

Instilling Moderation Values in Contemporary Fiqh Learning at Pesantren Al-Jauharen Jambi: A Qualitative Case Study of Curriculum, Exemplarity, and Method

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Received: 16/04/2025

Revised: 20/05/2025

Accepted: 30/06/2025

Abstract

Religious moderation has become a central objective of Islamic education policy in Indonesia, yet relatively little is known about how pesantren that possess no formally titled moderation programme nevertheless transmit moderate dispositions through their ordinary teaching. This study examines how the values of tasamuh, tawassuth, tawazun, and i'tidal are instilled through contemporary fiqh instruction at Pondok Pesantren Al-Jauharen Jambi. Adopting a descriptive qualitative design in the form of a single-site instrumental case study, data were generated through in-depth interviews with seventeen informants comprising the kiai, six fiqh teachers, and ten santri, through structured observation of two fiqh sessions in grades XI and XII, and through examination of nine categories of institutional document. Analysis proceeded through thematic coding supported by cross-source matrix displays, with triangulation organised by both technique and informant category. Sixteen themes were developed under four conclusions. First, moderation at this pesantren is an embedded ethos rather than a named programme: the kiai states plainly that no policy carrying that title exists, while the value is carried instead by the choice of turats texts in which scholarly disagreement is visible on the page. Second, a dual curriculum combining pesantren texts with the Ministry of Religious Affairs syllabus is operationalised through a fixed weekly allocation, giving the arrangement an institutional form rather than leaving it to individual discretion. Third, teachers converge on a sequencing principle in which juridical foundations precede contemporary cases, and on an inquiry-based rather than corrective response to absolutist opinions, though they diverge markedly on what counts as evidence of success. Fourth, the linguistic depth that makes the turats a resource for moderation is also the principal constraint on teaching it, since the four-step reading sequence consumes the time in which values would be discussed.

Keywords

Religious Moderation; Wasathiyyah; Contemporary Fiqh; Pesantren; Turats; Qualitative Case Study

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1. INTRODUCTON

Religious moderation has moved to the centre of Indonesian educational policy over the past decade, and Islamic educational institutions have been asked to demonstrate that they cultivate it (Peraturan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 58 Tahun 2023 Tentang Penguatan Moderasi Beragama, 2023; Qoumas et al., 2024). The policy vocabulary was consolidated in the ministry's own handbook and subsequently written into the madrasah curriculum framework (Qoumas et al., 2024) and into the statutory recognition of pesantren as an educational stream in its own right (Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 18 Tahun 2019 Tentang Pesantren, 2019). The demand carries an implicit assumption worth examining: that moderation is transmitted through dedicated programmes, identifiable curricula, and documents bearing its name as an assumption visible in studies that locate moderation in curriculum content and formal institutional design (Muhlisin et al., 2023; Mukhibat et al., 2024). Where such artefacts are absent, an institution may appear to be doing nothing, and where they are present, an institution may appear to be doing a great deal. Neither inference is secure, and establishing what actually occurs requires attention to teaching as it is conducted rather than to the documents that describe it.

The pesantren occupies a distinctive position in this question. As an educational form it predates the vocabulary of moderation by centuries (Assa'idi, 2021; Rodliyah, 2022), and the intellectual tradition on which it rests, the corpus of classical jurisprudential texts known as *kitab turats*, is constituted around the recorded disagreement of scholars (Auda, 2022; Emon & Ahmed, 2018; Syafei et al., 2024). A student who reads a standard *fiqh* text encounters, on the page and without editorial intervention, the fact that qualified authorities reached different conclusions from the same sources (Nurtawab & Wahyudi, 2022; Zakariyah et al., 2022). Whether this exposure translates into a disposition to tolerate difference in ordinary life is an empirical question rather than a settled one, and it is the question this study pursues.

The pressure on that question has intensified for reasons external to the pesantren. Santri today encounter religious material through channels their teachers do not control, principally social media, where juridical conclusions circulate detached from the reasoning that produced them (Campbell & Tsuria, 2021; Lengauer, 2018). The wider literature on digital religion describes the same displacement of institutional authority towards actors whose legitimacy is granted by audiences rather than by training (Bunt, 2018). A ruling that took a scholar several pages to establish arrives as a fragment of a minute-long video (Hoesterey, 2016; Husein & Slama, 2018). At the same time, the substantive problems on which santri seek guidance have changed: online purchase, digital wallets, online lending, sharia banking, conduct on social media, and relations with neighbours of other faiths are not the questions around which the classical manuals were organised, though the principles those manuals contain are held to govern them (Haroen, 2019; Indonesia, 2017, 2018; Nurlaela, 2018).

Contemporary fiqh instruction sits precisely at this junction. It is the point at which a classical text, a modern problem, a teacher's judgement, and a student's prior exposure to unregulated religious content all meet. If moderation is transmitted anywhere in a pesantren curriculum, this is the most likely site, and if the transmission fails, this is where the failure would be visible. Yet the process is not well documented. Studies of pesantren education have described curriculum structures and institutional histories in detail (Assa'idi, 2021; Nasution et al., 2026; Nurtawab & Wahyudi, 2022; Rodliyah, 2022), and studies of religious moderation have examined attitudes and policy (Alvian & Ardhani, 2023; Muhlisin et al., 2023; Mulyana, 2023; Nurdin & Naqqiyah, 2019; Wildan & Muttaqin, 2022), but the specific pedagogical operations by which a teacher moves from a line of classical Arabic to a disposition of tolerance in a fifteen-year-old have received less attention.

Pondok Pesantren Al-Jauharen Jambi presents an instructive case for three reasons (Isbah, 2020). It operates a dual curriculum, combining the pesantren's own programme of turats instruction with the syllabus of the Ministry of Religious Affairs at the MTs and MA levels, so that both classical and nationally standardised material are taught to the same students. It is residential, so that classroom instruction is continuous with a shared domestic life in which the dispositions taught are immediately tested. And, as the findings below establish, it has no policy document bearing the title of religious moderation, which makes it a case in which the value must be traced through practice or not at all.

This study therefore asks how the values of moderation are instilled through contemporary fiqh learning at this pesantren.

Conceptual framework

Moderation in this study is understood through the Qur'anic principle of *wasathiyyah*, derived from the description of the Muslim community as *ummatan wasatan* in Q. 2:143 and elaborated in contemporary Islamic thought as a disposition of balance that refuses both excess and deficiency (Abdullah & Zaenuri, 2025; Armita et al., 2025; Kasdi, 2019). Indonesian policy translates the principle into four operational values including *tawassuth*, the middle position; *tasamuh*, tolerance of difference; *tawazun*, balance between competing goods; and *i'tidal*, justice and proportion in judgement. These four supply the analytic categories used below (Naim, 2020; Peraturan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 58 Tahun 2023 Tentang Penguatan Moderasi Beragama, 2023). The pedagogical question is how such dispositions are acquired. Three bodies of theory inform the answer offered here: social learning theory, which holds that dispositions are acquired by observation of a model rather than by verbal instruction alone (Horsburgh & Ippolito, 2018); the literature on the hidden curriculum, which describes the transmission of values through institutional arrangements that are never stated as curriculum (Alamin et al., 2022; Semper & Blasco, 2018); and the affective taxonomy, which distinguishes the reception of a value from its internalisation into a stable disposition (Ryan & Deci, 2017). Situated learning theory

supplies a fourth resource, since it locates learning in participation in a community of practice rather than in the transfer of propositions (Pyrko et al., 2017). Four subsidiary questions structure the inquiry. First, how are the curriculum and the fiqh material designed so as to integrate the values of wasathiyah? Second, what part do the kiai and the teaching staff play in that transmission? Third, what methods are used? Fourth, what factors assist and what factors obstruct the process?

The contribution is threefold. Empirically, the study documents the pedagogical operations of a pesantren that transmits moderation without naming it, including a fixed curricular allocation, a sequencing principle governing the order in which foundations and cases are presented, and a distinctive response to absolutist opinion that proceeds by inquiry rather than correction. Analytically, it identifies a constraint internal to the method itself, whereby the linguistic work required by classical texts consumes the time in which their moderating content would be discussed. Practically, it surfaces a divergence among teachers about what counts as evidence that the value has been received, which has direct consequences for how such institutions might account for their work.

2. METHOD

2.1. Research Design

The study is qualitative and descriptive in orientation, conducted as a single-site instrumental case study (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Fadli, 2021; Moleong, 2021; Rashid et al., 2019). The pesantren is treated not as an object of interest in its own right but as a setting in which the process under examination, the transmission of moderation through fiqh instruction, becomes observable in an unusually complete form. The instrumental framing governs what is claimed: the account offered here describes how the process operates at this institution and under these conditions, and any wider application is a matter for subsequent inquiry rather than a conclusion of this one.

Three techniques were combined by design rather than for convenience. Interviews establish how participants understand and justify what they do; observation establishes what occurs in the classroom independently of how it is described; and documentation establishes what the institution has committed to writing. Each technique compensates for a known weakness in the others, and their convergence, where it occurs, carries more weight than any of them separately (Anggito & Setiawan, 2018).

2.2. Research Setting

Fieldwork was conducted at Pondok Pesantren Al-Jauharen, an established residential pesantren in Jambi City offering instruction from the primary level through to the senior secondary level. The institution operates two curricula in parallel: its own programme of classical instruction, organised around kitab turats in the Shafi'i tradition, and the national curriculum of the Ministry of Religious Affairs at the MTs and MA levels. Santri are drawn from a range of districts and arrive with markedly

different levels of prior religious education, a heterogeneity that proves consequential in the findings below.

2.3. Informants and Sampling

Informants were selected purposively according to their position in the process under study (Palinkas et al., 2015). Sample size was governed by the criterion of thematic adequacy rather than by a predetermined target (Hennink & Kaiser, 2022). The kiai was included as the person who sets the direction of the institution; fiqh teachers were included as those who conduct the instruction; and santri were included as those who receive it. Seventeen informants participated. All are identified by code, and the names recorded in the field instruments are not reproduced here.

Table 1. Profile of Informants

Code	Position	Number	Basis of inclusion
K1	Kiai and pengasuh of the pesantren	1	Sets institutional direction and supervises the teaching staff
U1-U6	Teachers of fiqh at MTs and MA level	6	Conduct contemporary fiqh instruction; four hold a bachelor's degree in education or religious studies
S1-S10	Santri, senior classes	10	Recipients of instruction; resident in the pesantren; five male and five female

The six teachers were interviewed on the same seven-item schedule, which permits their answers to be read against one another and makes both convergence and divergence visible. The ten santri were interviewed on a six-item schedule addressing understanding, memorable material, perceived teaching approach, experience of classroom discussion, transfer to daily conduct, and difficulties encountered.

2.4. Data Collection

Interviews

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted using three separate schedules, one for each informant category (Yazan, 2015). Observation followed the participant-observation protocol of recording action independently of participants' accounts of it (Ciesielska et al., 2018). The schedule for the kiai comprised six items addressing his view of the importance of moderation, the existence of institutional policy, the direction given to teaching staff, the values most emphasised, the challenges encountered, and the institution's handling of contentious contemporary issues. The schedule for teachers comprised seven items addressing preparation, method, response to absolutist opinion, reference texts, the linking of contemporary themes to moderation, facilitating and obstructing factors, and evaluation. The schedule for santri comprised six items as described above. Interviews were

conducted in Indonesian and in the local register participants used; quotations below are the authors' translations, with the original formulation retained where it carries analytic weight.

Observation

Two fiqh sessions were observed using a structured instrument organised in four domains: lesson planning, lesson delivery, classroom interaction, and lesson closure. The instrument comprised thirteen indicators, each recorded through a written description, a supplementary note, and a three-point implementation rating in which one denotes fully implemented, two partially implemented, and three not implemented.

Table 2. Observation Sessions

Session	Date	Class	Teacher	Santri present	Topic
OB-1	Saturday, 20 June 2026	XII	U1	22	Mawaris (inheritance law)
OB-2	Monday, 22 June 2026	XI	U3	24	Muamalah (transactions)

2.5. Documentation

Nine categories of institutional document were examined for availability and for the presence of moderation content in their stated aims and material. These comprised the fiqh curriculum and syllabus, teachers' lesson plans, the reference texts in use, santri modules and handouts, the timetable and programme structure, the institutional profile and statement of vision and mission, teachers' instructional journals, photographic and video records of teaching activity, and samples of santri work. All nine were available at the site.

2.6. Triangulation

Triangulation was organised in advance rather than applied retrospectively ((Natow, 2020), through a matrix mapping each research question to the informant categories and techniques capable of addressing it. Each question was addressed by at least two informant categories and by all three techniques, so that no finding rests on a single source or a single mode of access.

Table 3. Triangulation Matrix

Research question	Interview sources	Observation	Documentation
Curriculum and material	K1, U1-U6	Yes	Syllabus, lesson plans, reference texts
Role of kiai and ustaz	K1, U1-U6, S1-S10	Yes	Instructional journals, institutional profile
Learning methods	U1-U6, S1-S10	Yes	Lesson plans, modules
Supporting and	K1, U1-U6, S1-S10	Yes	Institutional profile,

inhibiting factors

timetable

2.7. Data Analysis

Analysis proceeded thematically. Analysis followed the six-phase model of reflexive thematic analysis (Castleberry & Nolen, 2018; Kiger & Varpio, 2020; Naeem et al., 2023). Transcripts, observation sheets, and documentary notes were read repeatedly for familiarisation. First-cycle coding combined descriptive codes with codes retaining the participants' own formulations (Linneberg & Korsgaard, 2019), producing an initial set of approximately one hundred and ten codes. Second-cycle coding consolidated these into candidate themes, which were reviewed against the full corpus, defined, and named. A cross-source matrix arranged each theme against informant category and technique (Lester et al., 2020), which allowed a theme supported by a teacher's account, a classroom observation, and a santri's independent report to be distinguished from one resting on a single interview.

Two analytic decisions shaped the account that follows. Divergence among informants was treated as a finding rather than as noise to be resolved, which is why the disagreement among teachers about evaluation is reported at length rather than averaged into a summary. And convergence was assessed for its source: where all six teachers described a practice in similar terms, the possibility that this reflects a shared institutional discourse rather than independent corroboration was retained and is noted in the limitations.

2.8. Trustworthiness

Four criteria structured the quality procedures, following the four-criterion framework of trustworthiness as set out for contemporary qualitative reporting practice (Adler, 2022; Johnson et al., 2020; Stenfors et al., 2020). Researcher positionality was treated as part of that framework rather than as a threat to be eliminated (Olmos-Vega et al., 2023). Credibility rests on triangulation by technique and by source as set out in Table 3, on the length and specificity of the teacher interviews, and on the reporting of divergence where it occurred. Transferability is supported by thick description of the setting (Johnson et al., 2020; Younas et al., 2023), the curriculum structure, and the observed sessions. Dependability rests on an audit trail comprising the three interview schedules, the structured observation instrument, the documentation checklist, the triangulation matrix, and the coding log. Confirmability was pursued by grounding each theme in identifiable material and by marking clearly those interpretations that extend beyond what informants stated.

2.9. Ethical Considerations

Permission to conduct the study was obtained from the pengasuh of the pesantren, and the procedures followed accepted standards for consent, anonymity, and the protection of minors in qualitative research (Ciesielska et al., 2018; Yazan, 2015). Informants were told the purpose of the

research, that participation was voluntary, and that any question could be declined. Consent to record was obtained in each case. Santri were interviewed in ordinary institutional settings rather than in private, and were told that their answers would not be reported to their teachers individually. All informants are identified by code in this report, and the names appearing in the field instruments have been withheld. No santri was asked to evaluate a named teacher, and no material concerning individual conduct or discipline was elicited.

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Analysis produced sixteen themes distributed across the four research questions. Table 4 summarises them together with their supporting sources and an assessment of strength based on the number of informant categories and techniques converging on each. Themes supported by interview, observation, and documentation together are reported as strong; those resting on a single informant are marked tentative and are treated as such throughout.

Table 4. Thematic Map, Supporting Sources, and Strength of Evidence

Question	Theme	Supporting sources	Strength
RQ1	1. Moderation as embedded ethos, not a named programme	K1, U2, U6, documentation	Strong
RQ1	2. A dual curriculum with a fixed weekly allocation	K1, U1, U3, U6, timetable	Strong
RQ1	3. The turats as carrier of visible disagreement	K1, U2, U4, U5, texts in use	Strong
RQ1	4. Contemporary muamalah as the site of relevance	K1, U1-U6, S2, S6, S7, S9, OB-2	Strong
RQ2	5. The kiai's standing directive: from reading to reasoning	K1, U1-U6	Strong
RQ2	6. Collective deliberation before transmission	K1, U3	Moderate
RQ2	7. Inquiry rather than refutation in response to absolutism	U1, U2, U3, U4, U5, U6, S3	Strong
RQ2	8. Exemplarity as the strongest channel	K1, U6, S10, OB-1, OB-2	Strong
RQ3	9. The bandongan sequence as pedagogical base	U1, U2, U5, OB-1, OB-2	Strong
RQ3	10. Method selection keyed to type of material	U5, U6, OB-1, OB-2	Moderate to strong
RQ3	11. Foundations before cases as a safeguard	U5, U2, K1	Moderate
RQ3	12. Divergent conceptions of evaluation	U1 against U2, U3, U4, U6; U5 intermediate	Strong
RQ4	13. The pesantren as a	K1, U2, U4, U5, S8, OB-1,	Strong

	congruent environment	OB-2	
RQ4	14. Four constraints and the language-time paradox	K1, U1, U2, U3, U4, U6	Strong
Cross	15. A gradient of santri understanding	S1-S10	Strong
Cross	16. Transfer to conduct and its four limits	S1-S10	Moderate to strong

3.1. Curriculum and Material

Moderation as an embedded ethos rather than a named programme

The most consequential finding for the first research question was volunteered by the kiai in response to a direct question about institutional policy, and it inverts the expectation the question carried:

"If you ask whether there is a policy specifically written under the name 'religious moderation programme', there is indeed none. But in fact, since the founding of the pesantren, those values have been part of our educational system. So it is not made into a separate subject, but incorporated into the whole of the education here." (K1)

The distinction he draws is between a value that is administered and a value that is constitutive. On his account moderation is not delivered through a designated vehicle but is carried by three ordinary features of the institution: the selection of texts, the combination of curricula, and the conditions of residential life. Documentary examination is consistent with this. Materials bearing the title of religious moderation were not found, while the syllabus, the lesson plans, and the reference texts were found to contain moderation content within their stated aims and material. The value is present in the documents; it is simply not the thing the documents are about.

This has a direct implication for how such institutions are assessed. An external instrument that searches for a moderation programme would return a negative result at Al-Jauharen, and the return would be inaccurate. What the case suggests is that the presence of a named programme and the presence of the disposition are separable, and that an institution may score poorly on the first while performing substantially on the second. The converse possibility, that an institution may hold the documents without conducting the practice, is not observable from this case but follows from the same separation.

A dual curriculum with a fixed weekly allocation

The second theme concerns the structural arrangement through which classical and contemporary material are brought together. The kiai described the combination in principle, noting that santri learn from two sources, the turats as the foundation of the discipline and the Ministry's fiqh textbook as a complement connecting the material to present conditions, and characterising the two as mutually completing. What gives the arrangement analytic interest is that a teacher supplied its precise

operational form:

"Because at Al-Jauharen we use two fiqh books from two curricula. [...] So we have three hours for fiqh. One hour is devoted only to the workbook, following the system of the government curriculum. Then two hours we focus on the pesantren curriculum, with the texts we have determined." (U1)

The specificity matters. A dual curriculum described only in principle would leave the balance between its components to the discretion of individual teachers, and the amount of classical material any given cohort received would depend on who taught it. A fixed allocation of one hour to the national syllabus and two to the pesantren programme converts the principle into an institutional fact. It also establishes a priority: the classical component receives twice the time of the national one, which positions the Ministry's material as the point of contact with contemporary conditions rather than as the substance of the discipline.

Teachers described their preparation as moving between the two. One reported reading the turats material again and then comparing it with the Ministry's fiqh textbook used in the school before selecting examples close to the santri's lives (U2). Another reported beginning always from the text that serves as the pesantren's reference, studying the material, and only then seeking examples matching present circumstances (U1). The order is consistent across accounts and is not incidental; it recurs as a principle in theme eleven below.

The turats as carrier of visible disagreement

The third theme identifies where the moderating content actually resides. On the accounts of both the kiai and the teachers, it is not added to the classical text by the teacher but encountered within it by the student:

"From the turats texts that we study, the santri can see for themselves that the scholars hold differing views on certain questions. That difference does not mean one is absolutely right and another wrong, but is the result of ijtihad that must still be respected." (K1)

A teacher gave the same account from the classroom side, naming the texts in use and explaining what they do: the standard fiqh manuals of the Shafi'i tradition such as among them *Matn al-ghayah wa-al-taqrib*, *Fath al-qarib*, and *Fath al-mu'in*, set out the opinions of scholars together with their evidences (Syafei et al., 2024; Zakariyah et al., 2022), so that santri learn that disagreement genuinely exists in fiqh and is to be met with mutual respect rather than mutual accusation (U2). Another was explicit that the moderating effect is not a property of any single work:

"In our view the value of moderation does not come from one particular book, but from the way the teacher explains the content of the text, conveys the existence of differences among the scholars, and teaches the santri to hold to the evidence, respect difference, and not readily fault the opinion of others." (U6)

Read together, the two accounts describe a division of labour. The text supplies the fact of

disagreement; the teacher supplies the interpretation of what that fact means. Neither is sufficient alone. A text read without that interpretation would present disagreement as a problem to be resolved rather than a condition to be respected, and an interpretation offered without the text would be an assertion the student has no independent means of verifying. The pedagogical strength of the arrangement lies in the student encountering the evidence before receiving the moral.

The reference texts named across the teacher interviews were consistent: the standard graded sequence of Shafi'i fiqh manuals used at the corresponding levels of instruction, supplemented at MTs and MA level by the Ministry's fiqh textbook, with a classical work on the ethics of learning, *Ta'lim al-muta'allim*, drawn upon where questions of conduct arose (U5). One teacher described the graded structure as institutionally fixed rather than individually chosen, with a determined standard text for each level from the primary grades upward (U1). Documentary examination confirmed the availability of these texts as reference material.

Contemporary muamalah as the site of relevance

Every informant category identified the same substantive territory as the place where fiqh meets present conditions: online buying and selling, digital wallets, online lending, banking, conduct on social media, and relations with people of differing background. The kiai framed the necessity in terms of what santri now face, observing that they are confronted not only with questions of worship such as ablution, prayer, fasting, and alms, but with new questions requiring a broader jurisprudential understanding that cannot be settled by reference to a single proof text.

Teachers described the operation concretely. One reported explaining first the foundational law of sale in Islam from the text used at the pesantren, and only then introducing bank transfer, digital wallets, and online purchase as instances, emphasising that santri should understand the ruling on the basis of knowledge rather than pronouncing something permitted or forbidden without foundation, from which they learn caution and the avoidance of premature judgement (U2). Another described the treatment of interfaith relations as teaching that Islam requires respect for others without any mixing of creed, so that santri maintain their own conviction while respecting others, not imposing their will, and preserving good relations (U3).

The santri accounts corroborate this independently and with specificity. Asked which material had made the strongest impression, they named sharia banking and bank interest, and observed that scholars differ on it so that one learns not to fault others readily (S2); online buying and selling, from which they had learned honesty, the avoidance of deception, and adherence to the requirements of the law even when trading over the internet (S6); the law governing the use of present-day technology, from

which they had concluded that fiqh can follow the development of the age provided a basis in evidence remains (S7); and transactions in the digital sphere, from which they had understood that Islam governs daily life and not worship alone (S9). The second observed session, on muamalah, recorded the teacher connecting the material to digital transactions, social media, and technological development, with the accompanying note that the material was linked to real life.

3.2. The Role of the Kiai and the Teaching Staff

The kiai's standing directive: from reading to reasoning

The kiai described his role as directing the teaching staff rather than teaching the material himself, and the direction he reports giving has a consistent structure. Teaching must not terminate at the surface of the text:

"I always tell the ustaz that teaching fiqh should not stop at reading the text, translating it, and then explaining its contents. What matters more is how the santri understand the meaning of the material and can apply it in daily life." (K1)

Three requirements follow from this in his account. Teachers are to explain the basis of the ruling in each discussion, from the Qur'an, the hadith, and the explanations of scholars. Where more than one opinion exists on a question, they are not to present only one, but to explain that scholars have their own grounds for their reasoning, so that santri become accustomed to respecting difference and do not readily assume their own view to be the only correct one. And they are to connect the material to problems currently facing society.

The six teacher interviews are consistent with this direction, which is itself a finding: a directive that appeared only in the account of the person issuing it would carry little weight, whereas one reflected in the independent accounts of those receiving it indicates an operative rather than a declared policy. Every teacher described presenting multiple scholarly opinions as routine. Every teacher described connecting material to contemporary circumstances. The consistency is strong enough to warrant the caution noted in the analysis section, that shared institutional discourse may account for some part of it; but the specificity of the operational detail each teacher supplied, and the divergence they display on evaluation, suggest the convergence is not merely rehearsed.

Collective deliberation before transmission

One teacher described a quality-control mechanism that no other informant mentioned, and that has more institutional significance than its single-source status might suggest:

"If there is contemporary fiqh material, I usually discuss it first with the other teachers or look at the results of the ustaz's deliberation at the pesantren. The aim is that the explanation given remains in accordance with the reference texts and does not depart from the understanding of the scholars." (U3)

The kiai's account of how the institution handles publicly contentious questions is consistent with

this, describing a sequence in which the matter is returned first to the primary sources and the pesantren's reference texts, then to the explanations of scholars both earlier and contemporary who possess competence in the field, and, where the question is sufficiently complex, to deliberation among the teachers before any explanation is given to santri. What the two accounts jointly describe is a filter positioned between a public controversy and the classroom, so that a teacher's individual judgement on a novel question is checked before it reaches students. Because only one teacher named it spontaneously, the theme is reported as moderate rather than strong; whether the mechanism operates routinely or is invoked selectively cannot be established from the present data.

Inquiry rather than refutation in response to absolutism

All six teachers were asked how they respond to a santri whose understanding tends towards the extreme, and all six described a response that begins by declining to contradict. The formulation recurs almost verbatim across the interviews:

"If a santri's opinion tends towards the extreme, I do not immediately declare it wrong. I ask first why he came to think that way, where the source was. Only then do I explain on the basis of the Qur'an, the hadith, and the text we are studying." (U1)

A second teacher described inviting the santri into discussion rather than breaking his opinion, asking him to explain his reasons and then opening the text together to examine the scholars' explanation, from which the santri learns that understanding a ruling must be whole and cannot rest on a single proof text taken without the fuller explanation (U2). A third reframed the purpose of study itself, telling santri that the task of learning is to seek knowledge rather than to determine who is most correct, so that a santri may remain convinced of the opinion he holds while still respecting others (U3). A fourth used comparative cases, explaining why scholars differed and showing that each position rested on evidence (U4). A sixth returned the santri to the texts and the opinions of the schools of law, adding that adab in seeking knowledge takes precedence, so that before venturing to fault another one must first genuinely understand the matter (U6).

The fifth teacher described a variant with a distinct diagnostic component:

"If I see an understanding beginning to tend towards an extreme attitude, I usually take a personal approach. I invite him to talk outside lesson hours so that it is more relaxed. Sometimes the cause is that the santri obtained information from social media without a complete explanation." (U5)

Two features of this cluster deserve emphasis. The response is diagnostic before it is corrective: the first move is to establish the provenance of the position rather than its validity, which treats the santri as having reasoned from something rather than as having simply erred. And the correction, when it comes, is conducted through a shared text rather than through the teacher's authority, so that the santri is shown the basis of the revision rather than asked to accept it. The santri accounts are consistent:

one described the teacher explaining slowly and supplying the evidence, so that they were required to understand first rather than to judge (S3).

Exemplarity as the strongest channel

The kiai identified personal example as carrying more weight than instruction, and did so in terms that place it above the content of the curriculum:

"The ustaz must be an example for the santri. The way he speaks, the way he respects others, the way he discusses, all of it will be seen and imitated by the santri. Because in the pesantren, exemplarity is far stronger than mere theory." (K1)

Both observed sessions recorded conduct consistent with this. In each, the teacher was recorded as receiving santri opinion and then providing explanation grounded in evidence and the reference text, directing santri towards respect for scholarly difference without fault-finding, with the accompanying note in the first session that the teacher valued every opinion and corrected with evidence, and in the second that difference of opinion was directed wisely. Classroom atmosphere was recorded as orderly, communicative, and open in both sessions, with santri able to receive differing opinions politely and no debate escalating into conflict.

The santri accounts supply the receiving end of the same phenomenon, and notably describe manner as much as content. One reported that the teacher's way of teaching was agreeable, explaining in language easy to understand, giving examples, and consistently reminding santri to be fair and to respect others despite difference (S10). Another reported that where opinions differed in class discussion the teacher still valued them and directed the students to talk it through properly (S6). What the santri register is not a doctrine about tolerance but a demonstration of it, which is precisely what the kiai's formulation predicts.

3.3. Learning Methods

The bandongan sequence as pedagogical base

Asked what methods they used, teachers described a common foundation before describing anything else. The methods named *bandongan*, in which the teacher reads and glosses while santri annotate, and *sorogan*, in which a santri reads to the teacher individually, are the two constitutive pedagogies of the pesantren tradition (Nasution et al., 2026; Nurtawab & Wahyudi, 2022). One stated it as the general condition of instruction at the institution:

"At this pesantren most of the texts used are classical, turats texts. So the method used is mostly reading, translating, and then explaining what is set down in those texts. That is the method most often used by the assembly of teachers, particularly in the teaching of fiqh." (U1)

A second teacher specified the sequence in four steps, describing santri reading the text first, then the vowel marks being supplied, then translation, and then his own explanation of the content and its

intent, after which santri are given the opportunity to ask or to discuss any opinion they had not understood (U2). The two observed sessions recorded the same base sequence, with the first noting reading of the text, supply of vowel marks, translation, exposition, question and answer, discussion, and case study, and the second recording bandongan alongside exposition, question and answer, discussion, and case analysis.

The sequence is worth stating explicitly because its structure carries consequences developed later in this article. Before any question of interpretation arises, the class must accomplish a linguistic operation: an unvocalised Arabic text must be vocalised, then rendered into Indonesian, before its content can be discussed at all. This is the mechanism through which the classical tradition is transmitted intact, and it is also, as theme fourteen establishes, the principal constraint on the time available for the discussion in which moderation is taught.

Method selection keyed to the type of material

Teachers did not describe a single method applied uniformly but a selection governed by what was being taught. The clearest statement of the principle came from the sixth teacher:

"The method we use adjusts to the material being studied. If the material is basic, it is usually more exposition and explanation of the text. But if the material relates to problems that often occur in society, we invite the santri to discuss and to analyse example cases." (U6)

The distribution follows a consistent logic across the interviews. Foundational material is delivered through the base sequence, on the reasoning that the santri must first possess the content. Contemporary material is delivered through discussion and case analysis, on the reasoning that its purpose is the formation of judgement rather than the acquisition of a ruling. A teacher described selecting cases frequently occurring in society so that santri would participate more actively, and using the ensuing discussion to show that scholars differ on certain questions, from which he taught that a moderate attitude does not mean combining all opinions but respecting those differences that possess a grounding in knowledge while holding to the sources (U6). The qualification is analytically precise and worth noting: moderation is defined negatively against syncretism as well as positively against rigidity (Abdullah & Zaenuri, 2025; Armita et al., 2025).

The observation data record a difference between the two sessions consistent with this principle. In the session on inheritance law, a classical topic, the use of relevant and moderate example cases was rated as partially implemented and santri activity in discussion likewise as partial, while every other indicator was rated as fully implemented. In the session on transactions, where contemporary application is intrinsic to the material, both indicators were rated as fully implemented, with participation recorded as high. The pattern is small but coherent: where the material is classical, the

discursive elements of the lesson attenuate, and with them the occasions on which moderation is explicitly addressed.

Foundations before cases as a safeguard

A sequencing principle appeared across several accounts and was stated most directly by the fifth teacher:

"Usually I do not immediately discuss a new problem. I explain first the juridical maxims from the text, and only then do I connect them with the contemporary question. In that way santri learn to understand the basis of the ruling first, so that they do not readily draw their own conclusions or follow information whose source is not yet clear." (U5)

The rationale is explicitly protective. Santri arrive at contemporary questions already carrying material acquired elsewhere, principally from social media (Campbell & Tsuria, 2021; Lengauer, 2018), and the risk the teacher identifies is not that they will lack an opinion but that they will possess one formed without foundation. Establishing the juridical maxims first supplies a framework into which the contemporary question can be placed, which changes what the discussion is for: the santri is not being told the answer but shown the apparatus by which answers are reached. The second teacher's account of banking follows the same order, and the kiai's instruction to explain the basis of every ruling supports it from above. The principle also explains the preparation sequence noted earlier, in which teachers consistently reported beginning from the text and only afterwards seeking contemporary examples.

Divergent conceptions of evaluation

The seventh interview item produced the only substantial disagreement in the teacher corpus, and it is reported here at length because it is a genuine divergence rather than a variation in emphasis. The first teacher located evaluation in formal assessment:

"One way of evaluating is from the side of examination. Because that seems the most optimal for seeing the success of the learner in receiving the material delivered by the teacher, through examination." (U1)

Four teachers took the contrary position explicitly. The second stated that they do not look only at examination marks, and that what matters more is the santri's conduct from day to day, whether they can respect one another, do not readily fault the opinions of others, and remain courteous during discussion, which he treated as a sign that the value had begun to take hold (U2). The third reported that evaluation is conducted largely through observation, with teachers watching daily how santri associate, how they resolve problems, and how they respond to difference, so that it does not always rest on a written test (U3). The fourth located it in the learning process and in dormitory activity, taking the capacity to act fairly, to avoid excessive partisanship, and to respect a friend who differs as the indication of success (U4). The sixth attended to change over time, treating a santri who had formerly been quick to anger or certain of his own correctness and who had become more open, willing to hear

others, and observant of adab as the indicator that the value had been received (U6).

The fifth teacher occupied an intermediate position, describing assessment as a combination of assignments, examination, and appraisal of attitude, on the reasoning that moderation cannot be understood in theory alone but must be visible in daily conduct both in class and in the pesantren environment (U5).

The divergence is not trivial, because the two positions imply different objects of instruction. If moderation is a body of knowledge about the legitimacy of disagreement, an examination is an appropriate instrument and the first teacher is correct. If it is a disposition, an examination can establish only that a santri knows what the disposition requires, and the four teachers who look to conduct are correct. The majority position at this institution is the second, and it is consistent with the kiai's emphasis on exemplarity, since a value transmitted by imitation is unlikely to be well captured by a written instrument (Horsburgh & Ippolito, 2018; Semper & Blasco, 2018). The observation data reflect the same split, recording evaluation as conducted through question and answer, assignments, examination, and observation of santri attitude both during instruction and in pesantren life, which is to say through both instruments at once. What the institution does not appear to possess is any agreed means of recording the attitudinal component, which leaves the majority conception dependent on individual teachers' informal judgement.

3.4. Supporting and Inhibiting Factors

The pesantren as a congruent environment

Teachers identified the residential setting as the principal facilitating condition, and did so in terms of congruence rather than intensity. The second teacher described the pesantren regulations, the daily activities, and the study of the texts as all teaching santri adab, mutual respect, and reluctance to fault others, so that the teacher need only continue and reinforce those values in class (U2). The fourth located the same effect in the alignment of personnel, observing that teachers, administrators, and the pengasuh share a single aim, so that what is taught in class is reinforced in the dormitory and in institutional activity (U4). The fifth attributed it to the ordinary rhythm of residential life, in which santri study, deliberate, and learn adab with their teachers daily, which makes an attitude of mutual respect easier to instil (U5).

The kiai identified an additional and analytically distinct mechanism. Residential life at the institution assembles santri from different regions with different customs and different ways of thinking, and from living together they learn to respect one another, cooperate, deliberate, and resolve problems properly, so that the value is not only taught but practised. What this describes is not

reinforcement of a classroom message but a separate source of the same disposition: the heterogeneity of the intake makes difference a daily condition rather than a topic, and the accommodation it requires is practised before it is theorised. One santri account reflects the result, reporting that in a discussion where a peer's opinion differed the teacher reminded them to respect one another and not to trade accusations (S6).

Four constraints and the language-time paradox

Four obstacles recur across the kiai and teacher interviews, and they are analytically distinct rather than variants of a single difficulty.

The first is linguistic. The first teacher identified it as intrinsic to the material, observing that the texts are in Arabic, which is a foreign language, so that some santri find it difficult to understand, since the process requires supplying the vowel marks, translating, and only then understanding (U1). The third teacher drew out the consequence for the teaching of values directly:

"Not all santri immediately understand the content of the text because the language is Arabic. Sometimes the study time is used more for reading, supplying the vowel marks, and translating first, before entering into the discussion of the moderation values." (U3)

The second is heterogeneity of preparation. The kiai noted that some santri have studied at a madrasah or pesantren since childhood while others begin only on arrival, so that their capacity to read the texts, their command of Arabic, and their ways of thinking differ, requiring patience and differentiated approach. The second teacher reported the same, and the fifth added a dimension of disposition rather than ability, observing that some santri are quick to receive while others require a fuller approach because they remain shy about asking or rigid in understanding difference (U5).

The third is time. The kiai identified it as structural, arising because the institution must complete its targets in the texts, deliver the Ministry's curriculum, and form the santri's character simultaneously. The sixth teacher described the same pressure from the classroom, noting that santri must complete both the text material and the Ministry material, so that the teacher must divide time between delivering material, explaining the content of the text, and instilling the value (U6).

The fourth is the external information environment. The kiai gave the fullest account, observing that santri obtain religious information from the internet with great ease, which would be beneficial if used correctly, but that not all of what they encounter comes from those with a strong foundation in the discipline, and that they may view a one-minute video or read a short piece and then draw their own conclusion, whereas understanding fiqh requires gradual study, comprehension of the evidence and the scholars' explanation, and direct learning from a teacher. The fourth teacher reported the same from the classroom, describing information of uncertain provenance that the teacher must subsequently

correct (U4). Santri corroborated this independently, one reporting that a great deal of information on social media differs from what is taught in class, which is sometimes confusing (S2).

The first and third constraints together constitute what may be called the language-time paradox, and it is the sharpest analytic finding of this study (Ellis, 2015). The turats is the institution's principal resource for moderation, precisely because scholarly disagreement is visible within it and because engaging with it requires the slow, evidenced reasoning that moderation presupposes. But engaging with it also requires a four-step linguistic operation that must be completed before any discussion can begin, and the time that operation consumes is drawn from the same finite allocation as the discussion itself. The resource and the constraint are the same property of the same material. This is not a deficiency that additional effort would remedy; it is a structural feature of text-based instruction in a language the students do not natively command (Ellis, 2015), and it explains why the third teacher's account locates the loss precisely where it does.

The institution's responses to these constraints, as reported across the interviews, are consistent: teacher guidance, text-based instruction, scholarly discussion, deliberation among the teaching staff, and the strengthening of adab in the pursuit of knowledge. Table 5 sets out the constraints against the responses reported.

Table 5. Constraints and Reported Institutional Responses

Constraint	How it manifests	Reported response
Language of the texts	The four-step reading sequence consumes time before content can be discussed	Teacher guidance; graded text sequence by level; sustained text-based instruction
Heterogeneous preparation	Capacity to read texts and prior religious formation differ widely at intake	Differentiated approach; patience; personal approach outside lesson hours
Time scarcity	Two curricula and character formation compete for the same allocation	Fixed weekly allocation of one hour to the national syllabus and two to the pesantren programme
External information environment	Fragmentary religious content acquired from social media without reasoning	Correction through reference texts; sequencing of foundations before cases; deliberation among teachers before transmission

3.5. What the Santri Report

A gradient of understanding

The ten santri were asked what they understood by wasathiyyah after studying fiqh at the institution, and their answers, taken together, form a gradient rather than a uniform response. At one end are formulations that define moderation by what it avoids: not excessive in religion while still

following its teaching and respecting those who differ (S1); an attitude in the middle, neither too hard nor too free (S2). A second group defines it through the fact of juridical disagreement: through fiqh they had come to know that difference of opinion genuinely exists, so that one cannot immediately declare another wrong (S3); that not every question has only one answer, since scholars differ, so that mutual respect is required (S6). A third group defines it through a disposition of judgement: not readily judging others, and looking first for the evidence where a difference arises (S7); holding to the teaching of Islam without being fanatical about a single opinion (S8). The fullest formulation combines several elements, describing moderation as acting justly, not being excessive, and not readily faulting others merely because of a difference of manner or opinion (S10).

The gradient is itself the finding. All ten santri produced an answer recognisably within the intended range, which indicates that the value has been transmitted in some form to every informant. But the answers differ in the depth of the reasoning supporting them, from a simple avoidance rule to an account grounded in the mechanics of juridical disagreement. Since the santri interviewed were drawn from senior classes, the variation cannot be attributed to length of exposure alone, and is more plausibly related to the heterogeneity of preparation that teachers identified as a constraint. What the pesantren appears to achieve reliably is the disposition; what varies is the santri's capacity to give an account of why it is warranted.

Transfer to conduct and its four limits

Asked whether the value affected their conduct outside the classroom, all ten santri reported that it did, and described the change in behavioural rather than doctrinal terms: not immediately declaring another wrong but first trying to understand the reason (S1); greater care in speaking about or commenting on others, particularly in matters of religion (S3); discussing calmly rather than moving directly to argument (S4); greater patience (S5); investigating an explanation before joining in blame when difference appears in the community (S6); and greater calm in the face of difference, without ready anger, preferring conversation to disputing what remains contested (S10).

More analytically valuable are the limits the same santri identified when asked about difficulties, since these are the points at which transmission is incomplete. Four are distinguishable. The first is insufficient command of the evidence: one reported still not adequately understanding the proofs and therefore being unable to explain the matter to others (S4). The second is competing information, already noted, arising from the divergence between social media content and classroom instruction (S2). The third is affective, one santri reporting that he is still carried away by emotion when debating with a friend despite having been taught mutual respect in class (S5). The fourth is environmental, and appears in two forms: encountering people who insist that their own opinion alone is correct, which makes the

disposition difficult to practise (S3), and adjusting to environments outside the pesantren that differ from it without abandoning what has been learned (S7).

Two observations follow. The limits are not failures of the disposition but of its supporting conditions, and each maps onto a constraint the teachers independently identified: the evidential limit onto the language and time constraints, the informational limit onto the external environment, and the environmental limit onto the congruence of the pesantren, which by its nature ends at the gate. The convergence of santri difficulty and teacher constraint, arrived at through separate interview schedules, is the strongest instance of triangulation in this study. The second observation concerns the affective limit, which no teacher identified and which no element of the reported pedagogy addresses: santri are taught the grounds for respecting difference and shown it modelled, but the management of one's own reaction in the moment of disagreement does not appear as an object of instruction, which is the affective operation that learning theory places between valuing a norm and internalising it as self-regulated conduct (Ryan & Deci, 2017).

Synthesis: How the Four Values Are Carried

The four values the kiai identified as most emphasised are traceable through the corpus, and each is carried by an identifiable mechanism rather than by exhortation. Table 6 sets out the correspondence across the three techniques.

Table 6. The Four Moderation Values Across Data Sources

Value	As Articulated by the Kiai	How it is Taught	As it Appears in Santri Accounts
Tasamuh (tolerance)	Mutual respect for difference of opinion, since fiqh contains genuinely contested questions	Scholarly disagreement encountered directly in the turats and interpreted by the teacher	Not declaring another wrong; respecting peers whose worship differs
Tawassuth (the middle way)	Understanding religion whole: neither so severe as to fault others nor so lax as to disregard the law	Contemporary cases addressed through juridical maxims established first	Neither too hard nor too free; not excessive in religion
I'tidal (justice)	Judging a question on evidence and scholarly explanation rather than through partisanship	Comparative presentation of scholarly positions with their evidences	Seeking the evidence before forming a view; not judging readily
Tawazun (balance)	Religious learning alongside the capacity to live among others and be of benefit	Residential life with santri of differing regional and educational background	Adjusting to environments outside the pesantren without abandoning what was learned

Relation to previous research

The findings converge with, and in one respect depart from, the existing literature. The proposition that pesantren transmit moderation through institutional culture rather than through named instruction is consistent with studies reporting that the value is carried by curriculum, exemplarity, and daily activity taken together (Isbah, 2020; Mulyana, 2023; Wildan & Muttaqin, 2022). The centrality of the kiai's and teachers' personal conduct corroborates work on exemplarity as the operative channel of formation in pesantren leadership (Ali et al., 2021; Azizah et al., 2021; Latif & Hafid, 2021; Rasyid et al., 2022), and it is well explained by social learning theory and by the hidden-curriculum literature, which predict exactly this pattern where a value is modelled rather than declared (Horsburgh & Ippolito, 2018; Semper & Blasco, 2018). Where the present findings depart from the policy literature is in the status of the programme: studies that operationalise moderation through curriculum documents and formal subjects (Muhlisin et al., 2023; Mukhibat et al., 2024) would register this institution as a negative case, whereas the observational record indicates the value is transmitted continuously. The divergence is not empirical but definitional, and it bears directly on how instruments of assessment should be designed. The language-time constraint reported below has, to the authors' knowledge, no direct counterpart in the pesantren literature, though it is anticipated by second-language research on the cost of comprehension in a language of instruction the learner does not command (Ellis, 2015).

Read across the four values, a single pedagogical structure recurs. In each case the santri encounters evidence before receiving a moral: the disagreement of scholars on the page before the injunction to respect disagreement, the juridical maxim before the contemporary case, the comparative presentation of positions before the requirement to judge fairly, and the daily fact of difference in the dormitory before the value of balance is named. The kiai's remark that exemplarity is stronger than theory belongs to the same structure, since a demonstrated disposition is evidence of a kind that a stated one is not. What the case describes, then, is not a curriculum in moderation but a consistent ordering of encounter and instruction, applied across materially different domains, in which the warrant for the value is supplied before the value is asserted.

4. CONCLUSION

This study examined how the values of moderation are instilled through contemporary fiqh instruction at Pondok Pesantren Al-Jauharen Jambi, drawing on interviews with the kiai, six fiqh

teachers, and ten santri, on structured observation of two sessions, and on examination of nine categories of institutional document. Its central conclusion is that moderation at this institution is transmitted through the ordinary apparatus of teaching rather than through any dedicated provision, and that the mechanism is a consistent ordering in which the warrant for the value is encountered before the value is asserted.

In relation to curriculum and material, the pesantren holds no policy document bearing the name of religious moderation, a fact the kiai stated plainly and without embarrassment. The value is carried instead by three ordinary features: a dual curriculum operationalised through a fixed weekly allocation of one hour to the national syllabus and two to the pesantren programme; a body of classical texts in which the disagreement of scholars is visible to the student on the page; and a range of contemporary material, principally in transactions and digital conduct, at which the tradition meets present circumstance. The separation between a named programme and an operative disposition is the finding of most immediate consequence for how such institutions are assessed.

In relation to the role of the kiai and the teaching staff, the kiai functions as the source of a standing directive that instruction must proceed beyond reading to reasoning, and the reflection of that directive in the independent accounts of all six teachers indicates that it is operative rather than merely declared. Teachers respond to absolutist positions by inquiry rather than refutation, establishing where a view came from before addressing whether it is sound, and conducting any correction through a shared text rather than through their own authority. A mechanism of collective deliberation filters novel questions before they reach the classroom, though it was named spontaneously by only one teacher. Above all, both the kiai and the santri identify personal example as the strongest channel, and the santri accounts register manner as much as content.

In relation to method, a four-step reading sequence forms the base, onto which discussion, question and answer, and case analysis are layered according to whether the material is foundational or contemporary. A sequencing principle operates as a safeguard, establishing juridical maxims before contemporary cases so that santri acquire the apparatus for reaching conclusions rather than the conclusions themselves. On evaluation the teachers divide: one locates the evidence of success in examination, four in observed conduct, and one in a combination, a disagreement that reflects genuinely different conceptions of what is being taught and that the institution has not resolved.

In relation to supporting and inhibiting factors, the congruence of the residential environment is the principal asset, reinforced by an intake heterogeneous enough to make the accommodation of difference a daily practice rather than a topic. Four constraints operate against it: the language of the texts, the heterogeneity of preparation, the scarcity of time under a dual curriculum, and an external

information environment delivering religious content stripped of its reasoning. The first and third constitute a paradox internal to the method, since the linguistic depth that makes the turats a resource for moderation is also what consumes the time in which moderation would be discussed. The santri accounts confirm the transmission and identify four limits to it, three of which correspond directly to constraints the teachers named independently, and one of which, the management of one's own emotion in disagreement, appears in no element of the reported pedagogy.

4.1. Implications

Several implications follow for the institution and for others resembling it. The absence of a named moderation programme should not be read as an absence of moderation education, and assessment instruments that search for the former will misdescribe institutions of this kind (Muhlisin et al., 2023; Peraturan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 58 Tahun 2023 Tentang Penguatan Moderasi Beragama, 2023); what would be more informative is evidence of the ordering described here, in which santri encounter the grounds of a value before its assertion. The divergence among teachers on evaluation indicates a need not for a single instrument but for an agreed means of recording the attitudinal component, since the majority conception currently depends on informal individual judgement and leaves no institutional trace. The collective deliberation mechanism, named by one teacher and corroborated in principle by the kiai, is the pesantren tradition of *bahtsul masail*, and it would repay formalisation (Abshor, 2016; Adib, 2022; Adib & Huda, 2020; Saiin et al., 2021), since its value lies precisely in operating routinely rather than selectively. The language-time paradox admits no simple remedy, but it can be made explicit in planning, so that the discursive component of a lesson is protected rather than absorbed by the linguistic work preceding it. And the affective dimension of disagreement, which santri identify and the pedagogy does not address, is a candidate for direct attention.

4.2. Limitations

Five limitations qualify these conclusions. First, the study examines a single institution, and the account offered describes how the process operates at this pesantren under these conditions rather than establishing what obtains elsewhere. Second, only two sessions were observed, and one of them addressed a classical topic in inheritance law rather than contemporary material, so that direct observation of contemporary *fiqh* instruction rests effectively on a single session; the claim that contemporary issues are integrated therefore depends substantially on self-report. Third, and relatedly, the informants have an institutional interest in the account they give, the santri were interviewed within the pesantren where socially expected answers are readily available, and the strong convergence among the six teachers may reflect a shared institutional discourse as well as independent corroboration.

Fourth, the study measures transmission through report and observation of classroom conduct, and possesses no evidence of how santri behave beyond the institution; the environmental limit the santri themselves identify is precisely the point at which the present data end. Fifth, documentary examination established the availability of the nine categories and the presence of moderation content within them, but a systematic content analysis of the lesson plans and syllabus was not undertaken and would be required to assess how far the integration is specified rather than assumed.

4.3. Further Research

Four lines follow directly. Observation should be extended across a larger number of sessions and deliberately weighted towards explicitly contemporary material, so that the integration reported by teachers can be examined as it occurs rather than as it is described. Alumni should be traced and interviewed, since the environmental limit identified by santri makes conduct after leaving the institution the decisive test of what has been transmitted. A comparative study across pesantren differing in curriculum structure, in particular between institutions operating a dual curriculum and those operating a single one (Assa'idi, 2021; Zakariyah et al., 2022), would establish whether the arrangement documented here accounts for the outcomes attributed to it. And a systematic content analysis of lesson plans and syllabus documents would establish whether the integration of moderation is specified at the level of planning or supplied by teachers in the moment of delivery, a distinction that bears directly on how durable the practice would prove under a change of staff.

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