

Religious Moderation Education in the Relationship between Islamic Boarding Schools and the Chinese Ethnicity in the Chinatown of Rembang City

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ABSTRAK

In a socio-cultural context, 94% of the population in Lasem is of Chinese ethnic descent, and 4% are of native descent, which is why Lasem is better known as "kota pecinan" or the Chinatown city. The relationship between Pondok Pesantren Kauman and the Chinese ethnic community in Chinatown is a rare and unique phenomenon rich in values of moderate religious education, making it important to be studied. This qualitative descriptive research utilizes a phenomenological approach to examine the practice of religious moderation in the relationship between Pondok Pesantren Kauman and the Chinese ethnic community. Data collection is carried out through observation, documentation, and interviews with 5 elder kyai, 6 officials, 21 educators, 12 ustadz (Islamic scholars), and 30 santri (students). This research has three objectives: to analyze the relationship, practices, and values of religious moderation education in Pondok Pesantren Kauman and the Chinese ethnic community. The research reveals that the relationship of religious moderation between Pondok Pesantren Kauman and the Chinese ethnic community can be categorized into two dimensions: theological and sociological. The practice of religious moderation is physically reflected in the acculturation of Javanese-Arabic-Chinese architectural elements, as well as non-physical aspects in their commitment to instilling the values of Islam Rahmatan lil 'Alamin (a blessing to all worlds). There are 29 values of religious moderation education in the relationship between Pondok Pesantren Kauman and the Chinese ethnic community that relate to the characteristics of Islam Rahmatan lil 'Alamin, which include values such as tawasuth (moderation), infitah (inclusivity), tawazun (balance), and musawah (equality).

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Introduction

Mengajarkan Al-Qur'an kepada generasi bangsa merupakan salah satu langkah berpedoman dalam menjalankan kehidupan yang benar. Karena pada zaman milenial ini marak kecanggihan teknologi, maka apabila anak tidak memegang teguh Al-Qur'an didadanya, akan terikut arus teknologi yang negatif (Sarwadi, 2023).

Internationally, Indonesia stands out as a country with the highest level of diversity within the Southeast Asian community (Yaqin, 2021, p. 131), alongside Singapore and Malaysia (Mujamil Qomar, 2021). Consequently, in the 1930s and 1940s, these three countries were considered classic loci of world pluralism (Stauner et al., 2020, p. 287). Over time, JS Furnivall (Mustafida, 2021, p. 136) aptly introduced these three nations to the international community

as the most pluralistic states (Butar-Butar, 2020, p. 147), automatically including Indonesia. However, as Azra highlighted in 1997, a multidimensional crisis occurred, leading to a socio-cultural crisis that eroded the societal fabric (Ferreira-Valente et al., 2023, p. 1645) due to that socio-cultural crisis (M. Rohman & Mukhibat, 2017, p. 37). Therefore, it is crucial to conduct extensive research on religious moderation to identify opportunities for solutions to this socio-cultural crisis.

The socio-cultural diversity of the population (Wardi et al., 2023, p. 449) is inevitably proportional to the high potential for horizontal conflicts (Muhtarom et al., 2020, p. 9) occurring within society. As a country with the highest level of pluralism in the world (D. A. Rohman & Nugraha, 2021, p. 87), Indonesia must take this into consideration for effective preventive measures. Indeed, real instances of inter-religious conflict (Latif et al., 2023, p. 72) have occurred in various regions of Indonesia. For example, the rejection of Easter celebrations in Gunung Kidul in 2014, the burning of the HKI church in Aceh Singkil in 2015 (D. A. Rohman & Nugraha, 2021, p. 128), and the largest inter-religious conflict resulting in many casualties, as seen in Ambon and Poso in 2021. Strategies to prevent inter-religious conflicts (Sinaga et al., 2023, p. 488) in Indonesia are reflected in the best practices of religious moderation implemented by Islamic boarding schools (*pondok pesantren*).

It is unavoidable that, as the first and oldest Islamic educational institution in Indonesia (Sismanto, 2021, p. 146), Islamic boarding schools are inherently linked to the process of acculturation of foreign cultures in Indonesia (Nasaruddin Umar, 2021, p. 35), including the Chinese, Arab, Indian, and other cultures. The Chinese, or the Chinese Ethnicity, known as *Etnis Tionghoa*, were among the early foreign communities to enter the archipelago in significant numbers (Muhtarom et al., 2020). The presence of Islamic boarding schools, as institutions primarily dedicated to Islamic education in Indonesia, has always intersected with this acculturation process.

Established long before schools or *madrasahs*, Islamic boarding schools are the most critical educational institutions in Indonesia (Gunawan et al., 2021, p. 117). Faced with the challenges of globalization, Islamic boarding schools must respond dynamically to the educational needs of the times (M. Hariyadi & M. Husni, 2019, p. 39), resulting in a historical progression from the *salaf* model, emphasizing *tafaquh fii ad diin* (Liquin et al., 2020), to the development of the *khalaf* or modern education model, while still adhering to the principles of *al-muhaafadhatu 'ala al-qadimi al-shalih wa al-akhdzu bil jadidi al-ashlah* (Nasaruddin Umar, 2021, p. 67). This ensures the distinctive characteristics of Islamic boarding school education are preserved.

Socio-historically, the existence of Islamic boarding schools initially focused on Islamic preaching, as articulated by Mujammil Qomar, stating that the founders of Islamic boarding schools were initially figures spreading Islam (Mujamil Qomar, 2021, p. 89). This substantive purpose led to a high level of interaction between Islamic boarding schools and the surrounding community, with the very existence of Islamic boarding schools often considered as part of that community. Socio-anthropologically, the structure of society in the archipelago consists not only of the indigenous people but also of various ethnicities, nations, and foreign communities (de Graaf & van den Bos, 2021, p. 57). One such community is the Chinese Ethnicity, or *Etnis Tionghoa*, which has become one of the ethnicities in present-day Indonesia.

As indigenous educational institutions, Islamic boarding schools play a vital role in society due to the significant functions and benefits they provide. However, the existence of Islamic boarding schools faces significant challenges, especially for those situated in non-Muslim communities. One such example is *Pondok Pesantren Kauman* in the village of Karangturi, also known as "Chinatown." The naming of this village is based on the reality that its inhabitants are from the non-Muslim Chinese Ethnicity. *Pondok Pesantren Kauman* maintains a harmonious relationship with the non-Muslim Chinese community through the practice of religious moderation, employing a multicultural approach that emphasizes the values of religious moderation to build harmonious interactions.

Currently led by Abah Zaim, the grandson of Kyai Ma'shum, who is the last descendant of KH. Ahmad Syakir and Nyai Faisah, *Pondok Pesantren Kauman*, with its distinctive Chinese culture, is historically connected to Abah Zaim's ancestors who were descendants of both Arab

and Chinese heritage. The existence of Pondok Pesantren Kauman as an Islamic boarding school characterized by Chinese culture is deeply influenced by hereditary factors. However, with the development of the Chinese Ethnicity around the Islamic boarding school, the surrounding community's environmental factors also affect the existence of Chinese culture in this Islamic boarding school. The religious diversity in Chinatown can be illustrated in the following diagram:

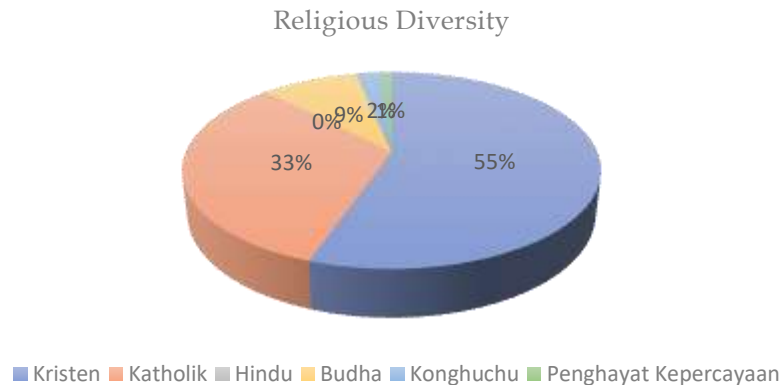


Figure 1. Religious Diversity in Chinatown

Geographically, the uniqueness of Pondok Pesantren Lasem as a Chinese Ethnicity-influenced Islamic boarding school is significantly shaped by the Lasem District, which stands out as the district with the highest level of diversity compared to other districts in the Rembang region. According to Dindukcapil data, there are 49,276 individuals practicing Islam in the Lasem District, followed by 1,008 Christians, 590 Catholics, 2 Hindus, 161 Buddhists, 42 Konghuchu practitioners, and 18 others adhering to belief systems (Dindukcapil 2020). Despite the majority being Muslims, the religious diversity in the Lasem District is evident with the presence of Christians, Catholics, Hindus, Buddhists, Konghuchu practitioners, and followers of other belief systems.

Lasem is renowned as the city of Islamic boarding schools due to the presence of 21 Islamic boarding schools. Besides being known as "Chinatown," Lasem is also recognized as the "Little China Town" due to the highest distribution of Konghuchu practitioners in Rembang. The interaction between Islamic boarding schools and the Chinese Ethnicity community in Lasem is inevitable. As a logical consequence, interactions between Islam and Konghuchu occur, highlighting the need for a moderate approach. The values of religious moderation education resulting from the relationship between Pondok Pesantren Kauman and the Chinese Ethnicity community undoubtedly differ from general values of religious moderation due to the complex nature of their relationship.

The values of religious moderation education produced in the practice of religious moderation between the Islamic boarding school and the Chinese Ethnicity community are crucial to be addressed. These values can serve as examples of religious moderation practices in other locations. Three research objectives are outlined, namely analyzing the relationship of religious moderation between Pondok Pesantren Kauman and the Chinese Ethnicity community, analyzing the practices of religious moderation between Pondok Pesantren Kauman and the Chinese Ethnicity community, and analyzing the values of religious moderation education between Pondok Pesantren Kauman and the Chinese Ethnicity community.

Method

This field research employs a qualitative descriptive data analysis (Nasrudin, 2019, p. 78). The research aims to describe the practice of religious moderation between Pondok Pesantren Kauman and the Chinese Ethnicity community in Lasem, Rembang. The study utilizes a phenomenological approach (Sugiyono, 2013, p. 32) as a distinctive method for qualitative

research to examine the phenomenon (Syaiful Anam, 2023, p. 16) of religious moderation within the interaction between Pondok Pesantren Kauman and the Chinese Ethnicity community. Additionally, the research adopts the approach of Islamic Education of Nusantara to explore the values of religious moderation present in the interaction between Pondok Pesantren Kauman and the Chinese Ethnicity community.

To obtain comprehensive data, the researcher employs participant observation methods (Santosa, 2019, p. 46), meaning the researcher actively takes on the role of an educator at Pondok Pesantren Kauman in Lasem, Rembang, situated within the Chinese Ethnicity community. To collect in-depth data, the researcher also utilizes in-depth interview methods (Sukardi, 2021, p. 102), ensuring the obtained data is valid and reflects the actual reality. Observations (Syaiful Anam, 2023, p. 48) are carried out on the interaction process between Pondok Pesantren Kauman and the Chinese Ethnicity community in Lasem, Rembang. Subsequently, interviews are conducted with all personnel at Pondok Pesantren Kauman in Lasem, Rembang, including 5 experienced kyai, 6 administrators, 21 educators, 12 ustadz (religious teachers), and 30 students. Regarding documents, the researcher employs a documentation data collection method (Mukhtazar, 2020, p. 89) related to the program activities of students with the Chinese Ethnicity community at Pondok Pesantren Kauman in the Lasem sub-district, Rembang regency.

Result and Discussion

1. The relationship of religious moderation between Pondok Pesantren Kauman and the Chinese Ethnicity community

Geographically, Pondok Pesantren Kauman is located in the village of Karangturi, Lasem sub-district, Rembang regency, precisely behind the Lasem Mosque. Based on statistical data from the Karangturi village, 94% of the residents in the village have a Chinese Ethnicity background, explaining why this village is referred to as a Chinatown. The uniqueness of Pondok Pesantren Kauman lies in its location, situated in the midst of the non-Muslim Chinese Ethnicity community. Despite being newcomers, Pondok Pesantren Kauman has successfully adapted, living side by side harmoniously with the Chinese Ethnicity community (Bedong et al. 2020, p. 34).

Gus Zaim, whose full name is KH. Muhammad Zaim Ahmad Ma'shoem, is the founder of Pondok Pesantren Kauman. This Islamic boarding school was established on the 27th of Ramadan 1424 H, precisely on November 21, 2003. The name "Kauman" is derived from the area where the kyai (religious leaders) reside, following the naming conventions of previous kyais. Since its inception, Pondok Pesantren Kauman has been designed with a Chinese Ethnicity atmosphere, showcasing the cultural acculturation of Islam with the Chinese Ethnicity. Many writings in Chinese, alongside Arabic and Indonesian, can be found within the premises.

Pondok Pesantren Kauman has a vision: "Berakhlakul Karimah, Berilmu Diniyyah dan Beramal Shalih" (Exemplifying Noble Character, Possessing Religious Knowledge, and Engaging in Righteous Deeds). This vision emphasizes the importance of character, Islamic knowledge, and righteous actions for the students. The vision is further detailed into 4 (four) missions: cultivating students with good character towards Allah and equipped with knowledge of monotheism and Sharia, producing students who memorize the Qur'an (tahfidz), creating students who are proficient in reading yellow books (classical Islamic texts) and memorizing Alfiyah and Imrithi, and generating students with a high level of social sensitivity towards the surrounding community. One of the missions developed at Pondok Pesantren Kauman emphasizes the aspect of environmental and social righteousness. The environmental and social righteousness of the students at Pondok Pesantren Kauman is realized through the implementation of religious moderation practices between the Islamic boarding school and the Chinese Ethnicity community in Lasem, Rembang.

The physical structure of Pondok Pesantren Kauman began with a house donated by a Chinese Ethnicity individual. Over time, the physical structure of the Islamic boarding school has taken on a Chinese Ethnicity ambiance, leading Lasem to be referred to as "Little China

Town" (Miftachur Rohmah and Moh. Yasir Alimi 2021, p. 30) due to the Chinese Ethnicity atmosphere embedded in the community. The majority of residents in the Lasem sub-district are non-Muslims of Chinese Ethnicity. As an Islamic educational institution located in the midst of the non-Muslim Chinese Ethnicity community, Pondok Pesantren Kauman adopts a cultural-based approach (Mustafida 2021, p. 45), enabling it to integrate with the Chinese Ethnicity culture in the village of Lasem.

Socio-culturally, the Chinese Ethnicity community in Lasem is not a recent entity. On the contrary, historically, the Javanese community in the Lasem sub-district were workers in the batik textile companies owned by the Chinese Ethnicity there. After the establishment of Pondok Pesantren Kauman, these visible divisions have started to fade. Pondok Pesantren Kauman has built moderate relationships between the majority Muslim Javanese community and the Chinese Ethnicity community. The practice of religious moderation implemented between the two is manifested in various social life activities (Mujamil Qomar 2021, p. 78). The collaboration in social life activities between Pondok Pesantren Kauman and the Chinese Ethnicity community is a key factor in the success of maintaining a harmonious life between them.

The number of the Chinese Ethnicity in Indonesia is increasing (Nasaruddin Umar 2021, p. 9). Historically, the existence of the Chinese Ethnicity in Indonesia is built upon the pillars of Chinese Ethnicity culture, including Chinese schools, Chinese Ethnicity organizations, and Chinese Ethnicity mass media. The socio-cultural condition of the Chinese Ethnicity in Indonesia can be illustrated in the following diagram:



Figure 2. Pillars of Chinese Ethnic Culture in Chinatown

Based on the above diagram, there are three cultural pillars of the Chinese Ethnicity supporting their existence in Indonesia. Historically, the presence of the Chinese Ethnicity has increasingly merged into the native community since the leadership of Suharto, who implemented a 32-year assimilation program. Through this program, Suharto eliminated the cultural pillars of the Chinese Ethnicity, such as Chinese schools, Chinese Ethnicity organizations, and Chinese-language media in Indonesia. The existence of the Chinese Ethnicity in Indonesia has been eroded since the assimilation program, causing the Chinese Ethnicity to assimilate into Indonesian society (Abror 2020, p. 34). This condition serves as an external factor that makes the Chinese Ethnicity community in Kauman Village easily accept the presence of Pondok Pesantren Kauman. This is further strengthened by the relationship pattern built by Pondok Pesantren Kauman, which emphasizes religious moderation (Wahyudi and Novita 2021, p. 32). The interaction between the Chinese Ethnicity and Pondok Pesantren Kauman undoubtedly faces obstacles due to different socio-cultural backgrounds. Tolerance (Ramli 2019, p. 93) should be prioritized in addressing these differences so that the diverse backgrounds between them can be understood as a shared challenge, not a hindrance.

2. Practices of Religious Moderation at Pondok Pesantren Kauman and the Chinese Ethnicity

The practices of religious moderation between Pondok Pesantren Kauman and the Chinese Ethnicity community can be interpreted as intercultural communication, which serves as the function of understanding the respective cultural differences (Qomar 2005, p. 76). The successful intercultural communication between Pondok Pesantren Kauman and the Chinese Ethnicity community is attributed to their prioritization of differences as a valuable richness to be respected (Husna Nashihin, Yenny Aulia Rachman, Betania Kartika, Nurmasinta Fadhilah, 2023, p. 76), rather than viewing them as potential sources of division. The practice of religious moderation between Pondok Pesantren Kauman and the Chinese Ethnicity community is a manifestation of cultural acculturation that aligns with Indonesia's motto, "Bhineka Tunggal Eka" (Unity in Diversity). This practice is intriguing and can serve as a best practice for Islamic boarding schools in a pluralistic country like Indonesia.

Historically, the establishment of Pondok Pesantren Kauman aimed to prevent gambling and excessive alcohol consumption activities prevalent in Kauman Village. Transforming the negative habits of the Kauman community became the primary mission of the founders of Pondok Pesantren Kauman. Observations reveal that religious moderation practices in Kauman are evident in Arabic calligraphy and Chinese characters conveying strict prohibitions against harming neighbors. To maintain positive relations with the Chinese Ethnicity community in Kauman, Abah Zaim established a "tolerance stall" where Pondok Pesantren Kauman's students interact with the Chinese Ethnicity community. This stall is located 250 meters from Pondok Pesantren Kauman and is termed a "tolerance stall" due to interactions between the seller and buyers, as well as interactions among buyers of different religions. The management of this tolerance stall is overseen by a Catholic Chinese Ethnicity descendant named Jing Hai, commonly known as Karjin.

The practice of religious moderation between Pondok Pesantren Kauman and the Chinese Ethnicity community is also reflected in the tradition of "takziyah" (condolence visits). Takziyah in Kauman is customary among both Muslims and non-Muslims. Regarding this practice between Muslims and non-Muslims, Abah Zaim teaches a prayer wishing that those left behind find guidance and the deceased be placed in a worthy place. Abah Zaim explains that takziyah between Muslims and non-Muslims fundamentally represents human relations, not relations between humans and Allah.

However, there are restrictions that must be maintained in offering takziyah to non-Muslims, such as participating in the cremation process, accompanying the deceased to the church, or accompanying the deceased to the burial site. Abah Zaim elucidates that Pondok Pesantren Kauman follows the concept of inculturative da'wah (Shihab 2019, p. 75), meaning that da'wah is carried out by integrating Sharia with the local culture. Sharia and culture coexist while still adhering to the applicable Sharia principles. The concept of inculturative da'wah can also be equated with the localization of Islam, signifying that Islam, in its development, must always be related to the local context of place and time. Through the concept of the localization of Islam, Islam can respond and actively participate in addressing universal human problems within society (Kurniawan 2019, p. 86) without disregarding ethnic or cultural differences.

The practice of religious moderation between Kauman Islamic Boarding School and the Chinese Ethnic community is not only a religious message but also an agent for cultivating moderate values in Indonesia. The development of inclusive values is key to successfully respecting and appreciating the presence of the non-Muslim Chinese Ethnic community. The demonstrated attitudes reflect "tawassuth," positioning oneself in both worship and social aspects. The practices of religious moderation at Pondok Pesantren Kauman and among the Chinese Ethnicity community, encapsulated in the concept of inculturative da'wah, are depicted in the following diagram:

The consistency in implementing the concept of "Islam Rahamatan Lil Alamin" between Kauman Islamic Boarding School and the Chinese Ethnic community is manifested in various attitudes:

Being kind to neighbors: The Islamic Boarding School values good behavior towards neighbors, with a Hadith emphasizing that one's faith is incomplete if their neighbors are disturbed. Upholding the value of tolerance (tasamuh): Abah Zaim instills the value of tolerance among students through exemplary behavior, providing a positive example for them. Building harmonious relationships with everyone, regardless of ethnicity, religion, or social class: Abah Zaim fosters harmonious relations with the Chinese Ethnic community, emphasizing greetings, mutual assistance, and participation in social activities. The practice of religious moderation is justified theologically and sociologically. The theological approach relies on the Qur'an and Hadith for a correct understanding of Islamic views on religious moderation. Abah Zaim uses a theological approach to instill the practice of religious moderation, exemplifying the Prophet's leadership in Medina, which was pluralistic and peaceful.

In terms of Qs. al-Hujurat verse 13, Abah Zaim explains that the phrase "li ta'arofu" encompasses Islamic brotherhood, national brotherhood, and human brotherhood. This broad interpretation supports the successful practice of religious moderation between Kauman Islamic Boarding School and the Chinese Ethnic community.

The sociological approach emphasizes the importance of wise handling of diversity for peaceful coexistence. Activities of the Chinese Ethnic community, Kauman Islamic Boarding School, and other Muslim communities in Kauman can coexist harmoniously due to their commitment to tolerance. This tolerance forms the basis for the practice of religious moderation in Kauman. The practice of religious moderation is also reflected in the physical structure of Kauman Islamic Boarding School, adorned with Chinese elements such as lanterns inscribed with the names of Allah, Chinese characters on walls, etc. These Chinese ornaments signify Kauman Islamic Boarding School's adaptation as an Islamic educational institution in the midst of the Chinese Ethnic community.

Factors supporting the existence of Kauman Islamic Boarding School in the Chinese Ethnic community include:

- a. Upholding interfaith harmony: Kauman Islamic Boarding School and the Chinese Ethnic community prioritize unity among different faiths, demonstrating care, concern, respect, and peace despite existing differences.
- b. Valuing tolerance: The high regard for tolerance between Kauman Islamic Boarding School and the Chinese Ethnic community enables the acceptance of differences in religion, ethnicity, race, and language in Kauman.
- c. Public ritual practices: Kauman Islamic Boarding School, as an NU (Nahdlatul Ulama) Islamic educational institution, engages in public ritual practices such as mujahadah, tahlilan, hadroh, and Maulid Nabi commemorations, fostering interaction between the Chinese Ethnic community and the Islamic Boarding School.

Values of Religious Moderation in Kauman Islamic Boarding School and the Chinese Ethnic Community. The values upheld in the practice of religious moderation between Kauman Islamic Boarding School and the Chinese Ethnic community are aligned with the characteristics of "Islam Rahmatal Lil 'Alamin." These values include: Tawasuth (Moderation): Striving for a balanced and moderate approach in both worship and social interactions. Infitah (Inclusivity): Embracing inclusive values that respect and appreciate the presence of the non-Muslim Chinese Ethnic community. Tawazun (Balance): Maintaining balance in all aspects of life, including religious practices and social interactions. Musawah (Equality): Promoting equality among individuals, irrespective of their religious or ethnic backgrounds. The development of inclusive values in Kauman Islamic Boarding School is crucial for the success of respecting and appreciating the presence of the non-Muslim Chinese Ethnic community. The emphasized values represent "tawassuth," positioning oneself both in worship and social aspects.

Conclusion

Pondok Pesantren Kauman, located in Lasem, known as the "Chinatown" or "Little China

City," exhibits a unique blend of Chinese ethnicity. The religious moderation relationship between Pondok Pesantren Kauman and the Chinese Ethnic community can be mapped in two dimensions: theological and sociological. The practice of religious moderation is evident physically through the acculturation of Javanese-Arabic-Chinese architecture and non-physically through the cultivation of the values of Islam Rahmatan Lil 'Alamin.

There are 29 educational values of religious moderation within the relationship between Pondok Pesantren Kauman and the Chinese Ethnic community. These values are derived from universal values of religious moderation, including tawasuth (moderation), infitah (inclusivity), tawazun (balance), and musawah (equality).

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