

Internalization of Religious Moderation Based on Wasathiyah Habitus in Constructing Santri's Tolerance Attitude in Pesantren

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Abstract: This article aims to describe, analyze, and construct Habitus Wasathiyah Model for internalization of religious moderation in constructing tolerant attitude of santri at Zainul Hasan Genggong Islamic Boarding School, Probolinggo. The study departs from 65 intolerance cases in Indonesia from 2019-2023 and strategic role of pesantren as authentic laboratory of Wasathiyah. Using qualitative case study from April to July 2026, data were collected through participant observation, in-depth interviews with nine informants consisting of Kyai, curriculum head, teachers, and santri, and documentation. Data analysis employed Miles, Huberman, and Saldana model: condensation, display, and conclusion drawing/verification with triangulation. Findings reveal internalization is systematically constructed through three interrelated pathways. First, Formal Pathway via integration of moderation values at new santri admission, independence day commemoration, and moderation books. Second, Cultural Pathway via Classical Islamic texts study including Tafsir Jalalain, Ihya Ulumuddin, and Al-Hikam based on Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah containing implicit wasathiyah values. Third, Social Pathway via lived practices including openness to interfaith visits of five religions, KKN themed Moderasi Beragama Berbasis Masjid dan Aswaja at UNZAH, and routine kerja bakti. Analytically, this process corresponds to Muhaimin's transformation, transaction, transinternalization and Lickona's moral knowing, feeling, action. Internalized values of tawassuth, tawazun, i'tidal, and tolerance manifest into Ministry indicators: internal harmony, nationalism, respect for government, and accommodative culture. The model contributes theoretically by developing Bourdieu's habitus into Islamic education where moderation becomes embodied disposition and operationalizing Al-Ghazali into modern pesantren management. Practically, it provides blueprint for leaders to institutionalize moderation through daily culture and exemplary role models

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is currently confronted with persistent challenges of religious intolerance. Data shows at least 65 cases of intolerance occurred from 2019 to 2023, ranging from destruction and throwing of places of worship to rejection of construction of houses of worship (KBR, 2023). Setara Institute recorded an increase in intolerance cases in early 2023, allegedly related to consolidation of intolerant groups ahead of 2024 General Election, mobilizing majority sentiments by suppressing minority groups (Tempo, 2023). A concrete example was the closure of the statue of Virgin Mary in Lendah, Kulonprogo, on March 22, 2023, initially claimed as due to community disturbance during fasting, later revised by police.

Conflicts not only occur inter-religiously but also intra-religiously, such as disbandment of religious gatherings of Felix Siau in Pasuruan, Khalid Basalamah in Sidoarjo, and Tengku Zulkarnain in Sintang (Rahmat & Yahya, 2022). The main factor is religious ego that absolutizes own truth and negatively judges others' beliefs (Umar Al Faruq & Dwi Noviani, 2021). Moreover, claim of absolute truth and blind obedience to charismatic leaders can lead to radical and repressive actions (Sutrisno, 2019). Conservative and fanatic religious understanding (Azmi, 2019) and religious exclusivism (Mariyono et al., 2023) are identified as root causes.

The strengthening of intolerance raises question on role of religious education, especially pesantren, as vehicle for forming religious tolerance (Alim & Munib, 2021). Pesantren Zainul Hasan Genggong is a large pesantren in East Java that internalizes religious moderation values and holds potential for tolerance awareness (Observation, 2026). On June 8, 2022, Head of Regional Office of Ministry of Religious Affairs of East Java, Husnul Maram, visited MTs Zainul Hasan Genggong during its 70th anniversary, stating that first priority program is strengthening religious moderation and expressing pride in Pesantren Zainul Hasan because from its founder Romo Kyai to current generation it teaches wasathiyah.

Nevertheless, intolerance micro-cases still exist within pesantren, particularly inter-santri gap among different educational institutions and dormitories: SMP, SMA, MTS. There is glorification of each institution such as "we are SMA", "we are SMP" (Interview, W.01 & W.04, 2026). This phenomenon shows that even in pesantren environment, tolerance cannot be taken for granted.

Pesantren is the oldest and authentic Indonesian Islamic education institution (Burga & Damopolii, 2022) that maintains humanist, tolerant, inclusive values and campaigns against intolerance, anarchism, and terrorism (Hummelstedt et al., 2021). Pesantren holds character of pluralism and potential awareness for tolerance (Arifin, 2022). Prophet Muhammad SAW said: "The most beloved religion to Allah is Al-Hanifiyyah As-Samhah (upright and tolerant)" (HR Bukhari), narrated from Ibn Abbas.

In Indonesian plural context, religious moderation becomes urgent to be instilled in Islamic education institutions like pesantren (Kusuma, 2020; Zumrotus Sholikhah & Muvid, 2022). Pesantren as traditional institution holds strategic role in forming santri character to be kaffah in practicing religion while upholding nationality, togetherness, and harmony (Pasaribu,

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2023; Pangestu, 2021). In global information flow, extreme and intolerant religious understandings can influence young generation including santri (Hasan, 2021), challenging pesantren as moral fortress and guardian of Islam rahmatan lil alamin.

Internalization of religious moderation values is essential effort (Jazilurrahman, 2022). Internalization is not only theoretical but applicative in daily life: teaching-learning, worship habituation, social interaction, and responding to differences (Saihu, 2022). Values of tolerance (tasamuh), tawassuth (middle path), tawazun (balance), i'tidal (justice) become foundation for open, inclusive, peacefully coexistent santri (Suryadi, 2022; Munfa'ati, 2023). Urgency lies in fortifying santri from narrow fanaticism, radicalism, and intolerance toward religious, madhhab, cultural, and worldview differences (Zulkifli et al., 2023). Pesantren as miniature society becomes learning space for santri to interact with diverse backgrounds (Zumrotus Sholikhah & Muvid, 2022), so that santri can become peace agents. Process of internalization significantly contributes to shaping tolerance attitude in personal and social realms (Sayyi, 2014).

Wasathiyah concept is noble conception highly recommended by Allah (Muaz & Ruswandi, 2022) with principles of tawassuth, tawazun, i'tidal, musawah, syura, islah, aulawiyah, tathawwur wa ibtikar, tahadhdhur. Moderation education is means to provide understanding on importance of tolerance and egalitarianism (Saihu, 2022). Students able to apply moderation through tolerance attitude (Jannah et al., 2022). Theology education framed by moderation can develop religious tolerance (Pasaribu, 2023). Previous studies focused on moderation at various educational levels but have gap: few construct internalization model using habitus theory in pesantren context specifically for toleran attitude.

Novelty of this study is construction of Habitus Wasathiyah Model: internalization based on Habitus theory of Bourdieu (1977) developing Al-Ghazali's akhlak education (habituation + exemplary + advice) and Muhaimin's three stages (transformation, transaction, transinternalization) into transferable holistic model. Research focus: how is process of internalization of religious moderation values based on habitus wasathiyah in constructing toleran attitude of santri at Zainul Hasan Genggong.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses qualitative approach with case study design. Case study is chosen to describe, understand, and interpret phenomena of internalization of religious moderation based on habitus wasathiyah towards toleran attitude formation at Zainul Hasan Genggong in natural context (Yin, 2018; Creswell & Poth, 2018). Research Location and Time in Pesantren Zainul Hasan Genggong, Probolinggo, East Java, April to July 2026.

Informants and Sampling is Purposive and snowball sampling. Nine informants: Pesantren Caretaker, Head of Madrasah, Vice Principal for Curriculum, Counseling Teacher, Fiqh and Aqidah Akhlak Teachers, administrative staff, and santri from SMP, SMA, MA levels. Criteria: understanding pesantren moderation culture and having lived at least 2 years.

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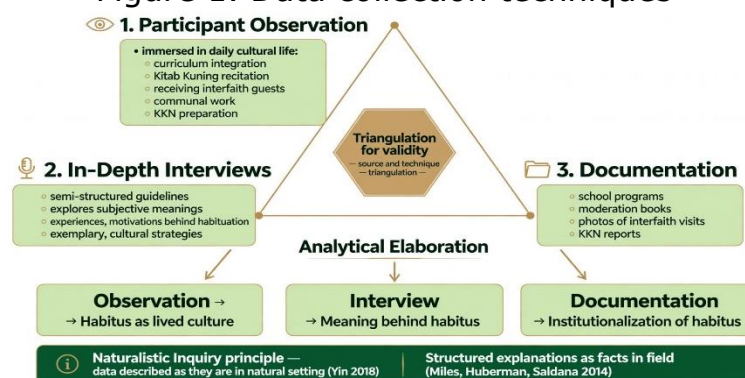
Table 1: Informant Codes

NO	ROLE	CODE
1	Pesantren Leader/Kyai	W.P.03
2	Curriculum Vice Principal	W.P.02
3	Teacher/Ustadz	W.P.04
4	Santri Senior	W.P.06/07
5	Observation	O.P
6	Document	D.P

Data collection techniques were employed through participant observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation (Creswell, 2014; Moleong, 2016). Triangulation was deliberately chosen to capture phenomenon holistically and ensure validity through source and technique triangulation (Sugiyono, 2019). Through participant observation, researchers were directly immersed in daily cultural life: curriculum integration activities, Classical Islamic texts recitation, receiving interfaith guests, communal work, and KKN preparation. In-depth interviews with informants using semi-structured guidelines explored subjective meanings, experiences, motivations behind habituation, exemplary, and cultural strategies. Documentation was used to strengthen empirical evidence through school programs, moderation books, photos of interfaith visits, and KKN reports.

Data collection techniques were elaborated analytically: observation captured habitus as lived culture, interview captured meaning behind habitus, documentation captured institutionalization of habitus. Researchers provide structured explanations as facts in the field, which can be measured regarding existing conditions at research location both in form of objects studied and facts related to those conditions to draw conclusions later (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014). This reflects principle of naturalistic inquiry where data are described as they are in natural setting (Yin, 2018).

Figure 1. Data collection techniques



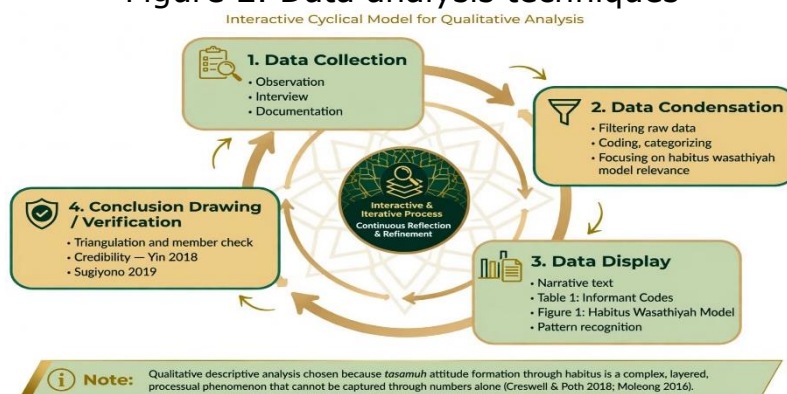
Data analysis techniques in case study research include methods developed by Miles and Huberman: data collection, data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014). Data condensation is filtering raw data from observations, interviews, documentation, coded, categorized, focused on relevance to habitus wasathiyah model; data display is presented in narrative text, Table

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1 (Informant Codes), and Figure 1 (Habitus Wasathiyah Model) to facilitate pattern recognition; and conclusion drawing/verification is done through triangulation and member check to ensure credibility (Yin, 2018; Sugiyono, 2019). Through this analysis, clear picture of research focus is expected. Qualitative descriptive analysis is chosen because focus — formation of toleran attitude through habitus — is complex, layered, processual phenomenon that cannot be captured through numbers alone (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Moleong, 2016).

Figure 2. Data analysis techniques



RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Integration of Moderation Values in Pesantren Curriculum Education

Findings show that internalization of religious moderation values is already contained in curriculum of pesantren. It is usually held at momentum of new santri admission, national independence day, and through books on religious moderation (W.P.02.2026). Informant stated three values instilled: strengthening internal religious harmony, strengthening nationalism among religious people, and respect for government (W.P.03.2026). Interview excerpt: "Moderasi beragama itu mengajarkan tiga hal. Arahnya itu kepada kerukunan umat beragama. Pertama adalah memperkuat kerukunan internal agama. Islam sesama Islamnya kuat... Kedua memperkuat hubungan nasionalisme antar umat beragama... Ketiga menghormati pemerintah" (W.P.03.2026).

Analytically, this finding corresponds to Formal Pathway in Habitus Wasathiyah Model and to stage of value transformation or Moral Knowing in Lickona's theory (Lickona, 1992). At this stage, santri know about moderation values through cognitive transmission. This is foundation because without knowledge, tolerance remains blind. This is also aligned with four indicators of religious moderation by Ministry of Religious Affairs RI: national commitment, tolerance, anti-violence, and accommodative to local culture. The three values mentioned by Kyai directly reflect national commitment indicator: internal harmony, nationalism, respect for government.

Interpretatively, pesantren curriculum does not teach moderation as separate subject but integrates it as spirit at critical momentum: admission (when habitus begins to be formed), independence day (when nationalism is strengthened), and through dedicated moderation books. This integration

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strategy is crucial because pesantren environment itself is plural: santri from various regions, languages, origins, so since entering pesantren they are faced with plurality (O.P.2026). Slowly, acceptance attitude will be embedded. This finding is reinforced by Syatar et al. (2020) that integration of moderate values in madrasah curriculum ensures religious education not only focuses on religious aspect but also moderation, tolerance, inter-religious harmony.

Tabel 2. Integration of Moderation Values in Pesantren Curriculum Education

Analytical Dimension	Empirical Finding	Theoretical Linkage	Interpretative Meaning
1. Curriculum Momentum	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New santri admission. • Independence Day • Moderation books (W.P.02.2025) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bourdieu: habitus at entry; • Muhaimin: Value transformation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Critical period for durable disposition
2. Core Values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Internal religious harmony 2) Inter-religious nationalism 3) Respect for government (W.P.03.2025) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ministry RI National commitment • Tawassuth & I'tidal 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Operationalization of national commitment
3. Implementation Strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Integrated as spirit not separate subject • Plural environment as lab (O.P.2025) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lickona: Moral Knowing • Syatar et al 2020 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tolerance as implicit curriculum embedded habitus
4. Historical Continuity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inherited from first caretaker • Teaching habituation exemplary (W.P.04.2025) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bourdieu: durable transposable disposition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historical not instant Intergenerational
5. Outcome	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cognitive transmission to know moderation values 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lickona: Without knowledge tolerance remains blind 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pre-condition for <i>tasamuh</i> construction

Furthermore, understanding of moderation as awareness of Bhinneka reality was stated: since its establishment, pesantren has taught respect for fellow human beings, Muslim and non-Muslim, and respect for government, inherited hereditarily from first caretaker to current generation (W.P.03.2026). This indicates habitus is not instant but historical, transmitted inter-generationally, forming durable disposition as Bourdieu (1977) defines habitus as system of durable, transposable dispositions. Methods of teaching, habituation, and exemplary are used in internalizing moderation values (W.P.04.2026).

Classical Islamic texts Study as Cultural Pathway

Classical Islamic texts study also becomes medium in internalization process. Although not explicitly using term "religious moderation", teaching of Classical Islamic texts based on Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah containing wasathiyah values remains educational basis. Kitab Tafsir Jalalain, Ihya Ulumuddin, and Al-Hikam are often used as reference to instill wise attitude in facing differences (W.P.02.2026).

Through Classical Islamic texts based on religious moderation, pesantren introduces moderate and balanced Islamic teachings. Santri learn basic principles emphasizing tolerance, peace, and simplicity. Classical Islamic texts tradition helps shape santri character with moderate Islamic values. They understand Islam as rahmatan lil alamin teaching tolerance, peace, middle path (wasathiyah) (Azizah, 2021). Through Classical Islamic texts, santri are taught to respect diversity of beliefs and cultures, learning that diversity is gift (Zamroni et al., 2022). Through these references, moderation values are internalized implicitly, guided to understand Islam full of balance, tolerance, respect for diversity, which is essence of

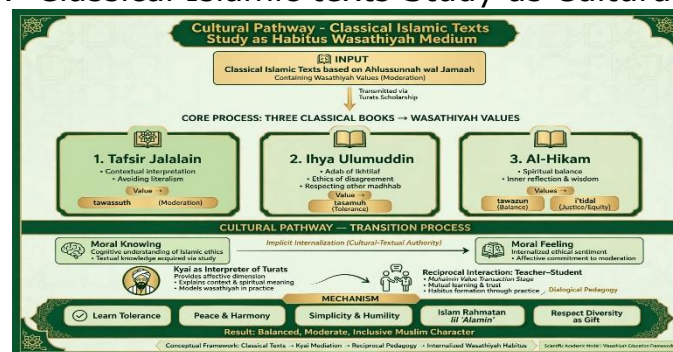
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moderation itself.

Analytically, Classical Islamic texts represents Cultural Pathway and transition from Moral Knowing to Moral Feeling. Unlike formal curriculum that is explicit, Classical Islamic texts works through cultural-textual authority. Kyai as interpreter of turats provides affective dimension: santri not only know moderation but feel its spiritual wisdom through stories of previous scholars in Ihya Ulumuiddin about adab of ikhtilaf (ethics of disagreement). This aligns with Muhaimin's value transaction stage, where teacher and student have reciprocal interaction, not one-way. Classical Islamic texts based on Aswaja inherently contains principles of tawassuth, tawazun, tolerance, i'tidal. For example, Ihya Ulumuiddin teaches adab of respecting other madhhab, Tafsir Jalalain teaches contextual interpretation avoiding literalism, Al-Hikam teaches spiritual balance.

Figure 3. Classical Islamic texts Study as Cultural Pathway



Thus, moderation is not imported from outside but excavated from own tradition. This finding strengthens Burga & Damopolii (2022) that reinforcing religious moderation through local culture-based pesantren is more effective because rooted. Interpretatively, pesantren uses classical texts as hidden curriculum of moderation, making wasathiyah feel authentic and authoritative, not as governmental project.

Receiving Non-Muslim Visits as Exemplary Pathway

One concrete form of application is openness of pesantren caretaker to anyone who comes, regardless of religious background (W.P.03.2026). This reflects inclusive and tolerant attitude becoming part of moderation values instilled to santri. Pesantren caretaker directly exemplifies tolerance values through open attitude toward differences. There was visit from interfaith leaders, including leaders of five major religions in Indonesia in series of Ikatan Agama Indonesia activities (W.P.02.2026). Experience shows moderation value not only stops at concept level but has become culture and real practice in daily life. This openness becomes strong role model for santri in building tolerant attitude, both in pesantren and community life later.

Analytically, this is core of exemplary pathway (uswah hasanah) and Moral Feeling stage. In Bourdieu's habitus theory, habitus is formed through observational learning and imitation of significant others. Kyai as central figure in pesantren holds symbolic capital; his openness to non-Muslim guests becomes powerful hidden curriculum. Santri learn tolerance not from textbook but from witnessing Kyai shaking hands, welcoming, dialoguing with non-Muslim leaders. This corresponds to Al-Ghazali's akhlak education:

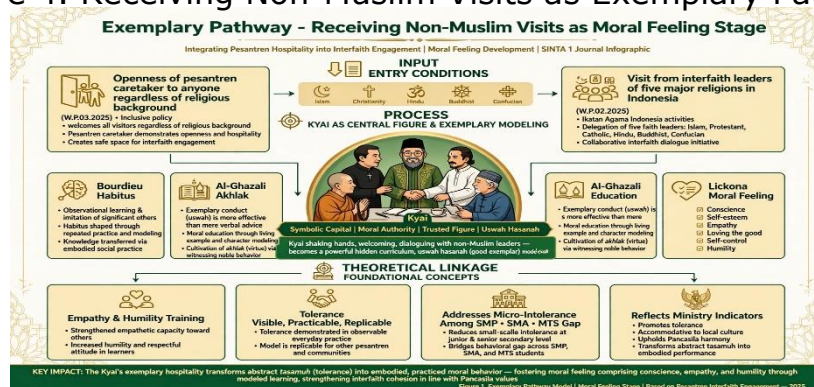
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exemplary is more effective than advice. In terms of Ministry's indicators, this practice reflects tolerance and accommodative to local culture, and also commitment to Pancasila-based harmony.

This also directly addresses micro-intolerance found among santri (gap between SMP, SMA, MTS). If Kyai can accept non-Muslim outsiders, why cannot santri accept fellow santri from different institution? This exemplary creates moral feeling: loving goodness, empathy, respect for dignity. Lickona's moral feeling includes conscience, self-esteem, empathy, loving the good, self-control, humility. Receiving guests trains exactly empathy and humility. Interpretatively, pesantren transforms abstract tolerance into embodied performance, making tolerance visible, practicable, and replicable.

Figure 4. Receiving Non-Muslim Visits as Exemplary Pathway



KKN with Moderation Theme and Kerja Bakti as Social Pathway

Campus owned by Pesantren Genggong, UNZAH (Universitas Islam Zainul Hasan) held KKN (Community Service) themed "Moderasi Beragama Berbasis Masjid dan Aswaja" (D.P.2026). KKN is community service activity by UNZAH students providing learning experience to solve community problems (W.P.04.2026). This KKN themed on strengthening religious moderation through social media and local wisdom. KKN with moderation based on mosque and Aswaja is annual activity by higher education under Ministry of Religious Affairs, part of effort to instill religious moderation in Indonesia (Amrullah & Islamy, 2021).

Routine kerja bakti implementation is another form of moderation values in daily life (O.P.2026). Activity not only aims to maintain cleanliness but also becomes character education media. In implementation, santri from diverse regional, cultural, habitual backgrounds are trained to cooperate, help each other, be responsible for common cleanliness. Togetherness and mutual cooperation built through kerja bakti becomes real learning vessel for tolerance practically (W.P.06.2026). Through kerja bakti, santri not only internalize cleanliness and discipline values but also learn to respect differences and strengthen solidarity (W.P.07.2026).

Analytically, these two activities represent Social Pathway and Moral Action stage, final stage of transinternalization where values become habitus and practice. KKN is externalization of moderation: santri who have known and felt moderation now practice it in community outside pesantren. This is praxis of peace agent. Through mosque-based KKN, santri learn to be moderators in society, using local wisdom approach, not confrontational.

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This corresponds to indicator of anti-violence and accommodative to local culture. Kerja bakti, on other hand, is internal social laboratory: plural santri forced to cooperate for common goal, transcending institutional ego (SMP vs SMA vs MA). This trains civic quotient: gotong royong, solidarity, responsibility. In Bourdieu's terms, kerja bakti is field where habitus of wasathiyah is practiced and contested. Santri learn that cleanliness of pesantren is shared responsibility regardless of background, paralleling national responsibility.

This finding aligns with Thomas Lickona's moral action: competence, will, habit. Through repetitive kerja bakti, tolerance becomes habit, not just knowledge or feeling. Interpretatively, both KKN and kerja bakti show that moderation in pesantren is not passive tolerance (letting be) but active tolerance: working together, serving community, living together.

Table 3. KKN with Moderation Theme and Kerja Bakti as Social Pathway

Analytical Dimension	Empirical Finding	Theoretical Linkage	Interpretative Meaning
1. KKN Moderation Theme <ul style="list-style-type: none"> UNZAH Community Service themed "Moderasi Beragama Berbasis Masjid dan Aswaja" (D.P.2025) Annual Ministry of Religious Affairs activity, strengthen moderation via social media & local wisdom (Amrullah & Islamy 2021) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ministry indicators: anti-violence & accommodative to local culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bourdieu: externalization of habitus as praxis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Praxis of peace agent, moderators in society
2. Kerja Bakti Routine <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Daily cleanliness activity functioning as character education media Diverse santri backgrounds cooperate, help each other, responsible (O.P.2025, W.P.06, W.P.07) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bourdieu: field where habitus is practiced Lickona: moral action competence & moral will/habit 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Internal social laboratory transcending SMP • SMA • MA ego 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Internal social laboratory for cultivating collaborative responsibility & mutual care
3. Stage — Social Pathway and Moral Action <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Final transinternalization where values become habitus and practice 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Values shift from knowing and feeling into habitual doing/practice 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lickona Moral Action; Muhaimin transinternalization framework 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Transition from knowing/feeling → to doing/action
4. Mechanism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> KKN: external engagement to community outside pesantren Kerja Bakti: internal cooperative activity for common goal 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bourdieu: habitus as practice through cooperative participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Civic quotient & gotong royong as collective mechanism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shared responsibility fostering national responsibility
5. Outcome <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tolerance becomes habit, not merely knowledge or feeling Active tolerance: working together, serving, living together 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lickona: habit formation in moral action 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bourdieu: durable disposition, repetitive praxis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tolerance as repetitive praxis embedded in everyday life

Habitus Wasathiyah Model: Integration of Formal, Cultural, and Social Pathways

Synthesis of findings leads to construction of Habitus Wasathiyah Model as illustrated in Figure 1. Findings are in line with Thomas Lickona's internalization theory of moral knowing, moral feeling, moral action (Lickona, 1992). Internalization first planted through curriculum and Classical Islamic texts. This includes moral knowing where santri will know values so when facing moral dilemma able to make decision based on knowledge and perspective about moral values influencing moral feeling.

Three values instilled: internal religious harmony, nationalism among religious communities, respect for government aligns with indicator of religious moderation: national commitment. Then attitude of pesantren caretaker in receiving non-Muslim visits becomes role model for santri in responding to differences. This corresponds to moral feeling stage where moral values enter conscience, manifested as self-esteem, able to transpose with empathy, loving goodness, self-control, humility.

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Moral action stage appears in KKN themed moderation and routine kerja bakti. In implementation, santri from various backgrounds trained to cooperate, help, be responsible. Through this, togetherness and gotong royong develop becoming real vessel for tolerance learning practically. This reflects indicator of accommodative attitude to local culture.

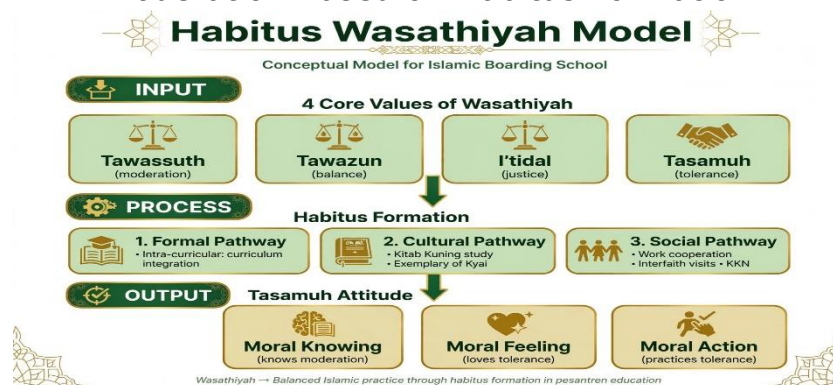
This model is called *Habitus Wasathiyah* because it covers spiritual, intellectual, emotional, social, civic, and ecological dimensions through *wasathiyah* principles: *tawassuth* (taking middle path), *tawazun* (balance), *i'tidal* (justice), tolerance (tolerance), *musawah* (equality), *syura* (deliberation) as conceptualized by Ministry. It is called *Habitus* because moderation becomes durable disposition embodied in daily practices, not temporary program. Bourdieu (1977) explains *habitus* as structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures. In *pesantren*, *wasathiyah* values are structured by curriculum, Classical Islamic texts, *Kyai* exemplary, but also structuring *santri*'s future action in society.

This model develops previous models such as TCB (Taqwa Character Building) at Darul Hikam that were still school-typical, into transferable *habitus*-based model. It also operationalizes Al-Ghazali's moral education (*habituation* + *exemplary* + *advice*) and Muhaimin's transformation-transaction-transinternalization into modern management system of *pesantren* integrating formal, cultural, and social pathways. It also enriches Ministry's moderation indicators by providing empirical grounded model from *pesantren*.

For *pesantren* leaders, model provides blueprint: start from structuring daily culture (*habituation* through *kerja bakti*), strengthening teacher capacity as role model (*exemplary* through interfaith reception), and institutionalizing reflective advice spaces (*kultum*, Classical Islamic texts, KKN). For teachers, internalization must be planned in lesson plan (RPP) not only cognitive but also affective and psychomotor of moderation values. For *santri*, tolerance is not taught but lived through *habitus*.

In practice, Zainul Hasan Genggong implements integration: love for fellow human realized through openness to interfaith visits; love for homeland through independence commemoration with principle *hubbul wathan minal iman*; environmental and social awareness through *kerja bakti* and KKN; tolerance by respecting opinions in plural dormitory life; respect through culture of welcoming guests.

Figure 5: *Habitus Wasathiyah* Model - Internalization of Religious Moderation Based on *Habitus* Formation



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CONCLUSION

Based on findings and discussion, this study concludes that process of internalization of religious moderation values based on *Habitus Wasathiyah* in constructing tolerance attitude at Zainul Hasan Genggong Islamic Boarding School is conducted through systematic integration of three pathways: 1) Formal Pathway through integration of moderation values in pesantren curriculum at strategic momentum, 2) Cultural Pathway through Classical Islamic texts study based on *Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah* containing implicit wasathiyah values, and 3) Social Pathway through lived practices: openness to interfaith visits, KKN themed *Moderasi Beragama Berbasis Masjid dan Aswaja*, and routine *kerja bakti*.

This process aligns with Muhaimin's stages: transformation (moral knowing via curriculum and Classical Islamic texts), transaction (moral feeling via exemplary of Kyai receiving non-Muslim guests), and transinternalization (moral action via KKN and *kerja bakti*). Values internalized include *tawassuth*, *tawazun*, *i'tidal*, and *tasamuh* which manifest into indicators of religious moderation: national commitment, tolerance, and accommodative to local culture, reflected in strengthening internal harmony, strengthening nationalism, and respect for government.

Habitus Wasathiyah Model contributes theoretically by developing Bourdieu's habitus theory into Islamic education, where moderation becomes embodied disposition, and operationalizing Al-Ghazali and Lickona's character education into modern pesantren system. Practically, model provides replicable blueprint for pesantren to institutionalize moderation through structuring daily culture, strengthening role model capacity, and creating community service spaces. For future research, quantitative measurement of tolerance attitude after habitus internalization and comparative study across different pesantren traditions are recommended to test transferability of model.

RECOMMENDATION

For pesantren leaders, it is recommended to formalize *Habitus Wasathiyah Model* into strategic policy by embedding moderation indicators into vision, mission, curriculum, and daily habituation, not as incidental program. Strengthen Cultural Pathway by training ustadz in contextual interpretation of Classical Islamic texts that explicitly articulates *tawassuth*, *tawazun*, *i'tidal*, and *tasamuh* to avoid literalism. For Social Pathway, institutionalize interfaith literacy through structured dialogue, expand KKN *Moderasi Berbasis Masjid dan Aswaja* with community-based action, and revitalize *kerja bakti* as civic laboratory to dissolve inter-institutional ego among santri. For teachers, exemplary capacity building through *uswah hasanah* training is essential because Kyai's openness becomes powerful hidden curriculum. For Ministry of Religious Affairs, this model can be adopted as best practice blueprint for national moderation assessment. For future researchers, mixed-methods measurement of tolerance attitude using validated scale and comparative multi-site studies across NU, Muhammadiyah, and Salafi pesantren traditions are strongly recommended to test transferability and robustness.

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