THE DOCTRINE OF "NGALAP BAROKAH": LABOR EXPLOITATION IN THE FORM OF VOLUNTEERING (CASE STUDY ON THE TRADITION OF SANTRI SERVICE IN ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOLS)

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Abstract - Islamic boarding schools are the educational institutions in Indonesia that absorb labor from their students and alumni. This is due to the narrative of ngalapbarokahpondok as a religious doctrine emphasized in the institution, where this doctrine is deeply rooted and perpetuated to obtain voluntary labor. Therefore, this paper seeks to explain why the narrative of "ngalapbarokahpondok" is used to hegemonize in serving? How is the hegemony of "ngalapbarokahpondok" in service perpetuated by the hut? This research uses qualitative methods as an effort to explain the data by choosing a case study as its approach. The data was collected by means of in-depth interviews, documentation and literature review. Informants were selected from students and alumni who had served. The framework used is the concept of Gramsci's volunteer and a little mention of Max Weber's thoughts on capitalism. The results showed that the ngalapbarokah narrative became a doctrine to normalize the exploitation of labor. This is related to their orientation which is only aimed at safety and gifts from God. In addition, the doctrine succeeded in perpetuating the reciprocity relationship between the Kyai and the servants in several ways, namely the agreement to serve, the withholding of diplomas, service as a condition of graduation, and a sense of reciprocity. The forms of efforts of the boarding school to perpetuate the service program become something that is actually detrimental to the servants, Which is precisely a means to get free labor and exploit it.

Keywords - NgalapBarokah, Labor Exploitation, Volunteering, Tradition of

I. INTRODUCTION

Islamic boarding schools tend to absorb labor from their santriand alumni. Since they were in the pesantren, they have been trained to serve the owner of the pesantren, namely the kyai and nyai. Respect and honor for the teacher become the main principles and priorities that are passed down from generation to generation by thesantri (Fijriah& Ellisa, 2022). They are always given advice about "ngalapbarokah". The narrative will be given to those who have just entered or who have been living in the pesantren for a long time. In the pesantren, the narrative about the blessings of the kyai and nyai is very thick and is strongly believed by the students (santri). This belief makes them submit and obey wholeheartedly to them. whatever they want will be immediately implemented by their santri including the workers who work in it.

Education in boarding schools is considered a good education because it is oriented towards religion and morals. This is what makes Indonesian people flock to put their children in boarding schools as an effort to fix morals (Solechah et al., 2022). Based on the central statistics agency shows that there are 239,172 schools spread throughout Indonesia in 2024 (kemdikbud, 2024), with a total of 76,702 units under the Ministry of religion including boarding schools (Mustajab, 2023). In Indonesia itself, the majority of the population is Muslim, which is one of the causes of the proliferation of boarding school-based education. Data from the Ministry of Religious Affairs shows that the number of boarding schools reaches approximately 36,167 units with a total of 4.85 million santri (Kominfo, 2023). Boarding schools include educational institutions under the auspices of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, which are classified into formal and informal institutions (Kemenag, 2022). The data shows that religion-based education such as Islamic boarding schools is the third largest level under public education such as junior high schools and high schools. The high interest of the Indonesian people in religion-based education makes institutions such as boarding schools continue to increase in number and increase in santri.

Two figures that really determine the image of the boarding school, namely the charisma of Kyai and Nyai(Huzaimah&Mukhlishin, 2020). The Director General of Pendis stated that these two figures are one of the requirements for the establishment of Islamic boarding schools (Director General of Islamic Education, Ministry of Religious Affairs, 2021). They are highly sacred by their santri based on the level of knowledge that is considered to be very qualified (Rofidah& Syam, 2021). They and their descendants are considered to be someone close to God so it is believed that their behavior and words will lead their students to the right path. As someone who is believed to be close to God, they are highly respected, revered, admired and glorified. This respect creates several traditions such as putting on the kyai's sandals, kissing the kyai's hand, drinking water used by the kyai, and others (Rahman, 2022). They assume that by dedicating themselves to the

kyai's life, they will get derivative knowledge and help from God.

Many workers in the boarding school are unpaid, they are santri who are bound by the rules regarding service before leaving the boarding school or graduating from the boarding school. The servants are not only adults but also children, they will stay and become workers in the informal sector such as caring for the kyai's children, cleaning the kyai's house, cooking for the kyai's family and helping to teach at the pesantren without pay (Sukendar et al., 2019). For those who do work for pay, their wages are well below the standard wage for workers with excessive working hours. Many servants have to work outside their working hours and sendikodawuh when given tasks by the cottage outside working hours.

The absorption of labor in the boarding school is always attached to the nature of Ikhlas and voluntary to achieve blessings. These two traits are used as a force to hegemonize them so that they as productive human resources can be fully used without thinking about high wages. the practice actually leads to slavery wrapped in religious propositions (Setiawan, 2023). Their energy is squeezed excessively without them realizing it and they even tend to be happy when they can use their energy for the benefit of the kyai and the cottage. This action is actually perpetuated by the servants to their descendants by including their children in the institution.

Some huts make dedication an obligation for santri to provide benefits to the hut after the hut provides knowledge for them (Abdullah &Muawaroh, 2021). The service is also utilized by the servants as a place to seek experience in the informal realm. They tend to carry out two roles, in the domestic sector as servants of ndalem who take care of the home affairs of the cottage owners and the public sector, namely in several sectors such as industry, agriculture and education. The most absorption is in the education sector, the servants will be assigned to participate in teaching at the cottage with a certain schedule, after finishing teaching they will return to the cottage owner's house to take care of the domestic sector. As students in junior and senior high school they are not money-oriented, so they use the service to gain experience and fill their free time. With the naration of ngalapbarokah, so that what they do will pay off either when they grow up or old.

With this background, this paper will discuss the tradition of service in Islamic boarding schools which is closely related to voluntary nature and is oriented towards the blessing of the owner of the boarding school. The blessing narrative becomes a doctrine to heal them so that they are unconsciously exploited. Therefore, this paper will explain about Why is the narrative of "ngalapbarokahpondok" used to hegemonize santri in serving? How is the hegemony of "ngalapbarokahpondok" in service perpetuated by the hut?

II. METHOD

This research uses qualitative methods as an effort to explain the data by having a case study as its approach. Qualitative research itself aims to explore the understanding and experience of certain individuals or groups (Jackson et al., 2007). Yin (2009) says that case studies focus on extracting in-depth information on a special phenomenon or called a case that occurs at a time such as an event, program, activity, process, an institution, individual or social group (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The case study approach was chosen as a suitable approach to explore in-depth information about the tradition of serving in Islamic boarding schools. Where the service is closely related to labor exploitation.

Data were collected through in-depth interviews and literature review (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Interviews were conducted semi-structurally with informants with the aim of achieving closeness to the informant criteria, namely those who have served in boarding schools. Literature review was conducted by searching for sources related to the research theme, namely with the keywords ngalapbarokah, cottage service, and labor exploitation. Observation was not carried out directly but the author has experience and has worked in agencies related to boarding schools.

The data was analyzed using a framework that refers to Gramsci's concept of volunteerism. Devotion as one of voluntary work will be analyzed using a voluntary perspective, where the perpetrators have a background and goals to be achieved. Then there will be a little mention of Max Weber's thoughts on capitalism. The framework will be used to see that the tradition of dedication carried out by the servants is very close to capitalism. they as productive human resources are utilized for the interests of certain authorities by hemming in using the doctrine of ngalapbarokah.

III. LITERATURE STUDY

3.1. NgalapBarokahPondok, Doctrine Of Capitalism In Religion

Ngalapbarokah which means pursuing or seeking blessings, where blessings are a gift of Godthat can bring peace, goodness, happiness, and tranquility (Atsniyah&Supradewi, 2019). The servants who are santribelieve that the blessing of the kyai is a very valuable blessing, they believe that when this blessing comes to them, their lives will be beautiful, good, useful and perfect (Amna, 2020; Huzaimah&Mukhlishin, 2020; Ishomudin et al., 2023). The concept of blessing has been deeply

embedded in the santri who serve. They sincerely submit their energy and energy to be utilized for the benefit of the kyai and the pondok.

Kyai, who is considered to have a very close relationship with God, is used as a medium to seek God's salvation (Rofidah& Syam, 2021). So that the santri try to continue to maintain their relationship with the kyai by becoming servants. The concept of blessing that they understand is the cause of their actions in the form of serving the kyai. There are several ways that the servants use to get the blessing, such as arranging the kyai's sandals, cleaning the kyai's house, cooking for the hut family, selling at the ponodk's business place, always following and accompanying the kyai wherever, taking care of the hut owner's rice fields, teaching at the hut and others. They do these activities without being paid even sometimes they are the ones who spend money for these purposes. But there are also some paid servants, although the pay is below the standard wage of normal workers.

The ngalapbarokah narrative can be used as a way to hegemonize theirsantri, which results in them voluntarily becoming unpaid workers. Gramsci said that in hegemony, antagonism is inserted which is normalized as the idea of "common sense" (Hawksley &Georgeou, 2019). The narrative is a doctrine that is instilled in the servants as a form of a way to expect God's blessing (Weber, 1950). Where their orientation is not worldly lust but God's blessing and salvation through serving the kyai. Capitalism does not require doctrine but in the actions of capitalism there is worship (Löwy, 2009). The act of service performed by the devotees becomes an act of worship. They consider that the kyai is a representation of God. So if they serve the kyai and get his blessing, then it is the same as serving God and getting God's blessing.

3.2 Devotion, Volunteering and Worker Exploitation

Devotion comes from the word "ngabdi" which means voluntary work or self-sacrifice for the benefit or service to others based on sincerity in greeting an institution called pondokpesantren (Afif et al., 2020; Huzaimah&Mukhlishin, 2020; Lailiyah et al., 2020). The devotion is very identical to ndalem, the kyai's house. Santrindalemorabdindalemwill give their entire lives to the kyai (Huzaimah&Mukhlishin, 2020). As servants, they are required to always submit to the orders of the kyai and nyai as the owners of authority in the house. This obedience is not only limited to the relationship between students and teachers but also privacy matters such as marriage (Amna, 2020). The devotees are not allowed to disagree or protest with the kyai's decisions on the grounds that submission will lead them to a blessed life. They are required to prioritize the interests of the ndalem family above their own interests, they must also be prepared to be scolded if their work is not in accordance with the wishes of the cottage, the bad attitude they receive must be interpreted as a lesson.

Devotion as a voluntary work or volunteering in the realm of Islamic boarding schools has existed since ancient times and is perpetuated by its santri. Gramsci said that volunteering is a model of low-cost or unpaid work that is used to complement the efforts of the state and the market without disrupting either of them (Hawksley &Georgeou, 2019). Volunteering is seen as a noble activity, an act of kindness, service and benefit to others (Dekker & Halman, 2003; Hawksley &Georgeou, 2019; Taylor, 2005; van Dyk, 2018). Kindness in work is a form of approval of the modern neoliberal state to capitalist power, this is because the neoliberal capitalist state tends to glorify civil and virtuous values (Hawksley &Georgeou, 2019). Where the virtues instilled as the foundation of work are used to support capitalism.

Volunteering tends to refer to nonstandard and undervalued forms of work such as housework and service (Taylor, 2004). Volunteers tend to be ignored and marginalized. Their service work makes the workers to be ready at all times if they have to do their work. They normalize unpaid work and exploit them as a form of effort towards a better life.

The exploitation becomes legal when they make the work as their obligation used to achieve God's salvation (Şengül, 2017). An action can be said to be an act of exploitation if it only benefits one party, besides the concept of employer and employee relations in the form of a voluntary attitude of the worker to the employer's authority (Laycock, 1999). The act of service tends to be an action that only benefits one party, namely the cottage, the orientation of the servants who only focus on God's blessings by serving the kyai is used as an opportunity to exploit their labor in certain sectors

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. NgalapBarokah: Normalization of Perpetuated Labour Exploitation

The narrative of ngalapbarokahpondok becomes a doctrine used to hemogi their santrito serve. With this dedication, the boarding school can freely utilize the human resources they have, namely thesantri. It is undeniable that the kyai and the cottage need labor to take care of their students and other fields. To take care of their students, they have to pay several workers in many sectors such as in terms of education, namely the teachers who teach, in the field of lodging, namely the administrators of the cottage, cooks in the kitchen for their santri, cleaners of the cottage, drivers, shopkeepers of the cottage and others which if it all comes from outside workers, the

cottage will spend quite a lot of funds to pay them. By utilizing santri who serve by means of the blessing of the cottage, they will be able to get the best results. By utilizing who serve by dividing them into several sectors, the capital that must be spent by the kyai is not as much as if they hire ordinary workers.

In the domestic sphere itself, the kyai and his family cannot take care of it personally. They also do not use household assistants or rewang but tend to use servants as household labor. Domestic work such as washing, cleaning the house, shopping at the market, cooking, and caring for children are assigned to scheduled servant students, they are santri. They will prioritize the interests of the kyai's family above their own interests, not infrequently they will spend personal expenses to meet the needs of the family. They do not mind such things, because their focus is to please the people they respect so much.

The ngalapbarokah narrative instilled in them is able to make them work voluntarily. Even though they are not paid, they use their dedication as a form of voluntary work as an experience in designated sectors. Like education, they will teach students at the cottage so that they gain experience as educators that they can use to work informally when they leave the service. Likewise, in the industrial sector, when they are placed in a shop as a guard and manager, they will learn by themselves about financial governance and business management. Similar to education, they can use this experience as their expertise outside the cottage environment.

The cottage, which does require labor, benefits greatly from the presence of students serving (santri). They do not need to bother to find workers with criteria according to the cottage, and do not need to hold training for the workers there. With the existence of servants with criteria that are already in line and of the same mind with the cottage, they do not need to spend large capital for the benefit of workers. In addition, serving that does characterize service to the kyai as an effort to seek blessings is a strong enough reason not to give them wages. in addition to wages, the servants also do not have definite working hours. They tend to work 24 hours, that is, every time and every time if they are given a job then they must do it. these working hours also do not look at the conditions because the servants must prioritize the interests of the cottage above their own interests.

Normalization of the exploitation of service workers is because they do not have a material orientation. Most servants do not consider material matters, even so they also need material. This is related to the cost of education at the Institute along with living expenses and other needs that are still borne by their parents. Some huts, especially developed huts, tend to provide them with some facilities and wages, although the wages are below the standard wage of workers. The facilities provided include free housing and education scholarships, but not all servants can use and get these facilities. Traditional lodges will tend to accept contributions without providing any facilities. The servants will not protest about this, even actions that are less pleasing to them will be highly tolerated on the grounds of ngalapbarokah.

The narrative of ngalapbarokah has become a doctrine that is deeply embedded in the servants. They will voluntarily work without pay and without complaining about the negative impacts they receive. They are consciously willing to be exploited in labor because their orientation is the gift of God through the kyai's blessing. By serving the families of the cottage, they believe they will gain prosperity, peace and eternal happiness. The narrative succeeds in making the cottage owners as the main capital owners, with the availability of productive human resources and voluntarily willing to be exploited making opportunities for them to get full benefits without spending and thinking about high capital.

4.2.Devotion: The Repositional Relationship Between Kyai and Santri

Devotion is always related to the relationship between santriand kyai, the relationship is a reciprocal relationship between the two. It can be said to benefit each other, but it can also be said to be detrimental to one party. There are several ways used by the cottage to bind its students as servants, namely the existence of a service contract from the start, the withholding of diplomas, and service as a condition of graduation from the cottage. This method is used so that they want to contribute directly voluntarily and without rejection.

The servants have had a service agreement since they entered as students at the boarding school. They tend to be given several unfavorable options such as the choice of serving two years and continuing four years of study or serving five years and continuing one year of study. other options that tend to be offered such as serving one year or not continuing to stay. These options tend to bind them not to leave the hut. The terms of the contract are determined by the hut according to their needs and interests.

In addition to the agreement, the service is also offered to some of their students who are considered to have better abilities in the academic, organizational or business domains. The cottage will offer the service which will certainly be welcomed with pleasure by the santri. There is also indeed a hereditary tradition in the cottage, where every santri is required to serve theirkyai since they became santri.

Withholding certificates is a common thing that is often found in Islamic boarding schools. The reason for withholding the diploma is because the students are still in the process of the service process. In general education institutions, every student who has graduated will be given a diploma as a graduation certificate and as a tool that can be used to find work or continue their studies.

In the boarding school, the students cannot be immediately separated from the institution before completing their service. They will not be able to find a job or continue to the next level because their diploma is held by the boarding school. Inevitably they must complete the service agreement that has bound them. the minimum length of service is one year and the maximum is unlimited in time. The withholding of the diploma is related to the service as a graduation requirement. The cottage policy that requires its students (santri) to serve in several sectors is indeed used as a graduation requirement. So they must do service if they want to be said to have graduated from the Institute by withholding their diplomas. The service is also used to improve abilities and provide work experience.

In addition to these methods, the cultivation of narratives about ngalapbarokah is also done as an effort to support voluntary work. This doctrine makes the servants want to serve or even offer themselves to become servants. Their motives include wanting to be useful for the people, wanting to practice their knowledge, wanting to give to the cottage that has given them knowledge. A sense of reciprocity is also instilled in the santri, so they participate in perpetuating the service as a form of reciprocity. The relationship of dependence between the servants and the kyai continues to be perpetuated, the servants who are santri need the knowledge and blessings of the kyai while the kyai needs the voluntary labor of the servants.

The sense of reciprocity in the servants is indeed instilled by the cottage itself, where they are not allowed to question what the cottage has given but told them to question themselves about what they have given to the cottage. This is what makes the servants try to give many things, one of which is voluntary work to repay the knowledge that has been given. Even though they themselves pay to be able to get education at the institution, they are still given demands to return what is rightfully theirs. The unbalanced normalization of the giver and receiver shows that the advantage is dominated by the boarding school.

The forms of efforts of the boarding school to perpetuate the service program become something that is detrimental to the servants. The attachment only benefits the boarding school materially. The attachment relationship creates a reciprocal relationship that continues to be perpetuated by the devotees. they will continue to try to maintain their relationship with the kyai by passing it on to their children and grandchildren. This is due to the belief that being close to the kyai and his descendants will make it easier for them to achieve God's blessing.

V. CONCLUSIONS

Devotion at the boarding school is a form of voluntary work created from the ngalapbarokah narrative of the boarding school. The kyai's ngalapbarokah narrative becomes a doctrine that is strongly attached to the servant to serve the kyai. Orientation to safety and God's gift makes them exploited in the realm of labor. Where the cottage needs a productive workforce. By utilizing the voluntary work of the servants, the cottage does not need to think about and spend high capital. They do not need to think about training labor or finding new labor. The available human resources have been considered in accordance with the criteria with the cottage without the need for training. Such dedication becomes a very profitable activity for the cottage in the realm of labor. The stronger the ngalapbarokah narrative that is instilled in the servants, the more human resources they get. The hegemonic servants will tend to dedicate themselves entirely to the hut without thinking about their personal interests and benefits. They will spend their young and even old time to get God's gifts through service.

The hegemony of using the narrative of ngalapbarokahpondok creates a relationship of repositas between the two parties. The binding attachment between the servants and the kyai is based on a sense of sincerity, the servants voluntarily become unpaid workers in order to achieve the blessing. they have an attachment to the cottage about the transfer of knowledge provided. Some of the methods used to make them as servants are the agreement to serve from the beginning, the withholding of diplomas, dedication as a graduation requirement, all of these things are tucked into the narrative of ngalapbarokah. So that the orientation of the servants does not lead to material but to God's blessing. This causes them to have no right to protest or complain about working hours and other rights. Their main priority is the interests of the kyai and his descendants.

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