

The Reproduction and Culture of School Dropout in the Context of the “Pemuda Tangguh” Scholarship Policy for Senior High School Students in Kenjeran District, Surabaya

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ABSTRACT

The phenomenon of school dropouts is still a social problem in urban areas, even though access to education and educational assistance policies continue to be expanded. The Surabaya City Government through the Resilient Youth Scholarship Program seeks to support the sustainability of the education of students from underprivileged families at the high school/vocational/MA level equivalent. However, the reality on the ground shows that the existence of scholarships has not been fully able to prevent the practice of dropping out of school. This study aims to analyze the reproduction of the culture of school dropouts in the context of the Surabaya Resilient Youth Scholarship policy using the concept of habitus. This study uses a qualitative approach with the research location in Kenjeran District. Data were obtained through field observations, in-depth conversations with prospective scholarship recipients, and documentation, then analyzed in a qualitative descriptive manner. The results of the study show that the decision to drop out of school is influenced by habitus formed in the family and social environment, such as early work orientation and low meaning of formal education, so that scholarship policies are often not in line with social practices of the community.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of school dropout remains a social problem that occurs not only in rural areas but also in urban areas (Ananda et al., 2025). Dropping out refers to the condition when students stop formal education before completing their current education (Saighi & Merah, 2024). Urban areas ideally have better access and better educational services, but in reality, cases of school dropout in urban areas still occur and are a serious concern, as they can directly impact the quality of human resources and the sustainability of education in the future (Maskur., 2025).

A similar trend is evident in Surabaya. According to the 2024 publication of the Surabaya City Human Development Index, the school participation rate for children aged 7-15 is considered very high. However, it declines to 70.99% for those aged 16-18, who are in senior secondary education. This data indicates that approximately 29% of adolescents are still not attending school at this level, making senior secondary education a stage more vulnerable to dropout and requiring greater attention to ensure the continuity of adolescent education (Surabaya City Statistics Office, 2024).

In general, there are two factors that cause children to drop out of school: internal and external factors. Internal factors are related to low interest and motivation to learn, which can affect adolescents' commitment to continuing their education (Soetrisnaadisendjaja & Sari, 2019). Meanwhile, external factors include economic conditions, family environment, and peer influence, which can increase the risk of adolescents leaving school before completing their education (Sili & Arrosikh, 2025; Natalie et al., 2025).

In an effort to address these issues, the Surabaya City Government, through the Department of Government and Public Welfare, launched the Resilient Youth Scholarship Program, which has been running since 2022 and will reach 21,000 students by 2025 (Surabaya City Government, 2025). This program is intended for high school (SMA/SMK/MA) students from underprivileged families to support their continuing education. Prospective scholarship recipients are required to meet the requirements stipulated in Article 4 of Mayoral Regulation No. 135 of 2022, such as being actively attending school, being healthy, and residing in Surabaya City, as evidenced by official documents such as KTP (National Identity Card) and Family Card (Kartu Keluarga) to ensure that assistance is provided to the right targets (Dwi & Isbandono, 2024).

In its implementation, the Department of Government and Public Welfare implements several administrative stages that prospective scholarship recipients must undergo. These stages begin with the re-registration process, recipient data verification, and monitoring through monthly reports of student learning activities, which will be verified by relevant officers. The assistance provided includes a monthly allowance of IDR 200,000 and school supplies until students complete their education at the high school/vocational school/Islamic high school (SMA/SMK/MA) or equivalent (Rizki & Hardjiati, 2025).

This program has been proven to have a direct positive impact on recipients, particularly through the provision of pocket money and school supplies, which play a significant role in increasing student motivation to learn while reducing the financial burden on families (Rizky & Hardjiati, 2025). This assistance provides students with the opportunity to navigate the learning process with greater peace of mind and focus because their school needs are met. This allows students to focus on academic assignments and learning activities without the burden of worrying about the costs of education, which must be met independently.

Furthermore, this program has been proven to expand access to education and develop job skills for students from low-income or disadvantaged families (Rahmah et al., 2025). The

program's impact can be seen in the increase in average years of schooling (RLS) and expected years of schooling (HLS) in Surabaya City, indicating increased community participation and sustainability in education. These findings indicate that the Resilient Youth Scholarship has contributed to increasing the length of education pursued by its recipients (BPS Surabaya City, 2023).

However, the reality on the ground shows that the Surabaya Resilient Youth Scholarship program has not been fully effective in preventing dropouts, especially at the senior high school level. This situation occurs in Kenjeran District, one of the recipient areas of the Resilient Youth Scholarship program for high school (SMA/SMK/MA) and equivalent levels in Surabaya City. Several prospective scholarship recipients still choose not to continue their education, despite being registered as prospective recipients of the scholarship program. This shows that the educational assistance provided by the Surabaya City government has not fully succeeded in supporting the continuity of education for all prospective scholarship recipients in the region.



Figure 1. 1

Re-registration Survey for the Resilient Youth Scholarship in Kenjeran District, Surabaya

Source: Department of Government and Public Welfare, (2025)

This situation is reinforced by the data in Figure 1.1, which shows the results of a survey of prospective re-registration recipients of the Resilient Youth Scholarship in Kenjeran District. Of the 35 prospective scholarship recipients, only 13 agreed to continue the re-registration process. Another 13 did not continue, having already gained access to education through Elementary Schools and National Junior High Schools, whose costs are fully covered by the government. Meanwhile, the remaining nine students consciously rejected the scholarship because they had no plans to continue their education. Some chose to work and others lacked clear plans for their future activities (Bapemkesra, 2025). This finding suggests that the availability of educational assistance does not always encourage prospective recipients to continue their education.

The reality on the ground suggests that this situation is also supported by the parents of prospective scholarship recipients, who tend to provide little encouragement or strong guidance to their children to continue their education, making dropping out of school considered normal within the family. Furthermore, the presence of family members who had previously dropped out of school further reinforces the view that education is not the only life option. A similar pattern is also found in the surrounding community, where other children have dropped out of school. However, the influence of the social environment is not

dominant because the perspective on education has already been formed through habits and socialization processes within the family.

In addition, the lack of parental understanding of the importance of education also often encourages children to get involved in work to help the family economy, which ultimately increases the risk of dropping out of school, either because they work first or because they drop out of school which then encourages them to enter the workforce (Ali 2009 in Yeni, 2015). This condition shows a gap between the objectives of government policy and social practices in society. Therefore, educational assistance is not fully effective if it is not accompanied by a change in the family's perspective on the importance of education, considering that family support, awareness, and guidance play an important role in making education a priority for children (Wijayanto et al., 2025).

This phenomenon demonstrates that the decision to continue or discontinue schooling is not solely determined by the availability of financial assistance. Children's educational choices are also influenced by perspectives on education that have developed within the family and are reinforced through interactions with the surrounding environment long before any policy intervention. Furthermore, social and cultural factors developing in society, such as views on the importance of education and the habit of working from a young age, also shape children's educational choices (Ismaini et al., 2025).

These values develop and take root within the family and are reinforced through social interactions in the surrounding environment, gradually shaping children's understanding of formal education and the meaning of school in their lives. This process is understood as the formation of habitus within the family, which influences how individuals interpret formal education and impacts the continuation of education (Zahiroh & Zenengene, 2023). Therefore, the phenomenon of dropping out of school in Kenjeran District is not merely an individual decision, but rather part of a cultural reproduction process that occurs within the family environment, even when the local government has provided educational assistance.

Several previous studies have examined the phenomenon of dropping out of school by identifying various underlying causal factors. These studies generally group the causes of dropout into interrelated internal and external factors. (Elia et al., 2022), this study found that both internal and external factors play a role in causing children to drop out of school at the elementary to secondary levels in East Kupang District, East Nusa Tenggara Province. Internal factors include low learning motivation, interest in education, and the child's psychological condition, while external factors relate to the family's economic condition, social environment, and limited access to educational services..

Furthermore, research by (Yeni, 2015) also showed that the triggers for children dropping out of school in Pulau Sipan Village stem from a combination of internal factors, such as self-will and failing to move up a grade, as well as external factors such as family economic conditions, social environment, and parental awareness of the importance of education. While these studies have made important contributions in identifying various factors contributing to school dropout, most have focused on grouping internal and external factors. Few have examined how these factors operate in the daily lives of families and shape the habitus that then influences children's decisions about education. Consequently, the social processes that enable the reproduction of a culture of dropout, through the inheritance of values, habits, and perspectives on education, remain understudied, particularly in the context of educational assistance programs or scholarships.

These limitations open up new research opportunities to view the phenomenon of school dropout not solely as an economic issue, but as part of the ongoing process of cultural reproduction within the family environment. Based on this, this study offers a novelty by

analyzing how family habitus, formed through habits, values, and perspectives on education, plays a role in shaping the perceptions of prospective scholarship recipients and influencing their decisions regarding continuing their education. Through this analysis, this study seeks to examine how family habitus toward education plays a role in the reproduction of the culture of dropping out in the context of the Resilient Youth Scholarship program for high school (SMA/SMK/MA) and equivalent levels in the Kenjeran District of Surabaya.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. The School Dropout Phenomenon

School dropout occurs when a child or adolescent stops pursuing education before completing their education, thus failing to obtain a diploma (Soetrisnaadisendjaja & Sari, 2019; Cahyani in Hakim, 2020). This condition, also known as dropout (DO), can be influenced by various internal and external factors, such as shame, laziness, fear, and peer influence (Laras, 2019). Data from the 2024 National Socioeconomic Survey (Susenas) shows that school participation rates in Indonesia for the 16–18 age group have the lowest rates. Furthermore, more than 20 percent of junior high school graduates do not continue on to senior high school (SMA/SMK), and approximately 453,605 students are recorded as having dropped out of school at that level by November 2025 (Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, 2025). This condition shows that dropping out of school is still a serious challenge in secondary education in Indonesia.

2.2. Characteristics of Adolescent Dropouts

Adolescence has characteristics that differ from other developmental stages because each phase of life presents different conditions and demands. Therefore, an individual's attitudes and behaviors will evolve with age (Diananda, 2019).

According to (Suyanto in Yulianti, 2022) some of the characteristics of adolescents who drop out of school are as follows:

1. It begins with a lack of discipline in attending school, where the learning process is only seen as an obligation to attend class and listen to the teacher without any commitment to understanding the material properly.
2. Low academic achievement, influenced by family and peer groups
3. Learning activities at home are not carried out in an orderly and disciplined manner due to a lack of parental support and supervision.
4. Attention to school lessons begins to decrease and is increasingly replaced by other activities unrelated to learning.
5. Peer activities with peers increase.

Most adolescents who drop out of school come from disorganized families.

2.3. Factors Causing School Dropouts

In general, several factors influence a child's decision to drop out of school, including internal and external factors. Internal factors originate from the child themselves, while external factors originate from outside the child.

1. Internal Factors

a) Low Interest in School

Low motivation and interest in learning are among the factors causing students to drop out of school. This condition is manifested through the habit of truancy, arriving late, or being absent from school without a clear reason, reflecting a decline in students' interest in the educational process (Jannah et al., 2025).

Children who experience boredom and lose their enthusiasm for learning tend to view education as no longer relevant to their lives, thus choosing to work or help their families rather than continue their education. As a result, education is viewed as a burden rather than a necessity (Ismaini, 2025).

2. External Factors :

a) Economic Factors

Poor family economic conditions are one of the main reasons children drop out of school. Limited economic resources can hinder children's educational needs, forcing some children to drop out of school and work to support their families (Putra & Rahmanelli, 2023).

b) Social Environmental Factors

Factors causing children to drop out of school can also be seen from their social environment, such as the influence of peers who do not attend school, lack of parental attention to education, and low levels of education (Yeni, 2015). These conditions can form the view that education is not an urgent need, so parents tend to be less encouraging or even allow children to drop out of school. (Jannah et al., 2025).

2.4 Bourdieu's Theory of Social Practice

This study uses Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social practice to analyze the reproduction of the culture of dropping out of school and family habitus towards education in the implementation of the Resilient Youth Scholarship for high school/vocational school/Islamic high school and equivalent levels in Kenjeran District. According to Bourdieu, social practice is the result of the interaction between habitus, capital, and arena formulated in the formula (Habitus x capital) + Arena = Practice (Harker & Richard in Kahfi, 2023).

1. Habitus

The concept of habitus, developed by Pierre Bourdieu, is an extension of ideas that have previously emerged in various traditions of social thought, although with different terms but with relatively similar meanings (Martono, 2021). Habitus can be understood as a set of values, dispositions, habits, and perspectives formed through life experiences and the social environment, then influencing the way individuals think, judge, and act in a relatively long-lasting manner (Haralombos & Holborn in Martono 2021; Martono 2012). Because it is durable and can be inherited, habitus allows parents' values, perspectives, and dispositions to be transmitted to children through the process of socialization within the family (Darmawan et al., 2024; Wang, 2022). In this study, family habitus refers to the family's perspectives, values, and habits towards education that influence children's decisions to continue their education.

2. Modal

In addition to habitus, Bourdieu also proposed the concept of capital as a resource, both material and non-material, that can be a source of social power and help individuals or groups gain positions and advantages in social life (Martono, 2021:32). Within his framework, capital is classified into four main types:

1. Economy: ability to finance education
2. Social: in the form of family support or teacher network
3. Cultural: knowledge, skills, and values that are valued in school
4. Symbolic: prestige or recognition owned by individuals.

These four forms of capital are interrelated and can be converted according to needs in specific social arenas. In education, capital ownership can influence an individual's opportunities to access and maintain educational continuity. Limited economic capital is often accompanied by low cultural and social capital, thus limiting family support for education and fostering the perception that education is not a top priority when faced with more pressing economic needs (Hisyam et al., 2025).

3. Arena

In addition to habitus and capital, Bourdieu also introduced the concept of the field as a social space where individuals or groups interact, compete, and utilize capital to obtain certain positions in power relations (Mutahir 2012 in Laode et al., 2024: 157). One of the most important arenas according to Bourdieu is Education, where the habitus of the dominant class tends to be used as a standard so that it is more advantageous for groups with appropriate habitus, while groups with different habitus risk experiencing obstacles or failure (Martono, 2012). The field also includes the family as the initial space for habitus formation through the process of socialization of values and habits. Therefore, this study focuses on family habitus because it plays a role in shaping children's perspectives on education and the decision to continue or stop schooling.

2.4 Frame of Mind

This research is based on the phenomenon of rejection of prospective recipients of the Surabaya Resilient Youth Scholarship at the high school, vocational school, and Islamic high school levels. This phenomenon indicates that the scholarship has not been fully effective in preventing dropouts.

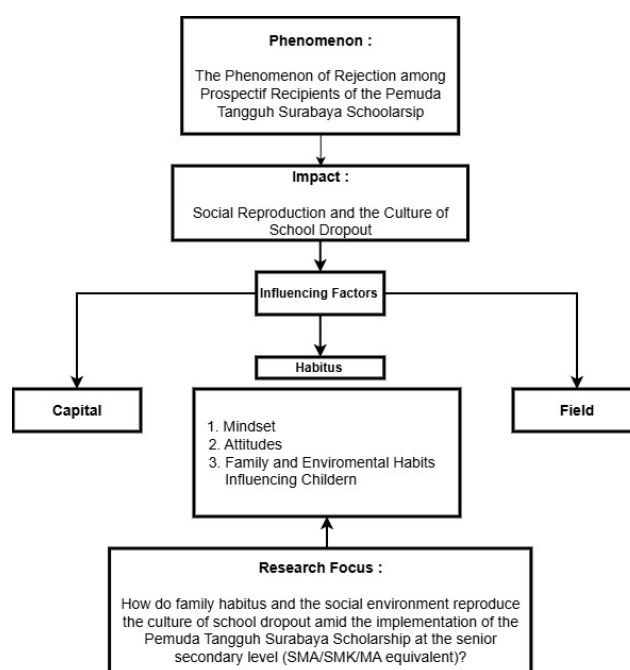


Figure 2.1 Framework of Thinking

The rejection of this scholarship impacts the social and cultural reproduction of dropouts, which is influenced by social and cultural factors. From Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical perspective, this condition is understood through the concepts of habitus, capital, and arena, with habitus as the dominant factor. Habitus, reflected in values, perspectives, and habits

towards education, is reinforced by limited capital and the social environment, so that the decision not to continue school is continuously reproduced. Therefore, this study focuses on how family habitus reproduces the culture of dropping out of school amidst the implementation of the Surabaya Resilient Youth Scholarship.

3. METHOD

3.1 Types of research

This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach using Creswell's model. According to Creswell (2023), qualitative research aims to understand the meaning that individuals and groups attach to social problems. A descriptive approach in qualitative research is one used to analyze data by focusing on original data from the field, explaining phenomena according to actual conditions, and grouping the information obtained into certain themes (Creswell, 2023; 16). This approach was chosen because the study focuses on the phenomenon of rejection of the Pemuda Tangguh scholarship by several prospective recipients in Kenjeran District, which is influenced not only by economic factors but also by family habitus in the form of values, habits, and perspectives on education. This phenomenon is related to the process of reproducing a culture of dropping out of school that cannot be explained through statistical data alone, so it is necessary to understand the meaning and experiences that underlie the educational decisions of prospective recipients.

3.2 Research Locations

This research was conducted in Kenjeran District. This location was chosen because Kenjeran District is one of the target areas of the Resilient Youth Scholarship Program for high school/vocational high school/Islamic high school (SMA/SMK) and equivalent levels in Surabaya. Furthermore, this research location was chosen because of the phenomenon of scholarship rejection by prospective recipients, which indicates a tendency for the reproduction of a dropout culture in Kenjeran District. Therefore, the researcher is interested in further examining the phenomenon of the reproduction of a dropout culture in the implementation of the Resilient Youth Scholarship Program for high school/vocational high school/Islamic high school (SMA/SMK) and equivalent levels in Kenjeran District.

3.4 Data and Data Sources

The data in this study consists of primary data and secondary data:

- Primary data is data obtained directly in the field through informal interviews with prospective students who are recipients of the Resilient Youth Scholarship at the SMA/SMK/MA or equivalent level in Kenjeran District, as well as parents or those involved in educational decision-making.
- Secondary data in the form of policy documents such as the Surabaya mayor's regulations regarding the Surabaya Resilient Youth scholarship for high school/vocational school/Islamic high school and equivalent levels, program reports, educational statistical data, scientific literature relevant to the theme of social reproduction, dropout culture and Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social practice, as well as the official website of the Surabaya Resilient Youth scholarship.:

<https://pemudatangguh.surabaya.go.id/siswa>

3.5 Data collection techniques

1. Observation

Observation is a data collection technique through direct observation of the behavior, activities, and social conditions of research subjects in the field (Creswell, 2023:199). In this study, observations were conducted by observing the social conditions of the research subjects and the family environment of prospective recipients of the Resilient Youth Scholarship at the high school/vocational school/Islamic high school (SMA/MA) level in Kenjeran District who dropped out of school and rejected the scholarship.

2. Interview

In this study, interviews were conducted semi-structured, allowing for greater flexibility and allowing informants to express their views and opinions openly. These interviews were conducted with the families of prospective Resilient Youth Scholarship recipients in Kenjeran District, whose children had dropped out of school and rejected the Resilient Youth Scholarship.

3. Documentation Study

Documentation study was used in this study to strengthen the data obtained from the results of observations and interviews through various documents relevant to the research (Creswell, 2023: 199). The research data in this study included archives and documents related to the policy and implementation of the Surabaya Resilient Youth Scholarship for SMA/SMK/MA equivalent levels in Surabaya, as well as various scientific sources such as journals, books, and previous research related to school dropouts and family habitus.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 RESULTS

4.1.1 Social Picture and Education Conditions of Kenjeran District

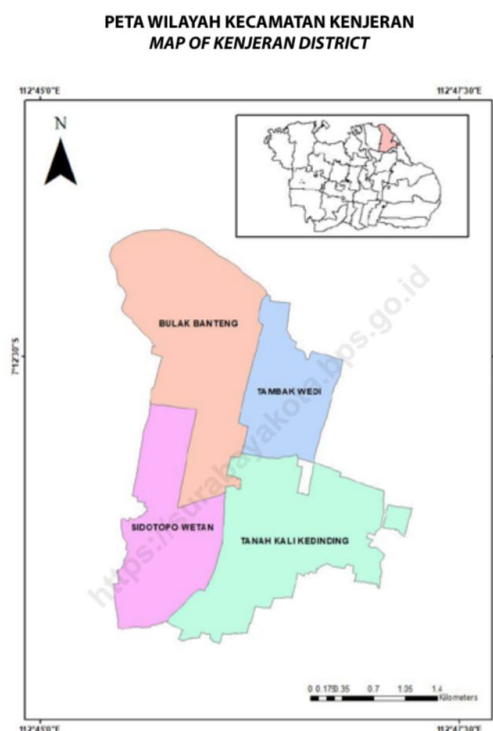


Figure 4.1. Map of Kenjeran District Area
Source : BPS Kenjeran District in 2025 Figures

Kenjeran District is one of the areas in the city of Surabaya, East Java, which is located in the northern part and directly borders the Madura Strait. This area includes four sub-districts, namely Tanah Kali Kedinding, Sidotopo Wetan, Bulak Banteng, and Tambak Wedi. Based on BPS data, Kenjeran District has an area of about 8.51 Km². The population in this area is recorded at 185,294 people, with a male population of 93,195 people and a female population of 92,099 people. With this population, the population density level in Kenjeran District is relatively high, which is around 21,774 people per km², which reflects the character of dense residential areas in coastal urban areas.

Based on the 2025 BPS data for Kenjeran District in Figures, the condition of education in Kenjeran District covers several main levels of formal education. At the Kindergarten (TK) level, there are 59 schools managed by 255 teachers with a total of 4,252 students. At the Elementary School (SD) level, there are 18 schools with 415 teachers and a total of 9,919 students. As for the Senior High School (SMA) level, Kenjeran District only has 2 schools, with a total of 97 teachers and 1,899 students. Meanwhile, at the Vocational High School (SMK) level, there are 2 schools with 71 teachers and 1,371 students. These data indicate that the availability of educational units at the Senior High School and Vocational High School levels is relatively limited compared to the elementary and junior high school levels. The limited number of Senior High Schools and Vocational High Schools has implications for students' access to and continuity of education after graduating from junior high school, especially for students from families with low socio-economic conditions.

Tingkat Pendidikan Educational Level	Negeri/Public		Swasta/Private		Jumlah/Total	
	2023/2024	2024/2025	2023/2024	2024/2025	2023/2024	2024/2025
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Taman Kanak-Kanak (TK)/Kindergarten ¹	...	...	61	59	61	59
Raudatul Athfal (RA) ²	...	...	24	25	24	25
Raudatul Athfal (RA) ²	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sekolah Dasar (SD) ¹ Elementary Schools ¹	18	8	...	10	18	18
Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (MI) ² /Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (MI) ²	...	...	22	22	22	22
Sekolah Menengah Pertama (SMP) ¹ /Junior High Schools ¹	4	4	8	8	12	12
Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs) ² /Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs) ²	...	...	8	8	8	8
Sekolah Menengah Atas (SMA) ¹ /Senior High Schools ¹	1	1	1	1	2	2
Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan (SMK) ¹ Vocational High Schools ¹	...	...	2	2	2	2
Madrasah Aliyah (MA) ² Madrasah Aliyah (MA) ²	...	...	1	1	1	1

Figure 4.2 Number of Schools by Education Level in Kenjeran District

Tingkat Pendidikan Educational Level	Negeri/Public		Swasta/Private		Jumlah/Total	
	2023/2024	2024/2025	2023/2024	2024/2025	2023/2024	2024/2025
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Taman Kanak-Kanak (TK)/Kindergarten ¹	...	...	6045	4.525	6045	4.525
Raudatul Athfal (RA) ²	...	...	1.636	1.452	1.636	...
Raudatul Athfal (RA) ²	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sekolah Dasar (SD) ¹ Elementary Schools ¹	10.012	6.919	...	3.000	10.012	9.919
Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (MI) ² /Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (MI) ²	...	...	6.593	6109	6.593	...
Sekolah Menengah Pertama (SMP) ¹ /Junior High Schools ¹	3.674	3.584	3.437	3.625	7.111	7.209
Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs) ² /Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs) ²	...	...	761	805	761	...
Sekolah Menengah Atas (SMA) ¹ /Senior High Schools ¹	1.238	1.241	634	658	1.872	1.899
Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan (SMK) ¹ Vocational High Schools ¹	...	...	1.327	1.371	1.327	1.371
Madrasah Aliyah (MA) ² Madrasah Aliyah (MA) ²	...	...	101	91	101	...

Figure 4.3 Number of Students by Education Level in Kenjeran District

Source: BPS Kenjeran District in figures 2025

Based on researchers' observations in the field, the majority of parents of prospective Resilient Youth Scholarship recipients in Kenjeran District work in the informal sector, such as small family businesses, trade, and service and carpentry jobs. These employment patterns generally provide unstable incomes and depend on daily circumstances. In this situation, children are often positioned as part of the family's economic strategy, either by helping with their parents' work or by encouraging them to work immediately after graduating from junior high school.

These socioeconomic conditions not only impact the family's financial capacity but also shape parents' perspectives on their children's further education. In this context, high school education is often viewed as a secondary option compared to the family's economic needs. This pattern suggests that children's decisions not to continue their education after junior

high school are not solely driven by the limited number of schools available but are also influenced by the values and customs developed within the family and social environment. Therefore, even though the Resilient Youth Scholarship program is available, community culture and social practices still play a role in determining the continuation of students' education.

4.1.2 Interview Results of the Phenomenon of Rejection of Resilient Youth Scholarships

Table 4.1 Interview Data

No	Gender	Status	Regions
A1	Women	Parents of students	Tanah Kali Kedinding
A2	Women	Parents of students	Tanah Kali Kedinding
A3	Women	Parents of students	Sidotopo Wetan
A4	Male	Relatives of students	Sidotopo Wetan
A5	Male	Parents of students	Bulak Banteng
A6	Women	Parents of students	Bulak Banteng
A7	Women	Parents of students	Tambak Wedi
A8	Women	Parents of students	Tambak Wedi
A9	Women	Parents of students	Tambak Wedi

Based on the results of interviews with 9 prospective recipients of the Resilient Youth Scholarship at the high school/vocational school/Islamic high school level in Kenjeran District who dropped out of school and rejected the scholarship, most informants explained that the beginning of their children dropping out of school was related to the habit of truancy and the child's low attachment to school activities. This habit occurred repeatedly until finally the child did not continue formal education. This was seen in the statement of informant A1 who said that "My child often skipped school with his classmates, until finally he did not continue school anymore." The same pattern was also found in informants A6 and A7. However, in both informants, the habit of truancy was more influenced by work activities that began to be prioritized over school.

In addition to daily habits, the influence of the social environment also plays a role in strengthening a child's decision not to continue school. In the cases of A3 and A5, the children refused to return to school because many of their peers in their neighborhood had also dropped out. Informant A3 stated that "in my neighborhood there are also many children his age who are like that," so the child's decision not to return to school was seen as something normal. Informant A5 expressed a similar sentiment, stating that "here there are many friends and children his age who also dropped out of school and went on to work." These environmental conditions reinforce the child's attitude to follow the same pattern as his peers.

In addition to habits and social influences, the influence of the family environment plays a significant role in shaping a child's decision to continue or discontinue education. Limited family support, attention, and capacity prevent children from receiving sufficient

encouragement to return to school. In A2, busy parents limit their attention to their child's education, as expressed by A2 through the statement, "I'm rarely at home, ma'am, because I work from morning to noon, so I don't have time to pay attention to my child's school activities." Meanwhile, in A4, the low level of parental education makes them feel incapable of encouraging their child to continue school. A4 stated, "I'm only an elementary school graduate, so I can't do much, ma'am. If the child doesn't want to, I don't force him." This condition shows that limited family support and capacity can influence a child's decision to discontinue education.

In A8, family circumstances also influenced the child's decision not to return to school despite having received the opportunity through a scholarship program. Children who previously dropped out of school due to economic constraints were accustomed to helping their parents sell, so they felt more comfortable working than returning to school. This is reflected in A8's statement, "Because he was used to helping me sell, he didn't want to continue school anymore," and "I also couldn't force him because no one helped me except him." These conditions indicate that economic limitations not only limit access to education, but also form habits that encourage children to remain involved in family economic activities rather than continuing school.

Meanwhile, the influence of the arena as a space for competition and social interaction at school appears less dominant. In most cases (A1, A2, A5), children tend to withdraw from formal education, thus minimizing their experience of school as a competitive space. In other words, the demands or logic of formal schooling do not sufficiently influence their decisions because routines and habits outside of school have become part of their habitus. Overall, interview results indicate that children's decisions to drop out of school are influenced by established daily habits, family experiences, and environmental conditions. Habits such as truancy, working, and helping family are activities considered more comfortable than school. Furthermore, limitations in family and environmental conditions also influence the continuation of children's education. These findings provide a general overview of the various situations underlying children's decisions to continue or discontinue formal education.

4.2 DISCUSSION

4.2.1 Factors Causing the Decision to Drop Out of School from a Bordiue Perspective

In this study, children's decisions to drop out of school are understood as social practices formed through a long and iterative process in everyday life. These decisions cannot be explained solely as individual rational actions, but rather as the result of the relationship between social structures and the individual's subjective experiences. This understanding aligns with Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social practice, which positions individual actions as the result of interactions between habitus, field, and capital (Bourdieu, 1980; 1994).

Bourdieu (1980) explains that social practices arise from the dialectical relationship between objective structures and individual subjective dispositions. In the context of education, the practice of dropping out of school can be understood as the result of a mismatch between a child's inherent dispositions and the demands of the educational arena. Therefore, a child's decision to drop out of school is a manifestation of social practices produced and reproduced within specific social conditions.

One of the key concepts in social practice theory is habitus. According to Bourdieu, habitus is a system of dispositions that is durable, transposable, and formed through life experiences within a particular social environment (Bourdieu, 1980; 1994). Habitus shapes

how individuals view the world, evaluate life choices, and determine what actions are considered appropriate or possible. In the context of education, habitus influences how children interpret school, learning, and the future, so decisions to continue or discontinue education often reflect internalized habits and values.

Interviews indicate that habits of working from school age, truancy, and children's involvement in family economic activities create patterns of behavior that distance children from formal education. These habits do not emerge spontaneously but are formed through repeated daily practices that then become part of the child's disposition. These findings suggest that habitus plays a major role in shaping the decision to drop out of school, as it operates internally and influences how children perceive school as no longer relevant to their lives.

In addition to habitus, Bourdieu's theory of social practice also positions the arena as a crucial element in the formation of social practices. The arena is understood as a social space with specific rules, logic, and power relations that govern the position and opportunities of individuals within it (Bourdieu, 1994; 2012). The educational arena demands adherence to formal rules such as attendance, discipline, and academic achievement. However, research shows that social arenas outside of school, such as friendships and the surrounding community, often have different and even conflicting logics than formal education.

Social environments that normalize the practice of working early or dropping out of school create conditions in which the decision to drop out of school is not seen as deviant but as a natural choice. In this context, the social arena does not directly cause children to drop out of school but rather acts as a space that reinforces the dispositions of the pre-formed habitus. This aligns with Bourdieu's view that social practices arise from the fit or mismatch between an individual's habitus and the logic of the arena in which they find themselves.

The third element in the theory of social practice is capital. Bourdieu (2001; 2012) distinguishes capital into several forms: economic, social, cultural, and symbolic. These forms of capital determine an individual's position in the social arena and their chances of survival or success within it. In the educational arena, possessing sufficient capital enables individuals to meet school demands and maintain educational continuity.

Based on interview results, limited economic capital encourages children to engage in work activities from an early age, while limited social and cultural capital, such as low parental education or minimal learning support, limits families' ability to support their children's education. However, field findings indicate that limited capital is not the primary factor causing school dropout, but rather acts as a supporting factor that strengthens the work habitus and weakens children's attachment to school.

Overall, these findings indicate that habitus is a primary factor influencing children's decisions to drop out of school. Capital and arena factors remain relevant, serving as contexts and resources that support or limit, but do not directly determine the decision. Therefore, the following discussion will focus on habitus to further examine how habits and mindsets formed in everyday life shape children's decisions to continue or discontinue school.

4.2.2 Habitus as a Dominant Factor

The research results show that habitus is a dominant factor in shaping adolescents' decisions to drop out of school and discontinue re-registration for the Resilient Youth Scholarship in Kenjeran District. Habitus functions as a dispositional framework that shapes

adolescents' ways of thinking, evaluating, and acting toward formal education. Therefore, the decision to drop out cannot be understood as a spontaneous individual action, but rather as the result of a recurring social process in everyday life.

From the perspective of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social practice, habitus is understood as a system of durable and transposable dispositions formed through an individual's life experiences within a particular social structure (Bourdieu, 1980; 1994). This habitus then forms a sense of limits on life choices that individuals consider realistic and reasonable. In the educational context, habitus determines how adolescents interpret school, learning, and the future, including their tendency to remain or leave the formal education system.

Field findings indicate that truancy, working from school age, and low engagement in school activities have become part of adolescents' daily routines. In the cases of informants A1, A6, and A7, children were accustomed to helping their parents or working while still in school. These experiences shaped a practical orientation that valued productive activities as more valuable and relevant than formal education. This habit was then internalized into a disposition, leading to the perception of school as no longer important in their lives. This reflects how habitus operates unconsciously in guiding adolescents' actions, as explained by Bourdieu.

In addition to individual experiences, family and relatives play a crucial role in the formation and inheritance of habitus. In the cases of A2, A4, and A6, the children's decisions to drop out of school were influenced by their family backgrounds with low levels of education and the experiences of relatives who also dropped out. Parents in these situations tend to lack sufficient cultural capital to encourage their children's continued education, so dropping out is not seen as a serious problem. The findings of this study are supported by research by Hakim (2020) and Yanti (2022), which showed that low parental education, limited family communication, and weak educational support are important factors in children's decisions to drop out of school. However, this study expands on these findings by demonstrating that family influence is not only structural but also operates through the internalization of values and habits that shape children's habits over time.

The habitus formed within the family is then reinforced by the social environment and peers. In the cases of A3 and A5, adolescents refused to continue school because many of their peers in their neighborhood had also dropped out and chosen to work. The social norms that developed in these neighborhoods normalized the practice of dropping out, so the decision to drop out was not considered a social deviation. This situation aligns with research by Ismaini et al. (2025), which asserted that social norms and cultural practices in society can reproduce dropout behavior, especially when formal education is not a dominant value in the social environment.

Adolescents' work routines are also a crucial element in the formation of a pro-dropout habitus. For informant A8, although the child had the opportunity to return to school through the Resilient Youth Scholarship, the habit of helping parents sell goods had shaped their comfort and identity as a productive individual. The experience of earning their own income and social recognition from their surroundings made formal education perceived as less relevant to their life's needs. This situation suggests that policy interventions focused on economic assistance may not necessarily change educational orientations unless accompanied by efforts to change established habitus.

Within Bourdieu's theoretical framework, this situation reflects the process of reproducing a culture of dropout, where values, habits, and perspectives on education are inherited and reinforced through the family and social environment. Research by Zahiroh and Zengenene (2023) supports this finding by demonstrating that family and social habitus

play a significant role in maintaining children's vulnerability to dropping out of school at the high school level. Therefore, this study confirms that educational policies, such as the Resilient Youth Scholarship, may not necessarily break the chain of dropout if they do not directly address entrenched social habits.

Overall, the adolescents' decisions to drop out in this study are a manifestation of habitus formed through life experiences, family relationships, peer influence, and daily social routines. While the arena and capital factors still play a role as facilitating or limiting contexts, habitus is the most dominant factor in determining how adolescents interpret education and respond to the opportunities offered by scholarship policies. Therefore, efforts to prevent dropout should not simply focus on providing material assistance but also need to be directed at changing the value orientations, habits, and social practices that shape the habitus of adolescents and their families.

5. PROGRAM IMPROVEMENT SUGGESTION

The Resilient Youth Scholarship Program for high school (SMA/SMK/MA) and equivalent students has essentially made a positive contribution in addressing economic issues, which have long been a barrier to continuing education. However, this study found that economic factors are not the sole reason why children drop out of school. In the Kenjeran District of Surabaya, family habits and social environment play a significant role in shaping adolescents' perspectives and decisions to drop out of school, even though scholarships are available.

These findings suggest that the scholarship program needs to be strengthened through non-economic interventions focused on fostering educational values, awareness, and orientation. Therefore, this study recommends structured and ongoing educational outreach as a companion to the scholarship program to increase students' understanding of the importance of education and the social impact of dropping out. This recommendation aligns with Annisa's research at SMA Negeri 1 Bambaria, which demonstrated that educational outreach through learning, school guidance, and communication between the school and parents can foster a more positive outlook on education.

Based on these findings, the Resilient Youth Scholarship Program can adopt a similar approach to that applied in Annisa's research through collaboration between schools, students, and parents with outreach conducted before and during the program, so that educational support in the school and family environment can run in harmony in preventing school dropouts.

6. CONCLUSION

Based on the research results, it can be concluded that the dropout phenomenon in Kenjeran District is not solely caused by economic factors. Although the Resilient Youth Scholarship Program has been implemented as an effort to support the sustainability of education, the scholarship has not been able to fully prevent dropouts due to the strong influence of family habitus and the social environment in shaping adolescents' perspectives on education. The values, habits, and life orientations that develop in the social environment tend to reproduce a culture of dropout, so that education is not seen as a primary need. This study is limited by the number of respondents, which only involved nine, so the findings of this study do not fully represent the conditions of all adolescents in the study area. Nevertheless, this study still provides an important initial overview of the role of habitus in reproducing a culture of dropout amidst the implementation of the scholarship

program, and can serve as a reference for further research and consideration in the formulation of educational policies.

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