

## **IMPLEMENTING AND INTERNALIZING WASATHIYAH ISLAMIC VALUES IN A POST-RADICALIZATION CONTEXT: THE CASE OF AL-HIDAYAH INTEGRATED ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOL, ACEH TAMIANG**

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### **Abstract**

Islamic boarding schools are instrumental in promoting moderate Islamic teachings and cultivating values of tolerance and peace, serving as critical bulwarks against the spread of radical ideology. The Al-Hidayah Integrated Islamic Boarding School in Aceh Tamiang represents a unique post-radicalization context, having previously faced allegations of disseminating anti-nationalist ideology. This study examines the implementation and internalization of wasathiyah (moderate) Islamic values at Al-Hidayah after its rehabilitation, with a particular focus on the strategies employed and the challenges encountered. Utilizing a qualitative field research design, data were collected through observation, in-depth interviews with school leaders, teachers, and students, and analysis of institutional documents. The findings demonstrate that wasathiyah values—including moderation, balance, tolerance, consultation, reform, innovation, and nationalism—are systematically integrated into daily activities, the curriculum, extracurricular programs, and public religious study sessions. Teachers function as both primary agents and role models in this internalization process, supported by the use of classical Islamic texts and government-issued materials. However, efforts to entrench wasathiyah values face significant obstacles, notably the diverse backgrounds and perspectives of students, uneven teacher capacity, and diminished government support following the school's official rehabilitation. This study offers new empirical insight into the complexities of ideological transformation within Islamic educational institutions previously associated with radicalism, highlighting both the progress made and the persistent challenges in sustaining wasathiyah as a foundational ethos.

**Keywords:** Internalization; Wasathiyah; Islamic Boarding School; Ideological Transformation; Radicalism Prevention

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### **A. Introduction**

Indonesia's complex religious landscape, as the world's most populous Muslim-majority nation, has long influenced debates around the intersection of faith and state. The prevalence of Islamic identity is frequently invoked as a basis for advocating an Islamic state model, a trend not limited to fringe discourses. In 2018, for instance, the National Counterterrorism Agency reported that a segment of Indonesian university students openly supported the establishment of an Islamic state (Hamdi, Mukaffa, &

Masrifah, 2019). This dynamic is particularly pronounced in Aceh, a province renowned for its implementation of Islamic law (Syariat Islam) and its historical tendency to conflate religious creed with state ideology. Notably, no country in the world has ever managed to fully implement Islamic law; rather, existing nation-states often draw selectively upon Islamic values to inform their foundational principles (Rambe, Mawardi, & Mayasari, 2023).

These realities have, at times, provided fertile ground for the emergence of radical groups seeking to legitimize their agendas in the name of Islam. Aceh, with its distinctive history of resistance and aspirations for political autonomy, has been designated as a high-priority area by the central government due to concerns over separatist tendencies (Jayanti, 2018). The strong religiosity of Aceh's populace, while generally a positive force, has occasionally been exploited by certain actors to undermine national unity and to inject sectarianism into civic life. These dynamics have profoundly influenced the educational landscape in Aceh and across Indonesia, intensifying the negotiation between religious doctrine and the foundational ideology of Pancasila. Against this backdrop, the study and application of Islamic wasathiyah (moderation) has become not only relevant but essential.

Wasathiyah, often equated with Islamic moderation, is increasingly recognized as a theological framework highly compatible with contemporary realities. Situated between the poles of liberal and traditionalist Islam, wasathiyah offers a constructive solution for Muslims to navigate diversity and uphold justice without resorting to exclusion or takfir (excommunication). Its hallmark is a tolerant, gentle propagation of faith that foregrounds dialogue, non-coercion, and harmonious coexistence (Anzaikhan, Idani, & Muliani, 2023). The internalization of wasathiyah values is especially critical among students (santri) in Islamic boarding schools (pesantren), which have historically functioned not only as centers of religious knowledge, but also as crucibles for character and moral development (Fitri & Ondeng, 2022).

The communal, residential model of pesantren education—while fostering close-knit spiritual communities—also presents the risk of insularity and, potentially, the emergence of intolerant attitudes. Students come from diverse backgrounds and perspectives; unchecked, this diversity can sometimes give rise to fanaticism or intolerance. Such tendencies, if unaddressed, threaten to derail the pesantren's core

mission of da'wah (propagation of Islamic values) (Syafe'i, 2017). Accordingly, it is imperative for pesantren to cultivate attitudes that keep students distant from radical ideologies, enabling them to be agents of peace and wellbeing for the broader society. Central to this is the promotion of tolerance—respect for difference, avoidance of coercion, and collective decision-making (musyawarah)—all of which are encapsulated in the doctrine of wasathiyah.

Students who embody wasathiyah principles demonstrate maturity in responding to contemporary challenges, exhibiting intellectual openness and an ability to embrace pluralism—qualities that are essential in a diverse nation such as Indonesia. The roles of religious scholars (ulama) and pesantren leaders are pivotal in embedding these values within daily educational practice. Their support ensures that fanaticism is kept at bay, as pesantren leaders serve as models and facilitators of moderation.

Despite this, not all pesantren have successfully implemented wasathiyah teachings. Instances persist where teachers espouse fanatic views, unintentionally or otherwise leading students toward radicalism. A stark example can be found in the Al-Hidayah Integrated Islamic Boarding School, Aceh Tamiang, which has a troubling history of radical activity. Notably, in February 2022, two Al-Hidayah personnel were arrested by counterterrorism authorities (Harison, 2023). In July 2022, further arrests implicated school leaders and associates in alleged connections with the Jamaah Islamiyah (JI) network (Alfi, 2022). These individuals were accused of promoting radical values among students, such as intolerance, anti-Pancasila sentiment, and the rejection of national symbols during ceremonies. These events highlight the persistence of anti-nationalist indoctrination as a serious concern within pesantren circles.

Although Al-Hidayah has since been officially cleared of radicalism and terrorism allegations (as of June 2023), lingering concerns persist regarding the potential re-emergence of radical ideologies, whether overt or covert (Harison, 2023). This apprehension provided the initial impetus for this research, which aims to generate objective data and analysis. While the discourse on wasathiyah in pesantren is well established, much existing scholarship has focused on moderate institutions with stable, normative practices. In order to position the current study within broader academic debates, it is important to situate it alongside prior works examining the internalization of wasathiyah values in pesantren.

For example, Kusuma (2020) investigated the integration of wasathiyah and local wisdom in transformative da'wah at Pondok Pesantren Sabiilul Hidaayah, emphasizing the harmonization of moderation and cultural traditions. Fauzan (2022) examined the inculcation of wasathiyah values in Pondok Pesantren Darul Hikmah, Bima, an institution operating in a context categorized as a "red zone" for radicalism. Both studies offer valuable insight into the mechanisms and outcomes of wasathiyah integration, yet their focus differs from the present work, which centers on a pesantren with a direct history of anti-nationalist ideology and rehabilitation. Yasin's (2019) research on the implementation of wasathiyah in the curriculum of the well-established Darussalam Gontor boarding school, for example, draws on a context of institutional stability, whereas the present study investigates the dynamic process of ideological transformation and adaptation following radicalization at Al-Hidayah.

Thus, this research offers an original contribution by examining the internalization of wasathiyah Islamic values within the unique context of a pesantren formerly stigmatized by radicalism. Departing from normative analyses of established moderate institutions, this study provides empirical evidence regarding the process of ideological rehabilitation and the reconstitution of religious values at Al-Hidayah Integrated Islamic Boarding School, Aceh Tamiang. By employing a contextual, locally grounded approach, this research enriches the discourse on Islamic moderation, particularly in areas susceptible to ideological and national tensions. Consequently, the present study seeks to analyze the forms and methods of wasathiyah value implementation, as well as to identify and examine the obstacles and challenges encountered in their realization at Al-Hidayah.

## **B. Method**

This study adopts a qualitative field research design, aimed at providing an in-depth portrayal of the internalization process of wasathiyah Islamic values at the Al-Hidayah Integrated Islamic Boarding School in Aceh Tamiang (Abdussamad, 2021). This methodological approach was selected for its suitability in capturing the lived realities and subjective experiences of informants within a pesantren community undergoing ideological transformation. The study employed purposive sampling to identify key informants who possessed the capacity and insight necessary to address the research objectives (Sugiono, 2011). Informants included pesantren leadership, teaching staff, and

students, selected on the basis of their relevance to, and familiarity with, the processes of value internalization and institutional change.

Data were collected through three primary techniques: observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. Observation allowed the researcher to directly witness the enactment of wasathiyah values in the everyday activities of students. In-depth interviews were conducted with pesantren leaders, teachers, and students, providing nuanced insights into their perceptions and experiences related to the implementation and challenges of wasathiyah values. Documentation involved gathering relevant records from the pesantren's archives, photographs of activities, and instructional materials.

The analytical process comprised three stages: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing. Data reduction began at the initial stage of collection, as the researcher selectively retained information pertinent to the implementation of wasathiyah values at Al-Hidayah. The reduced data were then presented in thematic narrative form, serving as the basis for drawing interpretive conclusions about the interrelationship of key themes. To ensure the validity of findings, this study employed both source and technique triangulation. Source triangulation was conducted by cross-referencing information obtained from different categories of informants—pesantren leaders, teachers, and students. Technique triangulation involved the integration of observation, interviews, and documentation to provide a robust, multi-faceted perspective.

## **C. Result and Discussion**

### **1. Al-Hidayah Integrated Islamic Boarding School**

Al-Hidayah Integrated Islamic Boarding School (Pondok Pesantren Terpadu Al-Hidayah) is a prominent pesantren located in Aceh Tamiang, situated at Jl. T. Nyak Man, Sidodadi Village, Kejuruan Muda Subdistrict, in proximity to the Aceh–North Sumatra provincial border. The institution lies approximately two kilometers from the Banda Aceh–Medan national highway, offering accessible yet distinct educational facilities. Established in 2004, Al-Hidayah began as a modest Qur'anic learning center (TPA) with six students and nine teachers. Driven by the aspirations of the local community and religious leaders, it gradually evolved into a fully integrated pesantren, attracting students from across Aceh Timur, Stabat, Medan, Riau, and Pekanbaru. Most teachers originate from the Kuala Simpang area. Currently, the pesantren accommodates 240 male and

female students and is supported by a teaching staff of 43 (Interview with pesantren leader).

The continued growth and sustainability of Al-Hidayah can be attributed to the concerted efforts, resources, and commitment of the local community and religious figures. The pesantren has welcomed financial contributions from a range of donors, including those from abroad. Notably, the institution once received funding from Qatar, which was entrusted to the village administration to ensure collective management and stability for Al-Hidayah. In practice, most facilities utilized by the pesantren are communal village resources, underscoring a close partnership between the pesantren and the surrounding community to advance the institution's development.

Al-Hidayah's curriculum is distinctly integrative, merging traditional pesantren studies—particularly classical Islamic texts (*kitab kuning*)—with the official curriculum mandated by the Ministry of Education. Accordingly, Al-Hidayah is characterized as a “modern” pesantren (*khalafiyah*), distinct from the more traditionalist (*salafiyah*) model, and does not affiliate with any particular Sufi order. Nevertheless, it instills core elements of spiritual discipline (*tazkiyat al-nafs/tasawuf*) as part of its moral and character education (Interview with pesantren leader).

The institutional vision of Al-Hidayah is to “cultivate a generation of learned (*‘alim*) and devout (*muttaqi*) Muslims who practice Islam in its truest form and possess essential life skills.” The mission statements emphasize:

- 1) Instilling correct faith (*‘aqidah*) and noble character (*akhlaq*),
- 2) Providing education grounded in the Qur'an and Sunnah,
- 3) Nurturing students who are intellectually and spiritually strong,
- 4) Equipping them with relevant life skills according to their capacities (Interview with pesantren leader).

During field visits, the researcher observed that Al-Hidayah remains in a phase of active development, both in terms of infrastructure and educational systems. The exterior is marked by simple structures, adorned with banners and flyers promoting nationalism, devotion to the Republic of Indonesia, and anti-radicalism. Some banners feature images of local village leaders and pesantren teachers, reflecting strong community–institution synergy.

While Al-Hidayah once faced stigmatization as a radical institution—due to incidents involving its leadership and teaching staff—efforts at rehabilitation and transformation are now visibly underway. This transformation is particularly evident in the pesantren’s explicit affirmation of Pancasila and a renewed spirit of nationalism, signaling a proactive attempt to restore its reputation and strengthen community ties.

## **2. Implementation and Methods of Wasathiyah Islamic Values**

Following its official declaration as free from radical ideologies, the Al-Hidayah Integrated Islamic Boarding School has embarked on a systematic program to internalize wasathiyah (moderation) values. These initiatives have been supported by the Aceh Tamiang government, including the Regional Ulema Consultative Council (MPU), religious counselors, and various Islamic organizations, all of whom have coordinated a series of outreach activities for all pesantren in Aceh Tamiang. These programs emphasize socialization regarding the dangers of radicalism and the importance of embedding national values. The Aceh Tamiang Office of Islamic Law has also introduced a rigorous selection process for prospective teachers in all pesantren to prevent a recurrence of the incidents previously associated with Al-Hidayah. Additionally, authorities have conducted curriculum evaluations and observed teaching methods in order to detect and eliminate any latent radical tendencies within pesantren environments. Aceh Tamiang’s local government, through the Agency for the Implementation of Pancasila Ideology (BPIP), has also provided targeted guidance to Sidodadi Village, the home of Al-Hidayah. During this intervention, a flagship program called “Kampung Tangguh Pancasila” (Resilient Pancasila Village) was established. The initiative engages youth and community members in activities that foreground Pancasila values in everyday life, with the explicit aim of breaking the cycle of radicalization at its root (Saptanigtyas, Ramdhon, & Abdilla, 2021).

Beyond governmental support, internal stakeholders—including the pesantren leadership, teachers, and students—have also played a vital role in the institution’s recovery and transformation. The management has assumed responsibility for ensuring that wasathiyah values are not only included in the formal curriculum but also embedded in all aspects of daily life. This strategic alignment is intended to eliminate the residual

influence of radicalism and to preempt its potential resurgence. Several core wasathiyah values have become central to the institutional ethos at Al-Hidayah:

- 1) *Tawasuth* (Moderation): *Tawasuth* embodies a balanced position, steering clear of extremes—whether liberal or traditionalist—and emphasizes justice and measured responses to various phenomena (Wulandari & Zaman, 2022). Within Al-Hidayah, moderation is closely associated with interpretative justice: Qur’anic exegesis is approached both textually and contextually, utilizing bayani (text-based) and burhani (rational/contextual) methods to ensure a nuanced and equitable understanding.
- 2) *Tawazun* (Balance): The concept of *tawazun* (al-mizan, or equilibrium) refers to the proportional administration of justice—ensuring that rights and responsibilities are distributed fairly, even if not equally (Irfanuddin & Ibrahim, 2024; Ulya & Aziz, 2024; Arikarani & Azman, 2024). In institutional practice, Al-Hidayah teaches that neither religious nor national obligations should be sacrificed for the other. Students are trained to manage worldly and spiritual responsibilities in tandem, exemplified by balancing chores and academic obligations with religious duties and communal prayers.
- 3) *Tasamuh* (Tolerance): *Tasamuh*, derived from *as-samahah*, denotes the ability to coexist peacefully with difference, whether of ethnicity, political affiliation, or faith (Azizah & Hasyim, 2023). At Al-Hidayah, tolerance is instilled as a proactive skill, encouraging students to respect differences and reject the tendency to delegitimize or demonize the “other.”
- 4) *Syura* (Consultation): *Syura* signifies collective deliberation, fostering inclusive and peaceful decision-making (Muslim, 2022). Al-Hidayah’s governance model is grounded in *musyawarah*, especially during times of crisis. For example, after the high-profile arrests of staff linked to radical activities, the *pesantren* leadership embraced government supervision and orchestrated a public rededication to the Republic of Indonesia (Harison, 2023).
- 5) *Islah* (Reform): *Islah*, meaning rectification and improvement, underpins Al-Hidayah’s commitment to ideological recovery and positive institutional change (Hasanah & Ramadhan, 2023). The *pesantren*’s willingness to adopt reformative policies and openly distance itself from radicalism exemplifies this value.



- 6) *Tathawwur wa Ibtikar* (Dynamism and Innovation): Tathawwur (development) and ibtikar (innovation) highlight the need for continual self-improvement and openness to change (Hasan, 2021). Al-Hidayah's leadership has promoted digital literacy and social media engagement among students, along with creative skills such as graphic design, as part of its adaptive curriculum.
- 7) *Muwathanah* (Nationalism): Muwathanah reflects the obligation to love and serve one's country (Rasyid & Rakhmat, 2023; Azman, 2017; Afifah, 2018; Dewi et al., 2021). Since its rehabilitation, Al-Hidayah has prioritized symbols and rituals of nationalism: the Indonesian flag is now prominently displayed, official portraits of the president and national emblems are visible, and students participate in weekly flag-raising ceremonies.

### **3. Methods of Implementing Wasathiyah Islamic Values at Al-Hidayah**

#### **1) Teachers as Central Figures**

Within Al-Hidayah Integrated Islamic Boarding School, teachers occupy a central role in shaping the character and religious orientation of students. This role has become even more critical in the aftermath of the pesantren's association with radical ideologies. The successful ideological transformation and ongoing recovery of the institution are closely linked to the active involvement of teachers, particularly in carrying out government and institutional programs promoting religious moderation. Many teachers have participated in training sessions on religious moderation organized by the Ministry of Religious Affairs and other agencies. Since the aforementioned incidents, teacher recruitment has been conducted with greater rigor, placing a strong emphasis on a demonstrable understanding of both Islamic moderation and national values, in order to prevent the recurrence of radical tendencies.

At Al-Hidayah, teachers are regarded as the "living curriculum"—their conduct, values, and pedagogical approach are viewed as the most effective means of transmitting wasathiyah principles. One educator remarked, "For us, the best curriculum resides in the teacher; it is through the teacher that knowledge and values are most readily internalized by students" (Sutrisno, 2024). This perspective reflects an understanding of the teacher's dual role as both instructor and role model, echoing Abraham Maslow's theory regarding the centrality of human agency in the development of others. Teachers who have received

religious moderation training are expected to serve as agents of ideological transformation, guiding students' attitudes and ways of thinking so they remain insulated from radical influences.

## 2) Curriculum: Classical Texts and Contemporary Materials

In addition to the personal example set by teachers, the school's curriculum plays a vital role in embedding wasathiyah values. Instruction draws upon a range of classical Islamic texts (*kitab kuning*), such as *Matan at-Taqrīb*, *Fathul al-Qarīb*, *Nurul Yaqin*, *Ulum al-Qur'an*, *Aqidah al-Thahawiyah*, and *Jurumiyah*. Although these texts do not always address Islamic moderation in contemporary terminology, they contain substantial discussions of justice, social relations, and tolerance, which underpin wasathiyah principles. The pesantren also makes use of government-issued books designed to strengthen students' understanding of nationalism and moderate Islamic thought, including *Hormat Bendera Perspektif Hukum Islam* (Saluting the Flag from an Islamic Legal Perspective) and *Islam dan Pancasila* (Islam and the Indonesian State Ideology).

## 3) Extracurricular Activities

Extracurricular programs at Al-Hidayah play a strategic role in supporting the internalization of wasathiyah values, particularly through character-building and the development of students' social skills. These activities are intended to balance formal and informal learning and to cultivate students' potential in a community context. Among the programs offered are the national flag-raising troop (*paskibraka*), scouting (*pramuka*), and football. Participation in *paskibraka* fosters discipline, leadership, and a strong sense of responsibility. Students often serve as ceremonial officers for national holidays at the village and district levels, signaling the school's commitment to instilling nationalism (*muwathanah*) as a facet of religious moderation.

Scouting has become a mandatory extracurricular activity, especially for new students, and was systematically introduced in the wake of the arrests related to radical networks. Scouting serves both as a character education program and as a mechanism for strengthening national awareness. Through scouting, students learn teamwork, discipline, and leadership, all aligned with Islamic values. Notably, female students (*santriwati*) are allowed to maintain their religious dress (e.g., *cadar*) during scouting activities, reflecting the pesantren's sensitivity to religious identity. Football and other group activities are

used to reinforce social integration, mutual support, and sportsmanship, further embedding wasathiyah values into everyday practice.

#### 4) Public Religious Study Sessions (Pengajian Umum)

Regular public religious study sessions (*pengajian umum*) are another method employed to strengthen students' spiritual foundation and reinforce the values of moderation. Organized by the school's leadership and faculty, these sessions aim to protect students from fanaticism and intolerance. The sessions are not only forums for deepening religious understanding but also opportunities for promoting attitudes of tolerance (*tasamuh*) and moderation (*tawasuth*) in the face of diversity. Students are encouraged to accept differences, avoid pronouncing others as misguided or infidel, and adopt a harmonious approach to religious life.

#### 4. Obstacles and Challenges in the Implementation of Wasathiyah Islamic Values

The process of systematically transforming and reinforcing wasathiyah Islamic values at the Al-Hidayah Integrated Islamic Boarding School has encountered a range of obstacles and challenges arising from both internal and external factors. A major internal challenge stems from the limited understanding among some students and staff regarding the concept of wasathiyah itself. Certain students remain unclear about what constitutes radicalism, and are equally unfamiliar with the core principles of Islamic moderation expected of them. This lack of comprehension can be traced in part to the suboptimal integration of wasathiyah values into formal learning activities. There are still teachers who have not fully or consistently internalized and conveyed these principles during instruction—either due to insufficient mastery of the material or the absence of systematically developed teaching resources focused specifically on wasathiyah.

The diversity of students' backgrounds and personal characteristics presents an additional internal challenge. Students at Al-Hidayah come from various social, cultural, and religious milieus, which can complicate efforts to foster a shared, conceptual understanding of wasathiyah. Some students display resistance to the introduction of wasathiyah content, often as a result of inadequate and sporadic socialization by teaching staff. While the *pesantren* has made the cultivation of character a foundational educational priority, the transition from character-building to conceptual acceptance and practice of wasathiyah requires time, patience, and contextually sensitive methods. The effectiveness

of internalization ultimately depends on sustained educational interaction between teachers and students, as well as on responsive instructional strategies tailored to students' specific needs and backgrounds.

Another significant barrier is the limited expertise and pedagogical preparedness of some teachers. Many have restricted access to relevant teaching materials or orientation modules devoted specifically to wasathiyah. As a result, teachers may struggle to communicate these concepts in ways that are contextualized, meaningful, and accessible, diminishing the impact of their efforts. This underscores the need for ongoing professional development—including training and the provision of comprehensive, practical modules—to ensure the effective and consistent transmission of wasathiyah values.

On the external front, the pesantren has faced a reduction in government-led socialization and training initiatives since being officially cleared of radical affiliations. Despite the school's successful rehabilitation, the diminished involvement of external stakeholders—particularly from governmental agencies such as the Ministry of Religious Affairs—has resulted in a lack of updates to curriculum content and teaching methods related to Islamic moderation. Sustained external engagement is critical for strengthening the pesantren's ideological resilience and preventing the covert resurgence of radical tendencies. Without regular support and oversight, teachers may find it increasingly difficult to access new resources or maintain momentum in the internalization process.

#### **D. Conclusion**

The implementation of wasathiyah Islamic values at the Al-Hidayah Integrated Islamic Boarding School has been realized through a holistic approach, encompassing educational practices, the daily social lives of students, and efforts to strengthen national identity. The values of *tawasuth* (moderation) and *tawazun* (balance) are manifested in both the pesantren's teaching methods—which integrate textual and contextual reasoning—and in the equilibrium maintained between worldly independence and spiritual discipline among students. The value of *tasamuh* (tolerance) is evident in students' attitudes toward internal and external diversity, while *syura* (consultation) and *islah* (reform) are reflected in the institution's openness to governmental programs and symbolic institutional changes affirming both nationalism and ideological transformation.

Initiatives such as digital literacy training and skills development represent the value of *tathawwur wa ibtikar* (dynamism and innovation), while *muwathanah* (nationalism) is fostered through activities including flag-raising ceremonies and participation in national commemorations.

The primary strategies for internalizing wasathiyah values include the central role of teachers as both educators and role models, the utilization of classical Islamic texts and contemporary curricular materials, a robust extracurricular program, and regular public religious study sessions. Collectively, these mechanisms have facilitated significant progress in embedding wasathiyah as a guiding ethos at Al-Hidayah. Nevertheless, the process remains challenged by the diverse backgrounds and perspectives of students, the uneven capacity of teachers to fully convey and model wasathiyah, and the reduced institutional support from external agencies following the pesantren's official rehabilitation. These obstacles have at times limited the depth and sustainability of wasathiyah internalization. The findings underscore the necessity of sustained teacher training, the ongoing development of contextually relevant curricular materials, and renewed external engagement—especially from governmental and civil society actors—to ensure that wasathiyah values become a lasting, foundational element of the pesantren's culture.

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