



Developing a Value-Based Moderate Islamic Education Model: A Case Study of Pesantren Sidogiri Pasuruan

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ABSTRAK

Pondok pesantren merupakan lembaga pendidikan Islam tertua dan asli di Indonesia. Pendidikan Islam telah berlangsung secara turun temurun. Penelitian ini difokuskan pada model pendidikan Islam di Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri Pasuruan dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif berjenis studi kasus yang sempit namun mendalam. Data diperoleh dari informan kunci melalui wawancara mendalam, observasi partisipatif, dan studi dokumentasi. Analisis data dalam penelitian ini menggunakan analisis konten. Hasil penelitian ini adalah sebagai berikut: Pertama, pendidikan Islam yang berlangsung di Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri bersifat tradisional. Namun, pendidikan Islam di pondok pesantren Sidogiri juga bersifat moderat. Kedua, moderasi pendidikan Islam di pondok pesantren Sidogiri dicapai melalui inkubasi dan internalisasi nilai kepada santri oleh kyai. Nilai-nilai yang bersifat tidak berwujud ini memiliki dampak yang signifikan dalam membentuk karakter santri, termasuk nilai keikhlasan, pengabdian, adab, ruh al-inqiyad, dan nilai perjuangan. Meskipun pondok pesantren ini mengintegrasikan teknologi dalam kegiatan sehari-hari dan mengadopsi referensi yang bersifat ekstremis, santri tetap teguh pada nilai-nilai mereka dan menyaring referensi tersebut secara kritis. Ketiga, model pendidikan Islam yang diterapkan adalah model integratif kritis yang menggabungkan metode pendidikan klasik seperti sorogan dan bandongan dengan metode pendidikan modern, termasuk penggunaan kecerdasan buatan. Pendekatan ini menghasilkan santri dengan kepribadian yang kritis namun beretika.

ABSTRACT

Islamic boarding schools, known as pondok pesantren, are the oldest and indigenous Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia. Islamic education has been a tradition passed down through generations. This study focuses on the Islamic education model at Sidogiri Pasuruan Islamic Boarding School using a qualitative approach, specifically a narrow but in-depth case study. Data were obtained from key informants through in-depth interviews, participatory observations, and document studies. Data analysis in this research used content analysis. The findings of this study are as follows: First, the Islamic education at Sidogiri Islamic Boarding School is traditional. However, it is also characterized by moderate Islamic education. Second, the moderation in Islamic education at Sidogiri is achieved through the inculcation and internalization of values to the students by the kyai (Islamic scholars). These intangible values have a significant impact on shaping the students' character, including values of sincerity, devotion, manners, the spirit of compliance, and the value of struggle. Despite the integration of technology into daily activities and the adoption of extremist references, students maintain their steadfastness in their values and critically filter these references. Third, the Islamic education model implemented is a critical integrative model, combining classical education methods like sorogan and bandongan with modern educational methods, including the use of artificial intelligence. This approach produces students with critical yet ethical personalities.

KATA KUNCI

Pondok Pesantren; Pendidikan Islam Moderat; Inklusi Nilai; Model Pendidikan Integratif; Pendidikan Tradisional dan Modern.

KEYWORDS

Islamic Boarding School; Moderate Islamic Education; Value Inculcation; Integrative Education Model; Traditional and Modern Education.

A. Introduction

Islamic boarding schools, known as “pesantren” in the Nusantara region, are well-recognized institutions within the realm of Islamic education. These pesantren have made significant contributions to the intellectual development of the nation. They have been instrumental in nurturing and producing intellectual leaders who are well-equipped to utilize their scholarly potential for the benefit of the broader community.¹

Since their inception, Islamic boarding schools, known as pesantren, have significantly contributed to the educational development of Indonesia and the guidance of Muslim life. The community has consistently recognized and valued the presence of these institutions. Mukti Ali, a noted observer of Indonesian societal development, acknowledges that pesantren have produced numerous leaders, both within and outside the government. He notes, “Many of this country’s leaders, whether holding significant government positions or not, have emerged from Islamic boarding schools.”² However, it must be acknowledged that not all graduates of pesantren find success or take pride in their participation in society. This is a common phenomenon across educational institutions, including Islamic ones, where not all graduates achieve prominent success.

Pesantren are often referred to as traditional due to their contextual approach to Islamic teachings, fostering a comprehensive religious understanding among students. These institutions are termed traditionalist because they have been established for centuries, focusing on classical Islamic texts, or “yellow books,” authored by early scholars. Consequently, graduates of pesantren tend to adhere closely to these texts alongside the Qur’an and Hadith. Santri, or students, typically interpret the Qur’an and Hadith through the lens of early scholars, engaging in the study of various tafsir (exegesis) and hadith syarah (explanations), particularly the six major hadith collections (kutub al-sittah).

A santri, or student in a pesantren, is typically engaged not only in religious recitations but also in the assimilation of salafiyah values, which are fundamental to their daily lives. These values foster a moderate approach to understanding and practicing Islam. Despite their traditionalist foundation, pesantren have adapted to modernization over the past decade, including the incorporation of information technology.³ Salafiyah values serve as a primary safeguard against the potentially negative influences of this technology. Additionally, the unwavering obedience to the kyai, or Islamic scholar, is a cornerstone of Islamic education in these institutions. The development of Islamic education in pesantren is guided by the principle encapsulated in the slogan al-Muhâfadhah ‘ala al-Qadîm al-Shâlih wa al-Ahdzu bi al-Jadîd al-Ashlâh, which translates to “maintaining the good old traditions while embracing new and better practices.” This philosophy enables pesantren to remain relevant and actively

¹ Imam Tholikhah and Ahmad Barizi, *Membuka Jendela Pendidikan: Mengurai Akar Tradisi Dan Integrasi Keilmuan Pendidikan Islam/Imam Tolkhah* (Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 2004).

² Mukti Ali, “Pondok Pesantren Dalam Pendidikan Nasional,” in *Seminar Nasional Pembangunan Pendidikan Dalam Pandangan Islam* (Surabaya: IAIN Sunan Ampel, 1984).

³ As’ad Syamsul Arifin, *Percik-Percik Pemikiran Kiai Salaf: Wejangan Dari Balik Mimbar* (Situbondo: Bp2m PP Salafiyah Syafiiyah, 2000).

engaged in society amidst the rapid advancements in information technology. The kyai, as the leader of the pesantren, leads with charisma and provides protection and guidance to both the ustadz (teachers) and students.

Cultural capital is an invaluable resource in education. Bourdieu identifies cultural capital in three forms: embodied, objectified, and institutionalized, which can all contribute to social reproduction in various societies.⁴ Embodied cultural capital refers to personal attributes such as abilities, talents, style, language, values, and creative output, exemplified by individuals or groups like writers, painters, filmmakers, or specific ethnic groups organizing cultural festivals. Objective cultural capital consists of cultural products, such as paintings, books, food, performances, films, and cultural heritage buildings.⁵ These are the results of conscious creative activities, produced by individuals or groups, expressing cultural identity.⁶ Such products can be circulated and consumed by others if deemed valuable. Institutionalized cultural capital involves directing cultural capital into structures that can enhance the social position of an individual or group within the economy. Examples include film screenings, video or painting exhibitions, book sales, and writing for newspapers. In the context of education, cultural capital manifests as intellectual and behavioral outputs that shape the educational system within Islamic boarding schools.⁷ Writing and conduct within these institutions are forms of cultural capital that contribute to the broader educational framework.

Constructivist theory in the learning process posits that students have truly learned when they can build or construct their own understanding of the world by gathering information, interpreting it, and connecting it to their prior experiences. Intellectual development is influenced by the historical and cultural contexts of an individual's experiences and relies on systems of symbols created to facilitate thinking, communication, and problem-solving.⁸ This theory advocates for cooperative classroom settings where students with diverse skills interact and collaboratively devise solutions to problems. Vygotsky's theory of learning, which emphasizes scaffolding, complements this constructivist approach. Scaffolding involves providing students with support through various learning stages and gradually reducing this support, ultimately enabling students to take responsibility for their own learning.⁹ Teachers offer assistance in the form of instructions, warnings, motivation, and suggestions. The core of Vygotsky's theory is sociocultural learning, which highlights the importance of interactions with adults

⁴ Troels Krarup and Martin D Munk, "Field Theory in Cultural Capital Studies of Educational Attainment," *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 37, no. 5 (2016): 761–779, <https://sciencespo.hal.science/hal-01295802v2>.

⁵ Scott Davies and Jessica Rizk, "The Three Generations of Cultural Capital Research: A Narrative Review," *Review of Educational Research* 88, no. 3 (June 21, 2018): 331–365.

⁶ Anders Vassenden and Merete Jonvik, "Cultural Capital as a Hidden Asset: Culture, Egalitarianism and Inter-Class Social Encounters in Stavanger, Norway," *Cultural Sociology* 13, no. 1 (March 1, 2019): 37–56.

⁷ Andrzej Klimczuk, "Cultural Capital," in *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Consumption and Consumer Studies* (Wiley, 2015), 1–3, <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9781118989463.wbeccs083>.

⁸ Rajendra Kumar Shah, "Effective Social Constructivist Approach to Learning for Social Studies Classroom," *Journal of Pedagogical Research* 3, no. 2 (2019): 38–51.

⁹ D. Muniyappan and P. Sivakumar, "Social Constructivism Perspectives On Teaching Learning Process," *PARIPEX - INDIAN JOURNAL OF RESEARCH* 7, no. 2 (2018), www.worldwidejournals.com.

and more capable peers. According to Vygotsky, learning occurs when students engage with tasks that they have not yet mastered but are within their reach, often referred to as the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD).¹⁰

These two theories are employed to analyze and discuss the findings of research on the value-based Islamic education model at the Sidogiri Islamic boarding school. By applying constructivist and Vygotskian perspectives, this analysis aims to uncover new variations of the moderate value-based Islamic education model, enhancing its effectiveness and relevance.

Sidogiri Pasuruan Islamic boarding school is a well-established institution, boasting approximately 30,000 students. The development of its economic resources is commendable, evidenced by the establishment of a muamalah bank, a cooperative, and even a student-targeted drinking water product. Despite its prominence, Sidogiri maintains its adherence to salafiyah values while also adapting to the pervasive influence of information technology. Thus, Sidogiri remains a traditional salafiyah Islamic boarding school, rather than evolving into a modern Islamic institution.

Given this context, researchers aimed to investigate the transformation model of value-based moderate Islamic education within Islamic boarding schools. This research employs a qualitative approach to explore data in-depth, focusing narrowly on specific aspects,¹¹ and operates within an interpretive paradigm to uncover implicit as well as explicit meanings.¹² The study of the value-based moderate Islamic education model at Sidogiri Pasuruan boarding school is a case study designed to reveal detailed insights into the moderate Islamic education practices at this salafiyah institution.¹³ The choice of Sidogiri, a large and traditional boarding school, was intentional. The researchers sought to determine whether a salafiyah boarding school, with its conventional curriculum and traditional learning system, could successfully implement a moderate education model, or if it strictly adheres to classical Islamic education.

Researchers employed in-depth interviews, participatory observation, and documentation studies at Sidogiri Pasuruan boarding school, guided by key informants, to collect data.¹⁴ The in-depth interviews aimed not only to obtain answers to specific questions but also to understand the underlying phenomena at Sidogiri,¹⁵ particularly concerning the value-based moderate Islamic education model implemented at the school.

¹⁰ Najla Alghamdi, "Social Constructivism Theory in a Sociolinguistic Classroom," *International Journal of Social Science and Human Research* 04, no. 02 (February 9, 2021), <http://ijsshr.in/v4i2/7.php>.

¹¹ Robert C. Bogdan and Sari Knopp Biklen, *Qualitative Research for Education* (New York: Allyn & Bacon Boston, 1997).

¹² John W Creswell, *RESEARCH DESIGN Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches SECOND EDITION* (California: Sage Publications, 2010).

¹³ Robert Sherman and Rodman Webb, *Qualitative Reserch in Education: Focus and Methods* (London: Routledge, 2005).

¹⁴ Natasha Mack and Cynthia Woodson, *Qualitative Research Methods* (Nort Carolina: USAID for American People, 2005).

¹⁵ Irving Seidman, *Interviewing as Qualitative Research: A Guide for Researchers in Education and the Social Sciences* (London: Teachers college press, 2006).

For data analysis, the study utilized the Miles, Huberman & Saldana model,¹⁶ along with content analysis.¹⁷ Content analysis was used to interpret and represent the data obtained from interviews and observations, transforming it into concepts that could be discussed and compared with established theories. To ensure the validity of the data, the following techniques were employed: credibility through source triangulation and method triangulation to cross-verify the data,¹⁸ transferability by applying research findings to other sites with similar characteristics to test their generalizability,¹⁹ dependability through discussions with senior research professors to ensure consistency and reliability in the findings; and confirmability by cross-checking with Sidogiri Islamic boarding school to verify the accuracy of the collected data. These techniques collectively ensured the robustness and reliability of the research findings, distinguishing accurate data from temporary or superficial expressions.

B. Traditionalist and Moderate Islamic Education

Islamic boarding schools, as some of the oldest Islamic educational institutions, have been imparting Islamic education for centuries. Sidogiri Islamic Boarding School, which is over a century old, exemplifies this long-standing tradition. According to research, Sidogiri conducts its educational process through two primary channels: the classical madrasah diniyah and the recitation sessions with the Kyai. Recitations, which are either in the form of sorogan or bandongan, involve teaching a variety of classical texts. These texts include “Ummul Barohain” in aqidah, “Fath al-Qarib” in fiqh, “Waraqat” in ushul fiqh, “Mukasyafah al-Qulub” and “Ihya’ Ulum al-Din” in tasawuf, “Fath al-Wahhab,” “Al-Iqna” in fiqh, “Asbah wa al-Nadhair” in ushul fiqh, and “Syarh Fath al-Majid” in aqidah. In addition to these traditional teachings, Sidogiri Pasuruan has embraced information technology to enhance its educational environment, allowing students to access a broader range of reference books to improve their knowledge and competence.

The data indicate that the Islamic education at Sidogiri Pasuruan is traditionalist. However, this traditionalist education uniquely cultivates generations of students who are humble, well-mannered, and moderate. A distinctive feature of Islamic education in boarding schools is the clear teacher-student relationship, with the Kyai as the central figure. The education system emphasizes obedience to the Kyai over critical thinking, though it does not entirely discourage critical thought, which is generally not expressed openly in front of the Kyai. This tradition fosters a moderate and tolerant outlook among students, who often emulate their Kyai’s demeanor. Consequently, students develop a flexible yet firm

¹⁶ M.B, Huberman, A.M, & Saldana, J. Miles, *Qualitative Data Analysis, A Methods Sourcebook*, 3rd ed. (USA: Sage Publications, 2014).

¹⁷ Donna M. Mertens - *Research and Evaluation in Education and Psychology_ Integrating Diversity With Quantitative, Qualitative, and Mixed Methods*-SAGE Publications, Inc (2009)” (n.d.).

¹⁸ Christine Daymon and Immy Holloway, *Qualitative Research Methods in Public Relations and Marketing Communications* (London: Routledge, 2005).

¹⁹ Amir B Mar, *Qualitative Research in Sociology* (New Dhelhi: Sage Publication, 2003).

understanding of Islam, contrasting sharply with radical groups that, despite their high religious zeal, often lack comprehensive Islamic knowledge.

Santri, although they enhance their knowledge through a variety of references, both traditional (salafi) and contemporary texts, maintain the integrity of their sanad (chain of transmission). This preservation ensures that their moderate disposition remains intact and that they continue to identify strongly as santri. Despite being classified as traditionalist education, Islamic boarding schools have also integrated information technology and even artificial intelligence into their educational framework.²⁰ As Nasir points out, the emergence of santri as national or international figures suggests that technology has indeed penetrated these institutions.²¹ Therefore, the traditionalist label for pesantren pertains primarily to their educational methods and curriculum type. In terms of technology adoption, these boarding schools are on par with formal educational institutions such as schools and madrasas.

Islamic education extends beyond formal education to include the broader domain of informal education. The family serves as the first educational institution, where children receive their initial education from their parents. Families play a crucial role in raising children to be moderate and tolerant.²² This is achieved by teaching children noble morals and exemplifying these values through parents' attitudes and behavior, which children naturally emulate.²³ Parents are the initial instillers of faith in their children, providing a solid foundation that significantly influences their subsequent character development.²⁴ Before children are sent to Islamic boarding schools, they are equipped with fundamental character values imparted by their parents and the surrounding community.

Islam, as articulated by Allah in the Qur'an through the Prophet Muhammad, is described as a blessing for the universe (rahmatan li al-'alamin), the most ideal depiction. The Qur'an, as a divine revelation, normatively provides comprehensive guidance for human beings. The Prophet Muhammad exemplified these instructions in various facets of life, including social, economic, political, and legal domains, especially within a society marked by severe moral decay, known as the Jahiliyah society.

The example set by the Prophet Muhammad extends beyond his lifetime and must be perpetuated by his followers, particularly by influential figures such as Muslim rulers, ulama, scholars, and everyday professionals. These individuals are tasked with translating the Qur'anic teachings and the Prophet's exemplary conduct into practical, contemporary applications, addressing the complexities and multidimensional challenges of modern life.

²⁰ James Arthur, *Education with Character: The Moral Economy of Schooling* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

²¹ M Ridhwan Nasir, *Mencari Tipologi Format Pendidikan Ideal: Pondok Pesantren Di Tengah Arus Perubahan* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2005).

²² Mansur, *Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini Dalam Islam* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2007).

²³ Binti Maunah, "Pendidikan Anak Dalam Keluarga: Upaya Maksimalisasi Fungsi, Peran Dan Tanggung Jawab Orang Tua," *Taallum Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 18, no. 1 (June 2008).

²⁴ Binti Maunah, "Implementasi Pendidikan Karakter Pembentukan Kepribadian Holistik Siswa," *Jurnal Pendidikan Karakter* V (2015).

Revelation provides the foundational guidance, but it is incumbent upon humans to manifest these directives in real-life scenarios. Without actualizing these teachings in social contexts, revelation remains merely a set of passive normative provisions. For instance, while the Qur'an condemns oppression, it is up to people to actively fight for liberation; otherwise, oppression will persist unchecked.

The vision of Islam as a blessing for the universe is realized through the actions of its adherents, who are expected to contribute positively to others and to all creation. Muslims are called to be intellectually intelligent and creative, economically robust and generous, and socially amiable. The amalgamation of these qualities fosters a personality that is capable of being protective and beneficial to others, embodying the true spirit of Islam.

The first image of an ideal Muslim is one who is intelligent and intellectually creative. Such individuals are expected to generate knowledge, create beneficial products, and exert a positive influence on others, thereby achieving excellence and promoting goodness. The Qur'an states, "You are the best of peoples, evolved for mankind, enjoining what is right, forbidding what is wrong, and believing in Allah" (QS. Ali Imran [3]: 110). Al-Maraghi interprets this verse to mean that Muslims are considered the best because they embody these three functions, which purify them from evil and elevate them with goodness.²⁵ Building on Al-Maraghi's interpretation, it can be inferred that Muslims are deemed the best because they are ennobled by their virtues. Consequently, Islamic boarding schools that instill values of moderation and a deep understanding of Islamic education foster students who are tolerant, respectful, and refrain from condemning others' practices of worship.

In the context of Sidogiri Islamic boarding school, its educational process can be analyzed through the lens of cultural capital theory. Cultural capital encompasses the values, educational, social, and intellectual knowledge that individuals acquire, often internalized from childhood through parental teachings and familial influence.²⁶ At Sidogiri, the kyai, ustadz, and boarding school administrators embody this cultural capital. They play a crucial role in shaping students, whether they come from home or reside at the school. The educational system, according to cultural reproduction theory, serves as the institutional mechanism through which cultural capital is transformed into educational success. Thus, Sidogiri Islamic boarding school not only imparts religious knowledge but also cultivates the cultural capital essential for producing well-rounded, moderate, and tolerant individuals. This approach ensures that students excel intellectually while maintaining a strong ethical foundation, ultimately contributing positively to society.

²⁵ Ahmad Musthafa al-Maraghiy, *Tafsir Al-Maraghy, Jus III* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1998).

²⁶ Thomas Lickona, *Educating For Character: How Our School Can Teach Respect and Responsibility* (New York: Bantam Books, 1992).

C. The Moderation Process of Islamic Education in Islamic Boarding Schools

All educational processes inherently involve the role of values, and this is particularly evident in Islamic boarding schools. These institutions integrate values into their educational framework, instilling them in students to guide their behavior and actions, both in academic settings and everyday life. The values emphasized include religious, exemplary, moral, worship, independence, and discipline, among others. At Sidogiri Islamic Boarding School, Kyai Nawawi Abdul Jalil al-Hajj plays a crucial role in embedding these values into the students' consciousness, a process that has proven successful. This success is reflected in the students' social interactions, which are characterized by politeness and *tawadhu'* (modesty). The process of Islamic education at Sidogiri involves more than formal classical education; it heavily relies on the Kyai's *uswah hasanah* (exemplary conduct). The principle *oral al-hal afdholu min oral al-maqal* (actions speak louder than words) guides the Kyai's daily behavior, serving as a model for the students. Consequently, when the Kyai embodies moderate views and a tolerant understanding of Islam, the students tend to adopt similar attitudes. This dynamic is evident at Sidogiri, where Kyai Nawawi Abdul Jalil al-Hajj's moderate and tolerant disposition is mirrored in his students, who become moderate and tolerant individuals actively participating in their communities.

Intangible values hold significant power in shaping a *santri*. These include sincerity, devotion, *adab* (proper conduct), *ruh al-inqiyad* (spirit of compliance), and the value of struggle. Even as the boarding school integrates technology and potentially extremist references into daily activities, the *santri* remain steadfast in their values. Their ability to filter these references and technologies ensures they avoid radical ideologies, maintaining a balanced and principled approach to their education and life.

Santri are expected to cultivate a tolerant attitude, which forms the foundation of moderation in Islamic and religious education. This moderation has been implemented through various activities in Islamic boarding schools. The reinforcement of religious moderation must be supported by environments conducive to developing and nurturing this attitude. Despite the predominantly Muslim population in these boarding schools, instilling religious moderation in students remains crucial. It provides a baseline for tolerance among different religious communities, especially since students may rarely encounter individuals of other faiths. *Santri* must be educated and provided with comprehensive knowledge about the importance of religious moderation and Islamic education. These moderate values should be deeply ingrained not only in the students but also in the *kyai* of the boarding school. This holistic approach ensures that the principles of moderation and tolerance are upheld and practiced within the school environment, preparing *santri* to engage positively and respectfully with diverse communities.

The process of cultivating an attitude of religious moderation in an Islamic boarding school extends beyond basic concepts and practices, integrating both the learning process and various school activities. Students grasp the value of *uswah* (exemplary behavior) more effectively through observation

and imitation than through dogmatic instruction in a classroom setting.²⁷ In their daily interactions, santri frequently observe the kyai's behavior, allowing them to internalize values through direct observation rather than rote memorization, although memorization also contributes to instilling moderation. Ultimately, this approach enables students to understand and appreciate differences, fostering tolerance within their immediate environments—such as their family, boarding school, and broader society—and extending to the national and global context. By observing and emulating the kyai's moderate behavior, santri develop a nuanced understanding of religious moderation, equipping them to engage respectfully and constructively with diverse perspectives.

The process of internalizing and instilling values of moderation has been significantly influenced by the role of social media over the past decade. The pervasive impact of social media is particularly evident in the millennial era, with many students increasingly adopting Western cultural attitudes. A notable number of students prioritize social media engagement over traditional studies, such as reading the classical texts (the “yellow book”) or participating in forums like Bahsu al-Masail. Consequently, many Islamic boarding schools have implemented policies prohibiting students from carrying communication devices or cellphones. In response to these challenges, the kyai and teachers at Islamic boarding schools play a crucial role in fostering an attitude of religious moderation and preventing fanaticism. Their primary goal is to help students appreciate and accept religious differences, both within Islam and among other religions in Indonesia. This approach encourages a positive perspective on the diverse religious landscape of the country. The development of Islam in Indonesia has been largely influenced by middle to upper-class Muslims with higher education, who promote peaceful coexistence and societal harmony from an early age through the cultivation of religious moderation. Islamic boarding schools, known for their expertise in Islamic teachings, contribute significantly to this effort. By providing comprehensive education on the fundamentals of Islam, these institutions ensure that students develop a tolerant and respectful attitude. However, this process requires direct guidance, direction, and exemplary behavior (*uswah*) from the kyai. Through their leadership and personal example, kyai can effectively instill the values of moderation and tolerance in students, helping them navigate the complexities of modern society while maintaining a balanced and respectful approach to religious diversity.

Instilling an attitude of religious moderation in students can be effectively achieved through cultivating a religious culture within Islamic boarding schools. This involves integrating routine activities with programmed events, fostering a supportive educational environment, and delivering religious education not only formally but also through various learning processes. Creating religiously conducive situations and conditions, allowing students to express themselves and showcase their talents, organizing competitions to build confidence, and holding art activities relevant to life are all instrumental

²⁷ Ifham, Choli, “Pembentukan Karakter Melalui Pendidikan Islam,” *alrisalah* 1 (2019).

in this endeavor.²⁸ These activities collectively represent the religious culture of the boarding school, transforming everyday practices with values derived from the Qur'an, hadith, and the behavior of esteemed scholars.

The concrete manifestation of religious moderation is the development of a multicultural religious culture that raises students' awareness. According to Rivai, globalization has intensified competition for excellence in various life aspects, including education, where academic achievement has become a significant competitive arena. Multicultural religious values are essential for students, as they promote tolerance, deepen religious understanding, and encourage the practice of religious teachings. These values also enhance students' affective and psychomotor skills. Internalizing multicultural religious values by creating a multicultural religious culture ensures that students become accustomed to practicing these values. Consequently, they grow into individuals who respect each other, including those of different faiths.²⁹ This comprehensive approach not only strengthens religious moderation but also equips students to navigate and contribute positively to a diverse and globalized world.

Concrete steps to realize a multicultural religious culture and internalize moderation in Islamic boarding schools can be effectively implemented through the role of ustadz (teachers) in providing guidance. According to Koentjaraningrat's theory, development efforts should occur at three levels: espoused values, daily practices, and cultural symbols.³⁰ At the level of espoused values, these are the agreed-upon principles shared by all administrators and students at the Islamic boarding school. These values are typically socialized by the kyai, who serve as the central leaders of the institution. At the level of daily practices, students adopt values from the kyai, who act as role models (uswah) by internalizing or indoctrinating values through modeling. This method proves more effective than mere verbal instruction. Instilling Islamic values is a complex task, far more challenging than fixing a broken object. It involves engaging with living beings, our own flesh and blood. Educating the younger generation through Qur'anic dialogue provides opportunities for meaningful educational interactions. Such interactions foster a harmonious physical and mental relationship between children and their educators or parents, enabling open discussion of all issues. The internalization of values can also be achieved by providing students with positive experiences in implementing the values learned. Strategies, methods, and approaches can work together in the learning process. For instance, learning through historical narratives provides valuable life experiences that cannot be overlooked. The stories of national struggles, for example, are not mere historical reflections but showcase the character of the nation—hard work, sincerity, unity, simplicity, and an unyielding spirit. These characteristics formed the

²⁸ M Fathurrohman, "Pengembangan Budaya Religius Dalam Meningkatkan Mutu Pendidikan," *Ta'allum: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 04, no. 01 (2016).

²⁹ Muh. Khoirul Rifa'I, "Internalisasi Nilai-Nilai Religius Berbasis Multikultural Dalam Membentuk Insan Kamil," *Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam* 4, no. 1 (May 2016).

³⁰ Muhaimin, *Nuansa Baru Pendidikan Islam* (Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 2006).

foundation of the Indonesian nation and should be ingrained in the current generation to foster a sense of belonging and pride in their homeland. In summary, the process of instilling a multicultural religious culture involves espoused values agreed upon by all school members, socialized by the kyai, daily practices where students emulate the kyai's behaviors, cultural symbols that reinforce these values, providing positive experiences for students to practice these values, and utilizing historical narratives to teach valuable life lessons. These steps, integrated within the educational framework, ensure that students develop a deep, practical understanding of religious moderation and cultural tolerance.

Educating through parables is a powerful method for instilling national character and fostering a spirit of patriotism. This approach involves providing positive examples of natural phenomena that surpass human capabilities, offering a paradigm for the nation to approach life's challenges with a positive mindset.

In terms of cultural symbols, this pattern is established through habitual practices within Islamic boarding schools. For example, students regularly participate in congregational fardhu prayers, dhuha prayers, and tahajud prayers. These practices, which are integral to the school's routine, serve as cultural symbols reinforcing the values taught. Additionally, rites and worship activities at the boarding school further solidify this pattern of cultural symbols.

At the level of adopted values, it is essential to collectively formulate and agree upon the religious values that need to be developed within the Islamic boarding school. This fosters a shared commitment and loyalty among all members of the institution toward these values.³¹ Consistency in implementing these agreed-upon values is crucial, as is the competence of those who formulate them to provide clear examples of how to apply and manifest these values in daily activities. By combining parables with the habitual practice of cultural symbols and the consistent implementation of shared values, Islamic boarding schools can effectively cultivate a strong, positive national character and instill a deep sense of religious moderation and cultural tolerance in their students.

At the level of daily practice, the agreed-upon religious values are manifested in the attitudes and behaviors of all residents of the boarding school. This development process can be carried out in three stages: socialization, where multicultural religious moderation values are disseminated as ideal attitudes and behaviors to be achieved in the future; establishing a weekly or monthly action plan, outlining systematic steps to embody these values within the educational institution; and recognition and rewards, where achievements of teachers, educational staff, and students who exemplify these values are acknowledged. These rewards can take various forms, including social, cultural, psychological, or other non-material forms, to encourage commitment and loyalty to the agreed religious teachings and values.³²

³¹ Asmaun Sahlan, *Mewujudkan Budaya Religius Di Sekolah: Upaya Mengembangkan PAI Dari Teori Ke Aksi* (Malang: UIN Maliki Press, 2010).

³² Muhaimin, *Rekonstruksi Pendidikan Islam: Dari Paradigma Pengembangan, Manajemen Kelembagaan, Kurikulum Hingga Strategi Pembelajaran* (Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 2009).

At the level of cultural symbols, it is essential to align cultural symbols with religious teachings and values by replacing outdated symbols with those that reflect religious principles. This can include changing clothing styles to adhere to modesty principles, displaying students' work and photos that convey religious values, and promoting mottos with messages of religious significance.³³

Strategies for instilling religious values in Islamic boarding schools can be implemented through power strategy, utilizing the authority of the head of the Islamic boarding school to drive changes; persuasive strategy, forming and influencing the opinions and views of the public or members of the educational institution; and normative re-education, socializing and educating norms within the community to replace old institutional paradigms with new, value-aligned ways of thinking.³⁴ By integrating these strategies and approaches, Islamic boarding schools can effectively cultivate a culture of religious moderation and tolerance, ensuring that these values are deeply ingrained in the daily practices and cultural symbols of the institution.

The first strategy is developed through a command-and-prohibition or reward-and-punishment approach.³⁵ In contrast, the second and third strategies are developed through habituation, exemplification, and a persuasive approach, subtly inviting members of the school community by providing compelling reasons and prospects. These strategies can involve positive action and reaction, as well as proaction, where initiatives are taken independently, shaping and directing development efforts. Another form, antipasti, involves actively creating ideal situations and conditions to achieve desired goals.³⁶ In implementing these actions and strategies, values serve as the foundation for all activities. At Sidogiri Islamic boarding school, intangible values drive all members towards successful character development and literacy culture.

To realize innovation, the application of these intangible values is carried out in five stages: enforced, forced, able, normal, and finally becoming a culture.³⁷ Initially, coercion acts as the first step to mobilize these intangible values, turning them into a driving force for character development and literacy culture. This process reflects the kaizen principle, which originates from the Japanese words "KAI" (improvement) and "ZEN" (good).³⁸ Kaizen, therefore, means continuous improvement, emphasizing ongoing, incremental progress.

An attitude of religious moderation requires guidance from teachers and clerics, as they play a noble role in shaping students' attitudes. Kyai and teachers act as mentors, akin to travel guides, utilizing their knowledge, experience, and sense of responsibility to ensure a smooth and enriching journey for

³³ Muhammad Fathurrohman, *Budaya Religius Dalam Peningkatan Mutu Pendidikan* (Yogyakarta: Kalimedia, 2016).

³⁴ Muhaimin, *Rekonstruksi Pendidikan Islam: Dari Paradigma Pengembangan, Manajemen Kelembagaan, Kurikulum Hingga Strategi Pembelajaran* (Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 2009).

³⁵ Sahlan, *Mewujudkan Budaya Religius Di Sekolah: Upaya Mengembangkan PAI Dari Teori Ke Aksi*.

³⁶ Muhaimin, *Rekonstruksi Pendidikan Islam: Dari Paradigma Pengembangan, Manajemen Kelembagaan, Kurikulum Hingga Strategi Pembelajaran*.

³⁷ Renald Kasali, *Myelin: Mobilisasi Intangibles Menjadi Kekuatan Perubahan* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2010).

³⁸ John W. Davis, *PROGRESSIVE KAIZEN The Key to Gaining a Global Competitive Advantage* (New York: CRC Press, 2011).

students. This journey extends beyond the physical realm, encompassing mental, creative, moral, emotional, and spiritual dimensions. Through daily guidance and attention, kyai and teachers can closely observe and understand students' characteristics, identifying areas for improvement and development. As spiritual educators in Islamic boarding schools, kyai and teachers hold a revered position, with students expected to demonstrate obedience and respect towards them. This relationship fosters an environment conducive to instilling religious moderation. Additionally, the educational approach in Islamic boarding schools emphasizes the use of logic and reason to understand and practice Islamic teachings, further enhancing the deepening and application of these values. This rational approach to education not only strengthens students' understanding of their faith but also promotes a balanced and moderate perspective in their religious practices.

Apart from their role as guides, teachers also serve as motivators, providing encouragement and raising students' enthusiasm for learning and character development.³⁹ They can offer concrete explanations and motivation to students who struggle to understand, ensuring that students feel cared for and supported. This role is crucial and meaningful for students, as it fosters a positive learning environment and promotes personal growth.

The professional duties of teachers extend beyond academics to encompass humanitarian and social responsibilities.⁴⁰ Teachers act as second parents at school, providing foundational understanding from an early age, nurturing students as scientific beings who continuously learn and think critically.⁴¹ They also guide students to become individuals capable of transforming themselves and finding their identity in social life. Teachers' roles are integral to the holistic development of students, preparing them to navigate and contribute positively to society.

Departing from the theory of cultural capital, the Sidogiri Islamic boarding school exemplifies various forms of cultural capital. The realized cultural capital includes the ability to read the Yellow Book, leadership talents and styles, the unique learning methods of the school, and the study of multiple languages, including Arabic, Indonesian, and Javanese. The agreed-upon values at Sidogiri encompass *tawadhu'an* (humility), the spirit of *al-inqiyad* (obedience), and others. Creative initiatives such as pioneering the Baitul Maal wat Tamwil (BMT), which now has over 50 branches across Indonesia, and the establishment of KOPONTREN (Islamic boarding school cooperatives), which has become a model emulated by many other Islamic boarding schools, also represent cultural capital. Objective cultural capital at Sidogiri includes cultural products such as books produced by the school's scholars, both those that explore the work of Indonesian scientists and those developed by the Masail Bahtsul (discussions and solutions on contemporary issues). The distinctive architecture of the Sidogiri Islamic boarding

³⁹ Minsih Minsih and Aninda Galih D, "PERAN GURU DALAM PENGELOLAAN KELAS," *Profesi Pendidikan Dasar* 1, no. 1 (July 31, 2018): 20.

⁴⁰ Agustini Buchari, "PERAN GURU DALAM PENGELOLAAN PEMBELAJARAN," *Jurnal Ilmiah Iqra* 12 (2018): 1693–5705.

⁴¹ Ali Mashari, Ahmad Tohir, and Husna Farhana, "PERAN GURU DALAM MENGELOLA KELAS," *AHSANTA JURNAL PENDIDIKAN* 5 (2019), <https://journal.stkipalitb.ac.id/index.php/ajp>.

school is also a significant element of this cultural capital.⁴² Kyai and the school's administrators embody and express cultural identity, which can be appreciated and valued by others. Institutionalized cultural capital at Sidogiri includes the comprehensive Islamic education system, ranging from ibtidaiyah (elementary) to dirosah ulya (advanced studies), now being directed towards becoming mu'ilah (more advanced and specialized). The daily bandongan (group learning) sessions led by the kyai and their consistent practice represent this institutionalized capital. These structured educational practices and the commitment to daily learning sessions exemplify the school's dedication to preserving and transmitting its rich cultural heritage.

Kyai at Sidogiri Islamic boarding school internalize and inculcate values in students through both recitation and direct learning, as well as through their daily behavior. According to Bourdieu, this internalization of values by the kyai involves four stages: *voorbeeld* (example), *gewoontevorming* (habituation), teaching, and *zelfbeheersching* (self-mastery).⁴³ In the *voorbeeld* stage, kyai set examples and inspire students by embodying the values they wish to instill. During the *gewoontevorming* stage, students are habituated to worshipping on time, fostering a spirit of tolerance, and respecting others' opinions. For instance, when students witness their peers praying differently—such as not using the *qunut* prayer during morning prayers—they do not immediately criticize, understanding that both practices are acceptable. In the teaching process, the kyai impart knowledge through the *sorogan* and *bandongan* methods, as well as classical yellow book instruction.⁴⁴ Though these methods may appear traditional, they possess profound values and appreciation. The *ma'na gandul* (hanging meaning) translation process, for example, offers a unique depth in understanding the yellow book, fostering a comprehensive and tolerant interpretation of the texts.⁴⁵ Finally, in the *zelfbeheersching* stage, students internalize and adhere strictly to the values taught by the kyai and the agreed-upon values at Sidogiri Islamic boarding school. This adherence is reflected in their performance and behavior, demonstrating the successful internalization of the values through the guidance and example set by the kyai.

The concept of the stages of internalization of values in forming culture, as proposed by Bourdieu, is enhanced at Sidogiri Islamic boarding school by incorporating an additional stage: the spiritual stage. In this stage, the kyai consistently prays for the students, asking for their success, devotion to their parents, teachers, and religion, and safety in the afterlife. At Sidogiri, every student is included in the kyai's prayers, aiming for them to ultimately become successful individuals with a strong spirit of tolerance. This spiritual dimension underscores the holistic approach taken by the kyai,

⁴² Wenwen Feng and Hai Hu, "Research on the Influence of Culture Capital on Compensatory Consumption Based on Relative Deprivation Theory," *Open Journal of Business and Management* 07, no. 03 (2019): 1346–1357.

⁴³ Yongjian Xu and Liqun Xu, "Enlightenment of Bourdieu Cultural Capital Theory," *International Conference on Arts, Design and Contemporary Education* (2016).

⁴⁴ Ernawati S Kaseng, "Perspektif Modal Sosial Budaya Dalam Pembangunan Berkelanjutan," *ALLIRI: JOURNAL OF ANTHROPOLOGY* 5, no. 1 (2023).

⁴⁵ Krarup and Munk, "Field Theory in Cultural Capital Studies of Educational Attainment."

integrating both practical and spiritual guidance to ensure the comprehensive development of the students.

From the perspective of social constructivism theory, students initially develop their cognition through lower mental processes, such as simple perception of objects, associative learning (grouping), and guided attention from parents during early childhood.⁴⁶ Cognitive development then progresses to higher mental processes, including language skills, counting, thinking, remembering, problem-solving, spontaneous attention, intuition, and memory schemes, which are enhanced through social interactions like dialogue and play.⁴⁷ To reach higher cognitive stages, children need more competent partners, such as parents, teachers, older siblings, or smarter peers. Additionally, they require challenging tasks to stimulate cognitive growth. Through collaboration with these partners and engagement in challenging activities, children acquire cognitive tools such as language, symbols, maps, pictures, discussion, and problem-solving skills. As they become proficient in processing these cognitive tools through social activities, their cognitive abilities naturally increase. In the context of Islamic education at Sidogiri Islamic boarding school, students (*santri*) at the *ibtidaiyah* (elementary) level engage in simple cognitive tasks with the guidance of their teachers. As they advance to the *tsanawiyah* (middle) and *Aliyah* (high) levels, they undertake more complex cognitive tasks, collaborating with peers to discuss, solve problems, and answer questions posed by themselves or others. This collaborative learning process fosters the development of tolerance and moderate understandings of religious issues, contributing to the students' overall character growth.

The process of inculcating and internalizing the values of Islamic education at Sidogiri Pasuruan Islamic boarding school, as carried out by the *kyai*, aligns with Talizhidu Ndraha's acting theory,⁴⁸ where the *kyai* serves as a role model or scenario for instilling values in the students. However, the *kyai*'s approach introduces a new variant to this theory by incorporating the element of prayer. This addition distinguishes it from Ndraha's theory, which focuses on the incarnation of values through obedience, imitation, following, and the leader's arrangement and scenario. At Sidogiri, the *kyai* not only follows these stages but also integrates prayer and the hope for students to receive blessings. These elements can be categorized as spiritual components. Thus, the theory of spiritual action emerges as an abstraction from the value inculcation process at Islamic boarding schools. This theory ultimately contributes to the formation of moderate and well-rounded students.

The process of moderating Islamic education in Islamic boarding schools, which begins with the inculcation of values in students by the *kyai* and *ustadz*, is a representation of Kaizen theory, emphasizing continuous improvement aimed at intangible values. The *kyai*'s role as a model for students

⁴⁶ Vera Idaresit Akpan et al., "Social Constructivism: Implications On Teaching And Learning," *British Journal of Education* 8 (2020): 49–56.

⁴⁷ Rajendra Kumar Shah, "Effective Social Constructivist Approach to Learning for Social Studies Classroom," *Journal of Pedagogical Research* 3, no. 2 (2019): 38–51.

⁴⁸ Talidzuhu Ndraha, *Budaya Organisasi* (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 1997).

and ustadz fosters ongoing enhancement within the boarding school. As one kyai expressed, studying at an Islamic boarding school involves more than just learning from the yellow books; it requires observing the kyai's behavior, as this behavior represents the practical application of knowledge in everyday life. Thus, the process of moderating Islamic education in Islamic boarding schools follows two paths: the recitation of the Qur'an, including methods such as sorogan, bandongan, and classical approaches, and the *uswah hasanah* (exemplary behavior) of the kyai. This dual approach—combining friendly, exemplary learning of religious knowledge and practical demonstrations of these values—ensures that students do not develop into radicals but instead grow into moderate Islamic scholars who are tolerant and do not consider themselves the only ones who are right.

D. Islamic Education Model in Islamic Boarding Schools

Based on the data described above, it can be stated that the Islamic education model at Sidogiri Pasuruan Islamic boarding school is an integrative and critically traditionalist model. This model combines classical education methods, such as sorogan and bandongan, with modern educational approaches, including the use of artificial intelligence. The critical spirit of a santri (student) is a key aspect of this model. Santri are taught to critically evaluate various references and knowledge sources, whether they come from books, Google, or artificial intelligence. This critical approach ensures that students develop into moderate individuals—referred to as “critical but moderate” at Sidogiri. Being moderate in this context means not solely relying on personal interpretations of the Qur'an and hadith but rather seeking understanding through the interpretations of ulama (scholars) and kyai. The importance of a scientific sanad (chain of transmission) is emphasized, as it ensures that interpretations of the Qur'an and hadith are rooted in established scholarly tradition. Without this sanad, individuals risk arbitrary and potentially misguided interpretations. Thus, the integrative and critically traditionalist education model at Sidogiri fosters well-rounded, moderate, and critically thinking Islamic scholars.

Critical santri are essential because their critical thinking extends to the technology entering the boarding school, the events occurring outside the boarding school, and their awareness of societal issues. This critical perspective does not mean rejecting societal traditions outright but rather seeking legal and ethical solutions for these traditions. A critical santri evaluates social changes within the community and addresses them thoughtfully. The critical thinking nurtured in santri enables them to become tolerant and socially responsible individuals. They can engage with new technologies, understand external events, and contribute positively to societal changes without hastily dismissing existing traditions. Instead, they seek to harmonize traditional values with contemporary challenges, ensuring that their approach to Islamic education remains relevant and beneficial in a rapidly changing world. This balanced critical approach is key to forming well-rounded, moderate, and socially conscious Islamic scholars.

The inculcation and internalization of values in Islamic boarding schools employ an organic model. This model views Islamic education as a unified system comprised of complex components, aiming to develop a religious outlook and a spirit of life manifested in Islamic life attitudes and skills. This synergy is formed through the exemplary behavior (*uswah*) of the *kyai* and the boarding school environment, fundamentally rooted in the doctrines and values of the Qur'an and hadith. In this organic model, divine, religious, and revelation values are considered the primary source of wisdom, guiding all aspects of life. While human values are acknowledged, they must align with divine values, establishing a vertical-linear relationship to ensure coherence.⁴⁹ This approach ensures that the values adopted in the boarding school are not only transcendental but also socially applicable, emphasizing social awareness. The result of this organic model is the development of *santri* with critical yet ethical personalities. These students are encouraged to critically engage with technology, societal events, and social changes while maintaining respect for traditions and finding legal and ethical solutions to societal issues. This balanced, critical approach fosters tolerance, social responsibility, and a profound understanding of the interplay between divine guidance and human experience.

E. Conclusion

Based on the above description, the following conclusions can be drawn: The Islamic education at Sidogiri Islamic boarding school is traditional in nature but also embodies moderate Islamic principles. This balance is achieved through a combination of classical education methods and a modern approach that emphasizes tolerance and social responsibility. The moderation of Islamic education at Sidogiri is deeply rooted in the values inculcated and internalized in the *santri* by the *kyai*. These intangible values—sincerity, devotion, *adab* (proper conduct), *ruh al-inqiyad* (spirit of compliance), and the value of struggle—play a crucial role in shaping the character of the *santri*. Despite the integration of technology and the presence of extremist references, the *santri* remain steadfast (*istiqomah*) in their values, critically filtering any influences that come their way. Sidogiri employs a critical integrative Islamic education model that combines classical education methods (*sorogan* and *bandongan*) with modern educational approaches, including the use of artificial intelligence. This model cultivates *santri* with critical yet ethical personalities, capable of navigating contemporary challenges while adhering to their core values. This research contributes a new variant to the cultural capital theory, highlighting the spiritual stages in the process of acculturation and value inculcation in Islamic boarding schools. The *kyai*'s role in providing spiritual guidance and praying for the students' success adds a unique dimension to the traditional cultural capital framework. In summary, the Islamic education at Sidogiri Islamic boarding school is a blend of traditional and modern methods, focusing on the holistic development of students through the inculcation of deep-rooted values and the integration of contemporary

⁴⁹ Mirwan Fikri Muhkam and Andi Aco Agus, "Penumbuhan Modal Sosial Dan Budaya (Social And Cultural Capital) Melalui Pembelajaran Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan," *Jurnal Kewarganegaraan* 6, no. 1 (2022).

educational tools. This approach ensures the formation of well-rounded, critical, and ethically grounded individuals.

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Agus Purwowododo, Muhamad Zaini

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