

Santri Resilience in Countering Religious Extremism: Evidence from Pesantren Education in Indonesia

Vita Fitriatul Ulya,* *Moh. Abdulloh Hilmi*,** *Achmad Muhibbin Zuhri*,***
Herfin Fahri,* & *Vacharee Dedduang*****

*Universitas Al-Hikmah Indonesia Tuban, Indonesia

**Universitas Islam Negeri Syekh Wasil Kediri, Indonesia

***Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya, Indonesia

****Sukhothai Tammarath Open University, Thailand

E-mail: vitaf3@gmail.com

Abstract

This study examines how pesantren education strengthens santri's resilience against extremist narratives in the digital era. Previous studies have highlighted pesantren's role in promoting religious moderation and preventing radicalism. However, the psychopedagogical processes through which resilience against extremist ideologies is internalized at the individual level have received limited attention. Hence, this study investigates how character formation, emotional development, and critical religious understanding contribute to resilience-building within pesantren education. Pondok Pesantren Manbail Futuh Jenu Tuban, Indonesia, was selected for this qualitative case study design. The data were collected through in-depth interviews, participatory observation, and documentation. The thematic analysis is employed, involving coding, categorization, and theme development. The findings reveal that santri's resilience against extremist narratives is intensified through psychopedagogical approaches embedded in pesantren activities, including halaqah discussions, mentoring, muhāsabah activities, informal counselling, and critical reflection on digital religious content. These practices foster critical awareness, emotional regulation, moral reasoning, and moderate religious perspectives. However, social media exposure, uncontrolled information flows, and emotional vulnerability

remain significant challenges in shaping santris' morality, social learning, and resilience theory within the pesantren context. It demonstrates that resilience against religious extremism is the results of various factors i.e. doctrinal instruction and the interaction of cognitive, emotional, social, and spiritual dimensions of education. These findings highlight the importance of integrating digital literacy, reflective learning, and emotional mentoring into contemporary character education programs to prevent religious extremism among Muslim youth. Accordingly, this study contributes to Islamic education discourse and resilience theory. It confirms that resilience against extremism is established through the psychopedagogical process in pesantren routine, in addition to religious doctrine transmission.

Keywords: character education; extremism; pesantren; psychopedagogy; santri resilience

Received: December 05, 2025; Revised: April 17, 2026; Accepted: May 18, 2026

Introduction

Pesantren, as an Islamic educational institution with strong roots in Indonesian Muslim society, occupies a central position in the intellectual and spiritual history of the nation (Putri et al. 2023, 85). *Pesantren* has shifted from its initial characteristics of focusing on Islamic teachings since the Middle Ages (Huda et al. 2025, 467). Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) now uniquely integrate traditional Islamic education and contemporary academic frameworks, and contribute to character formation (Fuad et al. 2020, 3; Junaedi et al. 2025, 390). It cultivates character values i.e. tolerance, moderation, and social harmony that are essential in preventing religious extremism (Azizah et al. 2023, 235; Musthofa et al. 2025, 2092). Character formation in *pesantren* is conducted holistically through religious learning, communal life, and *kiais'* exemplary role. This educational process aims to internalize moral and religious values in *santris'* daily behavior (Darwanto et al. 2024, 146).

As a result of this structural transformation, from insulation to global digital explosion, character education studies on the current *pesantrens* increasingly face complex variables. Although this digital wave opens new opportunities to expand *santris'* knowledge and intellectual horizons, it introduces disorienting information, extreme internet

discourse, and cyberspace forces that influence their moralities. The rapid development of digital technology has significantly transformed the educational and social environment of *pesantren*. While digital media provides broader access to knowledge and religious discourse, it also exposes *santris* to misinformation, intolerance, and online radical narratives. The increasing interaction of young Muslims with digital platforms creates new challenges for *pesantren* in strengthening *santris'* critical literacy, religious moderation, and resilience against extremist ideologies (Mustafa et al. 2023, 321; Rusmana et al. 2024, 425).

The spread of extremism and radicalization is one of the greatest threats for Indonesian citizen, particularly *santri* (Taufik et al. 2025, 144). This extremism often arises from inaccurate interpretations of certain concepts, such as *jihād* (Saleh 2025, 6). Such interpretations may encourage intolerance, radical attitudes, and violent extremism. Reports from civil society organizations show that religious intolerance and extremism continue to pose serious challenges in Indonesia. This phenomenon is also linked to the growing presence of Indonesian Muslim adolescents on social media, many of whom lack adequate capacity to filter information. Reactions to radical narratives in the digital world have become increasingly concerning as more groups support the dissemination of radical ideology in cyberspace.

Therefore, efforts to promote religious moderation and moderate Islam have increasingly become an important agenda in Indonesian society (Afwadzi & Miski 2021, 216). In *pesantren* environment, this agenda is also urgent to intensify *santris'* character resilience and critical literacy against radical content on the internet. The agenda also targets at reducing their vulnerability and improving character formation.

Previous studies examined *pesantrens'* role in countering radicalism through curriculum development, character education, deradicalization programs, and *kiais'* leadership (Ihsan & Fatah 2021, 246; Subhani et al. 2018; Sadiyah 2022, 66; Saleh 2025, 6). They also highlight *pesantrens'* role in promoting moderation and strengthening *santris'* resistance to radical ideologies (Mukhlis et al. 2024, 81). However, several cases indicate that some *pesantrens* have also been associated with radical networks, highlighting the complexity of extremism prevention within Islamic educational institutions (Ridlwani 2019, 36).

Despite the growing body of scholarship on *pesantren* and extremism prevention, significant gaps remain. Existing studies largely focus on

institutional roles, curriculum structures, deradicalization programs, and *kiais'* leadership without sufficiently examining how resilience against extremist ideologies is internalized at the individual level of *santri*. Limited empirical studies examine the psychopedagogical processes underlying character formation, particularly the interaction of cognitive, emotional, and social dimensions in shaping *santri's* responses to extremist narratives. Moreover, previous studies rarely incorporate direct field-based evidence from *pesantren* actors, including *kiai*, *ustaz*, and *santri*, to understand the practical dynamics of resilience-building in the digital era.

This study addresses these gaps by investigating how *santri's* resilience against religious extremism is constructed within the educational environment. Drawing on perspectives from moral development theory, social learning theory, and resilience psychology, this study proposes a contextually grounded psychopedagogical framework for strengthening character internalization and resistance to extremist ideologies in *pesantren* education. Hence, the questions are: how do *santris* develop resilience against religious extremism in the digital era? What challenges does *pesantren* face in strengthening *santri's* character and resilience against extremist narratives? And, how can psycho-pedagogical approaches support the internalization of character values and resilience among *santris*?

Research Method

This study uses a qualitative field research design with a case study approach to explore how character values are internalized and how *santris* develop resilience against extremist narratives within *pesantren* education. The study was conducted at Pondok Pesantren (PP) Manbail Futuh, Jenu District, Tuban Regency, East Java Province, Indonesia. It is an institution that combines traditional Islamic learning with contemporary social issues, particularly religious moderation and the challenge of extremism in the digital era.

Data collection was carried out from February to April 2026 through semi-structured interviews, participatory observation, and documentation. The respondents were selected purposively to ensure the data were relevant to the study. They consist of several *santris* with the initials MH, BS, CY, AZM, and SA; and *kiais* named Kiai Syariful Wafa and Kiai Nurul Fahmi. The selected *santris* have studied in the *pesantren* for at least three years and are considered to have decent understanding

of character education and religious moderation values. The *kiais* were chosen for their significant roles in implementing psychopedagogical approaches.

The interview content with *kiais* was around *pesantren* education philosophy, psychopedagogical approaches, and strategies in the prevention of extremist ideology. Meanwhile, the *santris* were asked about character formation, religious learning, social media exposure, and their perspectives on extremist narratives. Participatory observations were conducted during *pesantren* daily activities to understand how the values of moderation and resilience were practiced. Supporting documents were also obtained, including *pesantren* regulations and programs related to character education and religious moderation, as well as the learning materials.

The collected data were analyzed thematically by transcribing and systematically organizing all interview recordings and field notes. Afterward, open coding was conducted to identify important statements and recurring ideas related to character education, psycho-pedagogy, religious moderation, and resilience against extremism. Similar codes were then grouped into broader categories and themes, such as *santris'* emotional and spiritual growth, character development, digital media influence, and the role of *kiais'* authority in guiding *santris*. Finally, the themes were interpreted to understand the contribution of *pesantren* education in strengthening *santris'* resilience against extremist ideology.

To ensure the credibility and trustworthiness of the findings, this study applied source and method triangulation by comparing data obtained from interviews, observations, and documentation. In addition, the authors also reconfirmed several findings with the participants to ensure accuracy and consistency of the interpretations. These procedures provide deeper insight of how *pesantren* education contributes to the development of *santris'* character and resilience against religious extremism in contemporary society.

Results and Discussion

Santris' Character in the Contemporary Social Dynamics Context

This study found that *santris'* character formation at PP Manbail Futuh is closely connected to the changing social realities today. During daily learning activities, communal worship, and informal interactions among *santris* in February 2026, the *pesantren* consistently promotes values

such as discipline, simplicity, obedience to the *kiais*, mutual respect, and collective responsibility. These values are not only taught through formal classroom instruction but also through the culture of *pesantren* life.

The findings also reveal that contemporary *santris* are increasingly influenced by digital culture and social media. Many *santris* admitted that they regularly access religious content through platforms such as YouTube, TikTok, and Instagram. These expose them not only to broader access to religious knowledge, but also misinformation, intolerant views, and extremist narratives. Kiai Wafa explained that the *pesantren* recognizes the major social changes *santris* experienced in the digital era. He stated:

"Santris grow up in a very open world. Social media has become part of their daily lives, and they can easily access a wide range of religious contents online. So, we always remind them not to accept information immediately. They need to practice tabayyun (verification), understand the context, and discuss what they found with their ustazs" (Wafa 2026).

During *diniyyah* classes, *ustaz* frequently linked classical Islamic texts (*Kitab Kuning*) with contemporary social issues. They emphasized the importance of understanding religious texts comprehensively rather than interpreting them literally without context. *Santris* were also reminded to be cautious of provocative religious messages commonly found on social media. SA explained that his experience in the *pesantren* changed the way he understood religious information online:

"Before studying here, I often watched short religious videos on social media and directly believed what they said. However, in the pesantren, we are taught to compare opinions, ask our ustaz, and understand the background of a text before making judgments" (SA 2026).

Another *santri*, BS, admitted that extremist content can sometimes appear convincing for young people who are still searching for religious identity and certainty. He said:

"Some online contents sound very convincing because they directly quote Quranic verses and hadiths. Sometimes the speakers also provoke emotions by saying that people outside their group are wrong or misguided. If santris do not have strong guidance, it is easy to be influenced" (BS 2026).

The study further shows that the *pesantren* attempts to strengthen *santris'* emotional and moral resilience through continuous guidance, collective worship, close supervision, and regular interaction with the *kiais*. The observations indicate that this relationship extends beyond formal classroom learning. The *kiais* are actively involved in *santris'* daily lives, providing informal advice, monitoring their social interactions, and guiding their religious understanding. Kiai Nurul Fahmi emphasized that character education in the *pesantren* is not limited to intellectual understanding of religion but also focuses on emotional maturity and social ethics:

"Religious knowledge is not sufficient. Santris must learn humility, patience, and respect for differences. They must realize that Islam teaches compassion and balance, not hatred or hostility toward others" (Fahmi 2026).

Rather than relying on broad historical generalizations about *santris'* past and present, this study focuses on the observable character transformation among *santris* at PP Manbail Futuh. Classical *pesantren* traditionally emphasized obedience, simplicity, and collective discipline within relatively insular environments. Meanwhile contemporary *santris* at PP Manbail Futuh navigate a dual reality: they are increasingly adaptive and critically engaged, yet simultaneously exposed to digital distractions and transnational extremist narratives. Kiai Wafa, the *pesantren's* leader, emphasized:

"We prepare them for life beyond the pesantren. They will encounter unprecedented freedoms, in action or thought. Our task is to ensure their moral and spiritual foundations remain resilient when they step into that open space" (Wafa 2026).

This adaptive criticality is actively cultivated through contextualized religious instruction. Hafidz, a senior *santri*, illustrated how classical curricula are reinterpreted for contemporary challenges:

"Extremism isn't just an abstract ideology; we see it in how people interpret texts online. In our dīniyyah classes, we're taught to connect classical texts like 'Aqīdatul 'Awwām with current social realities, so we don't just memorize, but understand context" (Hafidz 2026).

Despite this critical engagement, *santris* report vulnerability to algorithmic echo chambers, emotionally charged extremist content, and rapid information overload. Those are heightened, particularly when digital literacy and emotional regulation are underdeveloped. This duality, cognitive adaptability paired with psychosocial vulnerability, demonstrates that traditional pedagogical models alone are insufficient. Instead, it necessitates a structured psychopedagogical approach that integrates moral reasoning development, digital literacy training, and emotional scaffolding into *pesantren's* daily routines.

Bourdieu's framework clarifies this transition: the *pesantren's* structured environment continues to instill durable dispositions (discipline, moderation, and respect for scholarly authority). However, these are now actively tested and renegotiated within a digital field saturated with competing ideological capital (Bourdieu 1973, 75; Kuswandi et al. 2021, 86). Without intentional psychopedagogical interventions, such as guided critical reflection, psycho-religious counseling, and contextualized moral dialogue, the *pesantren's* traditional cultural capital risks fragmentation under unmediated digital exposure. Consequently, the character transformation observed at PP Manbail Futuh is not merely a shift in attitude. It also experienced a structural realignment forcing pedagogical strategies explicitly designed to strengthen both cognitive maturity and psychosocial resilience.

Key Challenges to Santri's Anti-Extremism Resilience

Reinforcing *santris'* resilience against extremist narratives is contested by the growing influence of digital media and the rapid flow of information among *santris*. Although the *pesantren* officially limits the use of mobile phones and electronic devices in the dormitory, observations and interviews revealed that *santris* still access social media content through interactions outside the *pesantren*, especially at school and through friendships with non-*santri* friends.

Several *santris* admitted that religious content on social media is part of their daily conversations and influences how they understand religious issues. Short religious videos on TikTok and YouTube are popular among *santris* as they are simple, emotional, and easily disseminated. MH explained:

"Many santri watch short Islamic videos because they are easy to understand and are quickly shared among friends. Sometimes the speakers sound very convincing, especially when talking about heaven, sin, or accusing certain groups of being wrong" (MH 2026).

Another *santri*, BS, explicated that *santris* do not always verify the religious information they got online:

"Some santri immediately believe religious content from social media just because it includes Quranic verses or Hadith. No one checks who the speaker is or verifies it with the ustaz first" (BS 2026).

Expressing a similar concern, AZM said that social media content often shapes *santris'* emotions more than direct religious learning does:

"Some online content easily provokes emotions. Some videos directly judge other groups as wrong or less Islamic. Since the message is delivered emotionally, some santri are immediately influenced" (AZM 2026).

The study further indicates that exposure to online religious content occasionally creates different perspectives among *santris*. During several informal discussions, some *santris* expressed more rigid views after being influenced by online *da'wah*/preachings that emphasized exclusivism and intolerance. In contrast, others maintained more moderate perspectives taught in the *pesantren*. Kiai Fahmi argued that this is, nevertheless, challenging because *santris* are continuously connected to wider social setting outside *pesantren*:

"Although mobile phones are restricted inside pesantrens, santri still receive information from social interactions outside. Sometimes they bring those discussions back here, including religious opinions from social media with inherent biases" (Fahmi 2026).

In addition to exposure to extremist narratives, the findings also indicate that digital distractions affect *santris'* discipline and social interactions. Several informants explained that excessive engagement with online content outside the *pesantren* environment reduced *santris'* focus on learning activities and limited direct peer communication. CY explained:

"When santris spend too much time following online trends or social media discussions, they sometimes lose focus during learning. Some are more relaxed interacting online than talking directly with their friends" (CY 2026).

Another challenge identified was the emotional vulnerability of some santris as they are still in search for identity and a sense of belonging. SA believed that online religious groups often attract young people by offering certainty and emotional acceptance. He expressed:

"Young people usually want clear answers and a place where they feel accepted. Some online groups provide that feeling, so emotionally unstable santris can be easily attracted to extreme ideas without realizing it" (SA 2026).

It is also revealed that the *pesantren* actively responds to these challenges through continuous supervision, religious mentoring, collective worship, and direct communication between *kiais* and *santris*. *Ustaz* frequently reminded *santris* to verify online information, avoid hate-based narratives, and discuss their social impacts and confusing religious content on social media. These can develop *santris*' critical thinking skills. Overall, this study demonstrates that the challenges to strengthening *santris*' resilience at PP Manbail Futuh are closely related to digital exposure, uncontrolled information flows, emotional vulnerability, and differing responses to online religious narratives. These challenges influence both *santris*' religious understanding and their emotional attitudes, social interactions, and character formation in *pesantren* every day.

Psychopedagogical Approaches in Pesantren

This study exposes that PP Manbail Futuh develops *santris*' characters through a range of psychopedagogical approaches integrated into *pesantren* daily life. Based on observations during *diniyyah* classes, *halaqah* discussions, communal worship, mentoring activities, and informal interactions between *kiais*, *ustazs*, and *santris*, the *pesantren* emphasizes religious learning, emotional guidance, reflective thinking, and social responsibility. These approaches aim to help *santris* respond more wisely to contemporary challenges, particularly the influence of social media and extremist narratives circulating in digital spaces.

Some main approaches are the implementations of *halaqah* and reflective discussion sessions. These activities were regularly conducted in small groups, fostering a more open atmosphere in which *santris* could discuss religious and social issues directly with *ustazs* and senior *santris*. In several sessions, the discussions focused on online hate speech, intolerance, religious differences, and provocative religious content commonly found on social media. *Ustazs* encouraged *santris* to analyze these issues contextually rather than accepting information at face value.

Halaqah sessions train *santris* to think critically and responsibly when facing information from outside the *pesantren*. Kiai Wafa stated:

"Santris receive information very quickly from social media today. If they only memorize religious texts without understanding the context, extreme ideas can easily influence them. Through halaqah, we encourage them to ask, discuss, and learn how to respond wisely" (Wafa 2026).

He confirms that the *pesantren* continuously emphasizes moderation and humanity in religious understanding. It emphasizes that religion does not produce people full of hatred or hostility. Instead, Islam teaches balance, patience, and mutual respect. Those values are not only instilled as materials in class, but also practiced in daily interaction.

Furthermore, it is disclosed that *ustazs* routinely guide *santris* in analyzing contemporary issues through classical texts during weekly *halaqahs* and contextual case discussions. The issues include online hate speech, transnational extremist narratives, and digital misinformation. This shows the strong mentoring role *ustazs* played in *santris'* daily lives. They are responsible as teachers in the classroom and as mentors who accompanied *santris* in their social, emotional, and personal development. Outside formal learning hours, *ustazs* frequently interacted with *santris* during communal meals, worship activities, and informal conversations in the dormitory environment.

Kiai Fahmi underscores that mentoring is needed since many *santris* experience confusion and emotional pressure influenced by digital culture and changing social environments. He expressed:

"Many santris are exposed to online debates, provocative religious content, and social pressures. Sometimes they become confused or emotionally affected. Thus, ustazs should not only transfer knowledge but also

accompany santris personally, listen to their concerns, and guide them calmly" (Fahmi 2026).

The *pesantren* regularly conducts *muhāsabah* (self-reflection) activities as part of its character-building process. These activities were usually carried out collectively after evening prayers or during specific religious programs. During *muhāsabah* sessions, *santris* were encouraged to reflect on their attitudes, emotional conditions, relationships with others, and spiritual development. These activities were intended to strengthen *santris'* emotional awareness and self-control, as Kiai Wafa uttered:

"Muhāsabah teaches santris to evaluate themselves before judging others. They learn humility, emotional control, and self-awareness because extreme attitudes exist when people cannot manage their emotions properly" (Wafa 2026).

Since emotional support is considered an inseparable part of the *pesantren's* religious education, Kiai Fahmi stated:

"Currently, santris face many pressures, including social media influence, friendship problems, and identity issues. If those are ignored, santris can become vulnerable to negative influences. Therefore, we try to create an environment where santris feel comfortable sharing their concerns with us" (Fahmi 2026).

Rather than enforcing uncritical adherence to authority, *ustazs* encourage *santri* to internalize the *maqāsid al-sharī'ah* (objectives of Islamic law), fostering postconventional moral reasoning that evaluates religious rulings through justice, tolerance, and human welfare perspectives. Kiai Wafa emphasized:

"We do not merely teach santris what to believe; we train them to question, contextualize, and choose moderation as a conscious moral stance. Our discussions push them to see the human dimension behind every ruling to independently reject narratives that manipulate religion for violence" (Wafa 2026).

These discussions helped *santris* become more careful when receiving religious information online. MH uttered that *ustazs* often reminds *santris* to not believe words from social media immediately. They

should first question, compare views, and understand the context. Moreover, the close *santri-ustaz* relationship made discussions more comfortable. Another *santri* asserted:

"When *santris* find extreme or confusing content online, they usually discuss it directly with the *ustazs*. That helps us feel calmer and firm" (SA 2026).

The elaboration reveals that the psychopedagogical approaches at PP Manbail Futuh are applied through *halaqah* discussions, mentoring by *ustazs*, *muhâsabah* activities, informal counseling, and the development of critical thinking within religious learning. These are integrated into *santris'* everyday experiences and are meant to brace emotional maturity, social awareness, and resilience against extremist narratives in contemporary digital society.

Pesantren Culture in Shaping Santris' Resilience

Pesantrens function both as traditional Islamic educational institutions and comprehensive cultural ecosystems that systematically cultivate student resilience. Meanwhile, religion is understood as a system of beliefs that shapes individual behavior and social life (Asfar et al. 2025, 72). Unlike earlier approaches that were largely textual and inward-looking, contemporary *pesantrens* integrate spiritual reinforcement with the demands of the digital era while preserving their traditional foundations. So, Islamic education has functioned as a form of social humanism (Prasetia et al. 2021, 234). This discussion shifts the focus from broad historical exposition or the impacts of technology to the concrete mechanisms within *pesantren* culture that foster *santri's* mental, social, and spiritual resilience.

Pesantren culture builds resilience through five principal mechanisms (Prasetyo et al. 2025, 917; Prasetyo 2022, 76; Sarwadi & Raihan 2025, 1141). First, collective discipline, expressed through structured daily routines (congregational prayers, memorization reviews, physical activities, and communal responsibilities), cultivates emotional regulation and perseverance. Second, *kiais'* exemplary conduct (*uswatun hasanah*) serves as the cornerstone of character formation; *kiais* both transmit knowledge and model simplicity, principled steadfastness, and wise responses to conflict. Third, the internalization of moderate values is explicitly instilled through a hidden curriculum that emphasizes tolerance,

balance among spiritual, moral and social dimensions, and a firm rejection of extremist narratives.

The fourth principal is social oversight (*murâqabah*) among *santris*, supervisors, and administrators fostering a mutually corrective environment that prevents behavioral deviation. Fifth, the habitual practice of worship strengthens spiritual grounding that serves as a psychological buffer when *santris* encounter external pressures or environmental changes. Verifying this framework, Kiai Wafa acknowledged:

"The issue of extremism does not emerge suddenly; it is a process influenced by gaps in understanding, environmental influences, and weak internalization of values. Our primary step is to strengthen the foundation of religious values oriented toward peace, mutual respect, and tolerance for differences. Ustazs must ensure that the teachings conveyed promote mercy, not hatred, by comprehensively balancing spiritual, moral, and social understanding" (Wafa 2026).

This statement aligns with Mukhlis et al. (2024, 81), who positions *pesantrens* as institutions that bridge moral values with social dynamics, and with Isti'ana (2024, 305), who shows that access to technology and global information can enrich religious insight when guided by a strong framework of moderation. Consequently, *santris'* resilience does not arise from cultural isolation but from an adaptive, structured *pesantren* culture centered on exemplary leadership, collective oversight, and the reinforcement of moderate values as a bulwark against radicalism and societal upheaval.

The Three Interrelated Issues in Building Santris' Character

The main challenge in developing the character of contemporary *santris* centers on balancing traditional moral values and religious science with the rapid pace of technology and digital disruption. Thus, three crucial issues are interrelated. First issue is the ethical crisis and digital literacy which *santris* and *ustazs* do not really know about (Hasanah & Sukri 2023, 183; Ulfah 2022, 3). Although gadgets and the internet offer easy access to knowledge, this convenience triggers serious problems. *Santris* face the temptation of digital distractions, the risk of dependence on technology, and exposure to negative content such as pornography or violence that can disrupt spiritual life and damage morality (Fadli 2022,

11) Additionally, the rapid flow of information and transnational ideologies' penetration through social media aggressively target the younger generation with extreme and intolerant narratives (Alava et al. 2017). Furthermore, the digital environment is a fertile ground for the spread of false information (hoaxes) and hate speech, requiring Islamic boarding schools to equip *santris* with ethical and wise digital communication skills (Bahrudin et al. 2024). This challenge is even difficult because some *pesantrens* lack adequate regulations and a digital literacy curriculum to equip *santris* with safe and healthy information-navigating skills.

The government has been trying to intensify digital literacy through the Indonesia's National Literacy Movement since 2016. Early childhood education units and teachers also support this movement, which includes reading and writing, numeracy, scientific, financial, digital, as well as cultural and civic literacy (Nasrullah et al. 2017, 7). This movement also involves Islamic boarding school as an ideal partner in improving the education quality and nation's character (Syafe'i 2017, 79). Therefore, an appropriate digital literacy model is needed to reduce the existing digital gap.

Kiai Fahmi explained that the polarization occurring among *santris* at Manbail Futuh is caused by interactions between *santris* and non-*santris* in the school environment. They are easily exposed to various kinds of information without any sufficient filtering, making it vulnerable to the spread of misinformation. As *santris* are at risk of falling prey to misinformation and disinformation, their morality can be affected.

These can be worse if not managed properly and even cause them to spread erroneous information about important issues. Therefore, *pesantrens* and educational institutions need to make greater efforts to provide media literacy education. It can reduce the negative impacts of social media use and help *santri* filter the information they receive wisely, maintaining their morality and scholarly integrity. A proper understanding of the use of digital literacy within *pesantren* can help transform the *pesantren* system into a more progressive and competitive educational institution (Fadli & Dwiningrum 2021, 340).

The second issue is regarding disruption of social values and transnational ideology caused by the Industrial Revolution 4.0 and Society 5.0. *Santris* face the threat of the fading religious values due to the diseases of modern society, such as materialism, hedonism, and individualism

(Huda & Aswiyanto 2023, 5). High technological advancements, global economic integration, and increasing social complexity require every nation's component to respond adaptively. In this situation of change, the noble values - the foundation of the nation - often face new challenges, threatening national identity (Alisah 2025, 70). Additionally, the unstoppable flow of information from cyberspace can potentially escalate transnational ideologies or religious radicalization that can erode the values of nationalism and tolerance, the hallmarks of Islamic boarding schools (Muhtarom et al. 2020, 132; Rokhim & Wasi 2021, 185). Meanwhile, character development now focuses both on individuals and the formation of digital citizenship with character, maintaining local identity (local wisdom) while remaining globally competitive (Wahyuni et al. 2023, 15).

Likewise, social and cultural changes place significant psychological pressure on *santris*, especially regarding academic competition, identity issues, and the dynamics of social relations that are more open and complex. This condition causes the emergence of psychological well-being problems such as academic stress, social anxiety, bullying, and confidence crises (Mariyono 2024a, 305; Mariyono 2024b). These internal psychological challenges are often overlooked in Islamic boarding school curricula that focus more on the cognitive and spiritual realms. Hence, aspects of emotional and mental health development have not been addressed systematically. The lack of psychopedagogical support can weaken *santris'* resilience to extreme ideological pressure because radicalization often targets individuals who experience psychological vulnerability and social isolation.

The last issue is the existence of gaps in educator infrastructure and competence. Institutionally, not all Islamic boarding schools have adequate technological infrastructure, such as a stable internet connection or computer laboratories, *ustazs'* quality, a character curriculum integration grounded in religious moderation, and 21st-century skills (Lundeto et al. 2021, 2237-2238; Halimah et al. 2024, 651). If *pesantren* fail to adapt and maintain outdated methods, they risk being left behind and considered irrelevant in a modern society that is all competitive and prioritizes science and technology (Achmadin et al. 2024, 203; Arifin 2013, 21). This inequality affects the effectiveness of internalizing values and building *santris'* character. Thus, it is vital to update educational strategies that emphasize the transmission of religious knowledge. The

updated integration of psychological approaches, digital literacy, and social-emotional coaching as the foundation for building comprehensive resilience is also crucial.

Psychopedagogical Mechanisms in Character Internalization

Character internalization is no longer driven by rigid compliance but by structured moral dialogue and guided ethical reasoning. Guiding *santris* in analyzing contemporary issues by considering classical texts like *'Aqīdatul 'Awwām* indicates a pedagogical shift. It operationalizes Lawrence Kohlberg's theory of moral development, which posits that moral maturity progresses from rule-bound obedience to principled reasoning through reflective discourse (Kohlberg & Hersh 1977, 58).

This cognitive development is systematically reinforced through deliberate behavioral modeling, directly reflecting Bandura's social learning theory in *pesantren* life regulation. *Santris* continuously observe *kiais*, *ustazs*, and senior *santris* demonstrating digital citizenship, conflict de-escalation, and empathetic engagement in communal settings. Peer mentoring programs further amplify this effect, as accomplished seniors serve as accessible moral exemplars, to yield stronger behavioral adoption than top-down instruction (Bandura & Walters 1977; Hotifah 2014, 37). By assigning *santris*' responsibilities in producing peaceful *da'wah* content, leading community initiatives, or moderating digital discourse, the *pesantren* cultivates self-efficacy and reinforces a prosocial identity. When significant figures consistently model rational and non-hostile religious conduct, *santris* internalize these behaviors as normative rather than prescriptive.

Beyond cognitive and social dimensions, the institution systematically builds psychological resilience through structured emotional regulation practices. Daily *muhāsabah*, group counseling, and guided problem-solving sessions equip *santri* with adaptive coping strategies to manage anxiety, peer pressure, and ideological confusion, which are frequently exploited by extremist recruitment (Connor & Davidson 2003). These practices are not isolated but are embedded in the institutional routine, ensuring that moral understanding is translated into emotional stability and behavioral consistency. Collectively, the integration of dialogic moral reasoning, intentional role modeling, and resilience training demonstrate how contemporary *pesantren* function as psychopedagogical ecosystems by anchoring theoretical frameworks in

observable practices. Those are *halaqah*, *kiais'* exemplarity, peer mentoring, and emotional coaching. This study clarifies how empirical routines, prior psychological studies, and institutional pedagogy converge to strengthen *santri's* multidimensional immunity against radicalization in both physical and digital spaces.

Moreover, the psychopedagogical approach the *ustazs* apply at the *pesantren* is very important in addressing this extremism. *Ustazs* provide an overview of the current social problems the *santris* face. They also need to understand *santris'* personal backgrounds, including feelings of anxiety that can be a driving factor to fall into extremist thinking. Next, they must equip *santris* with critical thinking skills, the ability to filter information, and a deep understanding of the importance of moderation in religion.

Strengthening *santris'* internalization of character and moral values in dealing with extremism can be achieved through a psychological approach to moral development. Referring to Kohlberg's view, moral development is a matter of obedience to religious rules and the improvement of the ability to reason about the values of justice, welfare, and humanity (Kohlberg & Hersh 1977). In this case, religious learning that is rich with discussions, questions and answers, and social case analysis will help *santris* understand *shari'ah* principles that are universal and contextual. When they can see the human dimension in Islamic teachings, they are less susceptible to extreme propaganda that often prioritizes black-and-white narratives and blind obedience to certain authorities. The development of a mature moral level can be achieved through inclusive *ustazs'* role models, moral habituation, and an emphasis on *maqâsid al-shari'ah*. Hence, *santris* learn to make moral decisions based on empathy, social responsibility, and respect for diversity.

In addition, Bandura's cognitive-social theory provides an important framework for how students' religious behavior is formed through observation, self-belief, and self-regulation (Bandura & Walters 1977, 113). Extremism often takes advantage of psychological conditions when individuals have low self-efficacy and tend to seek instant recognition through radical groups, offering heroic identities (Kinnvall & Capelos 2021, 3) *Pesantren* can counter this vulnerability by providing ample space for self-development: student involvement in organizations, achievements, community service projects, and cross-cultural dialogue like *muhâsabah*, spiritual *halaqah*, or psychoreligious counseling. By presenting moderate exemplars who can show Islam as a blessing for all of nature, the *pesantren*

environment becomes a positive social model that indirectly strengthens the deterrent to extreme narratives.

Implications of Santris' Resilience for Preventing Religious Extremism

The result of this study shows that *santris'* resilience against extremist narratives at *Pondok Pesantren* Manbail Futuh is developed through the integration of character education, emotional guidance, reflective religious learning, and critical engagement with contemporary social issues. The *pesantren* emphasizes religious knowledge and encourages *santris* to develop emotional maturity, social responsibility, and critical awareness in responding to information circulating in digital spaces. The resilience against extremism is shaped not merely by institutional control, but also by continuous psychopedagogical processes embedded in *pesantren* daily life.

From a normative Islamic perspective, the emphasis on moderation as a foundation of *santris'* resilience is strongly rooted in Quranic teachings. The prohibition of excessive religious attitudes (*ghuluw*) is explicitly stated in Q.S. an-Nisâ' [4]:171, which warns believers not to go beyond proper limits in understanding and practicing religion. Conversely, the concept of *ummatan wasâtâ* (a just and balanced community) in Q.S. al-Baqarah [2]:143 highlights the ideal position of Muslims: moderate, fair, and balanced in both belief and practice. According to Wahbah az-Zuhaili in his work, *Tafsir al-Munir*, *ghuluw* refers to exaggeration and extremity in religious interpretation that leads to deviation from the essence of Islamic teachings, while *wasatiyyah*, *tawâzun*, and *'adl* are the proportionality in responding to religious and social realities (al Zuhaily 2005, 104).

This study has crucial implications for developing more effective strategies to prevent religious extremism within Islamic educational institutions. First, resilience-building should not rely solely on formal curriculum or doctrinal teaching but must involve a holistic approach that integrates cultural, psychological, and social dimensions of education (Fu & Zhang 2024, 12). Second, integrating psychopedagogical approaches offers a novel contribution to Islamic education. By combining moral development, social learning, and resilience frameworks, this study proposes a multidimensional model of character education that is more responsive to contemporary challenges (Tian & Tang 2025, 219). This model moves beyond traditional approaches by addressing what *santri*

should believe as well as how they think, feel, and respond to complex social realities. Third, the study highlights the importance of contextualizing character education within the realities of the digital era. The exposure of *santris* to diverse and often conflicting information requires *pesantren* to adapt their educational strategies by incorporating digital literacy, critical pedagogy, and psychosocial support systems (Budiharso et al. 2023, 201). Without such adaptation, the gap between traditional values and contemporary challenges may increase *santris'* vulnerability to extremist influence.

In practice, *pesantrens* need to adapt their educational practices to contemporary digital challenges. Activities such as *halaqah* discussions, mentoring, *muhâsabah*, informal counseling, and critical digital literacy can help *santris* develop balanced religious understanding, emotional maturity, and resilience against online extremist content. Hence, this study recommends that *pesantren* strengthen character education by integrating reflective discussion, emotional mentoring, and digital literacy into everyday learning activities. Future educational programs should focus on religious knowledge and developing *santris'* critical awareness, emotional control, and respect for social diversity.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that *santris'* resilience against extremist narratives at *Pondok Pesantren Manbail Futuh* is strengthened through psychopedagogical approaches integrated into *pesantren* daily life. Character formation is developed not only through religious instruction but also through *halaqah* discussions, mentoring by *kiais* and *ustazs*, *muhâsabah* activities, informal counseling, and reflective learning practices that encourage critical thinking, emotional maturity, and social responsibility. Digital exposure and the uncontrolled flow of online religious information remain significant challenges for *santris*, particularly in shaping religious perspectives and emotional responses.

Theoretically, this study contributes to the discourse on Islamic education by showing that resilience against extremism is more effectively developed through the integration of moral, emotional, social, and cognitive dimensions within *pesantren* education. This study highlights the relevance of psychopedagogical approaches in strengthening moderate religious understanding among *santris* in the digital era. *Pesantrens* need to strengthen character education through critical digital literacy, reflective

religious discussions, emotional mentoring, and continuous guidance from *kiais* and *ustazs*. These approaches can help *santris* develop balanced religious perspectives and greater resilience against extremist narratives circulating in contemporary digital environments.

References

- Achmadin, B. Z., Kawakip, A. N., Nafis, M. M., Barizi, A., Asrori, M., & Amrullah, A. M. K. 2024. The Future of Pesantren: Reconciling Tradition with Global Educational Trends. *Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam (Journal of Islamic Education Studies)*, 12(2): 197-222.
- Afwadzi, B., & Miski, M. 2021. Religious Moderation in Indonesian Higher Education: Literature Review. *Ulul Albab: Jurnal Studi Islam*, 22(2): 203-231.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18860/ua.v22i2.13446>.
- al Zuhaily, W. 2005. *At-Tafsir Al-Muniir fii al'aqiidah wa asy-Syarii'ah wa al-manhaj*. Damascus: Dar al-Fikr.
- Alava, S. et al. 2017. *Youth and Violent Extremism on Social Media: Mapping the Research*. UNESCO Publishing.
<https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000260532>
- Alisah, P. 2025. Implementasi Nilai–Nilai Pancasila dalam Menghadapi Tantangan Globalisasi dan Disrupsi Sosial. *Jurnal Pusat Studi Pancasila Dan Kebijakan*, 1(2): 63-73.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.62734/jurnalpuspaka.v1i2.371>.
- Arifin, A. Z. 2013. Charisma and Rationalisation in a Modernising Pesantren: Changing Values in Traditional Islamic Education in Java. *Doctoral Thesis*, University of Western Sidney.
- Asfar, K., Hanif, N., Daud, I., Mustaqimah, & Khadhary, M. 2025. Actualization of Quran Values on Religious Moderation in Banuroja Village, Gorontalo, Indonesia. *Ulul Albab: Jurnal Studi Islam*, 26(1): 71-95.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18860/ua.v26i1.31427>.
- Azizah, N. et al. 2023. Religious Moderation in the Industrial Era 4.0: Deradicalization through the Development of Intellectual

Traditions at Fadhlul Fadhlun Islamic Boarding School Semarang. *Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam*, 20(2): 233-246.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14421/jpai.v20i2.7771>.

AZM (Informant), interviewed in February 17, 2026. Tuban.

Bahrudin, A., Idi, A., Karoma, K., Hidayatullah, H., & Afryansyah, A. 2024. Tantangan Pembelajaran pada Pesantren di Era Digital. *Indonesian Research Journal on Education*, 4(4): 2458-2462.

Bandura, A., & Walters, R. H. 1977. *Social Learning Theory* (Vol. 1). Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

Bourdieu, P. 1973. The Three Forms of Theoretical Knowledge. *Social Science Information*, 12(1): 53-80.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/053901847301200103>.

BS (Informant), interviewed in February 17, 2026. Tuban.

Budiharso, T., Bakri, S., & Sujito, S. 2023. Transformation of Education System of the Pesantren in Indonesia from the Dutch Colony to Democratic Era. *Journal of Social Studies Education Research*, 14(4): 179-206.
DOI: <https://jsser.org/index.php/jsser/article/view/5460>

Connor, K. M., & Davidson, J. R. T. 2003. Development of a New Resilience Scale: The Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale (CD RISC). *Depression and Anxiety*, 18(2): 76-82.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1002/da.10113>

CY (Informant), interviewed in February 20, 2026. Tuban.

Darwanto, A., Prahmana, R. C. I., Susanti, A., & Khalil, I. A. 2024. Transformation of Boarding School Management Models in Enhancing Student Accessibility and Educational Quality. *Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam*, 21(1): 145-164.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14421/jpai.v21i1.8632>.

- Fadli, M. R., & Dwiningrum, S. I. A. 2021. Pesantren's Digital Literacy: An Effort to Realize the Advancement of Pesantren Education. *Ulul Albab: Jurnal Studi Islam*, 22(2): 338-359.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18860/ua.v22i2.14221>.
- Fadli, S. 2022. Penanggulangan Terhadap Patologi Digital Melalui Pendidikan Ruhani Berbasis Alqur'an. *Master's Thesis*, Institut PTIQ Jakarta. <https://repository.ptiq.ac.id/id/eprint/653/>.
- Fahmi, Nurul (Informant), interviewed in April 6, 2026. Tuban.
- Fu, Q., & Zhang, X. 2024. Promoting Community Resilience through Disaster Education: Review of Community-Based Interventions with a Focus on Teacher Resilience And Well-Being. *PLOS ONE*, 19(1): e0296393.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0296393>.
- Fuad, M., Masrukhi, M., & Effendi, A. 2020. The Effect of Pesantren Education on the Creativity of Pesantren-based Writers. *International Journal of Education and Social Science Research*, 3(3): 1-10.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.37500/IJESSR.2020.3031>.
- Hafidz (Informant), interviewed in March 3, 2026. Tuban.
- Halimah, S., Yusuf, A., & Safiudin, K. 2024. Pesantren Education Management: The Transformation of Religious Learning Culture in the Age of Disruption. *Nidhomul Haq: Jurnal Manajemen Pendidikan Islam*, 9(3): 648-666.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31538/ndhq.v9i3.16>.
- Hasanah, U., & Sukri, M. 2023. Implementasi Literasi Digital dalam Pendidikan Islam: Tantangan dan Solusi. *Equilibrium: Jurnal Pendidikan*, 11(2): 177-188.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.26618/equilibrium.v11i2.10426>.
- Hotifah, Y. 2014. Empowering Santri dalam Mengatasi Permasalahan Pembelajaran di Pesantren Melalui Model Peer Helping Berbasis Kearifan Lokal Pesantren. *Personifikasi: Jurnal Ilmu Psikologi*, 5(1): 19-42.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21107/personifikasi.v5i1.6568>.

- Huda, K. & Aswiyanto, A. 2023. Tantangan dan Peran Pondok Pesantren dalam Menghadapi Disintegrasi Moral di Era Revolusi Industri 4.0. *Arsy: Jurnal Studi Islam*, 7(1). <https://ejournal.undar.or.id/index.php/arsy/article/view/697>.
- Huda, M. N. et al. 2025. Strategic Institutional Reform in Islamic Higher Education: The Case of Two Pesantren-Based Universities. *Munaddhomah: Jurnal Manajemen Pendidikan Islam*, 6(3): 465-482. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31538/munaddhomah.v6i3.1863>.
- Ihsan, I. & Fatah, A. 2021. Pancasila and Islamic Education: The Deradicalization Model of Madrasahs Based on Islamic Boarding Schools in Central Java. *QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)*, 9(1): 245. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v9i1.8941>.
- Isti'ana, A. 2024. Integrasi Teknologi dalam Pembelajaran Pendidikan Islam. *Indonesian Research Journal on Education*, 4(1): 302-310. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31004/irje.v4i1.493>.
- Jamil, Z. A., Nurhuda, Alfian, Ulfah, S. M., Rasidin, & Youssef, A. 2025. Program Evaluation Study on Islamic Religious Education in Pesantren: Addressing Educational Degradation in the Digital Era. *Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam*, 22(1): 122-139. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14421/jpai.v22i1.11358>.
- Junaedi, J., Syafi'i, I., Hasyim, F., & Jawid Marwat, M. 2025. Transformational Curriculum Model through Interpretation Epistemology; Islamic Boarding School Curriculum Management Perspective. *Munaddhomah*, 6(3): 387-403. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31538/munaddhomah.v6i3.1802>.
- Kinnvall, C., & Capelos, T. 2021. The Psychology of Extremist Identification An Introduction:. *European Psychologist*, 26(1): 1-5. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1027/1016-9040/a000439>.
- Kohlberg, L., & Hersh, R. H. 1977. Moral Development: A Review of the Theory. *Theory Into Practice*, 16(2): 53-59. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00405847709542675>.

- Kuswandi, I., Tobroni, T., In'am, A., Khozin, K., & Asmoni, A. 2021. Interconnection Model of Morals-Reasoning-Research in Pesantren Curriculum. *Ulul Albab: Jurnal Studi Islam*, 22(1): 69-91. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18860/ua.v22i1.11611>.
- Lundeto, A., Talibo, I., & Nento, S. 2021. Challenges and Learning Strategies of Islamic Education in Islamic Boarding Schools in the Industrial Revolution Era 4.0. *AL-ISHLAH: Jurnal Pendidikan*, 13(3): 2231-2240. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.35445/alishlah.v13i3.1153>.
- Mariyono, D. 2024a. Indonesian Mosaic: The Essential Need for Multicultural Education. *Quality Education for All*, 1(1): 301-325. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1108/QEA-05-2024-0042>.
- Mariyono, D. 2024b. Multicultural values: Meeting Point of Two Forces in Developing Islamic Education. *Quality Education for All*, 1(1): 46-69. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1108/QEA-02-2024-0018>.
- MH (Informant), interviewed in 2026. Tuban.
- Muhtarom, A., Fuad, S., & Latif, T. 2020. *Moderasi Beragama: Konsep, Nilai, dan Strategi Pengembangannya di Pesantren*. Jakarta: Yayasan Talibuana Nusantara.
- Mukhlis, M., Jufri, M., Arowosaiye, Y. I., Garunja, E., & Boemiya, H. 2024. The Legal Culture to Prevent Radical Islamism by a Pesantren in Madura. *De Jure: Jurnal Hukum dan Syar'iah*, 16(1): 58-87. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18860/j-fsh.v16i1.26216>.
- Mustafa, M., Rohayati, R., Abdullah, A., Alhidayatillah, N., & Astuti, D. P. 2023. From Inequality to Digital Inclusion: Opportunities and Challenges of Digitalization among Santri in Indonesia. *SENTIMAS: Seminar Nasional Penelitian dan Pengabdian Masyarakat*, 1(1): 319-325.
- Musthofa, M. et al. 2025. Building Religious Harmony with a Humanistic Education: The Potential and Strategies to Overcome the Conflict

- Threat in Pesantren. *AL-ISHLAH: Jurnal Pendidikan*, 17(2): 2090-2104.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.35445/alishlah.v17i2.6428>.
- Nasrullah, R., Aditya, W., Satya, T. I., Nento, M. N., Hanifah, N., Miftahussururi, M., & Akbari, Q. S. 2017. *Materi Pendukung Literasi Digital*. Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Dasar dan Menengah.
- Prasetia, S. A., Asrohah, H., Najiyah, S. F., & Arif, S. 2021. Epistemic Rationality in Islamic Education: The Significance for Religious Moderation in Contemporary Indonesian Islam. *Ulul Albab: Jurnal Studi Islam*, 22(2): 232-263.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18860/ua.v22i2.12771>.
- Prasetyo, M. A. M. et al. 2025. Strategic Human Resource Cadre Development in Pesantren: A Roadmap to Organizational Resilience. *Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 33(2).
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.47836/pjssh.33.2.19>.
- Prasetyo, M. A. M. 2022. Organizational and Cultural Transformation of Pesantren in Creating a Competitive Culture. *QALAMUNA: Jurnal Pendidikan, Sosial, dan Agama*, 14(1): 73-88.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.37680/qalamuna.v14i1.1267>.
- Putri, A. Y., Mariza, E., & Alimni. 2023. Pesantren sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Islam: Sejarah Lahirnya Pesantren sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia, Sejarah Perkembangan Pesantren/Sistem Pendidikan, dan Perkembangannya Masa Kini. *Innovative: Journal of Social Science Research*, 3(2): 83-96.
- Ridlwan, M. 2019. Dialektika Pesantren dan Radikalisme di Pesisir Utara Lamongan. *Jurnal Darussalam: Jurnal Pendidikan, Komunikasi Dan Pemikiran Hukum Islam*, 11(1): 36.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30739/darussalam.v11i1.448>.
- Rokhim, M. A., & Wasi, U. 2021. Eksistensi Pesantren ditengah Pusaran Radikalisme dan Ideologi Transnasional. *Ar-Risalah: Media Keislaman, Pendidikan dan Hukum Islam*, 19(2): 170-191.

- Rusmana, D. et al. 2024. Strengthening Moral Education Values: Sociological Analysis of the Mbah Sholeh Haolan at Pesantren Benda Kerep, Cirebon. *Ulumuna*, 28(1): 424-452.
- SA (Informant), interviewed in March 3, 2026. Tuban.
- Sadiyah, D. 2022. Developing Pesantren Education Quality through Radicalism Prevention Program for Santri. *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, 8(1): 63-74.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15575/jpi.v8i1.17947>.
- Saleh, M. N. I. 2025. Perceptions of Pesantren Leaders Towards Islamic Moderation Approaches in Combating Radicalism and Terrorism. *Cogent Arts & Humanities*, 12(1): 2474826.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2025.2474826>.
- Sarwadi, S., & Raihan, N. 2025. Reinforcing Islamic Moral Values Through Contemporary Pesantren Education: A Pathway to Character Development. *Edukasi Islami: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, 14(04).
- Subhani, et al. 2018. Student Radicalism Ideology Prevention Strategy: A Study at an Islamic Boarding School in Jabal Nur, North Aceh, Indonesia. In *Proceedings of MICoMS 2017 (Emerald Reach Proceedings Series*, 1: 401-407). Leeds: Emerald Publishing Limited.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1108/978-1-78756-793-1-00019>.
- Syafe'i, I. 2017. Pondok Pesantren: Lembaga Pendidikan Pembentukan Karakter. *AlTadzkiyyah: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, 8(1): 61-82.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24042/atjpi.v8i1.2097>.
- Taufik, A. et al. 2025. Countering Radicalism through Tafsir: State and Jihad in Indonesia's Thematic Quranic Interpretation. *Ulul Albab: Jurnal Studi Islam*, 26(1):143-163.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18860/ua.v26i1.32141>.
- Tian, X., & Tang, Y. 2025. The Long-Term Impact of Moral Education on College Students' Psychological Well-Being: A Longitudinal Study Revealing Multidimensional Synergistic Mechanisms. *Behavioral Sciences*, 15(2): 217.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3390/bs15020217>.

Ulfah, A. 2022. Model Literasi Digital dalam Upaya Mengurangi Kesenjangan Digital untuk Santri menuju Indonesia Emas 2045. *HUMANIS: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora*, 14(1): 1-7.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.52166/humanis.v14i1.2772>.

Wafa (Informant), interviewed in April 6, 2026. Tuban.

Wahyuni, A. D., Sudyana, B., & Waldi, A. 2023. *Pendidikan Karakter: Strategi Menghadapi Globalisasi*. Sukoharjo: Tahta Media Group.
<https://tahtamedia.co.id/index.php/issj/article/view/525>.