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Mapping the Values of Religious Moderation in Indonesian Islamic Boarding Schools: A Systematic Literature Review (2020–2024)

Al Anhar[1], Mukhsin[2], Febri Amin Nurrohman[3], M. Khozinul Huda[4], Muhammad Ihsan Siregar[3]

[1] Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Tarbiyah Al-Mubarok Lampung Tengah, Indonesia
[2] Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Al-Falah Cicalengka Bandung, Indonesia
[3] Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Indonesia
[4] Universitas Muhammadiyah Cirebon, Indonesia

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Corresponding Author:
Mukhsin,
Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Al-Falah Cicalengka Bandung, Indonesia
mukhsin@staialfalah.ac.id

ABSTRACT

This study aims to identify and map the values of religious moderation implemented in Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) in Indonesia, as well as to describe the social orientation of these values within the context of community life. The method employed is a Systematic Literature Review (SLR) following the Kitchenham & Charters (2007) protocol, reported in accordance with the PRISMA 2020 guidelines. Article searches were conducted on Google Scholar and ScienceDirect databases for the period 2020–2024, using keywords such as religious moderation, Islamic boarding schools, and Islamic values. From an initial pool of 1,662 documents, following the screening and quality assessment stages, 27 articles were identified as relevant and meeting the inclusion criteria. The findings reveal 12 dominant values of religious moderation taught in pesantren, namely: *tasamuh* (tolerance), *tawazun* (balance), *i'tidal* (justice), *musawah* (equality), *tahaddur* (civility), *syura* (deliberation), *qudwah* (exemplary leadership), *ishlah* (reform), *muwathanah* (patriotism), *al-la'unf* (non-violence), *i'tiraf al-'urf* (cultural friendliness), and *tatawwur wa ibtikar* (dynamism and innovation). Collectively, these values are oriented toward strengthening four main indicators of religious moderation: national commitment, anti-violence, tolerance, and acceptance of local traditions. This study concludes that pesantren function not only as institutions for the transmission of Islamic scholarship but also as agents for reinforcing religious moderation through the character development of students (*santri*) who appreciate diversity. The contribution of this research lies in providing a comprehensive map of moderation values in pesantren, which can serve as a reference for policymakers and future studies.

INTRODUCTION

Religious moderation is a crucial approach to maintaining social harmony in Indonesia's pluralistic society. As a nation marked by religious and cultural diversity, Indonesia faces challenges of intolerance and radicalism that threaten social cohesion (Mahyudin et al., 2022). Islamic educational institutions, particularly *pondok pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools), play a strategic role as bastions of moderation values, given

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their historical function as centers of character education teaching tolerance and balance (Muhtarom et, al. 2020). However, despite extensive research on religious moderation in *pesantren*, systematic efforts to map specific values taught and their social orientation remain lacking.

Historically, moderation values have been integral to *pesantren* education long before the Ministry of Religious Affairs formally articulated the concept. As the archipelago's oldest Islamic educational institutions, *pesantren* have taught tolerance and balance through *fiqh al-ta'ayush* (jurisprudence of coexistence), developed since the Walisongo era (Azra, 2019). The Walisongo propagated Islam through cultural approaches respecting local traditions, shaping the moderate Islam Nusantara tradition that *pesantren* have inherited to the present day (Muntoha et. al, 2023).

Contemporary *pesantren* face complex challenges. Globalization and digital technology have brought massive information flows, including radical and intolerant religious content easily accessible to youth. This creates a digital religious ecosystem where *santri* (students) are exposed to both moderate teachings from their *Kiai* (religious leaders) and extremist content that may influence their perspectives on religion and national identity (Ramli, 2024). Rising political polarization and identity-based religious discourse have further fostered exclusivism and intolerance.

Pondok pesantren are unique among Islamic educational institutions due to their boarding system enabling intensive value internalization. Santri learn religious sciences and experience character formation through daily social interactions. This communal life makes *pesantren* effective social laboratories for instilling togetherness, tolerance, and mutual respect. With santri from diverse regions, ethnicities, and socioeconomic backgrounds, *pesantren* function as microcosms of Indonesia's diversity, strengthening multicultural understanding (Qodariyah et al., 2026).

The Indonesian government, through the Ministry of Religious Affairs, has made religious moderation a national priority. Policies include publishing the *Moderasi Beragama* book, establishing Religious Moderation Working Groups, and integrating moderation values into Islamic education curricula. *Pesantren* are strategic partners in mainstreaming moderation, evidenced by training programs for Kiai and incentives for pesantren implementing tolerance and nationalism values (Taufiq & Alkholid, 2021). However, implementation faces obstacles, including differing interpretations and resistance from groups perceiving moderation as liberalizing Islam.

Existing studies on religious moderation in Islamic educational institutions fall into three trends: (1) research in *pesantren* showing moderation fosters tolerance and shapes positive societal contributors (Qorib, 2022). (2) studies in schools and madrasahs revealing moderation teaches tolerance, mutual respect, and diversity understanding; and (3) Quranic and Hadith-based perspectives emphasizing balance and tolerance as fundamental teachings (Masturin, 2022).

While these studies offer significant contributions, most remain conceptual or limited to single case studies (Masykuri & Qodriyah, 2020; Sahri & Aziz, 2025). *Pesantren* research typically uses qualitative approaches offering rich local insights but limited generalizability. School and madrasah studies more frequently use quantitative or mixed methods, yet rarely explore specific moderation values taught and internalized (Masturin, 2022; Masykuri & Qodriyah, 2020; Ulum, 2021). Theological studies provide normative foundations but inadequately address implementation.

Notably, no research has employed the Systematic Literature Review (SLR) method to comprehensively identify and synthesize religious moderation values in *pesantren*. This article addresses this gap by conducting an SLR covering field studies in Indonesian

pesantren from 2020 to 2024. SLR was chosen for its capacity to systematically, transparently, and replicably identify, evaluate, and synthesize empirical evidence (Xiao & Watson, 2019). Enabling generalized conclusions from diverse primary studies (Barnett-Page & Thomas, 2009). Given the topic's examination across varied locations and methodologies, SLR is particularly appropriate for integrating findings into a cohesive framework.

This research offers three key novelties compared to previous studies: it is the first Systematic Literature Review (SLR) specifically examining religious moderation values in Indonesian *pondok pesantren*; it integrates value identification with analysis of their social orientation; and it employs a mixed approach combining thematic analysis and bibliometric methods. Practically, the findings inform policy evaluation for the Ministry of Religious Affairs, serve as a reflective tool for *Kiai* and *pesantren* caretakers, and provide a foundation for researchers to develop comparative studies or moderation-strengthening models grounded in local values. Based on the identified research gaps, this study aims to: (1) identify the values of religious moderation taught in *pondok pesantren*, and (2) analyze the orientation of these values within Indonesia's social context. The contribution of this research is to provide a comprehensive map of moderation values in *pesantren*, serving as a reference for policymakers, *Kiai*, and researchers in strengthening religious moderation within Islamic educational institutions.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study employed a qualitative Systematic Literature Review (SLR) approach, following the protocol established by Lame (2019) and reported in accordance with the PRISMA 2020 guidelines (Page et al., 2021). The SLR method was selected for its capacity to systematically and transparently identify, evaluate, and synthesize empirical evidence (Tranfield et al., 2003). Based on the identified research gaps, two research questions were formulated: (1) What are the values of religious moderation implemented in *pondok pesantren*? and (2) How are these values oriented within the Indonesian social context?

Literature searches were conducted in Google Scholar and ScienceDirect (2020–2024) using the Boolean string: ("moderasi beragama" OR "religious moderation" OR "wasathiyah") AND ("pondok pesantren" OR "pesantren" OR "Islamic boarding school") AND ("nilai" OR "value" OR "implementasi" OR "internalisasi"). Inclusion criteria were: (1) field studies in *pesantren*; (2) addressing religious moderation values; (3) journal articles, proceedings, or theses; (4) published 2020–2024; (5) Indonesian or English; and (6) full-text available. Exclusion criteria included conceptual studies, irrelevant studies, duplicates, and unavailable full-text.

The selection followed PRISMA 2020 (Figure 1). Of 1,662 initial documents, duplicates were removed (n=1,541), followed by title/abstract screening (n=142), and full-text reading, yielding 27 final articles. Each article was assessed using four quality criteria: (1) clarity of objectives, (2) methodological appropriateness, (3) primary data use, and (4) analytical credibility. All 27 scored ≥9/12 and were deemed eligible. Data were extracted using a standardized form and analyzed thematically. Bibliometric analysis was performed using Publish or Perish and VOSviewer to map keyword trends.

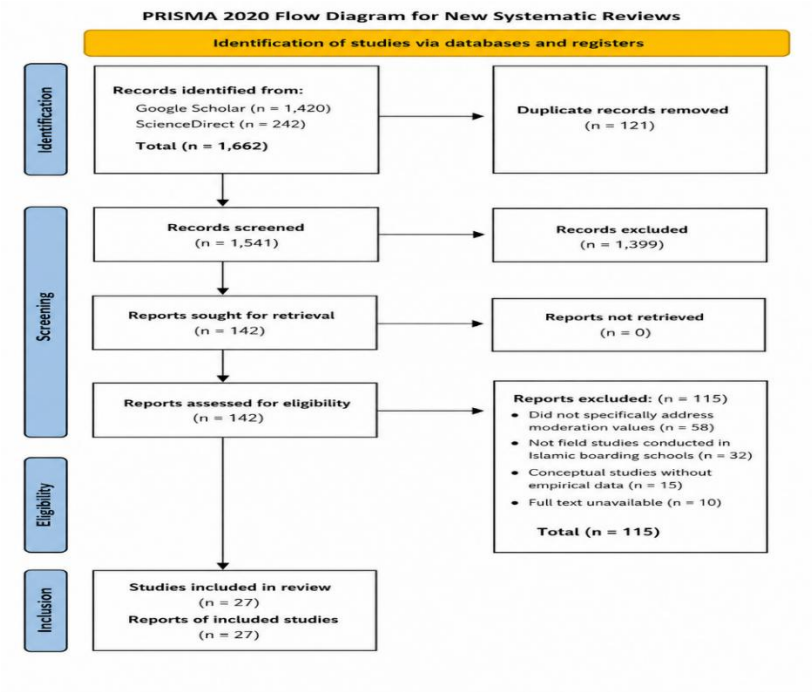


Figure 1. PRISMA 2020 Flow Diagram

Based on the PRISMA 2020 flow diagram presented above, the data on articles addressing religious moderation values in *pondok pesantren* are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. PRISMA Data Summary

Stage	Number of Articles	Description
Identification		
Articles from Google Scholar	1.420	Search using Boolean string
Articles from ScienceDirect	242	Search using Boolean string
Total identified	1.662	
Duplicates removed	121	Removed using Mendeley
After duplicate removal	1.541	
Screening		
Title and abstract screening	1.541	Based on inclusion criteria
Articles excluded	1.399	Not relevant to research questions
Eligibility		
Full-text assessed	142	Comprehensive reading
Articles excluded	115	58 (did not specifically address values), 32 (not field studies in *pesantren*), 15 (conceptual studies), 10 (full-text unavailable)
Inclusion		
Final articles	**27**	Met all inclusion criteria

As presented in Table 1, the article selection process employing the SLR method demonstrates a substantial reduction from 1,662 initial articles to 27 final articles that met all inclusion criteria. Of the 1,662 articles initially identified, 121 duplicates were

removed using Mendeley, leaving 1,541 articles for the screening stage. During the title and abstract screening phase, 1,399 articles were excluded due to irrelevance to the research questions, indicating that despite the use of specific Boolean keywords, a considerable number of articles did not directly address the values of religious moderation in *pesantren*. Subsequently, at the eligibility stage, 142 articles underwent full-text assessment, of which 115 were excluded with the following breakdown: 58 articles did not specifically address moderation values, 32 were not field studies conducted in *pesantren*, 15 were conceptual studies lacking empirical data, and 10 were unavailable in full-text format. This rigorous selection process yielded 27 final articles, all of which are relevant, high-quality field studies suitable for analysis and synthesis to address RQ1 and RQ2.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Characteristics of Selected Articles

Based on the PRISMA selection process described in the Methods section, 27 articles met the inclusion criteria. All articles constitute field research conducted across various *pondok pesantren* in Indonesia, with publication dates ranging from 2020 to 2024. The characteristics of the selected articles are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Characteristics of Selected Articles

No	Author(s) (Year)	Pesantren Location	Method	Moderation Values Found	Links
1	Hasan, Moch, Abdidin (2024)	PP. Nurul Jadid, Probolinggo	Qualitative	Tasamuh, Tawazun, I'tidal, Musawah, Qudwah	http://repository.uin-malang.ac.id/20105/
2	Aziz (2020)	Ma'had Aly Sukorejo, Situbondo	Qualitative	Tasamuh, I'tidal, Al-la'unf, I'tiraf al-'urf	https://elibrary.ru/item.asp?id=76328844
3	Haris, Nufaika (2024)	Ma'had Aly As'adiyah, Wajo	Qualitative	Tasamuh, Tawazun, Syura, Al-la'unf	http://kurniajurnal.com/index.php/imej/article/view/164
4	Husain & Wahyuni (2021)	PP. As'adiyah, Sengkan, Wajo, Sulawesi	Qualitative	Tasamuh, Tawazun, Tahaddur, Muwathanah	https://jurnalharmoni.kemenag.go.id/index.php/harmoni/article/view/455
5	Dzofir & Miftah (2021)	PP. Darussalam, Jember	Qualitative	Tasamuh, I'tidal, Tahaddur, I'tiraf al-'urf	http://repository.uinsuku.ac.id/9941/1/Buku%20Moderasi%20Beragama%20Dalam%20Tradisi%20Pesantren%20FIX.pdf

6	Alfi (2021)	PP. Al-Fatih, Cirebon	Qualitative	Tasamuh, Tawazun, Syura, Qudwah	https://repository.syekhnurjati.ac.id/9025/
7	Madum & Daimah (2023)	PP. An-Nawawi Purworejo	Qualitative	Tawazun, I'tidal, Al-la'unf, Muwathanah	https://ejournal.uit-lirboyo.ac.id/index.php/intelektual/article/view/4447
8	Hakim, Sumadi (2026)	PP. Al-Hidayah, Kudus	Qualitative	Tasamuh, Musawah, I'tiraf al-'urf, Muwathanah	http://pasca.jurnalikhac.ac.id/index.php/tijie/article/view/2752
9	Sumadi et al. (2022)	PP. Bina Insani, Bali	Qualitative	Musawah, Tahaddur, Syura, Muwathanah	https://ejournal.uinsatu.ac.id/index.php/taalum/article/view/6302
10	Zakariyah et al. (2022)	PP. Al-Fattah, Lamongan	Qualitative	Ishlah, Tatawwur wa ibtikar, I'tidal	http://pasca.jurnalikhac.ac.id/index.php/tijie/article/view/104
11	Rafi & Budiyanto (2024)	PP. Miftahul Ulum Susukan Ungaran Timur Kabupaten Semarang	Qualitative	Tahaddur, Tasamuh, Qudwah, Syura	https://jurnal.iaih.ac.id/index.php/inovatif/article/view/799
12	Rafa'al & Sangadji (2020)	PP. Harisul Khairaat, Tidore	Qualitative	Syura, Qudwah, Muwathanah, Ishlah	http://jabb.lppmbinabangsa.id/index.php/jabb/article/view/34
13	Sari et al. (2023)	PP. Nurussalam, Bengkalis	Qualitative	Tasamuh, Syura, Qudwah, Al-la'unf	http://jipkis.stai-dq.org/index.php/home/article/view/62
14	M. Gina (2024)	PP. Al-Mahrusiyah, Lirboyo	Qualitative	Ishlah, Tatawwur wa ibtikar, I'tidal	http://repo.uit-lirboyo.ac.id/id/eprint/1944
15	S. Aisyah & Syafarani (2023)	PP. Miftahul Jannah, Lumajang	Qualitative	Muwathanah, Tahaddur, I'tiraf al-'urf	https://ejournal.stismu.ac.id/index.php/sirajuddin/article/view/1697

16	Mas'ulah (2023)	PP. Al-Ma'ruf, Lamongan	Qualitative	Qudwah, Tahaddur, Tasamuh, Syura	http://eprints.unisla.ac.id/1116/
17	Dumiyati et al. ((2023)	PP. Manbaul Ulum, Bondowoso	Qualitative	I'tidal, Ishlah, Tatawwur wa ibtikar	https://ejournal.uniramalang.ac.id/alwijdan/article/view/2607
18	Ihsan (2020)	PP. Al-Hidayah, Rembang	Qualitative	I'tiraf al-'urf, Tasamuh, Muwathanah	https://www.atlantis-press.com/proceedings/iconetos-20/125955752
19	Alawiyah et al. (2022)	PP. Ibnu Mannan, Banyuwangi	Qualitative	Ishlah, Qudwah, Tatawwur wa ibtikar	https://www.atlantis-press.com/proceedings/acie-22/125986042
20	Wulandari (2020)	PP. Nurul Ummah, Yogyakarta	Qualitative	Tasamuh, Al-la'unf, I'tiraf al-'urf	https://digilib.uin-suka.ac.id/id/eprint/39629/
21	Hakim & Sumadi (2026)	PP. Al-Hidayah, Rembang	Qualitative	Tawazun, Muwathanah, Tahaddur	http://pasca.jurnalikhac.ac.id/index.php/tijie/article/view/2752
22	Rizkon (2024)	PP. Miftahurrohmah, Lampung	Qualitative	Tawazun, Tasamuh, Qudwah, Syura	https://repository.radenintan.ac.id/33047/
23	Bahri et al. (2024)	3 PP di Lampung	Qualitative	Tasamuh, I'tidal, Musawah, Al-la'unf	https://journal.unugiri.ac.id/index.php/al-ulya/article/view/2809
24	Mukaffan (2024)	PP. Raudhatul Ulum, Lumajang	Qualitative	Musawah, Syura, Ishlah, Tatawwur wa ibtikar	https://pondokjurnal.uwj.ac.id/index.php/UrwatulWutsqo/article/view/1539

25	Mardani & Siswanto (2025)	PP. Al-Mazaya, Paser	Qualitative	Tasamuh, Tahaddur, Muwathanah, I'tiraf al-'urf	https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/d809/b1aeb666fc8d7070119a8b2ee0e22d5525d8.pdf
26	Anshari (2024)	PP. Raudhatut Thalibin, Hulu Sungai Utara	Qualitative	Syura, Qudwah, Tawazun, Al-la'unf	https://publisherqu.com/index.php/Al-Furqan/article/view/2015
27	Ramli (2024)	PP. Al-Risalah, Parepare	Qualitative	Tasamuh, I'tidal, Muwathanah, Al-la'unf	https://repository.iainpare.ac.id/id/eprint/7420/

Based on Table 2, several notable patterns can be identified regarding the characteristics of the selected articles. Research on religious moderation in pesantren is distributed across various regions of Indonesia, spanning from Sumatra (Lampung, Bengkalis, Paser), Java (Probolinggo, Situbondo, Jember, Cirebon, Banten, Rembang, Lamongan, Bondowoso, Banyuwangi, Yogyakarta, Lumajang), Bali, South Sulawesi (Wajo, Parepare), to North Maluku (Tidore). This distribution indicates that the issue of religious moderation has garnered academic attention transcending geographical and cultural boundaries in Indonesia (Alawiyah et al., 2022; Alfi, 2021; Husain & Wahyuni, 2021; Ihsan & Abdullah, 2021; Mardani & Siswanto, 2025; Mas'ulah, 2023; Rafa'al & S. Sangadji, 2020; Wulandari, 2020). The highest concentration of research is found on Java Island, reflecting the historical and quantitative dominance of *pesantren* in this region (Azra, 2019). However, the presence of studies from outside Java—including South Sulawesi, Bali, and North Maluku—demonstrates that religious moderation is also a relevant issue in *pesantren* in Eastern Indonesia, which possess distinct socio-religious dynamics (Sumadi et al., 2022).

The selected articles demonstrate an increasing trend in publication numbers year by year. In 2020, three articles were published, increasing to three in 2021, five in 2022, nine in 2023, and seven in 2024 (as of data collection). The peak of publications occurred in 2023, indicating that the issue of religious moderation in pesantren has garnered growing academic attention, concurrent with the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs' mainstreaming of religious moderation since 2019 (Junaedi, 2019). This trend may also be attributed to heightened concerns regarding radicalism and intolerance in Indonesia, which have prompted researchers to examine the role of *pesantren* as bastions of moderation (Ramli, 2024).

All 27 reviewed articles employed qualitative approaches—including case studies, phenomenology, and ethnography—to deeply investigate moderation values and their implementation in santri's daily lives (Masykuri & Qodriyah, 2020). Dominant data collection methods included participant observation, in-depth interviews with *Kiai*, *ustadz*, and santri, and documentation studies of curricula and activities. No quantitative or mixed-method studies were found, suggesting a gap for future research (Masturin, 2022). Regarding value diversity, *tasamuh* (tolerance) was most frequently identified (88.9%), followed by *syura* (deliberation, 70.4%) and *tawazun* (balance, 63.0%), while *tatawwur wa ibtikar* (dynamism and innovation, 29.6%) and *ishlah* (reform, 33.3%) were least frequent. This variation suggests core values are

universally taught, yet contextual values depend on local policies, community characteristics, the *Kiai's* scholarly background, religious affiliations, and socio-cultural conditions.

Publication Trends of Religious Moderation Values in Pesantren

Based on Table 2, the religious moderation values identified across the 27 *pesantren* can be categorized into 12 core values (after consolidating *Qudwah* as leadership and *Qudwah* as pioneering into a single category). The frequency of each value's appearance is presented in Figure 2.

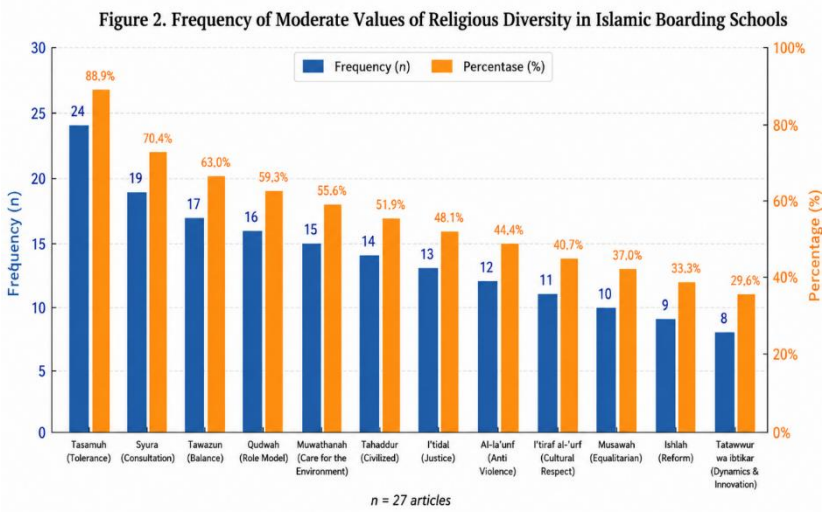


Figure 2. Caption, distribution of religious moderation values identified across 27 *pondok pesantren*. The value of *Tasamuh* appeared most dominantly (88.9%), while *Tatawwur wa ibtikar* appeared least frequently (29.6%).

Based on Figure 2 above, an interesting pattern emerges regarding the frequency of religious moderation values in *pesantren*. Broadly, these values can be categorized into three groups based on their frequency levels: high-frequency values (≥ 60%), medium-frequency values (40–59%), and low-frequency values (< 40%).

The first group comprises three values appearing in more than 60% of the articles: *tasamuh* (tolerance, 88.9%), *syura* (deliberation, 70.4%), and *tawazun* (balance, 63.0%). The dominance of these three values indicates that tolerance, deliberation, and balance constitute the foundational pillars of religious moderation in *pesantren*. This finding aligns with research by Umiarso & Qorib (2022) who asserted that *pesantren* have traditionally taught these three values as foundational character traits of santri. The exceptionally high frequency of *tasamuh* (88.9%) confirms that tolerance is the most essential and prioritized value in *pesantren* education, both within the internal Muslim context (differences in schools of thought) and in pluralistic societal life (Bahri et al., 2024). Similarly, the dominance of *syura* (70.4%) demonstrates that *pesantren* place strong emphasis on deliberation in decision-making and problem-solving, reflected in programs such as *Bahtsul Masail* (religious issue discussions) and open scholarly dialogues within the *pesantren* (Sari et al., 2023). Meanwhile, *tawazun* (63.0%) indicates that *pesantren* teach balance between spiritual and academic aspects, between worldly and otherworldly concerns, and between individual and collective interests (Rizkon, 2024).

The second group comprises six values appearing in 40% to 59% of the articles: *qudwah* (exemplary leadership, 59.3%), *muwathanah* (love of homeland/civic patriotism, 55.6%), *tahaddur* (civility/cultural advancement, 51.9%), *i'tidal* (justice/moderation, 48.1%), *al-la'unf* (anti-violence/non-coercion, 44.4%), and *i'tiraf al-'urf* (recognition of local customs, 40.7%). These values demonstrate that *pesantren* focus not only on theological aspects but also on the social and national character formation of santri (Dzofir & Miftah, 2021).

The frequency of *qudwah* (exemplary leadership, 59.3%) indicates that the conduct of *Kiai*, *ustadz*, and senior santri constitutes the primary method for internalizing moderation value (Mas'ulah, 2023; Sugianto et al., 2025). *Muwathanah* (love of homeland, 55.6%) reflects *pesantren*'s significant role in cultivating nationalism, consistent with their pre-independence legacy. *Tahaddur* (civility, 51.9%) affirms that moral education (*adab*) remains a priority, while *i'tidal* (justice, 48.1%) and *al-la'unf* (anti-violence, 44.4%) indicate that *pesantren* teach justice and rejection of violence in daily life (Dumiyati et al., 2023; Sahri & Aziz, 2025). *I'tiraf al-'urf* (cultural friendliness, 40.7%) suggests appreciation for local traditions is reasonably established, though further reinforcement is needed to enhance inclusivity of local wisdom. The third group comprises three values appearing in less than 40% of the articles: *musawah* (equality, 37.0%), *ishlah* (reform, 33.3%), and *tatawwur wa ibtikar* (dynamism and innovation, 29.6%). The relatively low frequency of these values indicates that aspects of equality, reform, and innovation have not yet become primary priorities in many *pesantren* (Zakariyah et al., 2022).

The value of *musawah* (equality, 37.0%) appears in only ten articles, suggesting it has not been evenly internalized across *pesantren*, likely due to persistent hierarchical structures where *Kiai* hold dominant authority and santri occupy subordinate positions (Aisyah & Syafarani, 2023). The low frequency of *ishlah* (reform, 33.3%) indicates most *pesantren* remain strongly attached to tradition and have not extensively reformed curricula or teaching methodologies (Alawiyah et al., 2022). Similarly, *tatawwur wa ibtikar* (dynamism and innovation, 29.6%), the least frequently identified value, suggests innovation remains limited and not yet an urgent priority, attributed to resource constraints, limited technology access, and insufficient training for *pesantren* caretakers (Taufiq & Alkholid, 2021).

The high frequency of *tasamuh*, *syura*, and *tawazun* indicates a strong foundation in fundamental moderation values, suggesting policies can build upon this social capital. However, the low frequency of *ishlah*, *tatawwur wa ibtikar*, and *musawah* signals the need for greater innovation, reform, and attention to equality and gender justice. Thus, while *pesantren* have successfully instilled core moderation values, strengthening the less frequent ones is essential for a more comprehensive and responsive approach.

Findings on Religious Moderation Values in Pesantren (RQ1)

Data on religious moderation values in *pesantren* were gathered through a systematic search of articles using keywords related to religious moderation, *pondok pesantren*, Islamic boarding schools, tolerance, and related terms, as visualized in Figure 3 below.

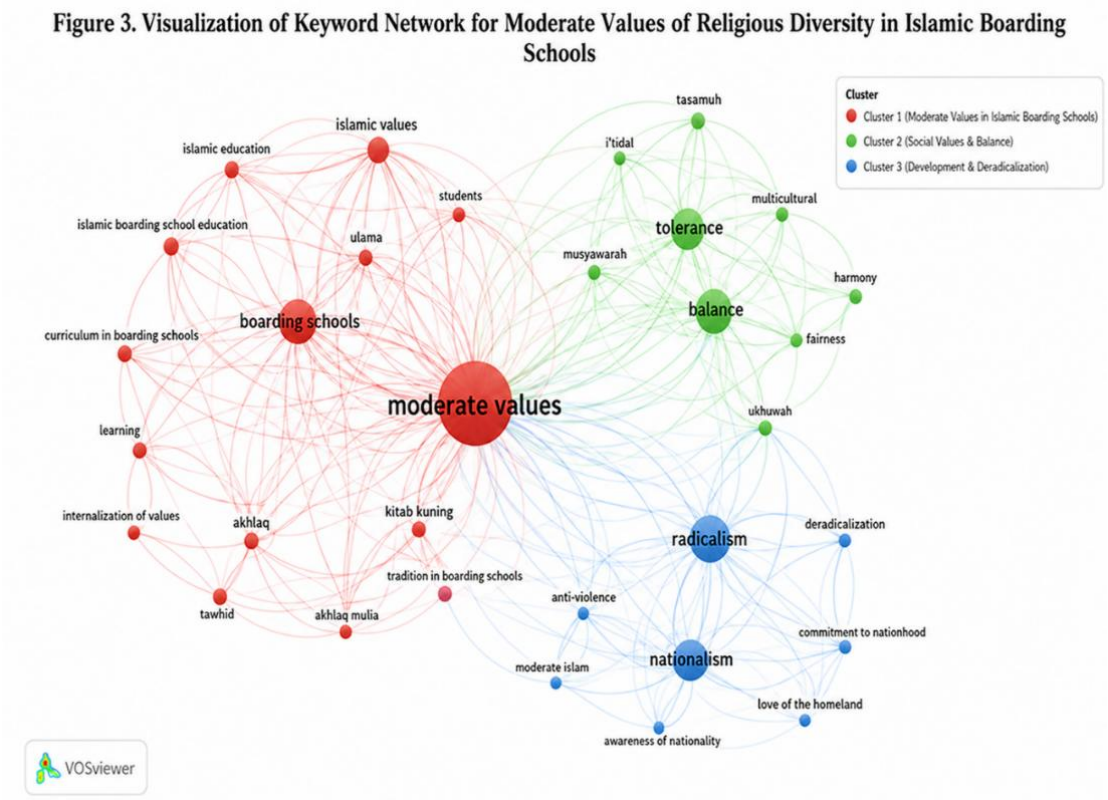


Figure 3. VOSviewer bibliometric analysis of the 27 reviewed articles

Based on VOSviewer bibliometric analysis of the 27 reviewed articles, Figure 3 displays the keyword co-occurrence network. Three main clusters were identified: the first (red) dominated by moderasi beragama (religious moderation), pesantren, and nilai-nilai Islam (Islamic values), indicating that moderation values constitute the core of pesantren education; the second (green) connecting tolerance, tawazun (balance), and multicultural, suggesting these are the most frequently co-studied values; and the third (blue) encompassing radicalism, nationalism, and national commitment, indicating that moderation discourse is closely linked to deradicalization and nationalism. The interconnections among these clusters confirm that religious moderation in pesantren encompasses not only theological aspects but also social and national dimensions. Based on thematic analysis of the 27 articles, twelve religious moderation values taught in *pondok pesantren* were identified. These values are elaborated below.

Tasamuh (Tolerance)

Tasamuh refers to the attitude of mutual respect and appreciation for differences, both within the internal Muslim community (differences in schools of thought) and in pluralistic societal life (Bahri et al., 2024). In *pesantren*, this value is implemented through respect for differences in *mazhab* (schools of jurisprudence) in ritual practices, acceptance of santri from various ethnic and regional backgrounds, and teaching the principle of not imposing one's religious views on others (Alfi, 2021). Of the 27 articles, *tasamuh* appeared in 24 articles (88.9%), making it the most dominant value.

From a theological perspective, *tasamuh* is rooted in Islamic teachings that emphasize respect for religious freedom, as articulated in Q.S. Al-Kafirun (109): 6, "*Lakum dinukum wa liya din*" (For you is your religion, and for me is my religion). This value is further reinforced by the concept of *al-ta'ayush al-silmi* (peaceful coexistence), which is characteristic of Islam Nusantara (Astuti, 2017). n *pesantren*, the internalization of

tasamuh is not only taught through instructional materials but also practiced in daily life, such as when santri from various regions with different religious traditions (e.g., NU, Muhammadiyah, or Persis) coexist harmoniously and respect one another within a single dormitory environment. This renders *pesantren* an effective laboratory of tolerance, where differences become a source of shared richness rather than conflict (Astuti, 2017).

Tawazun (Balance)

Tawazun denotes the attitude of balancing various life aspects: between worldly and otherworldly concerns, between religious devotion and academic education, and between individual and collective interests. In *pesantren*, this value is implemented through balanced scheduling of study and worship activities, as well as teaching social responsibility through mutual cooperation (*gotong royong*) and helping others (Rizkon, 2024). This value appeared in 17 articles (63.0%).

Conceptually, *tawazun* represents a manifestation of the Islamic teaching of *wasathiyyah* (moderation), as affirmed in Q.S. Al-Baqarah (2): 143, "*Wa kadzalika ja'alnakum ummatan wasathan*" (And thus We have made you a moderate/balanced community). This value constitutes a fundamental pillar of religious moderation, as without balance, individuals may fall into extremism on either the right (radicalism) or the left (excessive liberalism) (Rafi & Budiyanto, 2024). In *pesantren*, the application of *tawazun* is evident in curricula that integrate religious sciences (*tafaqquh fi al-din*) with general knowledge, such as foreign language skills, entrepreneurship, and information technology (Rizkon, 2024). Furthermore, *pesantren* teach a balance between spiritual life (night prayers, *dhikr*) and social activities (community service, social engagement), ensuring that santri do not become excessively ascetic nor overly materialistic.

I'tidal (Justice/Moderation)

I'tidal signifies steadfastness and uprightness in upholding justice (Dumiyati et al., 2023). Its implementation in *pesantren* is evident in the fair treatment of all santri without favoritism, equitable distribution of duties, and proportional sanctions (*takziran*) for santri who violate rules. This value was found in 13 articles (48.1%). Justice (*i'tidal*) is a universal Islamic value, frequently associated with the concept of *al-'adl*, which appears in various Quranic verses, including Q.S. Al-Ma'idah (5): 8, which commands Muslims to act justly even toward those they dislike. In the *pesantren* context, *i'tidal* is not only understood as justice in law and sanctions but also as justice in educational access and development. Several *pesantren*, such as PP. Nurul Jadid in Probolinggo and PP. Manbaul Ulum in Bondowoso, implement objective evaluation systems wherein each santri is assessed based on learning achievements without discrimination regarding family background or social status (Dumiyati et al., 2023; Masykuri & Qodriyah, 2020). This value is also reflected in scholarship policies and financial assistance provided proportionally to underprivileged santri, thereby realizing social justice within the *pesantren* environment.

Musawah (Equality)

Musawah denotes the principle that no party considers itself superior to others. In *pesantren*, this is implemented through equal treatment of all santri regardless of economic or social background, as well as equitable distribution of daily chores (Mukaffan, 2024; Sumadi et al., 2022). This value appeared in 10 articles (37.0%). Although *musawah* has a relatively low frequency (37.0%), it remains an important

component of religious moderation as it teaches that all human beings possess equal dignity before Allah, as affirmed in the prophetic hadith: "There is no superiority of an Arab over a non-Arab except through piety" (HR. Ahmad). In *pesantren* that consistently implement *musawah*, such as PP. Bina Insani in Bali and PP. Raudhatul Ulum in Lumajang, there is no differential treatment between santri from wealthy and poor families, between those from Java and outer islands, or between those who have memorized the Qur'an and those who have not (Mukaffan, 2024; Sumadi et al., 2022). Equality is also reflected in the division of daily tasks, such as cleaning duties and cooking rotations, which are assigned fairly regardless of a santri's status or position within the *pesantren*. This fosters a strong sense of brotherhood and solidarity among santri, while simultaneously teaching that human nobility is measured not by worldly background but by piety and moral character (Sumadi et al., 2022).

Tahaddur (Civility/Cultural Advancement)

Tahaddur refers to the attitude of civility in social interaction, including respect for teachers, courteous speech, and maintaining harmony with others (Masturin, 2022). Concrete examples include teaching santri not to interrupt teachers, to speak politely, and to cooperate in avoiding conflict. This value was found in 14 articles (51.9%). The value of *tahaddur* has deep roots in *pesantren* tradition, which places *adab* (moral character) above knowledge. Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari, founder of NU and Pesantren Tebuireng, in his seminal work *Adab al-'Alim wa al-Muta'allim*, emphasizes that a santri must honor their teacher, remain humble, and maintain ethical conduct in the pursuit of knowledge. In contemporary *pesantren*, *tahaddur* is implemented across various aspects of life, from the manner in which santri greet *Kiai* and *ustadz*—with lowered gaze, soft speech, and not speaking before the teacher in scholarly assemblies—to maintaining *adab* toward fellow santri, such as refraining from gossip, using harsh language, and engaging in mutual assistance in goodness (Mas'ulah, 2023). This value constitutes one of the primary distinctions between *pesantren* education and general education, as *pesantren* emphasize that knowledge without *adab* is futile, and that *adab* must be instilled before knowledge itself.

Syura (Deliberation)

Syura refers to the process of exchanging opinions to collectively resolve problems. In *pesantren*, this value is implemented through programs such as *Bahtsul Masail* (open scholarly discussions), task distribution based on deliberation, and teaching the appreciation of differing opinions (Sari et al., 2023). This value appeared in 19 articles (70.4%).

The principle of *syura* is a direct Quranic injunction in Q.S. Asy-Syura (42): 38, "*Wa amruhum syura bainahum*" (And their affairs are decided by mutual consultation). In *pesantren*, *syura* serves not only as a decision-making method but also as an effective pedagogical approach for developing santri's critical thinking skills. The *Bahtsul Masail* program regularly conducted in *pesantren*, such as at PP. Harisul Khairaat in Tidore and PP. Nurussalam in Bengkalis, provides a forum for santri to discuss contemporary religious issues not explicitly addressed in classical texts (Rafa'al & S. Sangadji, 2020). In these forums, santri are trained to articulate opinions, present arguments grounded in textual evidence, and respect differing viewpoints. The value of *syura* is also applied in *pesantren* management, where administrators hold regular meetings to discuss policies and collectively determine solutions to emerging issues, thereby teaching santri that good leadership involves the participation of all stakeholders (Alfi, 2021).

Qudwah (Exemplary Leadership)

Qudwah refers to the attitude of serving as a role model and responsible leader. This value encompasses two dimensions: leadership (leading with trustworthiness) and pioneering (serving as an example in goodness). In *pesantren*, its application is evident through the exemplary conduct of *Kiai*, *ustadz*, and senior santri in worship, moral character, and discipline (Mas'ulah, 2023). This value appeared in 16 articles (59.3%).

The concept of *qudwah* in Islam is rooted in the exemplary model of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, as stated in Q.S. Al-Ahzab (33): 21, "*Laqad kana lakum fi rasulillahi uswatun hasanah*" (Indeed, in the Messenger of Allah you have an excellent example). In *pesantren*, the *Kiai* serves as the *uswatun hasanah* (good example) who embodies moral leadership for the entire community. The *Kiai's* attitudes, behaviors, and lifestyle set the moral standard that santri follow, encompassing discipline in worship, simplicity in living, social concern, and tolerance toward differences. Additionally, senior santri (*pengurus pesantren*) are educated to serve as role models for junior santri, such as in punctuality for congregational prayers, dormitory cleanliness, and daily ethics. This value has profound impact because exemplary conduct is more effective than mere lectures in shaping santri's character. As expressed by *Kiai*, "Knowledge without practice is a tree without fruit," thus the knowledge of religious moderation taught in *pesantren* must be accompanied by tangible exemplary conduct in daily life.

Ishlah (Reform)

Ishlah refers to efforts to create better conditions by preserving good traditions while embracing beneficial reforms (Alawiyah et al., 2022). In *pesantren*, this value is implemented through curriculum renewal that integrates modern technology and religious moderation materials without abandoning fundamental Islamic values (Zakariyah et al., 2022). This value appeared in 9 articles (33.3%). *Ishlah* represents a manifestation of the Islamic principle encouraging continuous improvement, as articulated in the prophetic hadith: "The best of people are those who are most beneficial to others" (HR. Ahmad). In *pesantren*, reforms are typically gradual and cautious, given that *pesantren* place high value on preserving tradition and scholarly authority inherited from predecessors. An example of *ishlah* implementation is evident at PP. Al-Fattah in Lamongan, which has integrated foreign language learning (Arabic and English) and information technology into the *pesantren* curriculum without abandoning the study of classical texts (Zakariyah et al., 2022).

Muwathanah (Love of Homeland/Civic Patriotism)

Muwathanah refers to love for one's homeland and nation. In *pesantren*, this value is manifested through flag ceremonies, commemoration of national holidays, prayers for the nation's safety, and teaching the history of Indonesia's struggle for independence. This value appeared in 15 articles (55.6%). Love for the homeland in *pesantren* tradition is not a new phenomenon but has been part of *pesantren* identity since the struggle for independence. KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, founder of NU and Pesantren Tebuireng, formulated the concept of *hubb al-wathan min al-iman* (love of homeland is part of faith), which became a slogan of *pesantren* nationalism. This value continues to be transmitted to the present day, as evidenced in various *pesantren* activities that foster a spirit of nationalism.

Al-la'unf (Anti-Violence)

Al-la'unf refers to the principle of rejecting violence and prioritizing peaceful approaches to conflict resolution. In *pesantren*, this value is implemented through teaching patience, empathy, and dialogue in resolving conflicts, whether physical or verbal (Husain & Wahyuni, 2021; Sahri & Aziz, 2025). This value appeared in 12 articles (44.4%). The principle of anti-violence constitutes an essential component of Islamic teachings that prioritize peace, as evidenced by the very name Islam, derived from *silm*, meaning peace. In the *pesantren* context, *al-la'unf* is taught not only as a theoretical concept but also as daily practice in conflict resolution. *Pesantren* teach santri to prioritize dialogue and deliberation when disagreements arise, rather than resorting to violence or coercion (Husain & Wahyuni, 2021).

I'tiraf al-'urf (Recognition of Local Customs)

I'tiraf al-'urf refers to the appreciation and acceptance of local traditions that do not contradict Islamic principles. In *pesantren*, this value is evident through the celebration of local cultural events such as *Maulid Nabi* (Prophet's Birthday) and communal cooperation (*gotong royong*), as well as teaching about local wisdom from the various regions of santri origin (Mardani & Siswanto, 2025). This value appeared in 11 articles (40.7%). *I'tiraf al-'urf* represents one of the distinctive characteristics of Islam Nusantara, distinguishing it from Islam in other regions. The scholars of the archipelago, particularly the Walisongo, employed cultural acculturation in spreading Islam, adopting local traditions and infusing them with Islamic values (Masykuri & Qodriyah, 2020). In contemporary *pesantren*, this value is manifested in various forms of appreciation for local culture.

Tatawwur wa ibtikar (Dynamism and Innovation)

Tatawwur wa ibtikar refers to a dynamic and innovative attitude in responding to the changing demands of the era. In *pesantren*, this value is implemented through the adoption of learning technologies, teaching foreign language and computer skills, and innovations in digital *dakwah* (Islamic propagation), such as YouTube content creation. This value appeared in 8 articles (29.6%), making it the least frequently identified value.

Despite having the lowest frequency (29.6%), *tatawwur wa ibtikar* is critically important for the sustainability of *pesantren* in the era of globalization and digitalization. *Pesantren* capable of adapting to changing times will remain relevant and produce santri who are competitive (Taufiq & Alkholid, 2021). Several *pesantren* that have implemented this value demonstrate promising results. PP. Ibnu Mannan in Banyuwangi, for instance, has developed computer laboratories and technology-based learning programs for santri, enabling them to master not only religious knowledge but also digital skills (Alawiyah et al., 2022).

Orientation of Religious Moderation Values in Pesantren in the Indonesian Context (RQ2)

Based on the synthesis of the 27 reviewed articles, the religious moderation values taught in *pesantren* are oriented toward strengthening four main indicators of religious moderation as outlined by Saifuddin (2019): (1) national commitment, (2) anti-violence, (3) tolerance, and (4) acceptance of local traditions.

Table 2. Orientation of Religious Moderation Values and Their Indicators

Indicator	Supporting Values	Frequency of Articles Mentioning
National Commitment	*Muwathanah, Qudwah, Syura*	22 dari 27 (81,5%)
Anti-Violence	*Al-la'unf, Tasamuh, Tawazun*	20 dari 27 (74,1%)
Tolerance	*Tasamuh, Musawah, I'tidal*	25 dari 27 (92,6%)
Acceptance of Local Traditions	*I'tiraf al-'urf, Tahaddur, Ishlah*	18 dari 27 (66,7%)

Source: Compiled from the 27 reviewed articles.

As presented in Table 2, the four indicators of religious moderation exhibit varying frequencies, reflecting different levels of prioritization across *pesantren*. Tolerance ranked highest (92.6%), followed by national commitment (81.5%), anti-violence (74.1%), and acceptance of local traditions (66.7%). This pattern indicates that *pesantren* consistently prioritize tolerance as the foundational pillar of moderation (Rafa'al & S. Sangadji, 2020), aligning with their historical role in teaching peaceful coexistence. However, the variation also suggests a gap in acceptance of local traditions, requiring further attention to achieve more balanced and comprehensive moderation (Rizkon, 2024).

The dominance of tolerance (92.6%) carries important implications. On one hand, it demonstrates that *pesantren* have successfully instilled tolerance as a foundational character trait, reflected in accepting diverse santri, respecting *mazhab* differences, and facilitating interfaith dialogue (Ramli, 2024). On the other hand, this overwhelming focus may indicate that *pesantren* remain more attentive to socio-horizontal aspects than to complex dimensions such as reform and innovation (Zakariyah et al., 2022). hus, *pesantren* need to strengthen other indicators, particularly acceptance of local traditions and innovation, to ensure moderation becomes more holistic.

Acceptance of local traditions recorded the lowest frequency (66.7%), suggesting that while *pesantren* are generally receptive to local culture, implementation remains uneven. Several *pesantren* in regions with strong local wisdom—such as PP. Al-Hidayah in Rembang and PP. Bina Insani in Bali—have successfully integrated local traditions, including Chinese and Balinese cultural heritage (Arifin et al., 2026; Hakim & Sumadi, 2026; Mochamad, 2023; Sumadi et al., 2022). However, many others perceive local culture as less important or contradictory to Islam, often due to concerns about syncretism threatening Islamic purity. A more judicious approach is required—one that upholds Islamic values while remaining open to local cultural richness (Astuti, 2017).

National commitment, manifested through *muwathanah* (love of homeland), *qudwah* (exemplary leadership), and *syura* (deliberation), is reflected in flag ceremonies, national holiday commemorations, and teaching the nation's history (Ramli, 2024). Its relatively high frequency (81.5%) confirms that *pesantren* consistently cultivate nationalism and civic responsibility, consistent with their historical legacy in Indonesia's independence movement. This demonstrates that *pesantren* are not isolated enclaves but active contributors to nation-building.

Anti-violence, manifested through al-la'unf (non-violence), tasamuh (tolerance), and tawazun (balance), is taught through conflict resolution via dialogue and deliberation, instilling patience and empathy (Bahri et al., 2024). The frequency of this indicator (74.1%) indicates firm internalization of non-violence as a core principle. This is

significant given contemporary challenges of extremism and radicalism, where *pesantren* serve as frontline institutions in countering violent ideologies (Ramli, 2024).

Acceptance of local traditions is manifested through *i'tiraf al-'urf* (cultural friendliness), *tahaddur* (civility), and *ishlah* (reform). *Pesantren* integrate local culture—such as *gotong royong* and *Maulid Nabi* celebrations adapted to local traditions—while teaching santri to appreciate local wisdom. This integration reflects commitment to preserving cultural heritage while maintaining Islamic principles, following the acculturative approach pioneered by the Walisongo

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The findings demonstrate that *tasamuh* (tolerance) is the most dominant value (88.9%), followed by *syura* (deliberation) and *tawazun* (balance), aligning with Umiarso & Qorib (2022), who asserted that *pesantren* have traditionally taught these as foundational character traits. However, variation exists across *pesantren*: *tatawwur wa ibtikar* (dynamism and innovation) appeared in only 29.6% of articles, diverging from Zakariyah et al. (2022), who found some *pesantren* adopting innovative approaches—a discrepancy attributed to geographical and resource factors, where urban *pesantren* are more adaptive due to greater technology access, while rural ones face resource constraints and stronger traditional adherence. Similarly, *ishlah* (reform) appeared in only 33.3% of articles, indicating slow reform progress due to strong adherence to classical values and preservation of scholarly authority (Alawiyah et al., 2022), reflecting the *pesantren's* cautious role as a guardian of Islamic tradition where change is gradual to maintain institutional continuity and religious authenticity.

Of the four orientation indicators, tolerance received the highest proportion (92.6%). This confirms that *pesantren* have long served as bastions of tolerance in Indonesia, as articulated by Gina (2024), Hasan and Abidin (2024), Rafa'al (2020), Rizkon (2024). National commitment (81.5%) and anti-violence (74.1%) were also highly dominant, demonstrating that *pesantren* play an active role in cultivating nationalism and peace. This finding reinforces Saifuddin's argument that religious moderation encompasses not only tolerance but also commitment to the nation and rejection of radicalism.

However, acceptance of local traditions (66.7%) recorded the lowest frequency among the four indicators. This suggests that while *pesantren* teach cultural friendliness, implementation remains uneven across institutions. Several *pesantren* in regions with strong local wisdom—such as in Toraja, Bali, and Rembang—proved more accommodating to local traditions compared to *pesantren* in other regions (Sumadi et al., 2022).

Theoretically, this research enriches the framework of religious moderation by identifying twelve specific values taught in *pesantren*, extending beyond the four general indicators (Hakim & Sumadi, 2026; Husain & Wahyuni, 2021; Sumadi et al., 2022). Values such as *syura* (deliberation), *qudwah* (exemplary leadership), and *tahaddur* (civility) demonstrate that religious moderation in *pesantren* is not merely conceptual but is internalized through daily practice.

Practically, these findings can serve as a guide for the Ministry of Religious Affairs, *pesantren* caretakers, and policymakers in strengthening the religious moderation curriculum. In particular, there is a need to enhance values that currently appear with low frequency, such as *tatawwur wa ibtikar* (dynamism and innovation) and *ishlah* (reform), so that *pesantren* not only preserve tradition but also remain adaptive to contemporary changes.

CONCLUSSION

This study concludes that there are twelve religious moderation values taught in *pondok pesantren* in Indonesia during the 2020–2024 period, namely: *tasamuh* (tolerance), *tawazun* (balance), *i'tidal* (justice), *musawah* (equality), *tahaddur* (civility), *syura* (deliberation), *qudwah* (exemplary leadership), *ishlah* (reform), *muwathanah* (love of homeland), *al-la'unf* (anti-violence), *i'tiraf al-'urf* (cultural friendliness/recognition of local customs), and *tatawwur wa ibtikar* (dynamism and innovation). The value of *tasamuh* was the most dominant (88.9%), while *tatawwur wa ibtikar* appeared least frequently (29.6%). Collectively, these values are oriented toward strengthening the four indicators of religious moderation, with tolerance ranking as the highest indicator (92.6%) and acceptance of local traditions ranking as the lowest (66.7%). This study also found that *pesantren* serve not only as institutions for the transmission of Islamic knowledge but also as agents for strengthening religious moderation that contribute to social harmony and national unity. However, gaps remain in terms of innovation and reform that need to be addressed to enable *pesantren* to become more adaptive to contemporary changes.

The limitations of this study include the limited database scope (only Google Scholar and ScienceDirect) and the predominance of undergraduate theses and master's theses as data sources. Future research is advised to utilize broader databases (Scopus, Web of Science) and focus more on accredited journal articles. Future research agendas may also include comparative studies across *pesantren* in various regions of Indonesia, as well as the development of more innovative models for strengthening moderation values.

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