Value Conflict of Character Education in Traditional Pesantren

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ABSTRACT

The *ghasab* (taking or using someone's belonging without permission) phenomenon in pesantren has become the 'dark side' amidst its image as a center of religious education (*taffaquh fiddin*). It may affect not only the mental and personal development of *santri* (students) but also damage the image of the pesantren. This study aimed to investigate the practice of *ghasab* in pesantren and explore how moral conflicts occur among *santri*. This study was conducted at two traditional pesantrens in Semarang through descriptive qualitative methods. The data were collected through in-depth interviews and observation. The finding indicated that pesantren's communal life system brought consequences for the practice of *ghasab* among *santri*. However, it cannot be generalized as a common culture in all pesantren. It was also found that this phenomenon was influenced by internal and external factors of pesantren environment and had the potential to cause value conflicts that affected the moral judgment of *santri*. Therefore, the commitment of pesantren management is needed to reaffirm its mission as a center for building religious student characters who have integrity.

KEYWORDS

Ghasab, Character Education, Value Conflict, Pesantren

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Introduction

Amid criticism of the school system as being oriented toward industrial interests (Azra, 2012; Azra & Thaha, 2020; da Silva et al., 2015) and a lack of character building (Faiz, 2021; Herman, 2013; Rachmah, 2013), *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) education system have survived with its character as a center for the development of religious studies *(tafaqquh fi addin)* and personal building (*tarbiyatul akhlaq*) (Fitriyah et al., 2018; Wahidah, 2015; Zuhriy, 2011). Character education in *pesantren* shapes morality through religious activities and interactions between *pesantren* components by placing *kyai* as *uswah hasanah* (good example). It is influenced by typical *pesantren* culture, which is shown by independent leadership, literature, and teaching systems that have been maintained for centuries, as well as a value system that is different and separate from the system adopted by people outside *pesantren* (Syafe'i, 2017; Wahid, 1988). It is not only limited to introducing values but also how they are applied through interactions between *pesantren* components in everyday life.

Character education embraces operative values built on three interrelated parts: knowing, feeling, and action (Andiarini et al., 2018; Lickona, 1991). Moral knowing entails moral awareness, knowing moral values, perspective-taking, moral reasoning, decision-making, and self-knowledge. Moral feeling encompasses conscience, self-esteem, empathy, loving the good, self-control, and humility. Moral action, on the other hand, embraces competence, will, and habit.

Pesantren is established with the sole purpose of solidifying obligation and devotion to God (Dhofier, 2011) and preserving the message of the Prophet Muhammad (Oktari & Kosasih, 2019). Unfortunately, *pesantren*'s portrayals are tarnished by negative news, which can damage its image and lead to an assumption that it may be a place for the growth of anomaly acts that can affect the process of forming the character of *santri* (students at *pesantren*).

Ghasab is one of the cultures growing in *pesantren* (Ernawati & Baharudin, 2015; Nahdhiyah, 2018; Zahara et al., 2018). It refers to using or taking benefits from lawful owners' valuable things without consent (Mughal, 2012). This 'bad' habit occurs due to high interaction between *santri* in communal life at *pesantren* (Nahdhiyah, 2018). During their time at *pesantren*, *santri* live in a limited area with restricted life enjoyments (Zuhriy, 2011). These situations lead to the habit of using each other's goods without preceded permission from the owners. Although *pesantren* builds its culture through the habituation of religious activities, some practices potentially cause value conflicts within *santri*. From the perspective of character education, value conflicts occur when students find activities that are anomalous and contradictory to the norms taught by the *kyai*. One of the habits that raises value conflict is *ghasab*.

Studies concerning character education in *pesantren* contexts generally discuss character values (Alfath, 2020; Fuad, 2013; Oktari & Kosasih, 2019; Wahidah, 2015;

Zuhriy, 2011); models and methods of character education (Hidayat et al., 2017; Mubarok, 2019; Nizarani et al., 2020; Nofiaturrahmah, 2017); and *pesantren* in the context of globalization (Maemonah, 2015; Rahman & Asrohah, 2022; Silfiyasari & Az-Zhafi, 2020). These studies focused more on how character values are integrated into *pesantren* education. One crucial aspect that previous researchers did not mention is the discussion of negative practices considered an anomaly in *pesantren* culture. Whereas such an interaction process will transform ideas and moral knowledge that affect the character formation of *santri*. Over time, this kind of socialization process often leads to value conflicts, triggering the emergence of wrong moral judgments in *santri*. In this case, research that scrutinizes character education in *Pesantren* from a different perspective – especially regarding the value conflict – is still very limited.

This study complements the existing gap by exploring different viewpoints on character education in *pesantren*. Specifically, it aims to answer the question of how character education is built in *pesantren*, how the phenomenon of *ghasab* is portrayed in *pesantren*; and how *santri* build their moral reasoning. This research is conducted in response to various deviant actions in *pesantren*. A deep understanding of this occurrence can provide a model for problem-solving and lessons learned for improving the management of *pesantren* as an institution that carries the mandate to build people's character. In other words, the significance of this research lies in three things: **First**, to show the existence of negative practices of *Ghasab* in *pesantren* that can affect *santri*'s character building; **Second**, to capture *santri*'s moral judgment ability in dealing with value conflicts in *pesantren*; T**hird**, to be one of the references for *pesantren* management in their effort to create better governance.

This research is based on the assumption that *santri*'s character-building is influenced by their ability to perform moral reasoning when experiencing value conflicts caused by the discovery of deviant actions in *pesantren* (Gigerenzer, 2010; Kohlberg, 1984). Deviant behaviors encompass reasonable acts leading to wrong moral judgment (Osman, 2015; Paxton et al., 2012), which may affect students' character-building. Therefore, character education in *pesantren* must have strong rules to minimize the emergence of deviant behaviors, which may grow as a negative tradition (Hidayat et al., 2017).

Method

This study used qualitative methods to describe the phenomenon of value conflicts at *Pesantren* Al Ma'rufiyah and Qur'anil Aziziyah (PMQA) in Semarang. They were selected as the research locus for several considerations. **First**, they are salaf *pesantren* in Semarang, which still survive amidst the vast modernization; **Second**, they emphasize yellow book teaching. **Third,** easy accessibility provided by the two *pesantren* allowed the collection of more meaningful research data. The collected data consisted of primary data and secondary data. Primary data was gathered through

interviews with parties who could authoritatively provide the information needed, including *kyai* (the leaders/main male ulama of *pesantren*), *nyai* (female ulama), *pengasuh* (teachers), *gus* (son of *kyai* and *nyai*), or *santri* (students). In summary, the interviewed informants are mentioned in table 1 below.

Further, secondary data were collected through publications about *pesantren* as well as the results of previous research. The obtained data were then analyzed descriptively by grouping them based on their respective tendencies according to the research questions postulated. The next stage was data display which encompassed the activities of reassembling and interpreting information to be drawn into research conclusions.

Tabel 1. Data of Informants
Source: Data Research (2022)

No	Informant	Age	Position
1.	R1	60	*Kyai /Pengasuh* of Al Ma'rufiyah
2.	R2	54	*Nyai/ Pengasuh* of PMQA
3.	R3	45	*Pengasuh/Gus* of Al Ma'rufiyah
4.	R4	35	*Pengasuh/Gus* of PMQA
5.	R5	19	*Santri* of Al Ma'rufiyah
6	R6	18	*Santri* of Al Ma'rufiyah
7	R7	21	*Santri* of PMQA
8	R8	19	*Santri* of PMQA

Results and Discussions

Character Education in Pesantren Al Ma'rufiyah and Quranil Aziziyah

Character education in *Pesantren* is closely connected to *Pesantren*'s distinctive culture, shown by independent leadership, yellow book-based teaching (Syafe'i, 2017). It has a different value system from people outside the *pesantren* (Syafe'i, 2017; Wahid, 1988). Such characteristics are best pictured in Al Ma'rufiyah and PMQA, Semarang.

Al Ma'rufiyah was founded in 1988 and nurtured by K.H. Abbas Masruhin, who was assisted by his son *Gus* Syaiful Amar. According to R1 (60 y/o), its establishment began from the study of religious books led by K.H. Abbas Masruhin in the mosque. Due to the increasing number of people taking part in the recitation, including many of those from outside the region, a *pesantren* was then established. Located near two universities – UIN Walisongo Semarang and Elementary School Teacher Education (PGSD) Faculty of Semarang State University –, Al Ma'rufiyah has attracted the interest of university students.

Meanwhile, in leading PMQA, *Nyai* Hj. Nur Azizah *Al Hafidhah* was assisted by her son *Gus* Khotibul Umam. Devoted to those who intend to memorize Qur'an, it was initiated by the late K.H. Sholeh Mahalli A*l Hafidz* in 1990. Initially, it only accommodated five female *santri* placed in the *Kyai*'s house. Along with an increasing number of *santri*, he founded a *pesantren* next to his house and only accepted females. In its development, it then began to admit male *santri* in 1997.

PMQA is located adjacent to Al Ma'rufiyah, and its *santri* was not restricted to university students. They came from various regions. Currently, it similarly had some Malaysian *santri* studying there. Generally, PMQA *santri* learned to memorize the Qur'an, while some also served as school or university students. It produced many Qur'an memorizers during its establishment, including one visually challenged (R4, 35 y/o).

Concerning leadership, both *pesantren* have *Kyai,* the authority figure who provides guidance, teaching, and coaching. Based on information from R3 (45 y/o) and R4 (35 y/o), the position of *Kyai* at Al Ma'rufiyah was shouldered by K.H. Abbas Masruhin, while at PMQA, *Nyai* Hj. Nur Azizah *Al Hafidhah* continued the leadership of her husband, the late K.H. Sholeh Mahalli *Al Hafidz*. In both *pesantren*, *Kyai* had full authority to determine the policies applied in their respective *pesantren* to maintain sustainability. In addition to teaching or leading the recitation, *Kyai* also decided those who would help *Kyai* lead the recitation. Thus, the leadership in the two *pesantren* was independent, with the highest authority held by *Kyai*. This was understandable because a family-owned foundation usually manages *pesantren*.

In the aspect of recitation and religious activities, Al Ma'rufiyah organized recitation of the yellow book and other religious activities as presented by R.1 (60 y/o).

> (*Pesantren* (Al Ma'rufiyah) teaches yellow books ranging from *alat (nahwu, shorof, balaghoh), ma'ani*, and *mantiq* science. *Fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence) is taught using the book of *taqrib*, *fathul mu'in,* and *fathul wahab*. *Tafsir* (interpretation) is taught using *jalalain tafsir dan munir tafsir).*

The same line was conveyed by his son, R3 (40 y/o):

> Al-Ma'rufiyyah applies the curriculum of Salaf *Pesantren* with yellow book as a character in its learning. We read it using Javanese interpretation, while the students listen and write the interpretation in pegon Arabic. It aims to make students understand the meaning of *lafadz* (word) and the book's content. In addition, at *Pesantren*, activities for reciting Qur'an are also held after *Maghrib*, *bahsul kutub* every Sunday night, *Yasin* and *istighasah* every Thursday night after Maghrib, *dhibaan* and *khitobah* every Thursday night after *Isya*, and also the reading of the *Manaqib* book of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jailani once in every month …" (R2, 35 y/o).

Al Ma'rufiyah maintained the salaf tradition that combined the recitation of the yellow book with religious activities carried out regularly (daily, weekly, and monthly). However, it was also open to modern thoughts, as seen in the *bahsul masail* activities, where they regularly discussed contemporary issues. As said by R2 (35 y/o),

> *Santri*, most of whom are university students, must be trained to discuss contemporary problems so that they are not left behind.

In contrast to Al Ma'rufiyah, PMQA organized *sema'an* (an activity in which *santri* recite the memorization of Qur'an) as its main focus. It was carried out after *Maghrib* and *Isya'*, and was directly led by the *Nyai*. Before semaán, *santri* would memorize Qur'anic verses to be recited before the *Nyai*. In their daily activities, they filled their time by memorizing Qur'an. Completing half of juz or 1 juz, they recited their memorization through S*ema'an*. It was also done for memorization that had been delivered previously. Therefore, in addition to improving memorization, *santri* must maintain the memorization they had mastered. To preserve the correctness of the students' memorization, *Nyai* was the one who taught *santri*'s memorization. This activity could not be delegated to other people, to ensure that their memorization is following Qur'anic recitation principles, both in terms of *makharijul huruf*, *ghorib* knowledge, *tahsin* or fluency. *Nyai* (R2, 54 y/o) said:

> It should be me who leads the s*ema'an*… because it is a problem of connecting the knowledge chain and transferring the teaching I received from my teacher (*Mbah* Abdullah Umar, Kauman Semarang) to the *santri*. Knowing the basics is significant in Quranic recitation. Knowledge is required; no need to rush. Before memorization, the knowledge should be mastered to prevent long-life mistakes

In line with R2 (54 y/o) and R4 (35 y/o), one of *Gus,* who helped manage the *pesantren*, said:

> According to Father (late KH. Salih Mahalli), this *pesantren* aims to produce a generation of *huffadz*, the memorizers of Qur'an who will strengthen Islamic *da'wah* line. Because from the beginning, it serves as *tahfidz pesantren*. The main daily activities of *santri* are reciting Qur'an… and delivering memorization. However, to support the demands of being a good *hafidz* (memorizer of Qur'an), it also organizes readings of the yellow book, especially the chapter on *Fiqh* and Arabic grammar (*Nahwu*) held once a week. Why is it necessary? Because the problem of *fiqh* must be studied well, related to the issue of worship. Also … *Nahwu* … so that *hafidz* can read books or understand the interpretation…. For (the teaching) of Nahwu … myself (the teacher), while the

one who leads *Fiqh* book recitation is *Ustadz* Syamsul Maárif. We also ask senior *santri* who have previously experienced studying at *Kitab pesantren* to teach it. At this place, if you don't recite Qur'an, you have to teach.

In addition to equipping the *santri* with the knowledge of Qur'an for memorization, yellow book, and *Fiqh,* PMQA also provided community service training as stated by R7 (19 y/o), a senior *santri* at PMQA:

As the ideals of *al Mukarom* (late KH Shaleh Mahalli), this *Pesantren*'s graduates should become a *hafiz* who benefits society – hence, since (their staying) here, they have been trained and accustomed to doing community service. They have to participate in teaching children at PMQA Qur'an informal school (TPQ) every afternoon. Being TPQ teachers, PMQA *santri* are purposed to get used to being Qur'anic teachers in the community. There is also a *muqaddaman* or *sema'an* program, which is reciting 30 juz of Qur'an *bil ghaib* (without seeing Qur'an) in the community. This activity has been going on for a long time, from the time of the late (KH Shaleh Mahalli) until now. Usually, if there are residents who intend to get married, circumcision, commemoration*,* or other purposes, they ask for blessings of prayer and recitation of 30 juz of Qur'an. *Kyai* or *nyai* invites the *santri* to pray at the host's home. In addition to facilitating the *santri*'s memorization, there is also a mission of *da'wah* … which means that students get used to appearing in the community doing *da'wah* and Islamic preach through Qur'an.

Based on the interview data above, PMQA aimed to form Qur'anic-based characters on the *santri* through *tahfidz* activities, such as *semaán* or Quran recitation. In addition, it also taught yellow book to provide them with a deeper understanding of fiqh and nahwu and equip them with mental readiness when they enter society. They were also prepared with direct experience through community service by becoming Qur'anic teachers at TPQ or doing *sema'an* in the community.

The value system developed by both Al Ma'rufiyah and PMQA was oriented to practicing religious knowledge in everyday life. In terms of the value of worship, both *Pesantren* placed *Fiqh* as a discipline that the *santri* must study. This could be seen from the *fiqh* books taught. From *Fiqh* teaching, all the rules of life, especially those related to daily worship such as five-time prayers, sunnah prayers, fasting, zakat, pilgrimage or other worship, are explained through book recitation.

Further, based on interview data from R3, R4, R5, and R8, the existence of worship value system of the two *pesantren* was based on the thoughts: (1) the main purpose of human life is worship; (2) worship must be based on authoritative jurisprudence, sourced from *ahlussunnah wal jama'ah*; (3) the essence of religious life

is the implementation of fiqh science in everyday life. Therefore, such a mindset places the knowledge of daily worship as the top priority to be studied.

Meanwhile, the aspect of *akhlaq* was taught through *Kitab* teaching, *uswah,* or the example of *kyai* and *pesantren* managers, as well as various activities or *santri*'s interactions in everyday life. In Al Ma'rufiyah, the *santri* learned *Kitab* T*a'limul Muta'allim* to instill morality towards teachers or fellow *santri*. Likewise, at PMQA, regular recitations were conducted by *santri* who memorized the Qur'an to maintain good morals and maintain soul purity. In this *pesantren*, it was emphasized that *santri* guarded themselves against the slightest sin. The moral knowledge was based on the behavior of *Kyai* who became *uswatun hasanah* (role model) in everyday life.

On the other hand, R3 (40 y/o) and R4 (35 y/o) confirmed that both *pesantren* considered the cultivation of morality as a priority to be taught to *santri*. However, although they had the same belief about the importance of moral education, the underlying reasons were different. According to R3 (40 y/o), Al Ma'rufiyah was to educate *santri* to be spiritually and socially pious (in the worship and morality aspects, respectively). Meanwhile, PMQA leaders believed that *santri* could memorize the Qur'an if they had Qur'an-based morality, that is, moral principles that follow the Qur'an's teachings (R4, 35 y/o).

Further, *Aqidah* (Islamic theology) values were also a concern of the two *pesantren* since it is considered as the basis of all kinds of scientific disciplines and is a fundamental aspect in the worship of Allah (Zuhriy, 2011). However, they did not specifically teach *Aqidah* using related Kitab as it was integrated through the teaching of Fiqh or other kinds that emphasized the importance of maintaining and upholding Aqidah. It conforms with the principles of p*esantren*'s teachings that were oriented to strengthen aqidah of *santri*. In other words, all educational processes in *pesantren* aimed to strengthen *Aqidah*, i.e., faith in Allah.

Derived from the discussion above, it can be drawn that *pesantren* activities affirmed its mission in character education, namely *tafaqquh fiddin* (studying religious knowledge in depth). It was in line with what was asserted by other researchers in similar locus stating that *salaf pesantren* focused on sufi teachings. Through the guidance of *Kyai*, *santri* were taught to maintain soul purity by avoiding actions that could deteriorate it. Such a pattern of *pesantren* education will foster a positive mentality within *santri* to form a collective attitude that becomes the basis for forming a cultural value system. It entails abstract conceptions in *santri*'s mind about what is good and important; and what is bad and unimportant in life. The value system of this *pesantren* serves as a guide and a driving force for *santri* to behave in everyday life. Those who have been impregnated with these cultural values will not be easily swayed by other cultural values (Zuhriy, 2011). Thus, cultural values that grow in *pesantren* form a cultural ecosystem which is a determining factor for *santri*'s character building.

Ghasab Culture in *Pesantren*

Pesantren culture has a distinctive character which many researchers have also revealed. Having a unique leadership and conducting a yellow book recitation system, it develops a subculture that differentiates it from other social communities. However, communal life in *pesantren* also results in the growth of an anomaly habit, that is *ghasab* (Ernawati & Baharudin, 2015; Zahara et al., 2018). It refers to illegally using someone else's property. In Fiqh terminology, it is defined as controlling the rights of others without consent which causes loss for the lawful owners (Mughal, 2012; Qur'ana, 2020). It revolves around taking or using other people's rights/property without permission, but not stealing or robbing. Hence, it is categorized as a reprehensible act because it contradicts Islamic teachings (Q.S. Albaqarah: 188).

Ghasab culture is an anomaly that is contrary to the values taught by the *pesantren*. It turns out to be behavior difficult to avoid and normalized in *pesantren* social life as acknowledged by *Pesantren*'s *santri* leader (*lurah*) (R5, 19 y/o).

> One of the bad habits of *santri* in *pesantren* (Al Ma'rufiyah) is *ghasab*. Most of the *santri* have lost their belongings, especially sandals. Even though they have been placed on the shelf provided, they are often lost for being used by other *santri* (*ghasab*). Moreover, if the sandals are placed in a public place, it can be ascertained that they are lost or at least moved because they have been used by someone else. Since such loss frequently occurs, in the end, it is not taken seriously … most students here have experienced loss and performed *ghasab* behavior

The statement above was also conveyed by another *santri*, R.6 (18 y/o).

> My experience of losing sandals is quite a lot. There was a time I bought sandals up to 3 times a month. Especially flip-flops, they can be easily lost. Even though I gave mine a name, they are still missing. If you find one … there is only one left, the other one is unknown. Yes, because I often lose things … I finally got used to doing *ghasab*. If I am reluctant to take my sandals on the shelf, I use the ones within my sight, I don't know whom they belong to. In my opinion, *ghasab* is no longer a habit of the *santri* here, but is already considered part of the life of *santri*, they are used to it. If you have never performed *ghasab*, you're not a *santri* yet.

The interview data above implied that the phenomenon of *ghasab* in salaf *pesantren* has become a regularity. Since then, the communal life of *santri* has been a factor for the existence of *ghasab* behavior in the pesantren. Psychologically, they felt that living together as a family has created awareness to help each other and share belongings among family members. Therefore, *ghasab* in *pesantren* was considered

something 'natural' even though, in contrary, it was also recognized as reprehensible act as stated by the teacher of Al Ma'rufiyah, (R3, 40 y/o) as follows.

> *Ghasab* in *pesantren* has become a culture difficult to eradicate. Not only at this *pesantren* (Al Ma'rufiyah), I also experienced the same occurrence when I studied at several *pesantren* in Java. Although most *santri* know that it is a disgraceful act prohibited by religion, but what (should we do)? Because *ghasab* has become a culture, it isn't easy to be eliminated. Maybe due to the feeling of being part of family in *pesantren*, hence using goods without permission is believed to be understandable. (It is) like when we use our sibling's stuff. Besides, the items being taken are actually simple ones … not expensive. … Such as sandals, helmets, shoes, headscarves, books or other stationery. In addition, the perpetrators of *ghasab* generally do not intend to own the items, (they) only take temporary benefits, after which they are returned or put away. This is what distinguishes *ghasab* from stealing. If you steal, you mean to control other people's belongings, but in *ghasab*, you only use them without permission (then give them back). Because it is perceived that way, it eventually becomes natural or is considered an understandable act. Finally, it becomes a habit. At first, the *santri* didn't want to do *ghasab*, but because his sandals were missing … he ended up using the existing sandals without the owner's permission … like revenge. Finally, yes, it becomes a culture …. In my opinion, even though the items used are cheap, this culture is still not good. During the religious gatherings, I have conveyed many times (to the *santri*) to be careful taking the rights of others).

Ghasab phenomenon at PMQA was different from that of Al Ma'rufiyah. *Ghasab* was considered something natural at Al Ma'rufiyah, and doing so was not an act of disgrace. Yet, at PMQA, it was still seen as a wrong action that must be avoided. The occurrence of *ghasab* at PMQA was also relatively rare. *Ghasab* culture in the *pesantren* was described by R7 (21 y/o, *santri* leader) and R8 (19 y/o, *santri*) as follows.

> Suppose you say *ghasab* is not at PMQA. In that case, it's not entirely correct … there are *santri* who sometimes use a friend's bathroom equipment without any permission … for example, using bath soap or taking toothpaste without permission. But yes, it's relative. Generally, *santri* are aware and careful to avoid the slightest sin. Here (PMQA) … since the time of the deceased (KH. Salih Mahalli), (*santri*) was taught to be alert against sinful acts, even if they were minor sins, for it includes the morals of Qur'an memorizer. We believe that to memorize Qur'an easier, *santri* must avoid the slightest sin, including *ghasab* behavior. Perhaps this is why PMQA *santri* are careful in using other people's belongings…" (R7, 21 y/o)

(Based on my experience, I did *ghasab*, using my friends' goods without permission. That was not on purpose. At that time I used a friend's sandals without permission. I felt guilty and afraid. What made me feel guilty was that I realized that one must have a pure heart to memorize the Quran. Memorizing Qur'an is not easy, so you have to really guard yourself against actions that can deface the heart … *ghasab* is a sin." (R8, 19 y/o).

The interview data implies that: (1) *ghasab* culture in *pesantren* cannot be generalized as a general phenomenon in all *pesantren*. In fact, in PMQA *pesantren*, it can be said that *ghasab* did not grow into a culture. This was different from the phenomenon of *ghasab* at Al Ma'rufiyah from which *ghasab* was a natural act so that it grew into a habit; (2) items to be used by *santri* who perform *ghasab* are generally every-day-items such as sandals, shoes, books, stationery, soap, toothpaste and so on; (3) the motives underlying *santri* doing *ghasab* vary, including being forced, taking revenge, and embracing the symbol of togetherness; (4) the growth of *ghasab* culture is influenced by the integrity of *santri* and the environmental conditions of *pesantren*.

As described above, various descriptions of *ghasab* culture in pesantren show that character education in *pesantren* does not only refer to the character of *pesantren* as a subculture with a distinctive value as conveyed by many researchers. Another side that affects *santri*'s character building is the habit of *santri* taking or using other belongings without permission, which is believed to be something natural. In addition to contradicting the values taught in pesantren, this habit also encourages the emergence of value conflicts within *santri*. In such psychological circumstances, if they do not embrace the right rationalization, it can negatively impact their quality of moral judgement.

Moral Reasoning: Value Conflict in Character Education at *Pesantren*

Value conflicts result from the disharmony between believed values and empirical facts in life. In *pesantren*, *santri* face a conflict between what is learned from *Kyai* and the practice of *ghasab* that becomes part of their habit in everyday life. The behavior, which is initially considered an anomaly and contrary to Islamic norms, is carried out by them repeatedly so that it is normalized and considered acceptable by moral reasoning. In dealing with these value conflicts, *santri* build rationalizations before deciding whether to accept or reject *ghasab* as something normal.

In facing the conflict between reality and values, many *santri* experienced confusion. Internal dialogue occurred within themselves before finally accepting or rejecting *ghasab*. They tried to understand and placed the problem in a thinking structure that enabled them to make moral decisions immediately. This can be seen from the statements of R5 (19 y/o), R6 (18 y/o), R7 (21 y/o) and R6 (19 y/o), as follows.

If you've never been in *pesantren* … you must be confused by the practice of using other people's belongings. But yes, because we live together there, we can understand this behavior (*ghasab*). It's like we live in a family, like with brothers or sisters at home … often we use the goods, we don't need permission. For example, sandals are only used to go to the bathroom, do you need permission? It's normal as long as they are used (not owned). At home, it's like that. It's normal … that kind of feeling maintains *ghasab* culture. Like using your own sibling's belongings … try asking the *santri* here. Surely (they) have performed *ghasab* behavior … also their belongings have been used. The important thing when living in *pesantren* is mutual sincerity …helping each other. One of the ways is through *ghasab* … if we are sincere, it can be a secret charity … the value of worship will be high. It's a blessing to live in *pesantren*… Hehehe (smiling). After all, we are also sincere to each other here … yes, because we are used to letting go and forgiving each other. *Insyaallah*, it's a blessing to live in *pesantren*…. But *ghasab* itself is still … not a good deed. Especially if you use guests' belongings … very annoying. How come? When the guests' slippers are left for a while … they are gone. This is sometimes embarrassing because (they are) guests…" (R5 (19 y/o).

R6 (19th) also had a similar experience, as follows:

In my early moment of staying at *pesantren*, I was confused too, Sir. How come? Most of the *santri* here are university students … they know that *ghasab* is prohibited because it is against religion. But why is *ghasab* so normal (for them)? Once I questioned it, Sir. But over time, because I'm used to it (*ghasab* behavior), I finally think I understand *ghasab*. Even now, there is a joke … you are not a *santri* if you've never done it. Yes … because we are used to doing it, we let go of it even though we are irritated if our sandals are taken when we want to wear them … yes, but we are sincere. Yes, because we often become victims of *ghasab* … like it or not, we end up doing the same thing … *ghasab*. So it's just like revenge." (R6, 19 y/o)

Value conflicts that confused rationalizing the act were also experienced by PMQA *santri*, as mentioned by R7 (21 y/o) as follows.

I observe that PMQA's *santri* are generally cautious regarding *ghasab* behavior. It is quite rare for them to lose sandals or other items. This is because in this *pesantren*, it has always been emphasized to avoid the slightest sin as much as (we can), including the sin of *ghasab* … because the *santri* here are the Quran *santri*. Maybe it's a bit different from *pesantren* (which focus on) *Kitab*

recitation. Before I was here, I also had the experience of staying in Demak during senior high school time … yes, *ghasab* was normal. But it is strict here … although there is no penalty if you commit *ghasab*, the *santri* still avoid it because they are aware that it is a sin. … Despite avoiding *ghasab* completely is difficult … Sometimes we still do it, and that is because we are forced or forget … Yes, it's hard, but we are humans … (who) often forget (things)" (R7, 21 y/o).

Almost the same experience recounted by R8 (19 y/o) as follows.

To be honest, I did *ghasab* before. I had no choice … I couldn't find my sandals … coincidentally, there were sandals that belonged to someone else … I wore them. But then I regretted doing it. It's a sin though not a big one. I was worried that it would cause difficulties in memorizing Qur'an… The *Kyai* emphasizes us to avoid the slightest sin … in order to grab Allah's blessing in the efforts to memorize Quran …" (R8, 19 y/o).

Ghasab culture was a concern for PMQA teachers as it did not reflect the behavior taught by Qur'an. Since its establishment, PMQA teachers have instilled the teachings to maintain heart purity against the slightest sins. Having the intention to memorize Qur'an, *santri* must prepare a good mentality and pure heart. It is a requirement for those who expect to learn and memorize the Qur'an–God's holy words. This teaching was instilled by *Kyai*/teachers to all memorizers as affirmed by R4 (35, y/o), a *pesantren* teacher.

(… Memorizing 30 juz of Quran is not easy. *Santri* who have that intention must be prepared physically and mentally. Since the time of the deceased (KH.Shaleh Mahalli), the *pesantren* has set several conditions for memorizing Qur'an. First, it must be based on good intention, that is, to solely seek the Allah's blessing. You can't memorize it with any intentions other than for the sake of Allah, especially for worldly affairs. Second, being obliged to study hard for memorization, *santri* must also learn to understand how to recite Qur'an correctly before memorizing it. You cannot memorize it wrongly. Third, they must keep their hearts pure and avoid the slightest sin, for it can deteriorate the heart. Do not eat *haram* (unlawful according to Islamic jurisprudence) food and do more fasting. Fourth, they must respect *kyai* and teachers. Because *Kyai*'s contentment can be a blessing which makes it easier to memorize Qur'an…" (R4, 35 y/o).

It can be inferred from the data that: (1) *Ghasab* culture created value conflicts for *santri*. They experienced confusion in facing different reality between the values taught and the reality in their daily life; (2) In dealing with value conflicts,

environmental factors of *pesantren* greatly influenced the perspective of *santri* in building rationalization before they accepted or rejected *ghasab* behavior in *pesantren*; (3) Some *santri* who understood the religious text of the prohibition on *ghasab* contextually tend to accept *ghasab* as a natural action. This attitude was based on the rationalization that *ghasab* was a forgiven act. Moreover, they have mutually understood that *ghasab* is not as detrimental as stealing. It was different from unforgivable stealing; (4) Meanwhile, the other group of *santri* who understood the religious text of the prohibition on *ghasab* textually tended to be careful and did not accept it as reasonable action since, after all, using other people's property without permission was a despicable act and was prohibited by religion. In other words, *ghasab* is a sinful act to be avoided.

Based on character education theory (Lickona, 1991), the phenomenon of value conflict derived from *ghasab* culture can be explained using the aspects of moral knowing, moral feeling, and moral action. From the perspective of moral knowing, both *pesantren* taught the same value concerning *ghasab* practice. However, in the area of moral thinking, the approach used by each *pesantren* component for building rationalization is different. Al Ma'rufiyah applied a contextual approach to perceive the phenomena, in that, *ghasab* was considered a consequence of communal life patterns built on a sense of kinship. Hence, among the *santri*, *ghasab* was permissible and forgivable. Meanwhile, PMQA adapted a textual approach to responding to it. They strictly forbade it, knowing that using someone's belongings without permission is sinful. The impact of such moral feelings directs different moral actions in either *pesantren*. At Al Ma'rufiyah, the *santri* perceived that *ghasab* was a common action while at PMQA, they tended to be careful and avoided it.

This study proved that building the culture in *pesantren* is not only based on the habituation of religious activities with a distinctive subculture, but there is also the practice of *ghasab* as a consequence of the social system of *pesantren* which is communal. This study also found that the practice of *ghasab* in *pesantren* has the potential to cause value conflicts that affect moral judgment in *santri*, in that, some reject it while others accept it as a natural action. Therefore, this research can be a differentiator from previous studies on *pesantren* field, especially those related to character building, such as Zuhri (2011) who studied *santri*'s character building through the subculture of *pesantren* culture and Ernawati & Baharudin (2015) who focused on the study on *ghasab* practice in general.

Finally, there should be an immediate follow-up to deal with such misleading behavior and value belief. Otherwise, it will result in the possibility of forming a split personality within *santri* themselves. Therefore, it is necessary to revitalize *pesantren* by reaffirming their mission as a center for noble character education. Some steps should be taken including (1) the need to enforce stricter rules to enforce *santri*'s discipline; (2) the urgency to optimize the supervisory function in *pesantren*.

Conclusion

This study found that *ghasab* in pesantren could cause value conflicts that affect moral judgment among *santri*. In the process of moral judgment, they built a rationalization of the practice of *ghasab* as an action considered reasonable or an action that must be avoided. Such a process potentially affects *santri*'s mental and personal development. The value conflict concept in this study has disclosed that repeated deviant actions will reduce the truth value and lead someone to justify improper deeds.

This research was limited to two things. First, as the research was located in merely two pesantren (Al Ma'rufiyah and PMQA), it cannot be used as a conclusion about the occurrence of *ghasab* practices in pesantren as a whole. Second, this research only focused on the perspective of value conflicts or dilemmas due to the practice of *ghasab* in pesantren and has not reached broader scopes. Based on these limitations, further research is needed by taking a wider locus and looking at other perspectives on character education in pesantren to create more comprehensive research.

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