



The Curriculum Structure of Pesantren in Madura: Uncovering the Values of Religious Moderation

Nurul Hadi^{1*}, M. Hasbullah², Abd. Rahman Romadhon³, Khomisantul Fajriyah⁴, Karomatun Nafisah⁵, Ahmad Sudi⁶

^{1,3,4,5,6} Institut Agama Islam Negeri Madura, Indonesia

² Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Darul Ulum Banyuwangi Pamekasan, Indonesia

^{*}) Corresponding Author

Email: ¹nurulhadi@gmail.com, ²Muhammadhasbul4@gmail.com,

³romadhoners@gmail.com, ⁴khomisantulfajriyah@gmail.com,

⁵nafisavivi16@gmail.com, ⁶Ahmad.sudi@gmail.com

Abstract

Keywords:

Curriculum
Structure;
Pesantren;
Religious
Moderation;
Kitab Kuning.

This research aims to analyze the curriculum structure of Islamic boarding schools (Pesantren) in Madura and to determine the extent to which the values of religious moderation are reflected in the curriculum. This research uses a qualitative approach with a descriptive research type. The research results show that the curriculum structure of Pesantren in Madura generally still refers to classical Islamic texts (kitab kuning) based on the Shafi'i school of thought. The curriculum encompasses a range of Islamic knowledge disciplines such as Fiqh, Ushulfiqh, Hadith, Tafsir, and others. The values of religious moderation are reflected in the content of the Pesantren curriculum, such as the emphasis on understanding moderate (*wasathi*) Islam, the teaching of the concepts of tolerance, and the appreciation of pluralism. In addition, activities in Pesantren also reflect the values of moderation, such as interfaith and cross-cultural dialogues and cultural performances. The books taught in Pesantren, especially the works of moderate Sunni scholars, contain teachings that support religious moderation, such as the importance of cultivating tolerance, respecting diversity, and avoiding extremism. This study concludes that the curriculum structure of Pesantren in Madura reflects values of religious moderation, although further development and reinforcement are still needed. Such efforts are essential to maintaining the role of Pesantren as an educational institution that cultivates a generation of moderate and tolerant Muslims.

Abstrak:

Kata Kunci:

Struktur Kurikulum;
Pesantren; Moderasi
Beragama; Kitab Kuning.

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis struktur kurikulum Pesantren di Madura dan mengetahui sejauh mana nilai-nilai moderasi beragama tercermin dalam kurikulum tersebut. Penelitian ini

menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan jenis penelitian deskriptif. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa: Struktur kurikulum Pesantren di Madura pada umumnya masih mengacu pada kitab-kitab klasik (*kitab kuning*) yang berbasis pada mazhab Syafi'i. Materi yang diajarkan mencakup berbagai disiplin ilmu keislaman seperti *fiqh*, *ushulfiqh*, *hadits*, *tafsir*, dan lain-lain. Nilai-nilai moderasi beragama tercermin dalam isi kurikulum Pesantren, seperti penekanan pada pemahaman Islam yang *wasathi* (moderat), pengajaran konsep-konsep toleransi, dan penghargaan terhadap pluralitas. Selain itu, kegiatan-kegiatan di Pesantren juga mencerminkan nilai-nilai moderasi, seperti dialog dan pentas seni-budaya. Kitab-kitab yang diajarkan di Pesantren, khususnya karya ulama Sunni moderat, mengandung ajaran-ajaran yang mendukung moderasi beragama, seperti pentingnya bersikap toleran, menghargai perbedaan, dan menghindari ekstremisme. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa struktur kurikulum Pesantren di Madura telah menunjukkan adanya nilai-nilai moderasi beragama, meskipun masih perlu terus dikembangkan dan diperkuat. Hal ini penting untuk menjaga peran Pesantren sebagai lembaga pendidikan yang mencetak generasi Muslim yang moderat dan toleran.

Received : September 13, 2024; Revised: September 25, 2025; Accepted: February 12, 2026

<https://doi.org/10.19105/tjpi.v20i1.15421>

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Institut Agama Islam Negeri Madura, Indonesia



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1. Introduction

As educational institutions, Islamic boarding schools (Pesantren) also have curricula¹. While some Pesantren adopt the curriculum concept as a set of written plans designed to achieve specific educational goals, many others rely on a curriculum that consists primarily of classical Islamic texts (*kitab kuning*), which serve as the core subjects of study within the Pesantren².

Although many Pesantren do not have a formally written curriculum, the materials taught, particularly classical Islamic texts (*kitab kuning*) and other Islamic studies, can be understood as a manifestation of the Pesantren's curriculum structure, or its structure of disciplines. According to Bruner, every discipline possesses its own structure³, which implies that even informal or unwritten curricula reflect an underlying framework. Through this structure, the ideological content of Pesantren education can be examined, including its orientation toward religious moderation.

Religious moderation in Pesantren reflects a balanced approach to Islamic teachings, emphasizing tolerance, peaceful coexistence, and rejection of extremism. Through their curriculum and daily practices, Pesantren help shape Santri into individuals who uphold harmony and contribute positively to society.

¹ Mohammad Asrori, "Pengembangan Kurikulum Bahasa Arab Di Pesantren" (UIN Maliki Press, 2013), 25, <http://repository.uin-malang.ac.id/1343/>.

² Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *The Pesantren Tradition: A Study of the Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of the Traditional Ideology of Islam in Java* (The Australian National University (Australia), 1980), <https://search.proquest.com/openview/d767233e864f33d7fc7cdd9ad691863a/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=2026366&diss=y>

³ Mohamad Ansyar, *Kurikulum: Hakikat, Fondasi, Desain Dan Pengembangan* (Prenada Media, 2017), https://books.google.com/books?hl=id&lr=&id=Rm_IDwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=ansyar+kurikulum&ots=unowral8xk&sig=UmzIENw_BthMHU11nK0XoxElhsk.

Understanding the ideological orientation of Islamic boarding schools (Pesantren) in Indonesia is important, particularly in the context of growing concern about the issues of radicalism and terrorism. The urgency is underscored by a report from the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT), which identified 198 Pesantrens suspected of having affiliation with a terrorist network⁴.

The relationship between Islamic boarding schools (Pesantren) and issues of radicalism and terrorism has drawn attention, particularly when individuals involved in acts of terrorism have claimed to be alumni of specific Pesantren. These claims have raised questions about the ideological content and vulnerability of certain Pesantren to radical influences. Supporting this concern, the Head of the State Intelligence Agency (BIN) has acknowledged that some Pesantren may be susceptible to infiltration by radical ideas⁵, which could distort the image of Pesantren itself.

On the other hand, from the various negative issues about Islamic boarding schools that have developed recently, Indonesia's historical reality demonstrates that many of the nation's founding figures emerged from the circle of Islamic scholars (ulama), many of whom were educated in Pesantren. Mastuki HS highlights the significant role of Pesantren in shaping the nation, particularly through the social mobility and civic engagement of Santri (Islamic boarding school students), who have contributed to various sectors of society⁶.

However, to critically examine the ideological content of Islamic boarding schools (Pesantren), whether it aligns with or diverges from radical and terrorist ideologies, it is scientifically necessary to investigate the curriculum structure implemented within the institution. Through these analyses, the fundamental question of whether Pesantren has a direct or indirect relationship with radicalism and terrorism can be addressed in a scientifically grounded manner.

Several studies have tried to explore the fundamental issue about religious moderation of Pesantren across Indonesia. Luthfiansyah Hadi Ismail conducted a study about the religious Moderation in the Pesantren Environment, focusing on the Experience of Pesantren in West Bandung, West Java. Another research conducted by M. Redha Anshari, et al. which highlighted the religious Moderation in Islamic Boarding Schools. This research was conducted at one of the Islamic boarding schools in Central Kalimantan. Saddam Husain also conducted research to address Islamic Moderation Values in Pesantren, underlining a Case Study at Ma'had Aly As'adiyah Sengkang, Wajo Regency, South Sulawesi. These and other studies contribute to a growing body of knowledge that seeks to understand the ideological orientation of Pesantren in relation to religious moderation.

However, the previous research related to religious moderation and Pesantren has not yet captured the curriculum structure of Pesantren as a whole. The focus of the existing research only addresses more on the phenomena occurring in Pesantren as the output. Meanwhile, researches on the curriculum structure of Pesantren, both written and unwritten, should be able to see the

⁴ Kemenag, "BNPT Sebut 198 Pesantren Terafiliasi Kelompok Teroris, Ini Penjelasan Kemenag," <https://kemenag.go.id>, accessed June 30, 2024, <https://kemenag.go.id/pers-rilis/bnpt-sebut-198-Pesantren-terafiliasi-kelompok-teroris-ini-penjelasan-kemenag-s620vy>

⁵ Kepala BIN Akui Ada Masjid Dan Pesantren Terpapar Radikalisme," accessed June 30, 2024, <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20180606192622-20-304100/kepala-bin-akui-ada-masjid-dan-Pesantren-terpapar-radikalisme>.

⁶ Mastuki Hs, "Kebangkitan Santri Cendekia Jejak Historis, Basis Sosial Dan Persebarannya," *Tangerang Selatan: Pustaka Compass*, 2016

relationship between Pesantren and religious moderation more comprehensively and systematically⁷. So that the values of moderation implemented within Pesantren are the result of a coherent curriculum system.

Therefore, the researcher aims to examine Pesantren through its curriculum structure. This study is expected to contribute to a deeper understanding of religious moderation within Pesantren. Unlike previous research that focuses on different locations, this study will center on the Pesantren in Madura as the research location. These Pesantrens have been deeply rooted in the region and widely established for centuries.⁸ Based on such background, this research focuses on exploring the curriculum structure of Pondok Pesantren in Madura from the perspective of religious moderation.

2. Methods

This study falls under the category of qualitative filed research. The curriculum structure of Pesantren remains insufficiently defined, both in existing government regulations and in prior research findings. With this ambiguity, a qualitative approach becomes more appropriate for exploring the subject in depth. Meanwhile, researcher uses content analysis to analyze the Pesantren curriculum based on the set of educational materials, teaching structures, and learning objectives embedded within the instructional content used in Islamic boarding schools. This includes written curriculum documents, syllabi, textbooks (such as classical Islamic texts), or pedagogical practices that reflect the values, themes, and goals of religious education. Through content analysis, these elements are examined to uncover how concepts like religious moderation are integrated and conveyed within the curriculum framework.

According to Mudjia Raharjo, content analysis is a research method in the social sciences and humanities. This method tries to understand the content of the text by seeing it as a symbolic phenomenon, not just a collection of stories or events that are not related to each other. More specifically, content analysis is used to analyze the content of the text as a whole, with an emphasis on how the symbols present in the communication are read in social interaction. The location of this research encompasses the Islamic boarding schools (Pesantren) across the island of Madura, which is part of the East Java province. Situated in the northern region of East Java province, Madura consists of four regencies: Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep. The researcher visited selected Pesantren research sites in Madura, which were chosen using purposive sampling.

The study focuses on traditional Islamic boarding schools (*Pesantren Salaf*), including both newly established and those with long-standing presence and significant influence within the community. Using purposive sampling, the researcher selected one Pesantren from each regency, with each institution representing a different period of establishment in its respective area. The selection of these locations aims to ensure that the curriculum structure of the Pesantrens exhibits similarities or shared characteristics. Although some of the selected Pesantrens are relatively new, their curriculum structures are expected to reflect element found in long-established institutions that have become the central and influential within Madurese Pesantren tradition.

⁷Syarifah et al., "Development of the 2013 Curriculum in Integrated Islamic Schools and the Distinctive Curriculum of SMPIT Al Uswah Bangil," *TADRIS: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 19, no. 1 (July 1, 2024): 76–88, doi:10.19105/tjpi.v19i1.10324.

⁸Mohammad Kosim, "Pondok Pesantren Di Pamekasan (Pertumbuhan Dan Perkembangan)," *Pamekasan, STAIN Pamekasan*, 2002.

The data collection techniques employed in this study consist of three methods: observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation analysis. The documentation includes written materials, field notes, photographs, classical Islamic textbooks, and other relevant records. To ensure the validity of the data, to cross-check findings from multiple perspectives, and to reduce potential bias in data interpretation, this study uses the triangulation technique. The triangulation applied includes source triangulation, technique triangulation, and theory triangulation.

3. Result and Discussion

3.1. Curriculum Structure of Pesantren in Madura

To address the research focus: the curriculum structure of Pondok Pesantren in Madura from the perspective of religious moderation, the researcher presents data drawn from four selected Pesantrens. The data reveal that the curriculum structures of Islamic boarding schools (pondok pesantren) in the four regencies of Madura share a consistent pattern and framework.

The curriculum structure of Pesantren in Madura shows a consistent pattern in both learning materials and teaching methods. All Pesantrens in the region use classical Islamic texts (*kitab turats*) as the main source of instruction. The teaching method commonly applied is *talaqqi*, where a Kiai, Lora, or Ustadz reads the text directly to the students. In practice, the Arabic text is read aloud, translated into Madurese, and then explained briefly with practical examples to help students understand the content in a meaningful and contextual way.

The similarity in the curriculum structure of Islamic boarding schools (Pondok Pesantren) in Madura is reflected in the core disciplines taught. Three main areas of study dominate the educational focus: *Aqidah* (theology), *Fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), and *Akhlak* (ethics). Other subjects, such as linguistic tools (*ilmu alat/qawaid*), history, and additional fields, are primarily emphasized within the Madrasah system, which is also managed by the Pesantren.

To provide a deeper perspective on the curriculum structure data of Pesantren in Madura, the researcher presents an overview of the curriculum structures from four Pesantren selected as the object of this study.

3.1.1 Al-Usymuni Islamic Boarding School in Sumenep

The following section presents interview data from Moh. Lutfi, a teacher at the Wustho level of Miftahul Ulum School, which is administered by the Al-Usymuni Islamic Boarding School in Terate, Pandian, Sumenep⁹, and from Umam, a teacher at the Ibtida'iyah level Miftahul Ulum Madrasah of the Al-Usymuni Islamic Boarding School¹⁰, in terms of the curriculum structure applied at the Al-Usymuni Islamic Boarding School.

From a curriculum perspective, this Islamic boarding school has adopted a modern curriculum framework, in which all the instructional materials are systematically written and scheduled. Despite its structured approach, the curriculum content remains rooted in classical Islamic books (*kitab kuning*). These books touch on some key areas such as *Aqidah* (theology/creed), *Fiqh* (jurisprudence), and *Akhlaq* (ethics/morals).

The insights provided by two teaching staff members further reinforce the interview data collected by the researcher from Lora Ahmad Robeith Al-Faroh, M.H., the Head of the Al-Usymuni Islamic Boarding School, during an interview conducted on May 6, 2023. The discussion focused on the curriculum structure

⁹ Moh. Luthfi, Interview, Agustus 2023.

¹⁰ Umam, Interview, Agustus 2023.

implemented at the Al-Usymuni Islamic Boarding School, Terate, Pandian, Sumenep. In addition to the previously mentioned classical Islamic texts, the curriculum also includes specialized study in auxiliary science, such as *Nahwu* (Arabic grammar) and *Shorrof* (Arabic morphology), which support students' comprehension of foundational Islamic literature. To verify the book study activities at the Al-Usymuni Islamic Boarding School, as described during the interview, the researcher conducted direct on-site observations at the boarding school.

Based on the observation findings, book study activities at the Al-Usymuni Islamic Boarding School are conducted in classroom settings where an *Ustaz* (teacher) leads the reading and interpretation of the books. The spatial arrangement is organized based on the students' grade levels in the Madrasah (Islamic school), ranging from Grade 1 to Grade 6. Furthermore, the texts studied at each level vary and are tailored to match the students' respective levels of comprehension and intellectual development. In addition to the interview and observation data previously discussed, the researcher also collected documentation data. This includes photographs of the book covers along with schedules and other relevant institutional documents.

Based on the data presented above, the curriculum at the Al-Usymuni Islamic Boarding School in Pandian, Sumenep consists of three main fields: aqeedah(theology/creed), fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), and akhlaq (ethics/morals).

Based on the data presented, the curriculum at Al-Usymuni Islamic Boarding School in Pandian, Sumenep, is organized into three primary fields of Islamic knowledge: Aqeedah (theology/creed), *Fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), and *Akhlaq* (ethics/morals). Each field is supported by a selection of classical Islamic texts (Turats) that serve as the core study materials for students at various levels. The organized curriculum is presented Table 1.

Table 1. Curriculum Structure of Al-Usymuni Islamic Boarding School, Sumenep

Field of Study	Names of Turats Textbook
Aqidah (theology/creed)	1. At-Tauhid 2. Aqidatul Awam 3. Tijan ad-Darari 4. Nazhm Kharidatul Bahiyah 5. Jawahir Kalamiyah 6. Kifayatul Awam
Fiqh (Islamic Jurisprudence)	1. Adzkarus Shalat & Fashalatan 2. Safinatus Shalat 3. Tuhfatul Mubtadi'in 4. Fathul Qarib 5. Sullam Tawfiq
Akhlaq (ethics/morals)	1. Muntakhabat 1st and 2nd 2. Taysir al-Khallaq 3. Tahliyah wa Targhib 4. Ta'limul Muta'allim

It can be seen in Table 1 that in the field of aqeedah, Al-Usymuni Islamic Boarding School uses classical Islamic books such as *At-Tauhid*, *Aqeedatul Awam*, *Tijan ad-Darari*, *Nazdam Kharidatul Bahiyah*, *Jawahir Kalamiyah*, and *Kifayatul Awam*. These works provide foundational theological principles rooted in the Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah tradition. In the field of Fiqh, Al-Usymuni Islamic

Boarding School uses classical Islamic books such as *Adzkarus Shalat wa Fashalatan*, *Safinatus Shalat*, *Tuhfatul Muftadi'in*, *Fathul Qarib*, and *Sullam Tawfiq*. These texts cover essential jurisprudential topics, particularly in worship practices, and are tailored to the students' level of understanding. And in the field of Akhlak, Al-Usymuni Islamic Boarding School uses classical Islamic books such as *Muntakhabat 1 and 2*, *Taysir al-Khallaq*, *Tahliyah wa Targhib*, and *Ta'limul Muta'allim*. These books emphasize moral development, character building, and the etiquette of seeking knowledge, reflecting the holistic educational goals of the Pesantren.

3.1.2. Miftahul Ulum Islamic Boarding School BettetPamekasan

The following section present interview data from three sources: Interview with Mr. Khairun Nizar, a teacher (ustadz) at the Miftahul Ulum Islamic Boarding School in Bettet, Pamekasan, regarding the curriculum structure at the Miftahul Ulum Islamic Boarding School¹¹, interview with Jamaluddin, a teacher (ustadz) at the Miftahul Ulum Islamic Boarding School¹², and with Fani Dwi Sofyan, an alumni of this Miftahul Ulum Islamic boarding school about the process of learning the books at the Miftahul Ulum Islamic Boarding School¹³. An additional interview was conducted to strengthen the validity of the findings through data triangulation.

In addition to the interview data, the researcher conducted on-site observations at the Miftahul Ulum Islamic boarding school in Bettet, Pamekasan, to directly observe the implementation of *kitab kuning* (classical Islamic book) learning within the educational environments.

The observation findings indicate that the learning activities at the Miftahul Ulum Islamic boarding school are well documented and the implementation of book study align with the curriculum as previously described during the interview. The titles of the books used in instruction correspond with those mentioned in the earlier interview with Mr. Khairun Nizar. Book study sessions are scheduled throughout the morning, afternoon, evening, and night. The Book study sessions are systematically organized according to class levels, with designated books, assigned teachers, specific locations, and predetermined times.

In addition to the interview and observation data previously discussed, the researcher also collected documentation data. This includes the schedule and curriculum table posted in the boarding school office, along with other relevant institutional documents.

Based on the data presented above, the books that constitute the core study materials within the curriculum structure of Miftahul Ulum Islamic Boarding School in Bettet, Pamekasan, are presented in Table 2.

Tabel 2. Curriculum Structure of Miftahul Ulum Islamic Boarding School, Pamekasan

Field of Study	Names of Turats Textbook
Aqidah (theology/creed)	1. Aqaid Al-Khomsin, 2. Aqidatu Al-Awam, 3. Aqidatu Al-Tauhid, 4. Al-Samarqandi, 5. Khoridatul Bahiyah
Fiqh	(Islamic 1. Azdkar al-Sholat,

¹¹ Khairun Nizar, Interview, Mei 2023.

¹² Jamaluddin, Interview, Agustus 2023.

¹³ Fani Dwi Sofyan, Observation, Agustus 2023.

Field of Study	Names of Turats Textbook
Jurisprudence)	2. Al-Diyanah, Nadzam 3. Al-Safinah, al-Mabadi' 4. al-Fiqhiyah, 5. Sullamu al-Taufiq, 6. Fathu al-Qorib, 7. al-Faraidhu al-Bahiyah, 8. Tuhfatu al-Thullab, 9. Al-Waraqaat, 10. Al-Asybah wa al-Nadzaair, 11. Ghayatu al-Wushul
Akhlaq (ethics/morals)	1. Tarbiyatu al-Shibyan, 2. Washaya, 3. Ta'limu al-Muta'allim, 4. Syarhu al-Bidayah, 5. Kifayatu al-Adzkiya, 6. Minhaju al-Sholihin, 7. Minhaju al-'Abidin

Based on Table 2, Miftahul Ulum Islamic Boarding School, in the field of Aqidah (theology), uses classical Islamic books such as *Aqaid Al-Khomsiiin*, *Aqeedatu Al-Awam*, *Aqidatu Al-Tauhid*, *Al-Samarqandi*, and *KhoridatulBahiyah*. These works provide foundational knowledge of Islamic creed and theological principles rooted in the Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah tradition. In the field of Fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), Miftahul Ulum Islamic Boarding School uses classical Islamic books such as *Azdkar al-Sholat*, *Al-Diyanah*, *Nadzam Al-Safinah*, *al-Mabadi' al-Fiqhiyah*, *Sullamu al-Taufiq*, *Fathu al-Qorib*, *al-Faraidhu al-Bahiyah*, *Tuhfatu al-Thullab*, *Al-Waraqaat*, *Al-Asybahwa al-Nadzaair*, and *Ghayatu al-Wushul*. These books cover various aspects of Islamic law, including worship, legal theory, and jurisprudential principles. In the field of Akhlak (ethics), Miftahul Ulum Islamic Boarding School uses classical Islamic books such as *Tarbiyatu al-Shibyan*, *Washaya*, *Ta'limu al-Muta'allim*, *Syarhu al-Bidayah*, *Kifayatu al-Adzkiya*, *Minhaju al-Sholihin*, and *Minhaju al-'Abidin*. These works emphasize moral conduct, spiritual refinement, and the etiquette of seeking knowledge.

Meanwhile, Arabic language instruction is structured progressively across educational levels. In the 5th grade of primary school (Ibtidaiyah), students begin their grammar studies with *Nahwul Wadih*, a foundational text that introduces basic syntactic concepts. In the 6th grade of primary school (Ibtidaiyah), they advance to *Jurumiyyah Qailani*, a concise and widely used primer in *nahwu* (Arabic syntax). At the 1st grade of secondary school (Tsanawiyah), students study *Imrithi* and *Maqsud*, in which offer deeper grammatical analysis. By the 2nd and 3rd grade of secondary school (Tsanawiyah), students study *Alfiyah*, a comprehensive and poetic grammar text.

3.1.3. Darul Iman Islamic Boarding School, Omben, Sampang

On Wednesday, August 2nd, 2023, the researcher conducted a direct interview with Kiai Hasan Asnawi, the head master of Darul Iman Islamic Boarding School, Langgar Sumber, Omben, Sampang, to collect data regarding the curriculum structure implemented at the Darul Iman Islamic Boarding School¹⁴.

On the following day, on Thursday, August 3rd, 2023, the researcher conducted on-site observation in collaboration with Lora M. Kholilurrahman who serves both as the head of the boarding school and a teacher at the Darul Iman Islamic Boarding School¹⁵. From the results of the observation, Table 3 shows its curriculum.

Table 3. Curriculum Structure of Darul Iman Islamic Boarding School, Sampang

Field of Study	Names of Turats Textbook
Aqidah (theology/creed)	1. Aqidul Khomsin 2. Aqidatul Awam 3. Aqidatul Islamiyah 4. Khoridatul Bahiyah 5. Kifayatul Awam 6. Addasuqi Ala Ummil Barahin
Fiqh (Islamic Jurisprudence)	1. Azdkar al-Sholat, 2. Al-Diyanah, Nadzam 3. Al-Safinah, al-Mabadi' 4. al-Fiqhiyah, 5. Sullamu al-Taufiq, 6. Fathu al-Qorib, 7. al-Faraidhu al-Bahiyah, 8. Tuhfatu al-Thullab, 9. Al-Waraqaat, 10. Al-Asybah wa al-Nadzaair, 11. Ghayatu al-Wushul
Akhlaq (ethics/morals)	1. Adabul Ahwal 2. Adabul Mu'asyarat 3. Risalah Bintang Nanggeleh 4. Ta'lim Muta'allim

In addition to the interview and observation data previously discussed, the researcher also collected documentation data. This includes photographs, curriculum documents, and other relevant institutional documents of Darul Iman Islamic Boarding School, Omben, Sampang.

Based on the data presented in Table 3, the curriculum at the Darul Iman Islamic Boarding School incorporates a range of classical Islamic texts across three core disciplines: Aqidah (theology), Fiqh (Islamic Jurisprudence), and Akhlaq (ethics/morals). In the field of Aqidah (theology), Darul Iman Islamic Boarding School uses classical Islamic books such as *Aqidul Khomsin*, *Aqeedatul Awam*, *Aqeedatul Islamiyah*, *Khoridatul Bahiyah*, *Kifayatul Awam*, and *Addasuqi Ala Ummil Barahin*. These works provide foundational knowledge of Islamic creed, emphasizing the attributes of God, the prophets, and core tenets of faith within the Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah tradition. In the field of Fiqh (Islamic

¹⁴Asnawi, Interview, Agustus 2023.

¹⁵Hasan Asnawi, Observation, Agustus 2023.

Jurisprudence), Darul Iman Islamic Boarding School uses classical Islamic books such as *Mabadiul Fiqhiyah* Parts 1-4, *Safinatun Najah*, *Sullamut Taufiq*, *Fathul Qarib*, *Bajuri* Parts 1-2, and *Fathul Mu'in*. These books cover essential topics in worship, legal rulings, and foundational principles of the Shafi'i school of thought. In the field of Akhlaq (ethics/morals), Darul Iman Islamic Boarding School uses classical Islamic books such as *Adabul Ahwal*, *Adabul Mu'asyarat*, *Risalah Bintang Nangeleh*, and *Ta'lim Muta'allim*. These works emphasize proper conduct, etiquette in social interactions, and the spiritual discipline required of students in the pursuit of knowledge.

3.1.4. Ad-Dasuqi Islamic Boarding School, Bangkalan

Meanwhile, at the Ad-Dasuqi Islamic Boarding School located in Pakerengan, Tanjung Bumi, Bangkalan Regency, the researcher obtained data through a direct interview with Lora Nawawi, the caretaker of the institution¹⁶. The findings revealed that the curriculum at Ad-Dasuqi Islamic Boarding School is based on classical Islamic texts (turats), which are studied routinely as part of the students' daily learning activities.

The data collected from the interview was further substantiated by the researcher's on-site observation at Ad-Dasuqi Islamic Boarding School on August 3rd, 2023. During the morning session, students were seen gathering in the mosque of the boarding school. Each student was carrying classical Islamic texts (kitab kuning). They attentively participated in a book study session led by Lora Nawawi. The texts studied during this session included *Al-Mabadi' al-Fiqhiyyah*, a foundational work in Islamic jurisprudence, and *Fathul Qarib*, a well-known commentary on *Matan Abu Syuja* within the Shafi'i school of law.

In the afternoon, following the noon (dhuhur) prayer, a scheduled book study session was conducted by one of the teachers (*ustadz*) at Ad-Dasuqi Islamic Boarding School. The session began at approximately 1:00 PM and took place in the Madin (Islamic school) building. During this one-hour session, students studied *Aqidatul Awam* and *Kifayatul Awam*, two classical texts in Islamic theology (*aqidah*) that are widely used in traditional Pesantren education to instill foundational beliefs.

In the afternoon, following the Asr (afternoon) prayer, students at Ad-Dasuqi Islamic Boarding School participate in a book study session focused on Fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence). The session is led by KH. Abdurrasyid Mastur, the principal caretaker of the boarding school, and takes place in the mosque. The texts studied during this one-hour session include *Safinatun Najah*, *Sullam at-Taufiq*, and *Safinatus Shalat*. These classical works provide foundational knowledge on ritual practices, legal rulings, and the principles of worship within the Shafi'i school of thought¹⁷.

Based on the data obtained through triangulation techniques, including interviews, direct observations, and documentation conducted at different times, it can be concluded that the curriculum at Ad-Dasuqi Islamic Boarding School is fundamentally rooted in classical Islamic texts (kitab kuning) as shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Curriculum Structure Ad-Dasuqi Islamic Boarding School Bangkalan

Field of Study	Names of Turats Textbook
Aqidah (theology/creed)	1. Aqidatul awam
	2. Kifayatul Awam
Fiqh (Islamic	1. Azdkar al-Sholat,

¹⁶ Nawawi, Interview, Mei 2023

¹⁷ Abdurrasyid Mastur, Observation, Agustus 2023.

Field of Study	Names of Turats Textbook
Jurisprudence)	2. Al-Diyanah, Nadzam 3. Al-Safinah, al-Mabadi' 4. al-Fiqhiyah, 5. Sullamu al-Taufiq, 6. Fathu al-Qorib, 7. al-Faraidhu al-Bahiyah, 8. Tuhfatu al-Thullab, 9. Al-Waraqaat, 10. Al-Asybah wa al-Nadzaair, 11. Ghayatu al-Wushul
Akhlaq (ethics/morals)	1. Adabul Ahwal 2. Adabul Mu'asyarot 3. Risalah Bintang Nanggeleh 4. Ta'lim Muta'allim

The curriculum structure is organized into three primary domains of Islamic knowledge: Aqidah (theology), Fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), and Akhlaq (morals). In the field of Aqidah (theology), Ad-Dasuqi Islamic Boarding School uses classical Islamic books such as *Aqidatul Awam*, a poetic primer on Islamic creed composed by Imam Ahmad al-Marzuqi, and *Kifayatul Awam*, a more advanced treatise on *Ilm al-Kalam* authored by Shaykh Muhammad al-Fudhali. In the field of Fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), students' study *Safinatus Shalat*, *Fathul Qarib*, and *Fathul Mu'in*. These texts cover essential aspects of ritual worship and legal rulings within the Shafi'i school, with *Fathul Mu'in* being a detailed commentary on *Qurratul Ain* by Ahmad al-Malibari. In the field of Akhlaq (morals), students study *Ta'limul Muta'allim* by Imam al-Zarnuji, which serves as the core text, emphasizing the moral conduct, etiquette, and spiritual discipline required of students in their pursuit of knowledge.

3.2. The Values of Religious Moderation in the Pesantren Curriculum Structure in Madura

The researcher presents the data and analysis derived from the findings on the curriculum structure of Islamic boarding schools (pondok Pesantren) in Madura, as discussed in the previous sub-chapter.

Among the three core subject areas identified within the curriculum structure of Pesantren in Madura, this study focuses exclusively on the theological domain of Aqidah (creed). Although the fields of fiqh (jurisprudence) and akhlaq (ethics) are closely intertwined with the selected Aqidah content, the primary emphasis of this research lies in examining the ideological dimensions embedded within the Pesantren curriculum.

The previously presented data on the curriculum structure of Pesantren in Madura reveal the presence of religious moderation values. These values are reflected in the content of the classical texts (kitab turats) taught across the institutions, which emphasize balanced theological interpretations, ethical conduct, and inclusive religious understanding.

In analyzing the values of religious moderation embedded within the teaching materials of the pesantren curriculum structure in Madura, this study adopts the theoretical framework of religious moderation as outlined by the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. The framework is based on the publication *Religious Moderation*, compiled by the Research, Development, and Training Agency of the Ministry in 2020.

The concept of religious moderation referred to in this study encompasses a mindset, attitude, and religious practice within communal life that reflects the essence of religious teachings, upholds humanitarian principles, and promotes peace and virtue. This approach is grounded in the foundational values of *tawassuth* (moderation), *tawazun* (balance), and *i'tidal* (justice), as articulated in the framework developed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia¹⁸.

The principle of *tawassuth* is essentially synonymous with moderation, as the term itself denotes a balanced and middle-ground approach. It refers to a moderate stance that avoids extremes—neither excessively rigid nor fundamentalist, nor overly permissive or liberal. This principle serves as a foundational value in promoting religious attitudes that are inclusive, contextual, and aligned with the spirit of peaceful coexistence¹⁹.

The principle of *tawazun* (balance) in Islam, as a core value of religious moderation, emphasizes the importance of maintaining equilibrium in various aspects of human life. It entails providing proportional attention to both material (*maadiyah*) and spiritual (*ruhiyah*) needs, balancing individual (*fardiyah*) and communal (*jama'iyah*) responsibilities, and harmonizing between reality (*waqi'iyah*) and ideality (*mitsaliyah*). Furthermore, it reflects the dynamic interplay between stability (*al-tsabat*) and change (*al-taghayyur*)²⁰.

The principle of *i'tidal* as a value of religious moderation refers to an attitude that upholds fairness, integrity, and uprightness within communal life²¹. It reflects a commitment to just and constructive behavior, consistently aligning with groups that promote balance and avoid any form of extremism, whether in thought, action, or interpretation. This principle serves as a moral compass that guides individuals toward moderation, inclusivity, and social harmony.

The teaching materials used in the curriculum structure of Pesantren in Madura explicitly and implicitly reflect three core principles of religious moderation: *tawassuth* (moderation), *tawazun* (balance), and *i'tidal* (justice)²² as shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Religious moderation embedded in teaching materials used in the curriculum structure of Pesantren in Madura

Pesantren	Textbook (Turats)	Ideological Orientation
Ad-Dasuqi, Bangkalan	-Aqidatul Awam -Kifayatul Awam	Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah which promotes a middle path (<i>wasathiyyah</i>) and encourages <i>tasamuh</i> (tolerance), <i>tawazun</i>

¹⁸Tim Penyusun Kementerian Agama RI, "Moderasi Beragama," Jakarta: Badan Litbang Dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI, 2019, https://balitbangdiklat.kemenag.go.id/upload/files/Moderasi_Beragama_di_Tengah_Isu_Kontemporer.pdf.

¹⁹Muhammad Thohir, Taufik Siradj, and Nur Arfiyah Febriani, "Modul Konsep Tawassuth, Tawazun Dan Tasamuh 3.2," Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Islam Kementerian Agama Republik Indonesia, 2023, 21.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 50–51.

²¹Imam Syafei et al., "Development of a Moderation-Based Islamic Education Learning Model in Efforts to Strengthen Student Tolerance at Public Universities in Lampung and Banten Provinces," *TADRIS: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 17, no. 2 (November 16, 2022): 335–47, doi:10.19105/tjpi.v17i2.7030.

²²"Nilai Moderasi: I'tidal – Tegak Lurus ~ GURU PELOPOR MODERASI," accessed June 30, 2024, <https://www.gupaymoderasi.com/2021/11/nilai-moderasi-itidal-tegak-lurus.html>.

		(balance), and i'tidal (justice) in social and religious life
Al-Usymuni, Sumenep	-Aqidatul Awam -Tijan ad-Darari, -Kharidah al-Bahiyyah, -Jawahir Kalamiyah, -Kifayatul Awam	Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah which promotes a middle path (wasathiyyah) and encourages tasamuh (tolerance), tawazun (balance), and i'tidal (justice) in social and religious life
Miftahul Ulum, Pamekasan	-Aqaid Al-Khomsin -Aqidatu Al-Awam -Aqidatu Al-Tauhid -Al-Samarqandi -KhoridatulBahiyah	Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah which promotes a middle path (wasathiyyah) and encourages tasamuh (tolerance), tawazun (balance), and i'tidal (justice) in social and religious life
Darul Iman, Sampang	-Aqaidul Khomsin -Aqidatul Awam -Aqidatul Islamiyah -Khoridatul Bahiyah -Kifayatul Awam -Addasuqi Ala Ummil Barahin.	Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah which promotes a middle path (wasathiyyah) and encourages tasamuh (tolerance), tawazun (balance), and i'tidal (justice) in social and religious life

The findings of this research also reinforce the results of previous studies conducted in Pesantren across various regions of Indonesia concerning religious moderation. Notably, a study by Manshuruddin et al., conducted in Java, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi, has been published in the book *Religious Moderation Based on Islamic Boarding Schools*, which highlights the role of Pesantren in cultivating moderate religious attitudes. Similar studies, such as "The Values of Islamic Moderation in Islamic Boarding Schools" have also been widely undertaken and collectively contribute to a growing body of literature that affirms the Pesantren's strategic role in religious moderation²³.

3.3. The Content of Religious Moderation in the Curriculum Structure of Islamic Boarding Schools

The integration of religious moderation within the curriculum structure of Islamic boarding schools (Pesantren) in Madura is reflected in their selection of classical Islamic texts (kitab kuning) for theological instruction (aqidah). All Pesantren examined in this study consistently employ texts rooted in the Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah tradition, with a particular emphasis on the Ash'ariyah school of thought. Among the commonly used texts is Aqidatul Awam (Kifayatul Awam). The researcher chooses Aqidatul Awam (Kifayatul Awam) as the object of analysis of its content as a foundational reference for conveying balanced and moderate theological principles.

Based on the researcher's review of the content of Aqidah al-'Awam (Kifayatul 'Awam), several theological perspectives were identified that reflect the core values of religious moderation. The value of religious moderation is the concept of Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah (Aswaja), which is formulated by classical

²³Bina Prima Panggayuh et al., "Innovation Of Religious Moderation Education In Muhammadiyah 2 Senior High School Surabaya," *TADRIS: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 17, no. 2 (November 16, 2022): 394–411, doi:10.19105/tjpi.v17i2.7043.

scholars and encompasses the Ash'ari and Maturidi schools of theology, the four recognized schools of Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh), and the spiritual teachings rooted in the Sufi traditions of al-Junayd al-Baghdadi and al-Ghazali"²⁴.

Several theological perspectives identified in Aqidah al-'Awam (Kifayatul 'Awam) are shown below in Table 6.

Table 6. Religious moderation embedded in Turats Aqidatul 'Awam (Kifayatul 'Awam) is used in the curriculum structure of Pesantren in Madura

Aspects	Explanation	Moderation Principle
Doctrinal Framework	Follows Abu Hasan al-Ash'ari's theology, central to Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah (Aswaja)	<i>Tawassuth</i> (moderation)
Position in Islamic Thought	Mediates between Mu'tazilah (rationalist) and Kharijites (literalist); balances Jabariyyah and Qadariyyah	<i>Tawazun</i> (balance)
Rejection of Anthropomorphism	Avoids attributing human features (e.g., face, hands) to Allah; affirms divine transcendence	<i>Tanzih</i> (purity of God's nature)
Avoidance of Tawhid Mu'allaqah	Does not suspend monotheism in abstract speculation; maintains clarity and accessibility	<i>Wasathiyyah</i> (middle path)
Ash'ariyah Emphasis	Promotes theological restraint and rational faith; avoids extremes in interpretation	<i>I'tidal</i> (uprightness)

The findings, in Table 6, of the analysis on Aqidatul 'Awam (Kifayatul 'Awam) reveal its adherence to the theological framework of Abu Hasan al-Ash'ari, a school widely recognized for its moderate stance within Islamic thought. The Ash'ari school represents a middle path between the rationalist tendencies of the Mu'tazilah and the literalist rigidity of the Kharijites²⁵, as well as a balanced position between the determinism of the Jabariyyah and the free-will emphasis of the Qadariyyah²⁶. In practice, this theological orientation aligns with the broader understanding of Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah (Aswaja), which is embraced by the majority of the Muslim world (al-sawadu al-a'dzam). Historically and across civilizations, this tradition has consistently embodied the values of moderation, reflecting Islam's universal message as a mercy to all creation.

The conceptualization of Allah's attributes in Aqidatul 'Awam remains within rational limits and avoids both anthropomorphism and suspended

²⁴M. Yunus and et. all, *Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah Dalam NU* (Kairo: Said Agil Siradj Center, 2005), xiv.

²⁵Abu Hanifah Hanifah, "ALIRAN MU'TAZILAH DAN ASY-'ARIYAH," *At-Tabligh* 1, no. 1 (June 1, 2016): 1–13.

²⁶Redaksi, "Perbedaan Jabariyah, Qadariyah Dan Asy'ariyah," *Islami[Dot]Co*, January 2, 2020, <https://islami.co/perbedaan-jabariyah-qadariyah-dan-asyariyah/>.

monotheism (tawhid mu'allaqah). This doctrinal restraint reflects the principles of balance (tawazun) and piety (taqwa) that are central to religious moderation.

The term "anthropomorphic" refers to interpretations that attribute human characteristics to Allah, such as physical features like a face, hands, or feet, which contradict the Islamic doctrine of divine transcendence. In contrast, the attributes of Allah as presented in this text are spiritual and immaterial, entirely distinct from those of created beings. Aqidatul 'Awam does not contain any literalist or corporeal descriptions.

Similarly, the text rejects the notion of tawhid mu'allaqah, which portrays divine unity in an abstract and absolute form devoid of attributes such as greatness, knowledge, or will. While these attributes are essential for understanding divine reality, they must not be analogized to human traits. Instead, Aqidatul 'Awam affirms the doctrine of tawhid mu'ayyanyyah, which acknowledges the existence of divine attributes while maintaining their transcendence and non-resemblance to created beings. This balanced theological approach reinforces the text's alignment with the principles of religious moderation and the Ash'ariyah tradition.

3.4. Other Activities at Islamic Boarding Schools that Reflect Religious Moderation

The religious moderation of Islamic boarding schools (pondok Pesantren) in Madura is not only seen from the curriculum structure as described above, but several activities in the boarding schools also reflect religious moderation, such as sports, weekly discussions, annual problem-solving discussion sessions (bahtsulmasail), Jam'iyyah Ashari, Jam'iyyah al-Habshi, Majlis Sholawat, and public speaking training.

These activities are conducted within the premises of the Islamic boarding schools, including spaces, such as the prayer hall (musholla) and the school grounds. Their implementation reflects the openness and receptivity of Pesantren in Madura to cultural dialogue, artistic expression, performance, and the preservation of local wisdom.

The incorporation of diverse activities within the pesantren environment reflects the moderate and inclusive orientation adopted by these institutions. Rather than isolating them, the Pesantren actively demonstrate a willingness to engage with various dimensions of the local culture and community life.

The openness and embrace of pluralism demonstrated by Islamic boarding schools in Madura serve as key indicators of their commitment to religious moderation. This approach reflects their capacity to harmonize tradition with innovation, while actively promoting mutual understanding and peaceful coexistence within the broader social and cultural landscape.

4. Conclusion

Drawing upon the data presented, several key conclusions can be identified concerning the curriculum structure and the embodiment of religious moderation within Islamic boarding schools (Pesantren) in Madura.

The curriculum structure of Pesantren in Madura is primarily grounded on classical Islamic texts, commonly referred to as kitab kuning, which serve as the fundamental instructional materials. This curriculum encompasses three principal areas of study: Aqidah (creed), Fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), and Akhlaq (ethics). The aqeedah books, grounded in the Ash'ari school of thought, promote a moderate understanding of Islam, embodying the values of tawassuth, or

moderation. Texts such as Aqidatul 'Awam and Kifayatul 'Awam are closely aligned with the theological principles of Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jama'ah, which emphasize the values of tawassuth (moderation), tawazun (balance), and i'tidal (justice). These principles collectively represent the essence of religious moderation. Beyond the study of classical texts, students engage in various activities, including sports, weekly discussions, and annual problem-solving discussion sessions (bahtsul masa'il), all of which collectively demonstrate a commitment to religious moderation and the preservation of local cultural wisdom. The comprehensive implementations of this curriculum, along with its accompanying religious activities, illustrate a moderate approach and distance itself from extremist tendencies in religious practice.

Based on the findings of this study concerning the curriculum structure and the values of religious moderation in Islamic boarding schools (Pesantren) in Madura, several recommendations for future research can be proposed. Subsequent studies are encouraged to conduct a more in-depth analysis of the instructional content within each classical Islamic text employed, as well as to explore the practical implementation of moderation values in specific institutions. Expanding the sample to include a broader range of Pesantren types and geographic areas across Madura would offer a more representative understanding. Comparative research across regions is also essential to identify both differences and similarities in curriculum structures and moderation principles. Finally, future studies should consider evaluating the enactment of moderation values within non-academic activities as a critical area of inquiry.

Acknowledgements

We would like to extend our sincere gratitude to the four Pesantren in Madura that participated in this research: Al-Usymuni Islamic Boarding School, Sumenep, Miftahul Ulum Islamic Boarding School, Bettet, Pamekasan, Darul Iman Islamic Boarding School, Omben, Sampang, and Ad-Dasuqi Islamic Boarding School, Bangkalan. Their openness and willingness to share insights into their curriculum structures have been invaluable to our study. We appreciate the support and cooperation of the educators and students at each institution, whose contributions enriched our understanding of the values of moderation in religious education. This research would not have been possible without their dedication and commitment to fostering a more inclusive approach to learning.

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