## Obedience without Pressure: Expanding the Psychological Concept of Santri

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### **Abstract**

punishment dan threat is one of the most effective methods to exercise discipline. Many findings showed that the education model with punishment and threat is ineffective for behavioral change. This study aims to rectify incorrect beliefs that have been implemented by educators including educators and managers in Islamic boarding schools. Data collection was conducted through an in-depth interview to explore the psychological condition of santri to worship and to observe santri's daily activities; documentation to find out pesantren profile, and focus group discussion to discuss the research findings. The informants included santri, teachers, caregivers, pesantren leaders and would thrive as required. Data analysis used Nvivo 12 plus. Mind mapping was used to describe the research flow. Cross tab analysis was used to determine correlations among variables. Query group was used to display data that would be analyzed and cluster analysis was used to explore the correlation between node and case. This study showed santri obedience in worship was infuenced by personality, exemplary, and responsibility.

Keywords: obedience, worship, without pressure, students, Psychological Concept

### Introduction

The education model with punishment and threats are still implemented in modern Islamic boarding schools as educators assume that such a model is the most effective educational model. On the other hand, many findings showed that the education model with punishment and threat is ineffective for behavioral change. The proof of this finding is that many corruptors, juvenile delinquency, and drug abusers become deterrent after getting punishment (Suud, F. M., Chaer, M. T., & Setiawan, W. 2020). Punishment is still used in pesantren or Pondok Pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) although the number of santri who broke pesantren rules and regulations rose in the last two years. Pondok Pesantren Wali Songo Ngabar Ponorogo (education year 2018/2019) showed the number of santri (students who study at Islamic boarding schools) who pesantren rules is 24% (sixth grade), 29% (fifth grade), 23% (fourth grade), 10% (third grade), 9% (second grade), and 5% (first grade). These numbers rose compared to previous education year 2019/2020 with 30%

(sixth grade), 35% (fifth grade), 18% (fourth grade), 11% (third grade), 5% (second grade), and 1% (first grade).

The types of rules breaking that santri often commit include: not attending congregational prayers, coming late to the mosque, leaving pesantren without permission, playing video games in internet cafes, and so on. If it is neglected, it will harm santri and the existence of pesantren. Islamic boarding schools that have been considered capable of producing Muslim cadres who adhere to religion do not fulfill the expectations of parents and society. The model of punishment and threats is widely applied by pesantren caregivers, even though this theory still becomes a fierce debate among psychologists since the finding of Milgram's experiment (1963) has been published. Thus, it can be said that education using the method of punishment and threats is not effective for changing santri's attitudes and behavior.

Studies on santri obedience have been carried out by researchers using a psychosocial approach, where obedience has only been studied based on interactions between people in the context of social relationships. Meanwhile, studies on the obedience of santri through a religious psychological approach (Abdulkarim, K.A., & Suud, F.M. (2020) have never been found. For example, Rahmawati (2015a) has examined the compliance of santri to the pesantren rules and regulations. Rahmawati's study mostly explored obedience which was measured by the physical act of human relations. Similar research has also been conducted by previous researchers (Amsar, 2020; Akers, R. L., Krohn, M. D., Lanza-Kaduce, L., & Radosevich, M., 1979; Baihaqi, 2017; Harinie", Sudiro", Rahayu, & Fatchan,. 2017; Mariappanadar, 2018; Kusumadewi, S., Hardjajani,. T., & Priyatama,. A. N., 2012; Maghfur,. 2018; Novikayati,. 2014; Subekti,. Syarif,. 2012; Woodward,.1982; 2019: Zimmerman, 1989). Therefore, it can be said that previous research majorly discussed compliance related to human interactions, while obedience related to religion has not received much attention.

This study aims to show the public that the implementation of punishments and threats that have been considered the best way by educators to build discipline and obedience is not effective. This research can be used as the best evidence to refuse the obedience theory developed by Milgram (1963) regarding punishment and threats as the only best way to shape students' obedience to the orders and rules. Additionally, the results of this study can be used as consideration for educational practitioners including the government, in implementing legal rules in society because all policies related to humanity aspects are always followed by punishments and threats. However, they never explored the root of the

problems that occurred in the community or students about why they obeyed or did not obey the orders or rules.

The authors argue that it is important to examine the issue of punishment and threats. In fact, some cases which are handled with threats and punishments will result fruitless. example, For the government implemented punishments and threats to the perpetrators of cases of corruption, drugs, juvenile delinquency, and other crimes, but the results have not resulted as the government or society expected. In addition, pesantren that intend to discipline students to follow pesantren rules and regulations by using punishment and threat models such as push-ups, squat running, shaving, and other physical punishments, resulted increasing number of santri who break pesantren rules. Supposedly, when a case occurs, the root of the problem should be sought, and then an alternative solution is determined. The problems faced by students often involve adolescents, which are the most dificult times in the history of human life. Therefore, if you solve a problem by using punishment and threats, the consequences include resistance, rejection, deviation, loss of control, and anxiety (Asniati, Sudarmi Suud, B, Jahada, 2020; Aviyahdan & Farid, 2015; Ekowarni, 2016; Good, M., Matthew Linze & Russell D. Kosits, 2019; Moore, M.,2011; Stavrova, Pronk, & Kokkoris, 2020; Stouthamer-lober, 2002).

To find the root of the problem and alternative solution to the problem of compliance or non-compliance with students in obeying worship is shown in Figure 1.

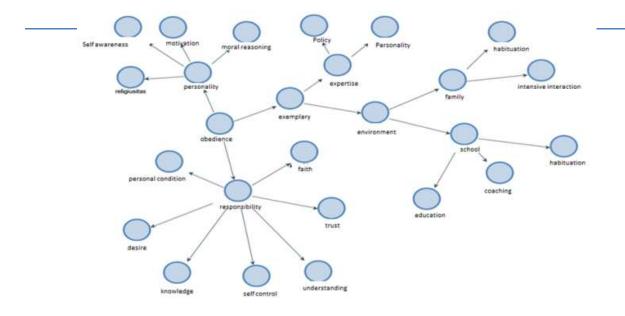


Figure 1: Research Model

### Research methods

Theories used by pesantren in instilling the values of santri compliance to pesantren rules and regulations are using the method of punishment and threats because pesantren caregivers reckon that this theory is considered effective to be applied in Islamic boarding schools. The misconceptions of the application of punishment and threat in pesantren need to be examined immediately because it will impact santri and pesantren negatively. To solve this problem, researchers phenomenological used qualitative approach by uncovering the facts of Pesantren Wali Songo Ngabar Ponorogo. An in-depth interview was used to collect data to determine the psychological condition of santri about what they felt studying and living in pesantren. In addition, the observation was used to investigate santri daily activities for 24 hours in pesantren. Additionally, the documentation was used to seek the pesantren organizational profile, structure, leadership model. Focus Group Discussion was used to discuss data findings, compared to other data that were discussed with religious experts specifically with pesantren alumni. Data sources were obtained from santri who are currently studying

Pesantren, santri alumni, ustadz (teacher), pesantren security department, pesantren caregivers and leaders. The features of Nvivo 12 plus that were used in analyzing data were the concept map which was to describe the research fow; crosstab analysis was used to determine the correlation among variables; group queries to display data that would be processed; and cluster analysis was used as a correlation test between the node and the case from the coding results (Brandão, 2015).

### Result

Pondok Pesantren "Wali Songo" was founded by a scholar named K.H. Mohammad Thoyib who is a native of Ngabar village, Siman District, Ponorogo Regency, East Java. Before Pondok Pesantren "Wali Songo" was built, the villagers did not adhere to the religious value. They used to do gambling, cockfighting and got drunk which had become the culture of society. To change these cultures, K.H. Mohammad Thoyib chose the education path by establishing Madrasah Diniyah (religious school) in the afternoon. He was enthusiastic about carrying out learning activities assisted by his three sons named K.H. Ahmad Thoyib, KH. Ishaq Thoyib, and K.H. Ishaq Thoyib although he had few numbers of students. Because some students

came from outside the region, K.H. Mohammad Thoyib had to provide lodging. Since then K.H. Mohammad Thoyib announced to the public about the establishment of pesantren in Ngabar village called "Wali Songo". This name was not a coincidence, but he deliberately intended to imitate the spirit and strive of the Wali Songo in spreading Islam in Indonesia, especially in the Java island.

Pondok Pesantren "Wali Songo" Ngabar has a motto "standing above and for all groups". This means that this pesantren is not afiliated with any political party or religious organization. The organizational structure of this pesantren is divided into two wings, namely wing-1, which functions to maintain absolute truth values and wing-2 which functions to maintain relative truth values (Mastuhu, 1994: 74). The leadership

of wing-1 is held by the main kiai (a person who has a deep understanding of religion) and senior ustadz who are considered to have mastered religious knowledge by the main kiai. Meanwhile, the leadership of the wing-2 is held by young kiai assisted by junior ustadz and senior santri. The term of junior ustadz is used for ustadz who has been teaching in pesantren less than five years, whereas senior santri is used for santri who are on class V and class VI. Wing-1 leaders are more focused on managing and resolving pesantren affairs with external parties, such as government or community. Meanwhile, those who take care of santri's daily activities are mostly managed by wing-2 leaders. Figure 2. shows the distinguished level of the involvement of pesantren leaders and caregivers in handling santri's daily activities.

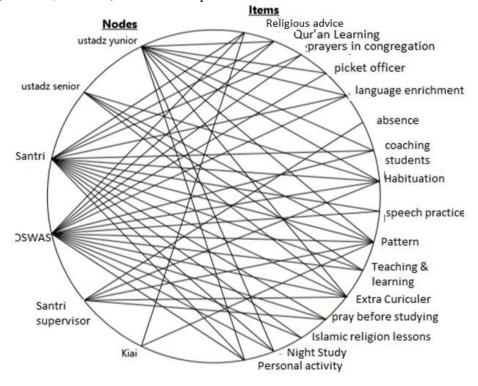


Figure 2.. Santri's Daily Activities.

Table 1. Condition of Santri of Pesantren "Wali Songo" Ngabar

Academic year	Educ	cational stage				TOTAL
	TK	MI	TMI	TMT- I	PT	
2014- 2015	88	339	793	674	323	2,217.

2015- 2016	83	338	858	774	255	2,308.
2016- 2017	91	355	936	824	236	2,442.
2017- 2018	83	364	1,017.	873	244	2,581.
2018- 2019	87	375	1,073.	987	278	2,800.
2019- 2020	100	396	1,015.	1,030.	305	2,846.

Table 2. Types of Rules Breaking Often Committed by Santri

Types of Rules Breaking	N	%
Do not attend pesantren program	16	1,58
Coming late to mosque	44	4,33
Do not attend congregational prayers	32	3,15
Smoking in the area of Pesantren	18	1,77
Falling sleep at class	11	1,08
Escape	24	2,36
Keeping electronic devices without permission	26	2,56
Interacting with the opposite sex	14	1,38
Total	185	18,2

Table 3. Factors influencing Santri Compliance

Category	Interpretation	Data Compaction		
	Sub-category: The encouragement to always obey worship			
Personality	Knowledge	• Finding differences in religious teachings and practices of worship (7a)		
		• Understanding worship is very valuable for life (13b		
		• Realizing that prayer is very important (4d)		
		• The means of asking Allah for help (10b)		
		• Prayer is an obligation that must be performed (31c)		

	Feeling	<ul> <li>It is calmer to do worship on your own (9d)</li> <li>Doing consciously, without waiting for orders from security department (31b)</li> <li>Worship because of self-awareness, it is not due to afraid of being punished (32a)</li> <li>Be aware and intend to repent (8b)</li> <li>Feeling guilty against God (6d)</li> <li>Feel close to God (3a)</li> <li>Feel better because of worship (6a)</li> </ul>	
	Instinct drive	<ul> <li>Repent and ask forgiveness from Allah (14d)</li> <li>Motivation for being given a reward by kiai (16a)</li> <li>Self-motivated wanting to be a useful person (29b)</li> </ul>	
Moral Responsibility	Self-awareness	<ul> <li>No matter how busy you are, don't forget about worship (5b)</li> <li>Realizing studying in pesantren is a struggle (28a)</li> <li>Realizin that prayer can make things easier and calm the mind (3c)</li> </ul>	
	Intention	<ul> <li>Want to achieve happiness in the hereafter (5c)</li> <li>Want to study religion (6e)</li> <li>Learned about religion and language (28d)</li> <li>Improve the quality of worship (27b)</li> </ul>	
	Self-actualization	• The courage to actualize yourself in everyday life (16b)	
Exemplary	Observe and learn	<ul> <li>Observing the attitude of simplicity, sincerity, discipline, cleverness of Kiai and ustadz in pesantren (4d)</li> <li>Observing alumni who have successfully developed themselves outside pesantren (29b)</li> <li>The life of kiai and ustadz which is calm and full of peace (27c)</li> </ul>	
	Imitating	<ul> <li>Adopting the attitudes of parents, teachers, kiai and successful alumni (11c)</li> <li>Wanting to set up pesanren in the area (29c)</li> <li>Want to change people's behavior for better behaviour(30b)</li> </ul>	
Sub Category: I	Encouragement not to	obey worship	
Peer support	Equality of age	<ul> <li>Going out with friends so they forget to worship (1b)</li> <li>Doing tasks with friends until they forget to pray (1d)</li> </ul>	
	Situation	<ul> <li>If you feel uncomfortable and are invited by friend (11d)</li> <li>Both feel boredom and coincidence with friends also invite us to break rules (1b)</li> <li>Sometimes in feeling calm in pesantren, sometimes sad too (1d)</li> </ul>	

- If there are many problems, we invite friends to play outside the cottage (1e)
- If you miss your parents or friends at home, then look for entertainment outside pesantren

### Psychological Conditions

Boredom, laziness

- Sometimes feel boredom, laziness, and boredom studying at the pesantren (33a)
- Feeling tired because of the many activities at the pesantren (33b)
- Want to pray alone in the room (33d)

Comparing with other situations

- Feelings of not being at home studying at pesantren (33e)
- Seeing friends outside pesantren who can be freer without being organized (33f)

Situasi yang tidak kondusif

self-

- Feeling displeased with friends who are caretakers who have zero tolerance (17b)
- Leaving worship again because of worldly work matters (8c)
- Differences in the personalities of friends (25a)
- The diversity of regional cultures, ethnicities, and family backgrounds, and heredity (25b)

# Rules and Weak punishment awareness education

• Security officers lack tolerance (26d)

- Given specific direction by the care department (26a)
- Feelings of fear of being punished (1f)
- Punishment is carried out by senior santri26c)
- Often angry and unpleasant (15a)
- Sometimes there is a feeling of revenge (25c)
- Carrying worship as intended (1e)

### Discussion

This study found that the factors in+uencing santri to worship included: personality, exemplary, and responsibility (Malekar, S., 2007). Santri knows, understand, and believe that worship is a religious task that must be done because by worshiping they will obtain the happiness of life both in this world and in the hereafter. By conducting worship, they feel that they are on the right path, by religious orders, and have a spirit of optimism to face future life (Purwanto, 2014; Herlena & Seftiani, 2018; Pandya, 2015; Finka & Prasetya, 2018). The values of worship that have been instilled by parents into their children, can be felt as they age

and away from their parents (Lister.et.al.,2020; Prieto-ursúa et al., 2018; Torrecillas, J., Jeffrey P., Bjorck, Shanmukh V., Kamble &Richard L., Gorsuch, 2019). Among the factors that encourage them to worship continuously and to always perform Sunnah practices (what Prophet Muhammad said and practiced) are a strong desire to obtain peace in life and fortitude in facing struggles in pesantren and to be aware of sins and mistakes, they have committed. (Maslow, 1987:67; Subekti, A. F., 2019). Moreover, they also saw figures of kiai and pesantren leaders who lived in simplicity, sincerity, discipline, and closeness to Allah making them want to imitate their attitudes and

behavior (Aeni, A. N., & Djuanda, D. 2019; Rahmawati, 2015b). Thus, it can be said that obedience to worship can be performed because of awareness and a sense of self-responsibility to God, not because of punishment and threats from others. Based on the results of cluster analysis using the Nvivo 12 plus software, there is an association between personality, exemplary, and sense of responsibility for the santri compliance in worship as shown in Figure 3

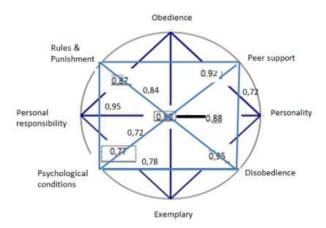


Figure 3. Clustered Analysis

Figure 3 shows that santri compliance to worship is infuenced by several factors, including personality, sense of responsibility, and exemplary. The results of the cluster analysis show a positive correlation between personality and compliance with a correlation level of 0.92; the correlation between responsibility and compliance (0.87); the correlation between exemplary and obedience (0.80), the correlation between personality and responsibility (0.88), the correlation between personality and exemplary (0.95), and the correlation between responsibility exemplary (0.77). Therefore, it is clear that obedience to worship is in+uenced by the personality of santri who had been formed by their parents from an early age and it can develop through exemplary so that it can foster responsibility.

This finding contradicts the study results of (Milgram, 1963), that to create santri compliance to teachers' orders must be applied with orders and punishment, supervision, peer support, location situations, and the environment. Edward Spranger in Jalaluddin, (2015: 178) states that one of the human personality types is the religious type. Religious type is the type of person who is obedient to religious acts and norms, fond of divine issues and religious beliefs. This type interprets that the

worshipers do not depend on threats or punishment, but they worship based on knowledge, understanding, belief, and a sense of responsibility (Gibson, S., 2019; Mermillod, Marchand, Lepage, Begue, & Dambrun, 2015; Schmeichel & Vohs, 2009). This theory is reinforced by Passini & Morselli (2010) stating that the compliance or noncompliance in social interactions between individuals and communities depends on their interest in the values of compliance and is responsible for what they have done.

These findings are signs of the existence of social fact meaning that instilling religious values from an early age by parents and teachers in schools can form attitudes and personalities to be obedient, self-aware, and responsible for religious acts (Andi Fitriani Djollong, St. Wardah Hanafie Das, A. D., 2019). Children from their infancy to their school-age have a single environment, namely family. It is the rationale that children's personality is mostly formed by the parenting of their parents or family at home (Jalaluddin, 2015:253b). Apart from family, school as a formal educational institution functions to continue children's education in the family environment. The role of the teacher is pivotal to shape children's attitudes and personalities because children often believe more in what their teachers say than their

parents. Teachers' attitudes and behavior become a role model for students to behave. Schools that have succeeded in educating students' religious character include the policies of the principal and the role models of all school members (Abdurrahman, 2016a; El Iq Bali & Fadli, 2019; Pujawati, 2016).

These findings become valuable lessons for parents in educating their children from an early age. Many cases of juvenile delinquency are caused by the low level of parental concern in educating religion on their children (Peviani, K. M., Brieant, A., Holmes, C. J., King-Casas, B., & Kim-Spoon, J., 2019). Religion becomes "a filter" for teenagers in controlling themselves from deviant attitudes and behaviors, such as smoking, alcohol use, truancy, free sex, marijuana use, and depression. (Sinha, Cnaan, & Gelles, 2007). Supaat & Fa'atin, (2019) found that in the millennial era of the circumplex model, there are three types of a Muslim family in implementing education, namely extreme

type, middle-range type, and balanced type. The most successful type in shaping children's attitudes and personalities is that parents apply the balanced type between the dimensions of closeness and self-adjustment.

Thus, it can be said that parents and teachers in schools are important factors in shaping children's religious attitudes and personalities. Meanwhile, the non-compliance of the students in attending worship is due to psychological conditions, peers, punishment, and threats. The results of cluster analysis using Nviro 12 plus software showed that rules and punishments have signi\*cant effects on non-compliance of santri to worship with a correlation level of 0.84, peers have an effect on non-compliance with a correlation level of 0.72, and psychological conditions have an effect on noncompliance with worship with a correlation level of 0.78. Thus, it can be said that the non-compliance of santri in worshiping at pesantren is mostly influenced by their psychopathology.

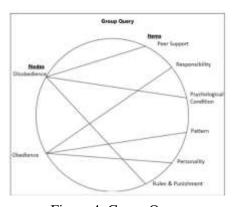


Figure 4: Group Query

finding contradicts previous research stating that santri who live in pesantren have more knowledge and understanding of religion than others because they obtain lessons about religion almost every day, and they are often ordered by kiai to read books in front of other santri and explain what imply from the book. Besides, habituation (Rouzi, K. S., Afifah, N., Hendrianto, C., & Desmita, D. 2020) in pesantren can form beliefs and selfactualization that can be applied in everyday life both inside and outside pesantren. (Abdurrahman, 2016b; El Iq Bali & Fadli, 2019; Neil Van Leeuwen & Michiel van Elk, 2019; Marzuki, Miftahuddin, Mukhamad Murdiono., 2020; Pandya, 2017; Pujawati, 2016).

These findings are signs of dysfunction of parents in fostering self-awareness responsibility of santri for worship. This fact is in line with the research of Burroughs & Denton, (1997) arguing that teenagers who live in broken families tend to behave defiantly compared to teenagers who live in intact families. Interview data with santri show that if there are santri who break rules, the security department will provide physical punishment, such as squat running, and push-ups. The security department rarely gives good advice, yet sometimes they speak unpleasantly, behave arrogantly, and cannot provide examples for their juniors. This finding contradicts the research results of Mangestuti & Aziz, (2017) reporting that education which has implications on the spiritual quality of children include psychological support such as paying attention, training discipline, giving good role models, and equipping children with life skills, emotional support and spreading affection for children (Erzad, AM, 2018).

These findings can be the beginning of a loss of public confidence in pesantren. Pesantren which has been considered capable of forming character and changing bad habits into good habits has not yet been fully achieved. The interviews showed that the obedient santri in worship was mostly an outcome of parental education and habituation (Abdurrahman, 2016c; El Iq Bali & Fadli, 2019; Pujawati, 2016). Wetherington in Jalaluddin (2015: 257d) explains that habituation can be formed in two ways, namely repetition and deliberation, and planning (Rouzi, K. S., Afifah, N., Hendrianto, C., & Desmita, D. (2020). The family primarily uses the \*rst method, while formal education institutions are more appropriate to use the second method. However, this depends on the programs and practices carried out in schools. This study shows that 93.75% of santri's daily activities are assisted by class V santri who are coordinated by caregivers of santri. Schroub (2013) states that students who are overwhelmed with tasks tend to experience emotional stress and difficult to sleep. Thus, it can be said that santri experiencing stress will cause fatigue, boredom, and will seek compensation outside pesantren (Muraven & Baumeister, 2000; Shirai & Suzuki, 2017; Vishkin & Tamir, 2020; Wang Chen & Zhang, 2018).

From a historical point of view, the management of pesantren has been approaching a critical problem of educators. The crisis occurred because of three interests, namely serving, earning income, and developing a career (Mastuhu, 1994: 74). Initially, ustadz in Pesantren had the intention to worship and develop a career. However, due to the increased economic demand and the increased needs that had to be met, especially for ustadz who as already married, the interest of earning income became the primary interest.

Meanwhile, pesantren as a religious education institution aims to educate people in the religious field without being oriented towards money. To solve this problem, pesantren has a feasible solution by empowering class V (five) to help in implementing programs of pesantren, such as teaching their juniors, assisting santri's daily activities, running extracurricular activities, and developing economic enterprises (Mastuhu, 1994: 74)

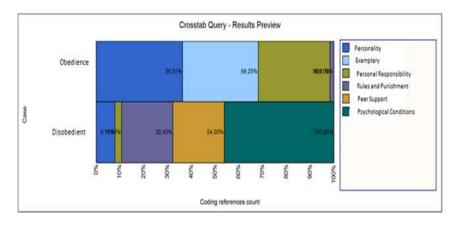


Figure 5: Analysis Clustered

Some important lessons that can be learned from these findings include: firstly, santri obedience to worship is mostly influenced by parenting from an early age; secondly, shaping personality with punishment and threats is not able to create good attitudes and behavior. Thirdly, grade V (five) santri who is in charge of assisting santri's

activities have not been able to provide good role models for their juniors. Fourthly, santri who are overwhelmed by very dense tasks can suffer from emotional stress. Researchers provide feasible solutions, including firstly, considering the importance of parents' role in shaping children's personality, it is necessary to educate children to worship from an early age. Secondly, altering the education methods of punishment and threats into a process of raising awareness and responsibility (Wahyuna, A. H., & Fitriana, S. 2020). Thirdly, santri in grade V (five) should be given intensive training regarding the maturation process of children. Fourthly, the fifth-grade administrative process should be simplified in preparing teaching requirements which do not cause them stress.

This study has limitations including a limited number of informants, the used method, only examining one location, and the researchers' limited experience and reading. Therefore, further research is needed on the emotional maturity of santri of class V (five) in handling two tasks, namely learning and teaching and psychological condition of santri in participating pesantren programs. The psychological condition of fifth-grade santri who do not feel under pesantren supervision.

### Conclusion

These findings indicate that santri obedience in carrying out worship is primarily influenced by personality, exemplary, and a sense of responsibility. This finding contradicts Milgram's (1963) theory explaining that obedience can only be produced if there is an order from an authority followed by punishment and threats (Branningan, A., 2013). This does not apply to worship. Worship is not only a physical practice but also the practice of the heart, which is based on religious norms and laws. The education method with punishment and threats is not effective in shaping santri's good attitudes and behavior.

However, this method is still implemented in Pesantren "Wali Songo" Ngabar Ponorogo. There was an increase in the level of rules breaking committed by santri in the last two years. This paper is the best example of rejecting the theory of punishment and a threat to the education method. Based on these findings, the authors offer recommendations. Firstly, it is pivotal to evaluate the educational approach used by pesantren in instilling the values of obedience to santri. Secondly, it is essential to change physical punishment into affective learning by providing understanding, self-awareness, and responsibility (Alfaiz, 2014). Thirdly, the fifth-grade santri should be

welltrained for becoming the board members, the companion of santri, and teachers for their juniors. In addition, there is a need for further research on the psychological condition of santri, especially santri of class V (five) who are teenagers, where teenage is at the progressive stage, juvenility, puberty, and nubility (Jalaluddin, 2015: 65e)

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