only "how many times" an activity is performed, but also how the activity is placed within the rhythm of madrasah life.

Within Bourdieu's framework, these conditions can be understood as the formation of dispositions through repeated social experiences. Habitus is not merely mechanical habit, but a tendency that enables individuals to produce certain practices without always having to calculate or receive new instructions. Therefore, the important indicator is not only the frequency of activities, but whether actions begin to appear as relatively spontaneous practical responses (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990). The research data show that the process toward this condition has already begun, but is not complete for all practices.

These findings are consistent with Syaiful et al. (2025), who position exemplary behavior, madrasah culture, habituation, and parental cooperation as part of the process of internalizing Islamic values. Muslih and Ariyanti (2025) also show that structured ubudiyah activities can contribute to religious character. The difference is that the data from MI Ma'arif NU 2 Kaliwedi clearly show differences in spontaneity across practices. Thus, habituation is more appropriately understood as infrastructure for habitus formation, not as automatic evidence that habitus has become fully established.

2. From External Compliance to Spontaneous Practice

One of the most prominent patterns in the data is the difference between practices that are already spontaneous and practices that still require supervision. Observation states that religious actions without direct instruction have not fully emerged. Students still follow teachers' instructions, and even when spontaneous, their performance is not always optimal. In worship practices, some students immediately prepare for prayer, while others continue other activities when there is no direction. Student interviews provide a more concrete picture. Students stated that praying and greeting are still performed because they have become habitual, whereas prayer or Qur'an recitation sometimes still requires reminders, especially when playing or in a hurry. The principal also stated that some students spontaneously greet, pray, or remind their friends when prayer time arrives, while others still perform religious activities by following peers or teachers' directions.

In the students' own words, this difference appears as follows. For prayer and greetings, "[whether students are accustomed to doing it: already habitual]" (S1, 14 August 2026); whereas for prayer and Qur'an recitation, "[sometimes they need to be reminded, especially when playing or in a hurry]" (S2, [14 August 2026]).

These data show a gradation of internalization. Analytically, students' religious practices can be read as lying along a continuum: actions still supported by external control, actions beginning to become habitual, and relatively spontaneous actions. This continuum is important because habitus works through dispositions that make practices feel natural, but dispositions do not always have the same strength across all actions and contexts.

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In other words, repetition produces tendencies, but the conditions of the field can determine whether those tendencies are strong enough to produce practice without instruction.

This gradation can be formulated as a spectrum from practices highly dependent on instruction to relatively spontaneous practices. On one side are actions performed because of schedules and obligations; on the other are actions still performed even when teachers do not remind students. Students' positions may lie between these two poles and may change according to the type of activity and situation. Therefore, religious habitus in this case is more appropriately understood as a strengthening disposition rather than a final, fully formed condition. This reading is consistent with studies finding that religious practices strongly integrated into routines and supported by exemplary behavior tend to be more consistent, whereas practices highly dependent on supervision are more likely to change when supervision decreases (Parinda et al., 2026).

These findings also mean that it would be inappropriate for this research to conclude that all students have achieved an established religious habitus. Rather, the strength of the data lies in depicting a transitional process. Greetings and prayers appear closer to spontaneous practices, whereas prayer and Qur'an recitation still depend on reminders in some situations. This reading is consistent with Amin et al. (2026), who show the relationship between habituation, discipline, and supervision in forming religious habitus. The pattern is also close to Anjarwati et al. (2026), who show that habituation among elementary school students can move from external compliance toward internal awareness, while differences in initial habitus and family support influence the level of development.

3. Family Cultural Capital as the Foundation of Religious Dispositions

Differences in practices among students in the research data cannot be separated from experiences before and outside the madrasah. The principal stated that students who have been accustomed to Qur'an recitation and prayer at home usually find it easier to follow habituation at the madrasah. Conversely, students who receive less support at home tend to depend more on teachers' directions. This statement shows that students enter the madrasah field with unequal resources. These resources appear in the form of religious knowledge and skills, such as the ability to read the Qur'an, memorize short surahs, perform daily prayers, and understand the procedures for prayer. Within Bourdieu's framework, knowledge and competencies acquired through social processes can be read as cultural capital that influences a person's ability to adapt to the demands of a field (Bourdieu, 1986). This capital is not merely cognitive knowledge, but a resource that makes certain practices easier to perform and more quickly accepted as ordinary.

The parent interview reinforces this relationship. Habits of prayer, Qur'an recitation, prayers before eating and sleeping, and memorization of surahs were introduced when the child was young. After entering the madrasah, these habits increased because of school habituation. Thus, the relationship between family and madrasah is not a replacement of formative sources, but continuity and reinforcement. The madrasah expands and organizes practices that the family has already introduced. The parent described this continuity as follows: "[prayer, Qur'an recitation, and prayers before eating and sleeping were introduced from an early age]" (OT1, 18 August 2026). The principal linked it to students' readiness at the madrasah: "[students who are accustomed at home find it easier to follow habituation]" (KM, 18 August 2026).

These findings are consistent with studies on habitus and cultural capital in education that position family social experience as one basis for forming students' dispositions (Fadilah & Hanif, 2026). Studies on Qur'anic literacy in madrasah ibtidaiyah also show that differences in initial ability and the continuity of family habituation influence the continuity of religious practices (Khoiroh & Mahsun, 2025). Therefore, the formation of religious habitus at MI Ma'arif NU 2 Kaliwedi is more appropriately read as an accumulative process: capital acquired at home meets the demands and opportunities for practice at the madrasah.

4. Teachers and Peers as Social Capital and Reproduction Mechanisms.

Teachers occupy an important position in ensuring that religious practices do not stop at the schedule. The principal explained that teachers carry out religious activities together with students. Reinforcement is provided through direct motivation, while reprimands may be directed toward reciting istighfar, reading the Qur'an, or reviewing memorization; appreciation is also given to students. In the observation data, consistency and

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consequences are seen as ways to reinforce habits. Teachers thus function simultaneously as models, reinforcers, and regulators of the rhythm of practice.

The principal explained how teachers reinforce habits: "[KM quotation: direct motivation, reprimands in the form of istighfar/Qur'an recitation/review, and appreciation]" (KM/G1, 19 August 2026).

From the perspective of social capital, relationships formed through trust, closeness, communication, and shared norms can become resources for the continuity of practice. Literature on social capital in madrasahs emphasizes that relations among parties can strengthen educational institutional capacity and support Islamic education processes (Aziz et al., 2025). Field data show concrete forms: students see teachers performing practices, receive reminders, and participate in activities together. Peers are also not merely a social backdrop. They can invite and remind one another. Students recounted that when prayer time arrives, friends may remind them to perform ablution or go to the prayer area. Observation shows that group norms can even encourage students to report peers who do not participate in activities to the teacher. On the other hand, peer influence differs among students; some easily follow peers, while others remain relatively consistent with their own habits. This means that social capital works through relationships, but its outcomes are still influenced by the dispositions students already possess.

One student described their friends' role: "[student verbatim quotation: reminded to perform ablution or go to the prayer area]" (S1, 19 August 2026). Different influence appears in another student: "[student verbatim quotation: easily follows peers or remains consistent with their own habits]" (S2, 20 August 2026).

The role of peers is important because habitus is not formed only through vertical relations between teachers and students. When peers invite one another to perform ablution or remind each other to attend prayer, religious norms take on a horizontal form. Students are not merely recipients of habituation; they can also become intermediaries in reproducing habits for other students. In this context, habitus reproduction occurs through more fluid interactions than school rules. Peer influence also shows that religious practices gain strength when supported by positive peer-group expectations.

This pattern reveals mechanisms of habitus reproduction that operate both vertically and horizontally. Vertically, through teachers and madrasah structures; horizontally, through peers. Yuliono and Hanif (2026) show that routines, rules, classroom organization, and teacher interaction can function as social mechanisms for reproducing values and religious habitus. The data from MI Ma'arif NU 2 Kaliwedi extend this reading by showing that students themselves become agents of reminders and norm reinforcement, so reproduction does not occur entirely from the top down.

5. The Madrasah Field as a Structure Enabling Practice

The research data show that the madrasah provides material and normative conditions that make religious practices easy to perform. Rules, schedules, facilities, and madrasah culture are directly mentioned as factors affecting habituation. Religious activities are not placed as occasional events, but are incorporated into routines so that students repeatedly encounter the same situations and recognize the behavioral expectations accompanying them.

The principal mentioned these structural factors directly: "[KM verbatim quotation: rules, schedules, facilities, and madrasah culture affect habituation]" (KM, 21 August 2026).

The material conditions include the availability of religious facilities, activity schedules, and spaces that allow practices to be performed collectively. Normative conditions appear through rules, habits, and behavioral expectations. Both complement each other. Facilities without culture do not necessarily produce consistent practices, while culture without time and space can make activities difficult to carry out regularly. Therefore, the madrasah field can be understood as a socio-material configuration that makes certain practices more possible than others.

The concept of field in Bourdieu's theory helps explain that students' practices always occur within a social space that has rules, positions, resources, and particular forms of legitimacy. The madrasah field does not merely provide a place; it determines which practices are considered natural, when practices are performed, who gives reminders, and how deviations are responded to. In this context, rules and schedules are external structures

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repeatedly encountered by students, while teachers and peers are actors who make those structures present in daily interactions. These findings are close to studies on religious spaces as fields that shape habitus, showing that space is not neutral because it can become a site where capital, interaction, and repeated practices meet (Laili et al., 2026). In the context of MI Ma'arif NU 2 Kaliwedi, this field takes the form of a madrasah that explicitly integrates religious activities into school life. Therefore, the strength of the field lies not only in the existence of facilities, but in the consistency of relationships among rules, time, exemplary behavior, and practice.

However, the madrasah field does not fully determine action. The data show that when supervision decreases or students move into play situations, some practices require reminders again. This is theoretically important: the relationship between structure and action is not deterministic. Habitus formed from previous experiences encounters new conditions and produces responses that may differ. Here, Bourdieu's perspective helps interpret behavioral variation without treating students as passive objects of structure.

These findings are important to avoid a deterministic reading of Bourdieu's theory. If the madrasah structure fully determined behavior, all students should show the same level of practice. The data instead show variation. Some students are more consistent, while others still need encouragement. The instrument also records that confidence and encouragement from others can influence the emergence of practices outside formal activities. This means that structure provides possibilities and pressures, but the actualization of practice still depends on the dispositions and resources each student brings.

6. Authority, Legitimacy, and Students' Positions in the Madrasah Field

From Bourdieu's perspective, a field is not merely a place where activities occur, but a social space consisting of positions, relations, rules of the game, the distribution of capital, and power relations (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990). Therefore, the analytical question does not stop at what activities occur at the madrasah, but includes who has the authority to define what counts as correct religious behavior, how that authority gains legitimacy, how peer norms operate, and how students' positions influence their responses. The research data allow an initial reading of these four aspects.

The authority to define correct practices in the madrasah field lies primarily with the principal and teachers, who set schedules, rules, and habituation programs and determine responses to deviations. These definitions do not appear as abstract formulations, but are visible in what is scheduled (Asmaul Husna, memorization, dhuha and congregational dhuhr prayers), what is reprimanded, and what is appreciated. Reprimands directed toward istighfar, Qur'an reading, or reviewing memorization can be read as a form of correction packaged as religious practice itself, so the boundary between sanction and habituation becomes blurred. In the family field, similar authority lies with parents, who continue or discontinue habituation, so definitions of correct practice may align or diverge between the two fields.

Teachers' legitimacy derives not only from their structural position, but also from exemplary behavior: teachers perform religious activities together with students, act consistently, and provide appreciation and consequences. This combination of position and exemplary behavior can be read as symbolic capital, namely recognition that makes teachers' directions accepted as natural rather than merely coercive (Bourdieu, 1990). This recognition is not uniform. Students accustomed to religious practice at home more easily align themselves with the madrasah's demands, whereas students receiving less support at home depend more on teachers' directions, so teachers' legitimacy works with different intensity according to students' initial capital. Peer norms operate as horizontal supervision. Students remind one another to perform ablution and go to the prayer area, and group norms can encourage students to report peers who do not participate in activities to the teacher. This mechanism extends the reach of teachers' authority into relations among students: students who give reminders occupy the position of norm guardians, while reported students occupy a position vulnerable to correction. Nevertheless, students' responses still differ; some easily follow peers, some remain consistent with their own habits, and confidence and encouragement from others influence the emergence of practices outside formal activities. Students' positions in the field, shaped by initial cultural capital, closeness to teachers, and ties with peers, thus influence whether madrasah norms are accepted as natural, performed because of supervision, or negotiated. The available

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data do not yet contain explicit student rejection of or disagreement with definitions of correct practice; this limitation should be stated and, if available, enriched with interview data.

Supporting evidence for this reading is as follows. Teacher authority and legitimacy:

"[G/KM verbatim quotation about reprimands, appreciation, or teachers' exemplary behavior]" (G1, 22 August 2026). Peer supervision: "[student verbatim quotation or observation note about reporting peers to the teacher]" (S2, 22 August 2026).

7. Habitus Reproduction and Practice Transfer between Madrasah and Family

One important finding concern the transfer of habits from the madrasah to the home. Parents stated that their children sometimes invite others to recite prayers, repeat memorized surahs, remind younger siblings to greet or pray before eating, and on several occasions immediately take the Qur'an to recite. However, player still occasionally requires parental reminder, particulary when children are playing. These findings indicate that the transfer of religious practices occurs but is neither automatic not uniform. As parent explained "[OT verbatim quotation: the child invites others to pray, repeats memorization, reminds younger siblings]" (OT1, 22 August 2026), as well as its limitation: "[OT verbatim quotation: prayer still needs reminders when the child is playing]" (OT1, 22 August 2026).

The relationship between the madrasah and family represents an encounter between two fields with different structures and conditions. The madrasah provides schedules, peer interactions, institutional rules, and teachers' exemplary behavior, whereas the family operates through more flexible routines and parenting practices. Parents emphasized that religious habituation must continue at home because practices established only at school may gradually be forgotten. Consequently, the continuity of habitus depends on reinforcement across both fields. When families support these practices, children are more likely to maintain them; conversely, distractions such as playing may weaken their consistency.

From Bourdieu's perspective, habitus is not transferred as a fixed set of behaviors but develops through the interaction between dispositions and the social conditions of different fields. Students therefore become carriers of religious practices acquired at the madrasah, while family environments can reinforce or weaken their reproduction. This finding suggests that family cooperation should be understood not merely as a complement to school programs but as an essential mechanism in sustaining religious habitus. Similar research highlights the importance of teacher–parent relationships in maintaining religious habituation among madrasah ibtidaiyah students (Hanif & Khoeriyah, 2026). This pattern also corresponds with studies showing that the continuity of habitus across different fields is influenced by available capital and the characteristics of the new social environment (Saputra et al., 2025). Data evidence for each theme is summarized in Table 2, while the conceptual synthesis based on Bourdieu's framework is presented in Table 3

Table 2. Supporting Data Evidence by Theme

Theme	Observation Evidence	Informant Quotation	Interpretation
Habituation as infrastructure	Prayers before and after activities inside and outside the classroom; 5S culture; greetings to teachers even outside the madrasah; RTQ at specific times.	KM: "These activities are routinely performed continuously and together."	Repetition occurs in social situations that make actions natural; some practices extend beyond formal activities.
Spontaneity of practices	Students still follow teachers' instructions; some immediately prepare for prayer, while others do other activities without direction.	S1/S2: "Performing prayer and greeting activities that have become habitual; prayer and Qur'an recitation still need reminders."	Internalization is graduated: from practices supported by external control to relatively spontaneous practices.

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Family cultural capital	Students perform habituation from home.	OT1 and KM: "Habits from home and ease in following habituation."	Students enter the field with different initial capital; the madrasah expands and organizes practices already introduced by the family.
Teachers as social capital and authority	Teachers perform activities with students; consistency and consequences are used to reinforce habits; reprimands include istighfar, Qur'an reading, or review.	KM/G1: "Students receive motivation, reprimands, and appreciation."	Teachers' legitimacy derives from position and exemplary behavior; correction is packaged as religious practice.
Peers	Group norms encourage students to report peers who do not participate to the teacher; invitations to perform ablution and go to the prayer area.	S1/S2: "Reminding friends and differences in peer influence."	Horizontal supervision extends teachers' authority; students' responses remain influenced by their dispositions.
Madrasah field	Rules, schedules, facilities, and madrasah culture; certain practices require reminders when supervision decreases or students play.	KM: "Reminding about rules, schedules, facilities, and madrasah culture."	The field activates and directs dispositions, but does not deterministically determine action.
Reproduction across fields	Practicing from school and becoming accustomed at home.	[OT1: "The child invites others to pray, repeats memorization, and prayer still needs reminders."	Practices are carried home, but their strength changes according to family support and the character of the field.

Source: Observation and interview data (KM = madrasah principal, G = teacher, S = student, OT = parent, CL = field notes).

Table 3. Synthesis of Findings Based on Pierre Bourdieu's Concepts

CONCEPT	FIELD FINDINGS	MECHANISM	ANALYTICAL MEANING
Habitus	Greetings and prayers are relatively spontaneous; prayer and Qur'an recitation still require reminders under certain conditions.	Repetition and social experience.	Internalization occurs gradually and unevenly.
Cultural capital	The ability to read the Qur'an, memorize, pray, and perform prayer procedures is more easily practiced by students	Family experience becomes a resource for entering madrasah practices.	Students enter the field with different initial capital.

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	already accustomed at home.		
Social capital	Teachers provide models, reinforcement, reprimands, and appreciation; peers invite and remind one another; parents continue habituation.	Relationships and shared norms.	Social relations become resources for reproducing practices.
Field	Rules, schedules, facilities, culture, and collective activities regulate the rhythm of practice.	External structures and institutional legitimacy.	The madrasah becomes a social space that facilitates religious practices.
Practice	Prayers, greetings, Asmaul Husna, memorization, dhuha/dhuhr prayers, and Qur'an reading.	The meeting of habitus, capital, and field.	Practice is the concrete manifestation of dispositions in a particular context.
Reproduction of habitus	Certain habits are carried home, but their consistency differs.	Reinforcement or weakening across fields.	Habitus is reproduced relationally, not automatically.

Source: Processed from observation, interview, and documentation data in the research instrument.

8. Theoretical Synthesis: Habitus as a Gradual and Relational Process

If all findings are brought together, the formation of students' religious habitus at MI Ma'arif NU 2 Kaliwedi can be understood as a process moving through the relationship among capital, field, and practice. The family provides initial cultural capital in the form of religious knowledge and skills; the madrasah provides a field that regulates the rhythm of practice; teachers and peers provide social capital; while repetition makes practices increasingly familiar and, for some actions, increasingly spontaneous. When students move to the home or play environment, these dispositions are tested by different field conditions.This model also shows that reproduction is not identical to copying. Some practices are relatively successfully maintained, some change in intensity, and some again require reminders. Therefore, the success of religious education should not be assessed only by the regularity of activities at the madrasah, but also by the extent to which students can activate those tendencies in situations not fully controlled by the school.

Reproduction can mean repetition, but also the adaptation of the form of practice to context. Prayers, greetings, and memorization can be carried home in relatively simple forms, whereas activities requiring group structure, such as Asmaul Husna with peers, cannot be replicated identically at home. What is reproduced is not the entire format of activities, but the tendencies and practical meanings that can be adapted to the field. Here, the concept of habitus becomes more productive than the concept of a habituation program alone: habitus explains the capacity of dispositions to produce similar but not identical actions when contexts change.

These findings enrich studies on religious habitus in basic education. While several studies emphasize habituation, discipline, or classroom management as mechanisms of habitus formation (Amin et al., 2026; Yuliono & Hanif, 2026), the case of MI Ma'arif NU 2 Kaliwedi shows the importance of reading the continuity among family capital, madrasah structure, and practice transfer across fields. Thus, the article's contribution lies not in claiming that habituation is important—this has been widely demonstrated—but in explaining why the spontaneity of practices differs and how habitus is negotiated when social contexts change.

Theoretically, these findings show that the relationship between habitus and field in this case is dynamic. The habitus students bring from their families does not disappear when they enter the madrasah, but encounters

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new rules, rhythms of time, facilities, and relations. This encounter can produce reinforcement when family and madrasah experiences support one another. Conversely, when the context does not support them, practices may lose some of their intensity. Therefore, the madrasah field is more appropriately understood as a space that activates, directs, and tests dispositions, rather than as a machine that automatically produces uniform behavior. This understanding aligns with Bourdieu's logic of practice, which positions action as the relational outcome of dispositions, capital, and field conditions (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu, 1990).

The findings also show that relevant forms of capital do not stand alone. Family cultural capital becomes more effective when there is social capital connecting students with teachers, parents, and peers. Knowledge of prayers, for example, more easily becomes practice when there are situations reminding students to pray and when people around them perform the same actions. Conversely, cultural capital that does not receive social reinforcement may produce less consistent practices. Thus, the formation of religious habitus cannot be sufficiently explained by saying that the family "has influence" or the school "has influence"; what matters more is how resources from both environments are converted into conditions enabling practice to occur.... From an educational perspective, these findings have important implications for designing religious habituation in madrasah ibtidaiyah. Habituation programs should not only be directed at increasing compliance with schedules, but also at expanding students' opportunities to take initiative. If students always perform practices because they are ordered to, schools will find it difficult to know whether values have become dispositions. Conversely, when students are given opportunities to lead prayers, remind peers, carry practices home, or explain the reasons for a habit, there is space for a shift from external compliance toward more independent engagement. Data in the instrument show that students have indeed performed some of these functions through peer invitations and reminders and by carrying some practices home.

Another implication concerns the relationship between madrasah and family. Parents' findings show that the continuity of habits at home helps maintain practices, while habits that are not continued more easily weaken. Therefore, madrasah–parent communication should not stop at conveying schedules or activity information. Communication can be directed toward aligning simple habits realistically performed at home, such as prayers before activities, greetings when meeting family members, habituation of Qur'an reading, and reinforcement of prayer discipline. Such strategies are not intended to standardize family life, but to create minimum continuity across fields so that dispositions formed at the madrasah gain opportunities to be reactivated at home.

At the same time, this article must maintain the limits of its interpretation. The instrument provides rich data on habituation patterns, but does not yet provide longitudinal measures that can show changes in habitus over the long term. The data also do not yet allow systematic comparisons by class, gender, socioeconomic background, or students' academic achievement. Therefore, the term "formed" in this article is used in the sense of a formation process visible through repetition, relative spontaneity, and reproduction across contexts, not as a claim that habitus is final or permanent. This limitation actually strengthens the caution of the analysis and opens space for further research following students over several periods.

Thus, the contribution of the MI Ma'arif NU 2 Kaliwedi case can be formulated at three levels. First, at the empirical level, the data show differences in the strength of internalization between relatively spontaneous greeting and prayer practices and prayer and Qur'an recitation practices that still require reminders under certain conditions. Second, at the relational level, habitus formation occurs through the meeting of family cultural capital, social capital from teachers–peers–parents, and the structure of the madrasah field. Third, at the theoretical level, habitus reproduction occurs across fields and produces both repetition and adaptation, not mechanical copying. This position extends readings of religious education research that have often stopped at the existence of programs and levels of implementation, toward questions of how practices become dispositions and how those dispositions persist when social contexts change.

CONCLUSION

This research answers its four objectives as follows. First, religious habituation at MI Ma'arif NU 2 Kaliwedi works as infrastructure for habitus formation: the repetition of practices within structured social situations shifts

actions from those requiring direction toward more spontaneous ones, but not uniformly, because greetings and prayers are more spontaneous whereas prayer and Qur'an recitation still require reminders under certain conditions. Second, family cultural capital provides initial readiness, while social capital from teachers, peers, and parents reinforces and maintains practices. Third, the madrasah field, through rules, schedules, facilities, exemplary behavior, and teachers' authority, regulates and activates practices without determining them mechanically. Fourth, practices formed at the madrasah are carried into the family, but their strength changes according to the support of the field, so habitus reproduction occurs as reinforcement and negotiation, not copying.

Theoretically, these findings show that children's religious habitus is more appropriately understood as a gradual and relational process formed through the meeting of cultural capital, social capital, and field, with the level of spontaneity of practices as an indicator of the strength of dispositions. Practically, madrasahs need to assess religious education not only by the regularity of activities, but also by the opportunities given to students to take initiative, such as leading prayers or reminding peers. Madrasah–parent communication should be directed toward the continuity of simple habits at home, not merely the delivery of programs.

The conclusions of this research are limited to the context of MI Ma'arif NU 2 Kaliwedi, the limited number of informants (five people), and the documented data, and are not intended as statistical generalizations. The data are not longitudinal and do not yet allow comparisons by class, gender, socioeconomic background, or students' academic achievement. Further research can follow students over several periods and involve several madrasahs with different social characteristics to examine how variations in family cultural capital, madrasah leadership, peer culture, and field character influence the continuity of religious habitus.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors thank MI Ma'arif NU 2 Kaliwedi for the opportunity and access provided during the data-collection process. Appreciation is also extended to the madrasah principal, teachers, students, and parents who took the time to provide the information and experiences that form the basis of the analysis in this article. The authors appreciate the openness, support, and cooperation of all parties who helped ensure the smooth running of the data-collection process and the preparation of this article.

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