# Service Learning [*Khidmah*] and Students' Social Intelligence: Nurturing *Khidmah* at Islamic Boarding School of Nurul Huda Malang, Indonesia

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Abstract: This study aims to investigate the social construction of *khidmah* and its implementation at Islamic traditional boarding school (*pesantren*) 'Nurul Huda' of Malang City, Indonesia. This research is qualitative in nature and utilizes social construction of Peter L. Berger and exchange theory of George C. Homans for analytical foundations. Using in-depth interview and direct observation this study found that *khidmah* was comprehended as giving services to others that is constructed through religious teaching, creating narratives, collective activities that have been done inside the *pesantren*. Voluntary works outside the *pesantren* and the exemplary behaviour of the *kyai* (Muslim cleric/teachers in *pesantren*) were also crucial in the construction process of *khidmah* and students's social intelligence. *Khidmah* is firstly nurtured when an individual became a *santri (pesantren*'s students). Being a *santri,* the person consequently must observe the *pesantren*'s rule and regulation wherein the notion of *khidmah* is embedded and implemented within it. The factors that support and strengthen the *khidmah* are (1) the shared belief among the members of *pesantren* that their future life success is highly influenced by the serious commitment to the *khidmah*, (2) the reflection of the values and norms of *khidmah* in the behavior of earlier members of *pesantren* community, (3) closeness among earlier member of *pesantren* community and fresh students, and (4) the capability of kyai and senior *santri* in conveying the urgency of *khidmah*. While the restricting factors are mainly the opposite ones. The absence of those four supporting factors will ruin the implementation of *khidmah*.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

The interaction between teachers and students is the most significant and influential factor in the learning and teaching process (Aldrup et al., 2018). Despite its benefits it sometime might also create unintended consequences such as violence, bullying, and others as a result of its (negative) interaction. Therefore, interaction basically is a dynamic social relationship. It is a matter of a mutual subjective orientation towards each other. Thus, this social interaction requires a mutual orientation, by utilizing symbols in which its meaning is given by the society wherein they live in (Turner, 1991; Collins, 2014).

In educational institution, teacher and students are the subjects that determine the quality of their educational atmosphere. When the interaction between teacher and students is well maintained, educational atmosphere will also be conducive for a better learning process. Every educational institution

inevitably has norms and values that have been established to create institutional order and ascertain the best quality of interaction. The educational institution is also a place for the dialectics between an individual and societal expectation. The norms, ethics, or customs committed by school/pesantren—that every santri is obliged to follow—will be existed because they have (positive) functions for the society at large. In the light of functionalist perspective, things will not exist in a society if their functions are no longer felt by the society. For instance, although poverty is one of social problems, its existence is seem maintained by certain parties. Because one of its function is that poor people do jobs that might not get done, while other people would not want to do them (Gans, 1972).

The problems in (educational) interaction are mainly caused by the unconsciousness (of educators) in the urgency of creating a good atmosphere for interaction and learning process. It can be brought into reality when strong communication and

collaboration abilities become an essential skill needed to develop in educational activities. Therefore, to create consciousness and good atmosphere for interaction, some educational institutions have launched a service-learning program (Cynthia, 2015)

Susan A. Abravanel stated that service-learning program has been proven as an effective program for enhancing students' consciousness about the urgency of creating good atmosphere in the interactive process of their life. She asserted that the success of service-learning does not only depend on its practice in the school as an educational institution, but also on the advocacy, support, and students' involvement in the society (Susan, 2003).

Pondok Pesantren is Islamic boarding school focused on religious study found mainly in Java, Sumatra, and Sulawesi islands of Indonesia. Its curriculum is emphasized in teaching Islamic studies, Arabic language and Muslim tradition. Their core educational goal is to teach students about how to be a pious Muslim and useful for their society (Amr, 2006). In achieving their noble ends, pesantren has come up with the means called khidmah. Khidmah literally means a piece of work that must be done. It is act of contribution; something contributed (help, good deed, money etc.) (https://www.almaany.com/en/dict/ar-en/خدمة). It is similar to service-learning program in modern western school. Unlike the service learning in modern school that is done in limited and certain times, this khidmah is implemented during the santri stays and study at pesantren. It is actually a 24 hr program in the day of a santri in pesantren.

According to Zamakhsyari Dhofier, pesantren has five supporting elements for conducting its educational activities including khidmah activities. Kyai and santri are human actor who are reciprocally influential in the interaction process of pesantren community. Kyai is the leader of pesantren, he is an essential element in the pesantren. Therefore, pesantren relies its growth on personal competencies of Kyai (Zamakhsyari, 2015; Nata, 2917).

Definition of kyai used in this study is focused on those who lead pesantren. Because they are considered as parties that much interact with santri. Besides kyai, Santri is also one of important elements in pesantren institution. The short definition of santri is they that learn Islamic studies in pesantren. Either they live in pesantren (santri mukim), or not (santri kalong) (Zamakhsyari, 2015).

Khidmah is service committed by santri—students of pesantren—for their kyai's—their grand teacher and leader of pesantren—or pesantren benefit. According to pesantren community, khidmah is considered more important than santri's intellectuality. Because they believe that khidmah can train a santri to has altruistic personality. "It trains them to be the perfect human—insan kamil" (Waryono, 2005). But, for those who claimed that they are supporter of humanist education, tradition such as khidmah committed in pesantren is one of examples for teacher-centred learning method in education that prevents students' creativity and their right realization. Even worse, it is considered as decreasing someone's esteem (Waryono, 2005).

These different argumentations about khidmah mentioned above encourage the researcher to conduct a research about khidmah in pesantren. This study is conducted at Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Nurul Huda Mergosono Malang, as one of traditional (salaf) pesantren in Malang, Indonesia. This pesantren is chosen as setting of this research because it has many santri that are studying at various formal and modern schools or universities. Through this combination, they enable to experience educational atmosphere except pesantren circumstance, and to distinguish educational atmosphere, particularly about interaction between students and teacher, between pesantren as an educational institution and the other formal and modern educational institutions.

Therefore, the primary data of this study was collected through in-depth interview with santris and kyai and direct observation at Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Nurul Huda Mergosono Malang.

This study employs two foundations for analyzing 'khidmah´ at Pesantren namely social construction of Peter Ludwig Berger and Exchange theory of George Caspar Homans (Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2017). Social construction will be utilised on how they constructed the concept of khidmah, how they define and implement that concept at pesantren. Exchange theory is useful in looking at the (social) motive and desire in practising khidmah at the pesantren. Based on this brief introduction this study therefore is hoped to be able to enrich pesantren studies, and would be useful for education stakeholders that have direct relation to pesantren community for developing its educational concept.

## 2 FOUNDATION OF ANALYSIS

### 2.1 Social Construction Theory

The duty of sociology of knowledge is explaining dialectic of the self and socio-cultural world. In social construction theory, if an individual wants to comprehend something as its essence, he needs to make the dialectic between knowledge and reality (Berger, 2013).

"This simultaneous dialectic creates three positions of an individual toward socio-cultural world, they are internalization, objectivation, and externalization" (Bagong, 2010; Laland & Brown, 2017) An individual is considered in the internalization position when there is social institution established coercing him or her to identify his or herself to social institution. It happens because an individual in the internalization position considers that social institution or social norms is well for him or herself based on his or her cognitive view. Or he or she is constrained by normative dimension to obey social norms around him or her. It makes an individual has no opportunity to create a new reality. Therefore, in the internalization, an individual is claimed as a product of socio-cultural world (reality).

Social structure in the society has never been final a product of social interaction, because social structure is in the objectivation process to become new form of internalization that will create the new externalization process. While externalization is the opposite of internalization. An individual placed in externalization considers that socio-cultural world or reality around him or her does not longer satisfy him or herself. It makes an individual want to create or modify socio-cultural world based on his or her urge. It means an unsatisfied individual with the condition of the social-cultural world would not obey the old social institution existed. Therefore, in the externalization, socio-cultural world or reality doesn't produce an individual, instead it is product of individual—or human.

"The legitimation about the most dominating moment (whether internalization, objectivation, or externalization), is determined by cognitive and normative dimension." (Bagong, 2010; Braithwaite et al, 2017). Therefore, people who have higher cognitive dimension and control on normative dimension will possess domination in this dialectic.

### 2.2 Social Exchange Theory

George Caspar Homans is one of figures developed social exchange theory. "This theory looks at interpersonal relationship as a trade transaction" (Cropanzano et al., 2017; Bagong, 2010). According to this theory, a person creates relations to others because he or she wants to gain profit from those relations. Generally, this theory looks at the reciprocal relationship between behavior and environment consisting of people that reciprocally influence to each other.

In this theory, "there are three terms that need to notice; reward, cost, and profit" (Bagong, 2010; Mulkay, 2014). The reward is everything gained through the cost. While cost is everything avoided by people to do, and profit is the result gained from reward reduced by cost. Social behavior requires reciprocity existence in the exchange activity. It means that social behavior requires minimally two parties participating in the exchange activity that reciprocally perceive profit given by each other.

From his idea about social behaviour, Homans developed some propositions to make his study about social behaviour easier to analyse. Those propositions are listed as follow:
a. Success proposition
b. Stimuli proposition
c. Value proposition
d. Saturation-loss proposition
e. Approval-aggression proposition
f. Rationality proposition

## 3 RESEARCH FINDINGS

### 3.1 Defining Khidmah

Khidmah is defined at Pesantren Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Nurul Huda as a nation or an act of giving any service to the teacher and kyai, and that is related to pesantren. As a spiritual and social action, khidmah is literally performed for others' benefit (others here can be referred to both institution/pesantren and surroundings) and there is seemingly no individual interest in it. However, in the light of social exchange theory, this study has showed another dimension of their khidmah performance. The doers of khidmah have actually realized that they also performed khidmah for their personal interest even though they did not gain the immediate benefit from it.

This realization of more personal and positive consequences is nurtured through the successful narration, stories, and living examples that they heard and observed at pesantren. It undoubtedly has strengthened and motivated santri to regularly and voluntarily perform khidmah. The positive impact of khidmah is also believed by santri through the process of indoctrination (kitab kuning/ religious teachings) during their stay at pesantren. During the indoctrination process, khidmah is thought to be performed sincerely without hoping any mundane rewards since the khidmah is solely dedicated to please God. However, they are also believed that the more sincere you are (in performing khidmah), the more worldly benefit you will gain later. These ambiguous internal and external factors have to some extent influenced and formed the personality of santri. This personality interestingly keeps maintaining santri to perform khidmah in a sincere way even though there is internal and personal urge within themselves (at least in their notion and consciousness).

In the perspective of Islamic spirituality (tasawwuf), many sufi masters have agreed that road to God will be experienced through two stages (marhalah), i.e.: marhalah nafsiyyah, and marhalah ruhiyyah. The first stage (marhalah nafsiyyah) is more general than the second stage (marhalah ruhiyyah), because it is including all salik—people who are on journey for spiritual growth—including zuhhad (ascetic people). While the second stage is specified, it involves all salik, unless zuhhad. Sufis interpreted struggle in the second stage as khidmah. They considered that, marhalah nafsiyyah is completed through the struggle which is committed by nafs for liberating from rein of herein. While marhalah ruhiyyah is completed through khidmah committed by ruh (Sholih, 2012).

The point can be concluded is that the function of ruh begins when the function of nafs has been perfected. In the other words, khidmah begins in the end of struggle committed by nafs. Furthermore, Al-Manshuri said that, nafs covers ruh by its inclination to physical universe (al-'alam al-hissiy), therefore it has to be trained by struggle (mujahadah) so that it can be purified, until ruh can be liberated and ascends through khidmah till reaching its genuine highest position (Sholih, 2012)

Kyai realized the urgency of this struggle. Therefore, kyai also acknowledged both sides of human beings, that should be comprehended as soul and body, both are interrelated to each other. Physical behavior of human beings is a reflection of their soul. Soul intensely determines human beings' health. Obedience of santri toward their kyai or pesantren program is sign of innerside of santri. Kyai implicitly required reciprocal relation between physical activities (dhohir) and esoteric activities (bathin). This relation will be running well when the intention owned by santri is sincerely for seeking mercy of God.

A santri later, mostly will be forced by society to give his or her contribution to them. Santri that well-answer the challenges from society are those who used to commit khidmah, because they will have larger motivation and occasion to contribute to satisfy requirements of society. In addition, khidmah will give impact to environment where the actor of khidmah living in the future, when he or she is engaging with society. A person used to give service to others would always try to make people around him satisfied, it is natural sense of an altruistic person. Only santri used to commit khidmah having braveness to accept challenge of society around him or her that has chance to become the special one, an useful person. An useful person will be looked for by people, it means he or she would has the greater occasion to easily integrate into society and gain bright future. But the point needs to notice is people committing khidmah are required to commit it sincerely. Sincerity has to be required by people committing khidmah. People committing khidmah are not allowed to hope gaining reward or feed-back from khidmah they are committing. People committing khidmah insincerely would not tend to get anything. Therefore, they should organize their intention.

A sincere person will tend to be liked by people around him or her. This person would gain opportunity to integrate his or herself into society and work together with society. His or her existence will be easily accepted by society. That's all meaning of statement that life of a sincere person would be managed well by God. The essence of useful person is making people happy. Therefore, the point can be concluded is that an useful person is a person that can make others happy. When a person is happy because of other people, he or she will tend to reward the other people who made him or her happy.

When a kyai was satisfied, he will pray for people that have made him satisfy, even because of simply thing that made him satisfied. Therefore, santri encouraged to commit any good thing that they can do. Because they do not know which one of good behaviours can make their kyai satisfies, they must believe that the satisfaction of kyai will invite the satisfaction of the Almighty.

People committing khidmah means that they give what they possess for the benefit of others. The point that should be noticed by people committing khidmah is something behinds khidmah cannot be guessed. Khidmah is like a secret, it is like planting something that, later, it will bear fruit. Everything

can be done by santri as long as they are studying at pesantren, such as participating on pesantren activities or engaging on management of pesantren, helping at kyai's house, or becoming committee of event held by pesantren, will be able to be reaped.

The question should be answered when khidmah is considered as like planting something can be harvested is related to is it okay if a person hopes existence of reward from khidmah committed? In the previous paragraph, there was explanation about prohibition directed to people who hope reward from Khidmah they commit.

But, hoping reward is natural sense possessed by santri just engaged into pesantren community. But, as long as they engage into pesantren community, desire of gaining reward from khidmah they are committing would be lost. Because pesantren community around them would construct their understanding about how khidmah should be implemented.

The existence of reward—and also punishment—from khidmah committed by santri becomes motivation for santri just engaged within pesantren community to commit it consistently. Although result of khidmah is causality, like planting that can be harvested, though there are many different kinds of "harvest", there are people falling on feet when they are harvesting, but there are people cannot gain harvest at the time they want. Though, it certainly results crop. Its result can be gained in short-term or in the long-term.

People committing certain behaviour based on reward or punishment existence would tend to change their behaviour used to be conducted when they do not gain reward they hoped, or they get punishment from behaviour they committed. Result of khidmah sometimes emerges at the time which is not appropriate with expectation of the actor. Consequently, when the actor committing khidmah based on their desire to gain reward at the time he or she wants does not gain reward at the time he or she wants, this person tends to change his or her behaviour, he or she does not commit it again.

According to pesantren community, people committing certain action because of reward and punishment existence are not sincere people. Therefore, both expectation—for gaining reward and for avoiding punishment—should be expunged. Because both expectation would hamper pesantren community to continuously commit khidmah.

### 3.1.1 Types of Khidmah

Khidmah has wide dimension when it is defined. It was proven by varieties of its types. In the following paragraphs, the types of khidmah in

the pesantren would be explained based on some indicators that have been indicated by the author:

a. Types of Khidmah Based on Number of the Actor
1) Communal Khidmah

This type is conducted collectively by all member of pesantren community. The actor of this type is encouraged to join conducting khidmah by people around him or her. When a person does not follow this encouragement, this person will find difficulties when he or she wants to affiliate in to reality around him or her, i.e., pesantren community. Nature of human beings is having need to affiliate to their environment and desire to socially accepted. Therefore, when people around this person commit khidmah collectively, this person will tend to join their activity. The examples of this type are ro'an (cleaning up collectively), engaging in helping event at the pesantren, and joining management of pesantren

2) Personal Khidmah

This type refers to khidmah which is committed personally or privately. It does not require other people to engage in khidmah, It happens because there is a person encouraged privately to commit khidmah. This encouragement is caused by the party encouraging this person has trusted him or her. In the other words, a person encouraged to commit khidmah is considered as the most proper party to commit this type of khidmah. Therefore, usually there is certain requirement that has to be fulfilled by a person committing this type of khidmah.

For example, joining in helping in kyai's house requires its actor to be able to be trusted. A person joining in helping in kyai's house is required to maintain anything needs to be concealed. Therefore, requirements are proper to be presented as selection for those that have desire to join in helping in kyai's house. The other example of this type is massaging kyai. Not all santri have opportunity to massage kyai. Those having ability to massage that are encouraged or have opportunity to commit it. It also happens to a santri becoming kyai's driver.

b. Types of Khidmah Based on Character of the Act
1) Obligatory Khidmah

Santri enroll themselves to a certain pesantren actually means that they are automatically committing khidmah. In terms of they are obliged to commit pesantren rules. When they are committing those rules, it means that they are committing khidmah. All santri are obliged to obey pesantren rules. Obedience of santri towards pesantren rules is an example of this type of khidmah.

2) Voluntary Khidmah

There is type of khidmah that comes from initiative of the actor. In the other words, there is no party that makes it compulsory for the actor. For instance, cleaning up activity committed personally without encouragement of the other party. Usually, voluntary khidmah committed by a person possessing the pesantren environment that consequently encourages this person to maintain it

c. Types of Khidmah Based on Motive of the Actor

1) Khidmah for Gaining Reward

This type of khidmah committed is based on desire of gaining reward. In the terms of social exchange theory, it can be classified as success proposition. According to George C. Homans, for all action taken by people, if those actions are frequently rewarded, people would often carry out those actions. It means success frequency of certain action influences people' interest to carry out the action or repeat it (Homans, 1974)

2) Khidmah for Avoiding Punishment

In addition, there are member of pesantren that should be encouraged by punishment so that they commit khidmah. Usually, the actors of this type do not have desire to affiliate into pesantren community, it makes values or tradition in the pesantren cannot be internalized by the actors of this type. Punishments used to encourage them so that member of pesantren community, mainly those who just joined as member of this community, are willing to act khidmah. Certainly, there are norms made to encourage them to commit khidmah, they are complemented by punishments directed to those who break those norms.

3) Khidmah Based on Consciousness

According to pesantren community, people committing certain action because of reward and punishment existence are not sincere people. Therefore, both expectation—for gaining reward and for avoiding punishment—should be expunged. Because both expectation would hamper pesantren community to continuously commit khidmah. If there is no reward they hope to get when they are committing khidmah, or there is no punishment befalls them when they do not commit khidmah, they will not commit khidmah anymore.

Nevertheless, pesantren community admits the transition experienced by members of their community, i.e. by santri, from existence of expectation for gaining reward and for avoiding punishment to be pure khidmah acted sincerely. When santri have arrived at this state, they will consider Khidmah as their routine. When they do not commit it, they feel that there is something spragging. Finally, they will continuously commit it sincerely. In this stage, in terms of social exchange by George C. Homans, success proposition is changed by value proposition. Khidmah is not considered as transactional behaviour, but it is considered as valuable behaviour committed consistently.

### 3.1.2 Implementation of Khidmah

Implementation process of khidmah in the pesantren invokes three parties, they are kyai, senior santri, and junior santri or santri that just joined as member of pesantren community. Generally, nature of human beings is that they have the need to affiliate to others, and socially accepted. But in the other case, there is a state in which human beings do not have need to affiliate to others and desire to socially accepted in the group. In the case of people that have the need to affiliate to others and socially accepted—in terms of social construction theory by Peter Ludwig Berger; internalization of values or tradition tends to be experienced. While people having no need to affiliate to others and socially accepted do not tend to care or even they will reject existing values or tradition in the group or community. In the terms of social construction theory, it is called externalization (Bagong, & Khusna, 2010)

The influential factor determining whether a person accepts or rejects existing value or tradition in the certain community is primary socialization that has been experienced. It has constructed his or her stock of knowledge before he or she joins the community that he or she is currently living in. Pesantren as site of secondary socialization becomes the arena confronting result of the primary socialization and reality in the secondary socialization.

In this stage, cognitive and normative dimension determine whether an individual accepts or rejects existing values or tradition in the pesantren. Therefore, kyai and existing senior santri have roles to make an individual just joined as member of pesantren community willing to internalize values or tradition, such as khidmah in the pesantren.

Based on research findings, there are two models of implementation process of khidmah carried out by earlier member of pesantren community to make an individual just joined as member of pesantren community willing to

internalize khidmah. The first model is cognitive indoctrination, and the second is constructing reality through giving example of khidmah behaviour. Cognitive indoctrination aims to implant consciousness of an individual just joined as member of pesantren community about urgency of khidmah. This cognitive inclination is committed through some activities related to presenting advice and introducing pesantren tradition such as reciting classical kitabs supporting khidmah existence, such as Ta'lim Al-Muta'allim and Adab Al-'Alim wa Al-Muta'allim. Both kitabs mentioned talk about how the ideal relationship between teacher and student, including most of moral values relates to the ideal relationship between teacher and student according to Muslim community, such as pesantren. If pesantren community want to mantain tradition of khidmah, kyai as an authoritative party in the pesantren environment has to ensure that he should be a prominent party maintaining pesantren tradition that support khidmah existence, such as reciting classical kitab, mainly kitab related to how to act as learner and teacher among pesantren community. It becomes occasion for kyai to interpret verbally explanation about urgency of khidmah in the pesantren community. Through this cognitive indoctrination, consciousness of santri just joined as member of pesantren community about urgency of khidmah among pesantren community is constructed. Furthermore, kyai also constructs reality representing khidmah in the pesantren through giving example of Khidmah behavior that can be imitated by sentries. Kyai with the other member of pesantren community should simultaneously have good behavior.

For making it understandable easily, Fig 1. summarizes the implementation process of khidmah in the pesantren below:
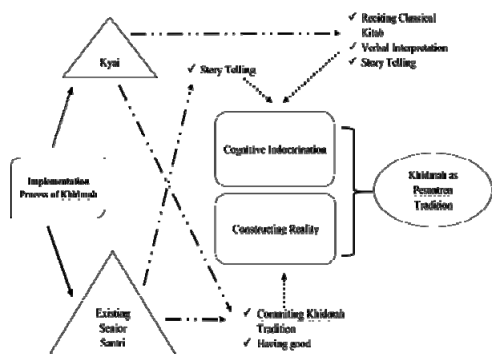


Figure 1: The Implementation Process of Khidmah in the Pesantrenhis caption has more than one line so it has to be set to justify.

This implementation process of khidmah in the pesantren does not always result acceptance internalization experienced by santri just joined as member of pesantren community. There are three results of the implementation process of khidmah resulted by a confluence between primary socialization owned by people just joined as member of pesantren community and secondary socialization, i.e. pesantren. They are: committing khidmah based on reward, committing khidmah based on punishment, and committing khidmah based on consciousness about urgency of khidmah owned by the actor.
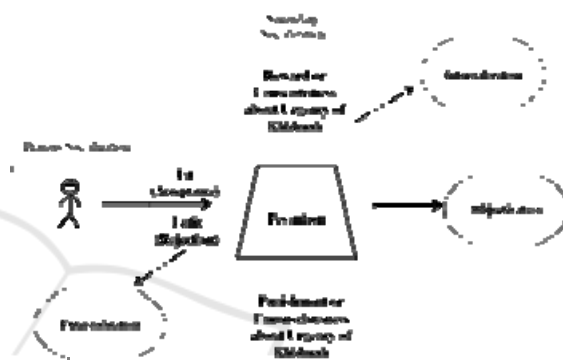


Figure 2: Confluence of Primary Socialization and Secondary Socialization in the Implementation Process of Khidmah.

a.  Committing Khidmah Based on Reward

Generally, people just joined as pesantren community are not directly interesting in activities considered as khidmah in pesantren. In the case of people having not yet owned desire to commit khidmah, reward is useful means for encouraging them to commit khidmah. In the terms of social exchange theory, it can be classified as successful proposition.

Generally, behaviour considered as success proposition involves three stages. They are carrying out those behaviours, then gaining reward, and repeating those behaviours, or another behaviour which is the same as the behaviour rewarded. There are three points related to this proposition that should be noticed, reciprocity, range between behavior and reward, and a random reward (Ritzer, 2012).

First, something required by this proposition is reciprocity. But, reciprocity is limited. Although the increasing reward often enhances action frequency, sometimes an individual facing to the lack position to carry out the action. For instance, santri that have desire for gaining reward because of certain

khidmah behaviour are not always able to commit it because they are experiencing bustle outside pesantren. Second, the range between behavior and reward influences the repetition frequency of the behavior in the next time. Short range between behaviour and reward results frequent repetition of the behaviour. While long range of both results less repetition of it. Reward can come in the short-term or in the long-term. In the case of long-term result, the actor—committing khidmah only based on reward existence—tends to change his or her behaviour when this actor does not gain reward in the time he or she hopes. When the reward comes in the long-term, this actor feels that khidmah he or she committed does not give them any profit. Finally, he or she does not commit khidmah anymore.

Third, random reward likely frequently creates repetition of the action, such as gambling. While giving reward regularly makes boredom feeling for the actor that causes less repetition of the action. When khidmah rewarded regularly, the actor of khidmah would tend to experience boredom, then this actor would not commit it again. Random reward is required to awaken willing owned by people to commit khidmah. Because random reward is useful means to avoid boredom when they are required to commit khidmah.

b.    Committing Khidmah Based on Punishment

In the pesantren community, there also people that cannot accept pesantren values or tradition, such as khidmah. According to Berger, people cannot fit stock of knowledge they produced from the primary socialization with values or tradition in the secondary socialization are in the externalization position. They tend to act opposite behaviour with expectation of pesantren community. Finally, rules of pesantren complemented by punishment is needed in this case, mainly in the case of obligatory khidmah. The punishment is provided for those who break those rules, as normative control committed by pesantren community to maintain their tradition or values.

Like khidmah committed based on reward, this state is also considered as success proposition. It means that reciprocity, range between khidmah and its feed-back—in which in this case is punishment—and random punishment become points need to notice.

c.    Committing Khidmah Based on Consciousness

Committing khidmah motivated by expectation for gaining feed-back tends to make khidmah does not become eternal behaviour committed continuously. Therefore, desire of gaining feed-back owned by the actor of khidmah—according to

pesantren community—should be left out. Because possessing desire of gaining feed-back from khidmah committed will encourage the actors hang on existing reward and punishment. When there is no reward they gain, or punishment they get, they do not commit it.

That's why all member of pesantren community are required to commit Khidmah sincerely. In the other words, they are not allowed to posses desire gaining feed-back from khidmah they are committing. There must be effort from people having early became member of pesantren community to construct understanding of people just joined as member of pesantren community about khidmah, so that they understand urgency of khidmah existence among pesantren community and then they can commit it sincerely. This effort needs role of kyai and senior santri, because they are party that introduce pesantren environment to people just became part of them.

The point needs to notice is that well-continuous behaviour is not committed because of external factor such as reward or punishment, but it happens based on consciousness from internal side of its actor. Consistency based on consciousness is resulted from dialectic process between reality and construction of knowledge owned by the actor. Therefore, constructing consciousness of khidmah needs support from reality around a person just joined as pesantren community which is constructed by kyai and existing mature or senior santri. Of course, people just joined as member of pesantren community have knowledge resulted by dialectic between themselves and reality they faced in a primary socialization before they entered into pesantren community as a secondary socialization. When people just joined as member of pesantren can accept reality constructed by pesantren community, they tend to internalize what they find out in the pesantren environment. According to Berger's term, in this case, they are in an internalization position. An individual considered in the internalization position when there is an establishing social institution encourages him or her to affiliate his or herself into social institution. It happens because an individual, in the internalization position, considers that the social institution he or she facing to is well for him or herself based on his or her cognitive view. In another case, he or she is constrained by normative dimension to obey social norms around him or her. It makes an individual has no opportunity to create a new reality besides an existing reality in the pesantren. Therefore, in the internalization, an individual is claimed as product

of socio-cultural world (reality). Compatibility between knowledge owned by people just joined as member of pesantren community and reality in the pesantren is usually caused by environment constructed their knowledge which is the same as knowledge owned by member of pesantren community. Finally, they can accept reality that they face to in the pesantren.

On the other hand, people just joined as member of pesantren community can accept reality because they have lack stock of knowledge when compared with stock of knowledge owned by people that earlier joined as member of pesantren community. This state encourages people just joined as member of pesantren community controlled by the earlier member of pesantren community. Consequently, people just joined as member of pesantren community can be easily indoctrinated cognitively.

Beside cognitive dimension, normative dimension also determines people in the pesantren whether experience internalization or objectivation, or externalization (Bagong & Khusna, 2010). People just joined as member of pesantren community having no interest to commit khidmah can be enforced by normative rules. They will be constrained by pesantren rules, consequently they will get punishment when they do not commit khidmah. But, punishment makes people just joined as member of pesantren community only commit Khidmah based on existing punishment. It means that when there is no punishment, they tend to leave khidmah behaviour. Therefore, earliermembers of pesantren community are required to commit another way to make people just joined as member of pesantren community commit khidmah sincerely. People early joined as member of pesantren community are required to act good behavior in their daily activity as representation of khidmah. When they have lost their consciousness about urgency of khidmah,people just joined as member of pesantren community—mainly those who do not have any experience as santri—will also do not have consciousness about urgency of khidmah. Therefore, becoming a prominent party having enthusiasm for committing khidmah is a must for each senior santri, because they are party may be imitated by santri just became member of pesantren community. On the other words, party mingled by santri just became member of pesantren community will also determine whether santri just became member of pesantren community has consciousness about urgency of khidmah or not.

Besides santri just became member of pesantren community encountering reality of pesantren constructed by people early lived in the pesantren environment, their knowledge is also faced to stock of knowledge about khidmah owned by pesantren community through stories conveyed by earlier member of pesantren community—kyai and santri—about previous generation related to their khidmah for pesantren. Therefore, there are two sides taken by pesantren community for constructing consciousness about urgency of khidmah for each individual in the pesantren environment, they are reality and knowledge. For the reality side, people earlier lived in the pesantren provide examples of khidmah behavior directly to people just joined as member of pesantren community. They construct reality making people just joined as member of pesantren community want to follow what social institution they are facing to, in this case; constructed pesantren values, encouraging them to affiliate themselves to the social institution constructed by pesantren community.

The desire to affiliate to others and socially accepted positions people just joined as member of pesantren community in the internalization position. An individual in the internalization position considers that social institution or social norms is well for him or herself based on dialectic between his or her knowledge and reality he or she is facing to. In another case, he or she is constrained by normative dimension to obey social norms around him or her. It makes an individual does not have opportunity to create new reality except reality he or she is facing to. Therefore, in the internalization case, an individual is claimed as product of socio-cultural world. This way enables people just joined as member of pesantren community to observe how implementation of khidmah acted by pesantren community. But, when concept of khidmah is only shared through this way, concept of khidmah has little probability to act sincerely by member of pesantren community.

Therefore, constructing reality is completed by the second, i.e. constructing knowledge, through giving advises in various occasions, such as reciting kitab, chatting, and so on. Those advises conveyed are related to urgency of khidmah among pesantren community, how it should be implemented, how it can be implemented sincerely, how its existence can be maintained by pesantren community, and so on.

They reciprocally share the concept of khidmah through these two ways so that all member of pesantren community have consciousness about urgency of khidmah, then khidmah can be

continuously committed by pesantren community sincerely.

### 3.1.3 Supporting and Restricting Factors of Khidmah

The implementation of khidmah needs supporting factors making khidmah exists among pesantren community. Those supporting factors are:

a. Member of pesantren community—mainly those who just joined as member of pesantren community—believe in the reward and punishment existence of khidmah.

b. The earlier member of pesantren community act good behaviour in representing khidmah.

c. Closeness among earlier member of pesantren community (kyai and senior santri) and people just became member of pesantren community.

d. Senior santri and kyai have attention and competence to convey the urgency of Khidmah to the other member of pesantren community, mainly those who just joined as member of pesantren community.

The implementation of khidmah at pesantren will be hampered when there are factors restricting the implementation process of it. These restricting factors are:

a. Pesantren community do not reckon the existence of reward and punishment because of khidmah, that causes no humility.

b. Member of pesantren community do not have good behaviour.

c. There is distance becoming an obstacle to communicate experienced by member of pesantren community, such as bustle experienced by member of pesantren community—either kyai or santri—outside of pesantren environment, or the other obstacles experienced by member of pesantren community making them cannot engage on pesantren activities.

d. Less or weak-communication competence among member of pesantren community.

## 4 CONCLUSIONS

For maintaining the concept of khidmah in the pesantren, members of pesantren community are ordered to have and practise good behaviours representing the notion of khidmah. Because exemplifying khidmah behaviour can construct reality, representing pesantren environment. This

way enables new comers or fresh santris as a member of the pesantren community to observe how implementation of khidmah acted and implemented by pesantren community.

Pesantren community have to conduct and implement khidmah sincerely. Although the desire for gaining mundane reward and avoiding worldly punishment is something natural as owned by people who just joined as the members of pesantren community, this desire has to be made disappear. In order to realize it, all members of pesantren community have to maintain closeness among members of pesantren community. Through this practise fresh santris are able to understand how khidmah should be implemented. In addition to that, the senior santris who have lived quite long before the fresh santris in the pesantren are ordered to have a good communication and competence, for sharing the urgency of khidmah in the pesantren, and how khidmah should be implemented by pesantren community.

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