

***Pesantren* as a Living Curriculum for Pancasila Education: Value Internalization at Darul Ulum Jombang**

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ABSTRACT

This study explores how Pancasila values are internalized through the socio-cultural environment of Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding School (*Pesantren*), Jombang, Indonesia. While Pancasila Education is commonly associated with formal classroom instruction, *pesantren* institutions provide a distinctive educational ecosystem in which national values are embedded in religious traditions, daily practices, and communal life. Using a qualitative case study approach, data were collected from September to December 2024 through semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and document analysis involving teachers, *pesantren* leaders, and students. The findings reveal that the internalization of Pancasila values at Darul Ulum extends beyond formal curricular activities and operates through the hidden curriculum of *pesantren* culture. Five major themes emerged: (1) integration of Islamic and Pancasila values, (2) character formation through habituation, (3) communal learning and mutual cooperation, (4) democratic participation and leadership development, and (5) strengthening national identity within religious commitment. The study demonstrates that *pesantren* culture functions as a living curriculum that facilitates the internalization of Pancasila values through experiential and participatory practices rather than doctrinal instruction alone. The findings contribute to discussions on citizenship education, character education, and the role of Islamic educational institutions in promoting national cohesion. The study suggests that *pesantren*-based Pancasila education offers an alternative model for cultivating responsible citizens who maintain strong religious and national identities simultaneously.

Keywords: Character Education, Pancasila Education, *Pesantren*, Value Internalization

INTRODUCTION

Pancasila has long served as the philosophical foundation of the Indonesian nation, providing a normative framework that guides citizenship, social cohesion, democracy, and national identity. Scholars, e.g., Solehuddin et al., (2024); Muslimin et al., (2024); Fatimah et al., (2024), have consistently argued that Pancasila functions as both a state ideology and a moral foundation for civic life, shaping educational goals related to character formation, social responsibility, and democratic participation. In the context of education, Pancasila functions not only as a body of knowledge to be learned but also as a set of values to be internalized and practiced in everyday life. The Indonesian educational system therefore assigns a strategic role to educational institutions in fostering students who embody the principles of belief in God,

humanity, unity, democracy, and social justice. Kurniawan et al. (2024) argue that this orientation has been further strengthened through the implementation of the Merdeka Curriculum and the Project for Strengthening the Pancasila Student Profile (P5), which aims to develop learners who demonstrate faith, global awareness, collaboration, independence, critical thinking, and creativity. Within this framework, the Pancasila Student Profile extends beyond its function as a governmental policy initiative; it serves as a practical educational framework that enables schools to integrate national values into daily learning processes and character-building practices.

Kartiwan et al. (2023) highlight that the growing emphasis on Pancasila-based education is closely related to broader concerns about preserving national identity amid globalization, technological advancement, and socio-cultural transformation. They argue that Indonesian society has increasingly encountered global values, digital cultures, and transnational ideologies that may challenge established forms of social cohesion. In response to these challenges, educational institutions are expected to strengthen students' commitment to national values while equipping them with the competencies required to engage in an increasingly interconnected world. Supporting this perspective, Fatimah et al. (2024) and Solechan et al. (2024) demonstrate that Pancasila-based character education offers an effective framework for integrating local wisdom, religious values, and global citizenship competencies within educational practices. Recent studies published in citizenship and educational journals, similarly emphasize that value internalization requires sustained social practice rather than cognitive instruction alone.

Within this educational landscape, Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) occupy a unique position. As one of Indonesia's oldest educational institutions, *pesantren* have historically contributed to religious learning, moral formation, community development, and nation-building. Unlike conventional schools, *pesantren* provide a holistic educational environment where learning extends beyond classroom activities into daily interactions, religious rituals, communal living, and institutional culture. Students not only acquire academic knowledge but also experience continuous character formation through direct engagement with teachers, religious leaders, and peers. This distinctive educational ecology enables *pesantren* to become powerful spaces for value transmission and moral development.

Previous research has demonstrated that *pesantren* possess significant potential for implementing Pancasila-based character education. Recent studies (Sumardi et al., 2024; Athoillah et al., 2024; Pewangi et al., 2024) show that *pesantren* effectively cultivate civic character through the integration of religious teachings, institutional regulations, role modelling, and habitual practices. Rather than treating Pancasila as an isolated subject, *pesantren* often embed its principles within broader educational experiences and religious teachings.

The compatibility between Islamic values and Pancasila has also received increasing scholarly attention. Sakinah et al. (2024) and Muslimin et al. (2024) reveal that Islamic educational institutions generally understand Pancasila not as an alternative or competing ideology to Islamic teachings, but rather as a framework that is compatible with fundamental Islamic principles. This compatibility is reflected in shared values such as justice, humanity, consultation, social solidarity, and respect for diversity. In this regard, Syalsabiluna (2023) further emphasizes that the relationship between Pancasila and Islamic values demonstrates a form of ideological convergence that enables Islamic educational institutions to promote national identity while maintaining their religious foundations. Research on the integration of Qur'anic values within the Pancasila Student Profile Strengthening Project revealed that

Islamic values can reinforce the implementation of Pancasila education by providing spiritual and ethical foundations for civic behavior. The study concluded that the integration of religious teachings and Pancasila values contributes to more meaningful learning experiences and stronger character development among students.

Furthermore, recent studies examining the implementation of the Pancasila Student Profile in *pesantren* settings suggest that Islamic boarding schools contribute significantly to the development of civic character. Sumardi et al. (2024) and Solehuddin et al. (2024) found that *pesantren* actively cultivate dimensions associated with the Pancasila Student Profile through religious activities, community service, leadership programs, and collaborative learning experiences. Their findings demonstrate that *pesantren* environments naturally facilitate the development of mutual cooperation, tolerance, critical thinking, and social responsibility because students live within a highly communal educational culture. These findings suggest a potential correspondence between *pesantren* culture and the broader objectives of the P5 framework, although the mechanisms through which such values become internalized remain insufficiently understood.

The importance of *pesantren* in strengthening national identity is also evident in studies focusing on tolerance and multicultural education. Research has shown that *pesantren* can function as spaces where religious commitment and national citizenship are mutually reinforcing rather than contradictory. Through religious education, social interaction, and communal practices, students learn to appreciate diversity while maintaining strong commitments to both Islamic teachings and Indonesian nationalism. Such findings challenge stereotypes that portray religious educational institutions as isolated from national civic agendas. Instead, *pesantren* increasingly emerge as strategic partners in promoting moderation, social harmony, and civic engagement.

Among Indonesia's most influential *pesantren*, Darul Ulum Jombang represents a particularly important case for understanding the relationship between Islamic education and Pancasila learning. Established as one of the largest *pesantren* complexes in East Java, Darul Ulum combines traditional Islamic scholarship with modern educational institutions, serving thousands of students from diverse social and geographical backgrounds. The *pesantren* is widely recognized for its commitment to religious education, character formation, and social responsibility. Its educational philosophy emphasizes the integration of Islamic values, academic excellence, and national commitment, making it an ideal setting for exploring how Pancasila values are internalized within a *pesantren* environment.

Despite the growing body of literature on Pancasila education and *pesantren*, several gaps remain. Solehuddin et al. (2024) primarily examine Pancasila education from the perspective of curriculum implementation, while Sumardi et al. (2024) focus on its contribution to character education outcomes. Similarly, Zaman et al. (2022) explore the role of Pancasila-based education in promoting religious moderation, whereas Kurniawan et al. (2024) investigate broader policy-level dimensions of Pancasila education. These studies collectively demonstrate the significance of Pancasila education across various domains; however, they provide limited attention to how its values are interpreted and practiced within the everyday contexts of Islamic educational institutions. While these studies demonstrate the effectiveness of *pesantren* in promoting civic values, they provide limited insight into the socio-cultural processes through which such values become internalized in everyday life. Moreover, most studies treat *pesantren* as educational institutions in general terms and pay relatively little attention to how specific institutional cultures shape students' lived experiences of citizenship, nationalism, and moral responsibility. Consequently, there remains a lack of process-oriented

research examining how daily routines, communal practices, organizational participation, and religious traditions function as mechanisms of Pancasila value internalization. This gap is particularly evident in large and complex *pesantren* environments such as Darul Ulum Jombang, where formal education, religious learning, and communal life intersect continuously.

Addressing these gaps is important because understanding the process of value internalization requires attention to the everyday practices, interactions, and cultural norms that influence students' character development. Pancasila learning should not be understood merely as the transmission of civic knowledge but as a continuous process through which values become embedded in students' beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors. Therefore, examining Pancasila learning within the socio-cultural context of *pesantren* can provide deeper insights into how educational institutions contribute to the formation of responsible and morally grounded citizens.

Accordingly, this study addresses the following research question: How do the socio-cultural practices of Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding School facilitate the internalization of Pancasila values among students? To answer this question, the study investigates the educational practices, cultural traditions, daily routines, and social interactions through which Pancasila values are internalized within the *pesantren* environment. By focusing on the lived experiences of students, teachers, and *pesantren* leaders, the study contributes to citizenship education literature by conceptualizing *pesantren* culture as a "living curriculum" through which civic values are continuously practiced, negotiated, and internalized.

METHOD

This study employed a qualitative case study design to explore how Pancasila values are internalized within the socio-cultural environment of Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding School (*Pesantren*) in Jombang, East Java, Indonesia. A qualitative approach was selected because the study sought to understand participants' experiences, perceptions, and interpretations regarding the enactment and internalization of Pancasila values in everyday life. The case study design was considered appropriate because it allows for an in-depth examination of a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, particularly when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (Yin, 2018). Since Pancasila value internalization in *pesantren* extends beyond formal classroom instruction and is embedded within cultural traditions, social interactions, and institutional practices, a qualitative case study provided the most suitable framework for investigating these complex processes.

The research was conducted at Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding School between September and December 2024. Darul Ulum was selected purposively because it is one of the largest and most influential Islamic boarding school complexes in Indonesia, accommodating students from diverse educational, social, and geographical backgrounds. The *pesantren* integrates religious education with formal schooling and emphasizes character development, making it a relevant setting for examining the internalization of Pancasila values. The study focused on various educational settings within the *pesantren*, including classrooms, dormitories, mosques, student organization activities, and communal learning spaces.

Participants were selected through purposive sampling based on their involvement in educational activities related to character formation and Pancasila learning. A total of twenty-five participants were involved in the study, consisting of fifteen students (*santri*), five teachers responsible for Pancasila Education and Islamic Studies, three dormitory supervisors, and two

pesantren leaders. These participants were chosen because they represented different perspectives and roles within the educational environment of the *pesantren*. Students provided insights into their experiences of practicing Pancasila values, while teachers, supervisors, and leaders contributed information regarding educational strategies, institutional culture, and value transmission processes.

The adequacy of the participant sample was determined based on the principle of information richness rather than statistical representativeness. Consistent with qualitative case study methodology, participants were selected because of their direct involvement in the socio-cultural processes under investigation and their capacity to provide detailed accounts of value internalization within the *pesantren* environment. The inclusion of multiple stakeholder groups enabled the study to capture diverse perspectives and facilitated triangulation across different institutional roles.

Data collection continued until thematic saturation was reached. Saturation was monitored throughout the interview and coding process by assessing whether new interviews generated substantially new codes or conceptual insights. By the twenty-second interview, no new substantive themes emerged, and the remaining interviews primarily reinforced previously identified patterns. Data collection nevertheless continued with the remaining participants to ensure representation across stakeholder groups and to confirm the stability of the emerging thematic structure.

Data were collected through semi-structured interviews, participant observations, and document analysis. Semi-structured interviews were conducted individually and lasted between 45 and 90 minutes. The interview protocol included questions concerning participants' understanding of Pancasila, experiences of learning civic values, perceptions of *pesantren* culture, and examples of daily practices that reflected Pancasila principles. All interviews were conducted in Indonesian, audio-recorded with participants' consent, and subsequently transcribed verbatim for analysis. Participant observation was carried out throughout the four-month research period. The researcher observed classroom instruction, religious activities, student meetings, communal work programs, and everyday interactions among students and educators. Field notes were recorded systematically to document behaviors, interactions, and institutional practices related to the implementation of Pancasila values. In addition, document analysis was conducted on curriculum documents, institutional regulations, student organization guidelines, activity reports, and educational materials used within the *pesantren*.

Researcher positionality was explicitly considered throughout the study. Both authors are affiliated with Universitas *Pesantren* Tinggi Darul Ulum, an institution located within the broader Darul Ulum educational environment. This affiliation facilitated access to participants and institutional activities and contributed to the development of trust during data collection. At the same time, the researchers recognized the potential for familiarity and institutional proximity to influence data interpretation. To mitigate this risk, reflexive field notes were maintained throughout the research process, preliminary interpretations were discussed critically among the research team, and emerging themes were continuously compared against the raw data to ensure that findings reflected participants' perspectives rather than researchers' prior assumptions.

Data analysis followed the thematic analysis procedure proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006). The analysis began with repeated reading of interview transcripts, field notes, and documents to gain familiarity with the data. Initial codes were then generated to identify meaningful units related to Pancasila value internalization. Similar codes were subsequently grouped into broader categories and themes. These themes were reviewed, refined, and

interpreted to develop a comprehensive understanding of how Pancasila values were internalized within the *pesantren* context.

To ensure the trustworthiness of the findings, several strategies were employed, including data triangulation, member checking, prolonged engagement in the field, and peer debriefing. Member checking was conducted after the preliminary thematic analysis had been completed. A summary of the five emerging themes was shared with eight participants representing different stakeholder groups, including four students, two teachers, one dormitory supervisor, and one *pesantren* leader. Participants were invited to comment on the accuracy and completeness of the interpretations. Feedback generally confirmed the relevance of the identified themes, although several participants suggested clarifying the relationship between religious practices and civic values. These comments were incorporated into the refinement of theme descriptions and supporting interpretations. Peer debriefing was also conducted with two qualitative research colleagues who were not involved in the study to challenge emerging interpretations and strengthen analytical rigor.

Ethical considerations were observed throughout the study. Participants were informed about the purpose of the research, voluntary participation was emphasized, and anonymity was maintained through the use of pseudonyms and confidential data management procedures.

FINDINGS

The analysis of interview transcripts, field notes, and institutional documents revealed that the internalization of Pancasila values at Darul Ulum was primarily mediated through socio-cultural practices rather than formal classroom instruction alone. Across the dataset, participants consistently described experiences in which civic values were embedded in religious rituals, communal routines, leadership activities, and everyday interactions. However, the findings also revealed variations in how students interpreted, negotiated, and internalized these values. While most participants viewed *pesantren* practices as meaningful mechanisms of character formation, some described initial resistance, feelings of compliance, or tensions between institutional expectations and personal conviction. These findings suggest that value internalization is neither automatic nor uniform but emerges through continuous engagement with the social environment of the *pesantren*.

Table 1. Themes, Sources of Evidence, and Relationship to Pancasila Student Profile Dimensions

Theme	Main Mechanism of Internalization	Main Data Sources	Participant Groups	Related P5 Dimensions
Integration of Islamic and Pancasila Values	Religious framing of civic values	Interviews, documents	Teachers, leaders, students	Faith, Global Diversity
Character Formation through Habituation	Repeated daily routines and discipline	Observations, interviews	Students, supervisors	Independence, Responsibility
Communal Learning and Mutual Cooperation	Collective participation and social obligation	Observations, interviews	Students, supervisors	Collaboration (Gotong Royong)
Democratic Participation and Leadership Development	Organizational governance and deliberation	Interviews, observations	Students, supervisors	Critical Thinking, Leadership

National Identity within Religious Commitment	Symbolic integration of religion and citizenship	Interviews, documents	Students, leaders	Faith, Citizenship, Global Diversity
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Unlike the original summary table, this matrix demonstrates how different institutional mechanisms contribute to the dimensions promoted within the Pancasila Student Profile framework. The findings indicate that although all six dimensions are represented, they emerge through socio-cultural participation rather than formal curriculum delivery.

THEME 1: INTEGRATION OF ISLAMIC AND PANCASILA VALUES

Participants consistently reported that Pancasila values were interpreted through Islamic narratives, scriptural references, and moral exemplars. Teachers explained that concepts such as justice, humanity, consultation, and social responsibility were frequently linked to Qur'anic teachings and prophetic traditions. As a result, students tended to perceive Pancasila not as a separate state ideology but as an extension of Islamic ethical principles.

“Kami tidak mengajarkan Pancasila sebagai ideologi yang berdiri sendiri. Ketika membahas keadilan, kemanusiaan, atau musyawarah, kami mengaitkannya dengan ayat Al-Qur'an dan teladan Nabi.” (Teacher T3)

Students similarly described civic responsibilities as inseparable from religious obligations.

“Di sini kami belajar bahwa membantu orang lain dan menjaga persatuan itu bagian dari ajaran agama sekaligus nilai Pancasila.” (Student S8)

However, the data also revealed subtle differences in interpretation. While senior students generally articulated explicit connections between Islamic teachings and civic values, several younger students described Pancasila primarily as a school subject and only later came to understand its relevance through religious activities. This suggests that integration was not merely transmitted through instruction but developed gradually through participation in the *pesantren* environment.

THEME 2: CHARACTER FORMATION THROUGH HABITUATION

Character formation emerged primarily through repeated routines and institutional discipline. Daily activities such as congregational prayers, communal cleaning, study circles, attendance monitoring, and service duties created a structured environment in which responsibility and self-regulation were repeatedly practiced.

“Nilai tidak cukup dijelaskan di kelas. Santri harus membiasakan disiplin, tanggung jawab, dan pelayanan setiap hari.” (Dormitory Supervisor D2)

Many students described these routines as transformative.

“Awalnya berat karena jadwal sangat ketat, tetapi lama-lama disiplin menjadi kebiasaan.” (Student S3)

Nevertheless, the findings revealed important tensions. Several students acknowledged that their initial compliance was motivated more by institutional rules than by personal conviction. Some described feelings of resistance during their first months in the *pesantren*, particularly regarding strict schedules and collective obligations. Over time, however, many participants reported a shift from external compliance toward internal acceptance as routines became normalized. This distinction suggests that habituation functions as a gradual process of internalization rather than an immediate adoption of values.

THEME 3: COMMUNAL LEARNING AND MUTUAL COOPERATION

The principle of gotong royong emerged as one of the most pervasive themes across the dataset. Students routinely participated in dormitory maintenance, event organization, meal distribution, and community service activities. Such activities were generally perceived as normal responsibilities associated with communal living.

“Kalau ada kegiatan pesantren, semua ikut membantu. Tidak ada yang merasa pekerjaan itu milik orang lain saja.” (Student S11)

Field observations documented numerous examples of collaborative problem-solving, including peer tutoring, collective event preparation, and support for ill students.

Participants explained that cooperation was reinforced not only by institutional expectations but also by the practical realities of communal life. Students depended on one another for academic, social, and emotional support, making cooperation both a moral value and a functional necessity. At the same time, several participants acknowledged occasional tensions related to unequal participation, with some students perceived as contributing less than others. These tensions became important learning moments through which notions of responsibility and collective accountability were negotiated.

THEME 4: DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION AND LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

Student organizations served as practical arenas for democratic learning. Participants described involvement in elections, deliberative meetings, budgeting discussions, and conflict-resolution processes.

“Pengurus dipilih melalui musyawarah dan pemungutan suara. Santri belajar menerima hasil keputusan bersama.” (Dormitory Supervisor D1)

Students emphasized that organizational experiences enhanced their confidence and communication skills.

“Dulu saya takut berbicara di depan forum. Setelah aktif di organisasi, saya belajar menyampaikan pendapat dan mendengarkan pendapat orang lain.” (Student S5)

However, democratic participation was not experienced uniformly. Some students reported reluctance to speak in public forums due to concerns about seniority or social hierarchy. Although deliberation was encouraged, participation levels varied according to

confidence, organizational experience, and peer relationships. These findings suggest that democratic competencies developed through practice and negotiation rather than through formal instruction alone.

THEME 5: STRENGTHENING NATIONAL IDENTITY WITHIN RELIGIOUS COMMITMENT

A notable finding was that participants generally rejected the notion that religious commitment and Indonesian nationalism were contradictory. National ceremonies, civic commemorations, and flag-raising activities were integrated into the broader educational life of the *pesantren*.

“Menjadi santri tidak berarti menjauh dari Indonesia. Justru kami diajarkan mencintai tanah air sambil tetap berpegang pada nilai-nilai Islam.”
(*Pesantren* Leader L1)

Students similarly described civic activities as meaningful expressions of belonging. Yet the findings also indicated that nationalism was understood differently among participants. For some students, national identity was primarily expressed through participation in formal ceremonies. Others viewed nationalism more broadly as contributing positively to society through religious service, community engagement, and ethical conduct. This variation demonstrates that national identity was not simply transmitted through symbolic activities but actively interpreted through personal experiences and religious commitments.

SYNTHESIS OF FINDINGS: PESANTREN AS A LIVING CURRICULUM

Taken together, the findings suggest that the internalization of Pancasila values at Darul Ulum operates through what may be conceptualized as a living curriculum. Unlike formal curricula that primarily organize knowledge and instructional content, a living curriculum functions through everyday participation in institutional culture. In this study, Pancasila values were repeatedly encountered through religious rituals, communal obligations, leadership experiences, interpersonal relationships, and symbolic civic practices. Students did not merely learn about civic values; they experienced, negotiated, and enacted them within the social life of the *pesantren*.

The concept of a living curriculum emerged inductively from the data and captures the dynamic relationship between institutional culture and value formation. The findings indicate that value internalization occurs not through isolated instructional events but through continuous engagement with a socio-cultural environment in which religious commitment, communal responsibility, democratic participation, and national identity are practiced as interconnected aspects of everyday life.

DISCUSSION

This study explored how Pancasila values are internalized within the socio-cultural environment of Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding School, Jombang, and argues that *pesantren* culture functions not merely as a supportive context for civic education but as an active pedagogical mechanism through which citizenship values are produced, negotiated, and embodied. Solehuddin et al. (2024) and Sumardi et al. (2024) have primarily investigated Pancasila education through the perspectives of curriculum implementation, policy

frameworks, and character education outcomes. Extending this line of inquiry, the present study contributes to existing scholarship by demonstrating that institutional culture itself functions as a “living curriculum” through which Pancasila values are interpreted, transmitted, and enacted in everyday educational practices. In this sense, Pancasila values are not only transmitted through explicit teaching but are continuously constructed through everyday interactions, routines, religious practices, and organizational experiences. This finding contributes theoretically to the understanding of value internalization by shifting attention from what students are taught to how students experience and practice values within a particular educational ecology.

The conceptualization of *pesantren* as a living curriculum complements previous perspectives on hidden curriculum, which emphasize that educational institutions communicate values through norms, routines, relationships, and institutional structures beyond formal classroom instruction. However, the present study further develops this perspective by showing that in the *pesantren* context, the hidden curriculum is not merely an implicit transmission of institutional expectations but an interactive process in which students actively negotiate the meaning of religious, civic, and national values. Therefore, value internalization should be understood as a socially situated process rather than a linear process of transferring predetermined moral principles from educators to learners.

The first finding demonstrates that Pancasila values are integrated with Islamic teachings rather than presented as a separate ideological framework. Participants consistently explained that principles such as justice, humanity, deliberation, unity, and social responsibility were taught through references to the Qur’an and the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad. This finding supports previous studies that emphasize the compatibility between Islamic values and Pancasila principles. Murdiono et al. (2017) and Fatimah et al. (2024) argued that *pesantren*-based education successfully integrates religious teachings and civic values, enabling students to develop both religious and national commitments simultaneously. Similarly, recent research on the integration of Qur’anic values within the Pancasila Student Profile project found that Islamic teachings provide ethical foundations that strengthen students’ understanding of Pancasila-based citizenship education. Rather than perceiving Pancasila as a political doctrine detached from religion, students interpret it as a practical expression of Islamic morality and social responsibility.

Nevertheless, the relationship between religious identity and national identity within Islamic educational institutions remains complex. Girivirya (2022) and Anto et al. (2023) have identified potential tensions between religious education and national civic identity, particularly in contexts where religious institutions promote exclusive understandings of belonging or place greater emphasis on religious identity than on broader commitments to citizenship. These studies highlight the importance of examining how educational institutions negotiate the relationship between religious values and national identity in fostering inclusive forms of civic engagement. The findings of the present study appear to differ from these concerns because Darul Ulum demonstrates a model in which Islamic commitment and national identity are constructed as mutually reinforcing. This difference may be explained by several contextual factors. First, Darul Ulum has a long institutional history of integrating religious scholarship with national engagement. Second, the *pesantren*’s organizational culture provides repeated opportunities for students to encounter civic values through communal activities, rather than relying solely on ideological explanations. Therefore, the compatibility between Islam and Pancasila identified in this study should not be generalized to all Islamic

educational institutions but should be understood as emerging from a specific institutional culture that actively promotes moderation, social responsibility, and national belonging.

The findings also align with recent scholarship emphasizing the strategic role of *pesantren* in promoting religious moderation. Pewangi et al. (2024) found that *pesantren* across Indonesia increasingly integrate civic values, critical thinking, and interfaith understanding within their educational systems. Such practices contribute to the development of moderate religious perspectives that are compatible with democratic citizenship and national unity. However, this study adds a further dimension by suggesting that moderation is not developed only through formal programs or explicit teaching materials. Instead, moderation emerges through continuous participation in institutional practices where students experience cooperation, responsibility, and social interaction with diverse peers. In other words, the contribution of *pesantren* to civic education lies not only in the content of religious instruction but also in the social environment that shapes how students interpret and enact those values.

The second important contribution of this study concerns the mechanism of value internalization. Sumardi et al. (2024) and Solehuddin et al. (2024) have highlighted that character education in *pesantren* contexts is strongly shaped by processes of habituation, discipline, and role modelling. Their studies demonstrate that character formation in *pesantren* is not merely achieved through formal instructional activities but also through continuous practices and exemplary behaviours embedded in students' daily educational experiences. The present study confirms this argument but also complicates it by showing that habituation does not automatically produce internalized values. Students' experiences indicate a gradual transformation from external compliance to personal acceptance. Some students initially followed institutional routines because of regulations rather than personal commitment, suggesting that disciplinary structures alone are insufficient for deep value formation. Internalization occurs when repeated practices are accompanied by reflection, social interaction, and meaningful interpretation. This finding contributes to character education literature by emphasizing that habituation should be viewed as a developmental process rather than a simple behavioral repetition mechanism.

The third contribution of this study relates to communal learning and mutual cooperation (*gotong royong*) as a mechanism of civic value formation. The findings reveal that communal activities at Darul Ulum do not merely function as organizational requirements but represent a social environment where students continuously practice collective responsibility. This perspective extends previous studies that have identified *gotong royong* as an important dimension of the Pancasila Student Profile (Sumardi et al., 2024; Sagirah et al., 2024). While these studies emphasize the presence of collaborative activities within *pesantren* environments, the present study demonstrates how cooperation becomes meaningful because it is embedded in students' everyday dependence on one another. Students cooperate not only because institutional rules require them to do so but because communal living creates practical conditions in which mutual assistance becomes necessary for social functioning.

The findings reveal that collective activities such as dormitory maintenance, community service, event organization, and peer support are integral aspects of daily life at Darul Ulum. These practices enable students to experience cooperation as a lived social value rather than an abstract civic concept. This finding strongly supports the study by Sumardi et al. (2024) and Sagirah et al. (2024), which found that *pesantren* environments naturally facilitate the implementation of the Pancasila Student Profile, particularly the dimension of mutual cooperation. Their research demonstrated that communal living arrangements encourage

students to develop empathy, teamwork, and social responsibility through direct interaction with others.

However, the present findings also indicate that communal learning should not be romanticized as an automatically harmonious process. Although cooperation was generally perceived positively, some participants reported unequal participation and tensions regarding individual responsibility. These findings complicate previous accounts that often portray *pesantren* communal life as consistently effective in developing social character. Instead, the data suggest that conflicts, differences in commitment, and negotiation processes are themselves important educational experiences. Through these everyday tensions, students learn not only cooperation but also accountability, conflict management, and social negotiation. This interpretation is consistent with Dewey's (1938) experiential learning perspective, which argues that meaningful education emerges through active engagement with real social situations rather than through passive reception of moral principles.

The fourth theme concerning democratic participation and leadership development further strengthens the argument that citizenship education is most effective when students are provided with opportunities to practice democratic values. The findings indicate that student organizations at Darul Ulum function as practical arenas where students experience deliberation, decision-making, representation, and responsibility. This extends previous studies that commonly emphasize classroom-based civic knowledge by demonstrating that democratic competence develops through participation in institutional practices. Students do not merely learn the concepts of democracy; they experience the challenges of expressing opinions, negotiating differences, accepting collective decisions, and balancing individual preferences with communal interests.

The findings support the argument that democratic competencies are best developed through active participation in decision-making processes rather than passive exposure to democratic concepts. Previous research has similarly emphasized the importance of student organizations as laboratories of democracy where learners acquire practical skills related to communication, deliberation, negotiation, and leadership.

The emphasis on deliberation and collective decision-making observed in this study is particularly relevant to the fourth principle of Pancasila, which promotes democracy through consultation and representation. Unlike liberal democratic models that emphasize individual competition, the *pesantren* environment encourages consensus-building and collective responsibility. This reflects the distinctive Indonesian understanding of democracy as *musyawarah* (deliberation), which combines participation with social harmony. Consequently, Darul Ulum provides students with opportunities to experience democratic practices that are culturally embedded and consistent with both Islamic traditions and Indonesian civic values.

Nevertheless, this finding also requires critical interpretation. Previous research on democratic education has warned that institutional settings with strong hierarchical traditions may limit students' opportunities for genuine participation because authority relations can influence whose voices are heard (Carey, 2016). The present study partially reflects this concern, as several students reported hesitation in expressing opinions due to seniority structures and social expectations. Therefore, although Darul Ulum provides democratic experiences, these experiences operate within the cultural framework of *pesantren* authority. This suggests that democratic education in *pesantren* contexts should not simply replicate liberal democratic models but should critically examine how participation, authority, and collective decision-making are negotiated within religious educational traditions.

The final theme concerns the strengthening of national identity within religious commitment. One of the most significant theoretical implications of this study is that it challenges binary assumptions that religious identity and national identity represent competing forms of belonging. Rather than choosing between Islamic commitment and Indonesian citizenship, students at Darul Ulum construct these identities as interconnected. This finding contributes to existing discussions on religious moderation by showing that national identity can be strengthened through, rather than despite, religious commitment.

This finding supports recent studies demonstrating that religious moderation contributes positively to students' nationalism and civic engagement. Solechan et al. (2024), for example, found that Islamic education based on religious moderation significantly strengthens students' sense of nationalism and commitment to national values. Similarly, studies on multicultural education and religious moderation have shown that educational environments emphasizing tolerance, dialogue, and civic responsibility contribute to the development of religious-nationalist identities among students.

The findings also challenge assumptions, e.g., Girivirya, (2022); Anto et al., (2023), that religious educational institutions necessarily prioritize religious identity at the expense of national identity. However, the present study suggests that this synthesis is highly dependent on institutional conditions. Darul Ulum's ability to integrate religious and national identities is supported by several factors, including the *pesantren*'s historical orientation, leadership commitment, curriculum integration, and daily practices that connect Islamic ethics with civic responsibility. Therefore, the findings should not be interpreted as evidence that all *pesantren* automatically produce inclusive civic identities. Rather, they demonstrate that specific institutional cultures can create conditions where religious and national commitments reinforce one another.

Taken together, the findings suggest that Pancasila learning in Darul Ulum operates through a comprehensive process of socio-cultural internalization. Formal instruction provides conceptual understanding, but the deeper formation of civic values occurs through participation in communal life, religious practices, leadership experiences, and everyday social interactions. The study therefore contributes to existing scholarship by demonstrating that *pesantren* culture functions as an effective mechanism for translating abstract civic principles into lived experiences. The integration of religious values, character formation, cooperation, democratic participation, and nationalism creates an educational environment in which Pancasila is not merely studied but continuously practiced.

More broadly, this study contributes to citizenship education theory by proposing that value education in religious educational settings should be examined through an ecological perspective. Rather than locating civic learning only within subjects, textbooks, or formal pedagogical strategies, the findings demonstrate that citizenship formation emerges from the interaction between institutional structures, cultural practices, interpersonal relationships, and students' lived experiences. The concept of a "living curriculum" developed in this study therefore provides an analytical lens for understanding how educational institutions transform normative values into everyday dispositions. This perspective extends previous research on character education and Pancasila education by highlighting the importance of the socio-cultural environment as a formative space where values are continuously interpreted and enacted.

However, several limitations should be acknowledged. First, this study employed a single-site qualitative case study design focusing on Darul Ulum Jombang. Although this design enabled an in-depth understanding of value internalization processes within a specific

institutional context, the findings cannot be generalized statistically to all *pesantren* in Indonesia. As Yin (2018) explains, case study research aims for analytical generalization rather than statistical generalization; therefore, the contribution of this study lies in developing theoretical insights that may inform understanding of similar contexts rather than claiming universal applicability.

Second, the researchers' institutional affiliation with the broader Darul Ulum educational environment provided valuable access and facilitated trust-building with participants, but it may also have influenced data interpretation through familiarity with the research setting. Although reflexive strategies, triangulation, member checking, and peer debriefing were employed to minimize interpretive bias, future studies conducted by researchers from different institutional backgrounds may provide additional perspectives. Third, the study primarily examined students' experiences and institutional practices during a specific research period. It did not investigate the long-term effects of *pesantren*-based Pancasila education after students graduate and enter wider social environments. Future longitudinal research could examine whether the values internalized within *pesantren* contexts influence graduates' civic participation, social engagement, and democratic attitudes over time.

The findings also indicate that the Darul Ulum model should be adapted carefully rather than simply replicated in other educational settings. The transferable elements of this model are not the specific organizational structures of the *pesantren* but the underlying mechanisms that support value internalization. These mechanisms include: (1) integrating civic values with students' existing moral and cultural frameworks; (2) creating repeated opportunities for experiential learning through communal responsibilities; (3) developing student participation through authentic leadership experiences; and (4) ensuring consistency between institutional values, educator practices, and daily routines. These elements may be particularly relevant for boarding schools, religious educational institutions, and character-oriented schools that possess strong communal environments.

For conventional schools without residential systems, adaptation would require different approaches. Rather than adopting *pesantren* routines directly, schools may develop smaller-scale "living curriculum" practices through community service programs, student organizations, peer mentoring systems, collaborative projects, and reflective activities connecting civic values with students' everyday experiences. However, successful implementation requires several preconditions, including institutional commitment from school leaders, teacher readiness as role models, supportive school culture, and sufficient opportunities for students to participate actively rather than merely receive moral instruction.

From a policy perspective, the findings suggest that strengthening Pancasila education should move beyond increasing instructional content and focus more on creating supportive educational ecosystems. The implementation of the Pancasila Student Profile (P5), for example, may benefit from greater attention to institutional culture, sustained student participation, and authentic social experiences. Policymakers should therefore recognize *pesantren* not only as religious institutions but also as potential partners in citizenship education, provided that their practices promote inclusivity, democratic participation, and respect for diversity.

In conclusion, the significance of the Darul Ulum case lies not in presenting *pesantren* as a universal solution for civic education, but in demonstrating how a particular institutional culture can successfully connect religious commitment, moral formation, and national citizenship. The study shows that Pancasila values become meaningful when students encounter them as lived practices rather than abstract principles. Future research involving

multiple *pesantren* across different regions, comparative studies between religious and non-religious schools, or mixed-method approaches combining qualitative insights with quantitative measures would further clarify the conditions under which living curriculum models can contribute to sustainable civic character development.

CONCLUSION

This study examined the process of Pancasila learning within the socio-cultural environment of Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding School, Jombang. The findings indicate that Pancasila values are internalized primarily through cultural practices, daily routines, communal activities, and organizational participation rather than through classroom instruction alone. Five themes emerged: the integration of Islamic and Pancasila values, character formation through habituation, communal learning and mutual cooperation, democratic participation and leadership development, and the strengthening of national identity within religious commitment. Together, these findings suggest that *pesantren* culture functions as a living curriculum that facilitates civic value formation and responsible citizenship.

The study concludes that Darul Ulum provides an educational model in which religious education and national values are mutually reinforcing. However, several limitations should be acknowledged. The single-site case study design limits the transferability of the findings to other *pesantren* contexts. In addition, the researchers' institutional affiliation with the research site may have influenced participants' responses and interpretations, including the possibility of social desirability bias during interviews. Furthermore, the four-month observation period provides insights into ongoing practices but does not capture the long-term impact of *pesantren*-based Pancasila education on students' civic development.

Future studies may address these limitations by examining multiple *pesantren* across different regions, employing comparative or mixed-method designs, and investigating the long-term influence of *pesantren*-based value education on graduates' civic engagement. Such research may further clarify the conditions under which the living curriculum model can contribute to sustainable character and citizenship education in diverse educational contexts.

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