

Engineering Tolerance: Systematic Management of Hidden Curriculum in a Holistic 24-Hour Educational Ecosystem

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ABSTRACT

While tolerance is often treated as a pedagogical goal within Classroom settings, the systemic mechanisms through which educational institutions engineer holistic environments to foster such values remain underexplored. This study aims to examine how tolerance is systematically engineered as an emergent institutional outcome through the management of a 24-hour educational ecosystem at Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor. Employing an ethnographic research design, the study involved six months of prolonged field immersion, encompassing 200 hours of participant observation, in-depth interviews with 10 key informants, ranging from leadership to students, and extensive document analysis. The findings reveal that tolerance at this institution is not merely a spontaneous cultural trait but a sophisticated, managed achievement produced through a structured social architecture. This process is sustained by a systematically managed hidden curriculum that translates foundational values into robust governance structures, peer-led conflict resolution, and intentional cross-regional social mixing. The study further identifies a tension between behavioral compliance and deep internalization, highlighting a potential durability gap in value resilience beyond institutional boundaries. It is concluded that character formation is most effective when the institution itself functions as the primary curriculum, mechanically integrating formal policy with everyday social practices. By reframing tolerance as an institutional management output, this research provides a novel framework for stakeholders to move beyond doctrinal teaching toward building resilient, value-based educational ecosystems. Future research should prioritize longitudinal studies to examine the long-term sustainability of such institutionally scaffolded competencies in unregulated social environments.

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INTRODUCTION

Growing intolerance and social polarisation among youth remain pressing challenges in plural societies, including Indonesia. Educational institutions are increasingly expected not only to transmit knowledge but also to cultivate dispositions that enable learners to engage constructively with diversity. (UNESCO, 2021; Waghid, Y., 2022). In Islamic educational contexts, this expectation is particularly significant because religious schooling often functions as a key site of identity formation and moral socialisation. (Hajar et al., 2025). While numerous studies highlight the role of Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) in fostering moral character and social cohesion, questions remain regarding how tolerance is systematically produced within institutional educational systems rather than emerging as incidental cultural outcomes (Rahman, F., & Abdalla, M, 2022).

Recent scholarship has examined tolerance through three dominant perspectives: multicultural education, hidden curriculum, and curriculum integration. Multicultural education emphasises dialogical engagement and exposure to diversity (Banks, J. A, 2020; Djamaluddin et al., 2024; Masuwd et al., 2025; Nieto, S & Bode, P., 2021; Rozanita et al., 2026; Yahya et al., 2026). While hidden curriculum studies highlight the role of everyday interactions and institutional routines in value transmission (Amalia, 2025; Effendi et al., 2025; Fahrudin et al., 2022; Hussain, 2025; Mahfudhoh et al., 2023). Meanwhile, research on curriculum integration in *pesantren* focuses on structural alignment between national and religious curricula. However, these approaches remain analytically fragmented. Most studies treat tolerance either as a normative aspiration or a cultural by-product, with limited attention to how institutional governance systematically manages value integration across educational domains. (Adiyono et al., 2025; Aulia et al., 2025; Aziz et al., 2024; Hidayati et al., 2025). Despite the abundance of literature on tolerance education in Islamic boarding schools, there remains a significant gap regarding the holistic management of these systems within such highly structured environments. (Athoillah et al., 2024; Azizah et al., 2025; Fauzi et al., 2025; Hasan et al., 2024; Mahfud, C., & Prasajo, Z, 2022; Miftahuddin et al., 2024).

This gap indicates the need for an integrative perspective that conceptualises tolerance as an outcome of holistic educational management. Existing literature on holistic education often emphasises philosophical and pedagogical dimensions but provides limited empirical explanation of how such approaches are operationalised through governance structures, policy alignment, and organisational practices. (Drake, S. M & Reid, J. L, 2020; Miller, J. P, 2021). To address this gap, this study adopts an integrative educational management perspective that positions tolerance formation as an emergent outcome of systematically aligned institutional processes. (Sahibe et al., 2025; Sirojuddin et al., 2025). Key concepts are operationalised to support this analysis: holistic curriculum as the integration of academic, social, spiritual, and cultural learning environments; tolerance as a socially enacted competency; and curriculum integration as the alignment of formal, co-curricular, and hidden practices within institutional systems. (Rahman, F., & Abdalla, M, 2022; UNESCO, 2021).

The study is theoretically informed by constructivist and transformative learning perspectives, which emphasise that values are internalised through lived experience and sustained interaction rather than abstract instruction (Fosnot, C. T, 2022; Taylor, E. W & Cranton, P, 2023). In addition, multicultural education frameworks highlight the role of institutional structures in shaping inclusive learning environments (Banks, J. A, 2020; Nieto, S & Bode, P., 2021). By integrating these perspectives, this study bridges micro-level social interaction and macro-level institutional design to provide a systemic understanding of the formation of tolerance. Against this backdrop, Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor (PMDG) is selected as a theoretically meaningful case study due to its fully residential, 24-hour education system and an integrated curriculum that combines academic, cultural, and organisational dimensions (Jusubaidi et al., 2024; Mahfudhoh et al., 2023; Miftahuddin et al., 2024).

To clarify this study's position within the existing scholarship, this section summarises key strands of recent research on tolerance and curriculum integration in Islamic education (Alazeez et al., 2024; Banks, 1995; Rofiq, 2025; Syarifah et al., 2025). The information highlights major contributions and limitations of prior studies, demonstrating the need for an integrative management perspective that examines how tolerance is institutionally produced within holistic educational systems (Sahibe et al.,

2025). Prior research tends to examine tolerance either as a normative goal, a cultural by-product, or a micro-level pedagogical phenomenon. Few studies examine how tolerance is systematically cultivated through institutional governance mechanisms that align curriculum, culture, and organisational practices. This gap indicates the need for a more integrative framework that conceptualises tolerance as an emergent outcome of holistic educational management (Rochim et al., 2025).

Building upon these theoretical foundations, this study aims to examine how tolerance is systematically cultivated as an emergent institutional outcome through integrative educational management. Moving beyond conventional pedagogical approaches, this research proposes a novel framework where foundational values are translated into robust governance structures and enacted through a continuous curriculum management cycle. This study further offers a unique proposition: that managed cultural mechanisms and reflective feedback loops function as essential mediating processes sustaining value internalisation across both formal and informal domains. By reframing tolerance as an organizationally driven achievement, this research provides a systemic understanding of character formation within holistic educational ecosystems

METHODS

This study employs a qualitative, ethnographic research design to capture the intricate cultural dynamics, daily rituals, and institutional habits involved in the systematic formation of tolerance. (Patton, M. Q, 2015). The research was conducted at Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor (PMDG) in Ponorogo, Indonesia, chosen as the primary research site due to its long-standing reputation for holistic curriculum management. The investigation spanned six months from January to June 2025, allowing the researcher to immerse themselves deeply in the institutional environment. (Brewer, 2000). To ensure a comprehensive understanding of the complex educational ecosystem, purposive sampling was used to select 10 key informants. These participants represented a diverse and strategic cross-section of the institution, including the central leadership (*Kiai*), the Director of *Kulliyatul Mu'allimin al-Islamiyyah* (KMI), curriculum management staff, student guardians (*pengasuh santri*), senior teachers, and students from various educational levels. (Jones & Smith, 2017). This selection was intended to provide multi-layered perspectives on how tolerance is conceptualised at the leadership level and enacted within the daily lives of the students (Gobo, 2011).

Data collection was conducted through prolonged fieldwork, encompassing approximately 180–200 hours of participant observation, semi-structured in-depth interviews, and an extensive review of institutional documents, such as internal regulations and curriculum blueprints. (Lincoln, Y. S & Guba, E. G, 1985). The observation focused specifically on the "24-hour ecosystem," capturing natural interactions within classroom settings, dormitory life, and extracurricular governance without researcher intervention. (Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J., 2014). The collected data were analysed using the interactive analysis model proposed by Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña, which involves a continuous, iterative process of data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing or verification (Saldaña, 2002). To ensure the credibility, transferability, and trustworthiness of the findings, triangulation of both sources and methods was rigorously applied, with the researcher serving as the primary human instrument for interpreting complex social and organisational meanings within the pesantren context (Creswell & Poth, 2016).

Table 1. Research Participants

Code	Participant	Position	Function in Research	Data Collection Technique
P1	Pesantren Leader	Top Leader (Policy Maker)	Explains the educational vision, Pancasila values, and the strategic direction of the holistic curriculum	In-depth interview, documentation
P2	Director of KMI	Academic Leader	Provides information on the design of the integrated curriculum and its implementation in learning processes	In-depth interview, documentation

P3	KMI Staff	Curriculum Manager	Explains the integration of the formal curriculum and pesantren curriculum, as well as learning evaluation	In-depth interview
P4	Student Affairs Division	Student Affairs Manager	Describes student supervision, dormitory system, and the internalisation of tolerance values	In-depth interview, observation
P5	Senior Ustadz	Teacher / Educator	Explains classroom learning practices, dialogical teaching, and multicultural education	In-depth interview, observation
P6	Organizational Mentor	Mentor	Explains the development of tolerance attitudes through student organisations and leadership training	In-depth interview
S1	Fifth-Grade KMI Student	Student Leader	Shares experiences of tolerance, internalisation, and student leadership	In-depth interview
S2	Fourth-Grade KMI Student	Student	Describes dormitory life experiences and cross-cultural interactions	In-depth interview
S3	Third-Grade KMI Student	Student	Shares experiences of early adaptation to the pesantren tolerance system	In-depth interview
O1	Dormitory Environment	Social Setting	Observes daily practices, social interactions, and the hidden curriculum	Participant observation

Source: Data Collection, 2025

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Institutional Management of a Holistic 24-Hour Education System

This section presents findings grounded in ethnographic evidence derived from participant observation, in-depth interviews, and institutional documents. To provide thick description, the analysis incorporates verbatim quotations, field-note excerpts, and micro-level interactional observations illustrating how tolerance is enacted in everyday pesantren life. Rather than treating tolerance as an abstract institutional value, the findings highlight how it is performed, negotiated, and occasionally contested within daily educational practices.

The findings indicate that the 24-hour education system at PMDG is institutionally managed by integrating formal learning, dormitory life, student organisations, and religious routines into a continuous educational ecosystem. Field observations reveal that students' activities are systematically structured from morning to night, with no clear separation between academic and social spaces. In dormitory settings, students from diverse regional backgrounds were observed collaboratively completing tasks without direct teacher intervention, reflecting the internalisation of an organised and self-regulated system. This is reinforced by interview evidence:

"The system here is designed to run for 24 hours. Education does not only happen in classrooms, but also in dormitories, organisations, and daily activities." (P2, 2025).

"We do not explicitly teach tolerance every day. It develops naturally through living together." (P5, 2025).

In addition, the document analysis of institutional guidelines and the KMI curriculum demonstrates a formal integration among academic programs, student organisational activities, and the boarding system. These documents confirm that all student activities are structured within an educational design. Thus, the 24-hour system is not incidental but represents a deliberately managed institutional model that integrates multiple educational domains.

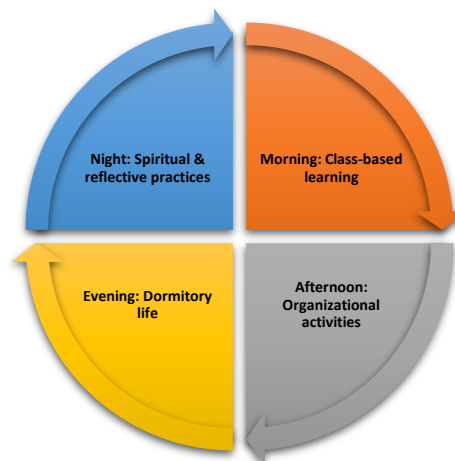


Figure 2. Ethnographic Mapping of the 24-Hour Educational Ecology at PMDG

This figure synthesises ethnographic observations across multiple learning spaces, illustrating how tolerance is enacted through ongoing interactions in classroom learning, dormitory life, organisational engagement, and spiritual routines. The 24-hour educational ecology observed in this study is summarised in Figure 2 as an ethnographic synthesis of recurring interactional patterns across learning spaces.

Figure 2 depicts the 24-hour education system at Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor, highlighting the integration of formal learning, organisational engagement, dormitory interactions, and spiritual routines within a continuous educational cycle. The figure emphasises that education operates as an uninterrupted process in which values are consistently reinforced across different learning spaces, enabling tolerance to be internalised through sustained practice rather than isolated instructional interventions.

Mechanisms Sustaining Value Consistency Across Educational Domains

The systematic alignment and long-term sustainability of value consistency across various educational domains at Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor are meticulously maintained through a complex interplay of institutionalised mechanisms, ranging from the deep-seated internalisation of the Pancasila philosophy to the implementation of a rigorous, hierarchical student supervision system. The internalisation of Pancasila values sincerity, simplicity, independence, Islamic brotherhood, and freedom was consistently identified as the ethical foundation of tolerance formation. However, ethnographic data indicate that these values are rarely transmitted through explicit doctrinal teaching. Instead, they are embedded in routine interactions and institutional expectations.

Value consistency across educational domains is sustained through institutional mechanisms, including the internalisation of Pancasila values, hierarchical student supervision, and the operation of the hidden curriculum. Field observations show that values such as simplicity, solidarity, and brotherhood are not explicitly taught but enacted through daily practices, including communal meals, shared responsibilities, and cross-cultural interactions. In one observed interaction, a disagreement over shared storage space was resolved through humour and peer mediation rather than disciplinary intervention. Such micro-level interactions illustrate how tolerance operates as a socially learned practice embedded in daily coexistence rather than a formally prescribed rule. This is supported by interview data:

"The dormitory is the real classroom for tolerance. When students from different islands share the same small locker room, they learn to negotiate their egos every single day without needing a textbook." (S3, 2025).

Furthermore, a student's perspective highlighted the practical application of these values in resolving daily frictions, suggesting that tolerance is not merely an abstract concept but a lived reality. Within the dense social fabric of the boarding school, students are frequently faced with interpersonal challenges that require immediate diplomatic navigation. Rather than relying on external discipline, they utilise the internal values of *Pancajiwa* to mediate cultural differences and personal preferences, thereby transforming potential conflicts into opportunities to strengthen communal bonds. As noted by one participant.

"Conflict is inevitable when you live with thousands of people, but here, we are taught to see our differences as a source of humour and brotherhood rather than a reason for division." (ST5, 2025).

"Our regulation of mixing students from various backgrounds in one room is a deliberate strategy; it ensures that the spirit of Ukhuwah Islamiyah is practised, not just memorised." (L1, 2025).

From a robust structural perspective, an extensive review of institutional documents, including dormitory regulations, organisational manuals, and student management systems, demonstrates a sophisticated alignment between the institution's stated core values and its practical operational frameworks. The student leadership structure and the intricate distribution of roles do not merely serve administrative purposes; rather, they function as dynamic mechanisms of social control and peer-led governance that consistently reinforce value consistency across diverse institutional spaces.

These ethnographic findings strongly suggest that the sustained transmission of values depends not solely on formal pedagogical instruction within the classroom, but more fundamentally on the seamless integration of institutional policy, a deeply rooted organisational culture, and the organic flow of everyday social practices. Consequently, this multi-layered management approach ensures that values like tolerance are not treated as isolated lessons, but are woven into the very fabric of the students' lived experience, creating a resilient ecosystem where institutional goals and individual behaviours are perpetually in sync."

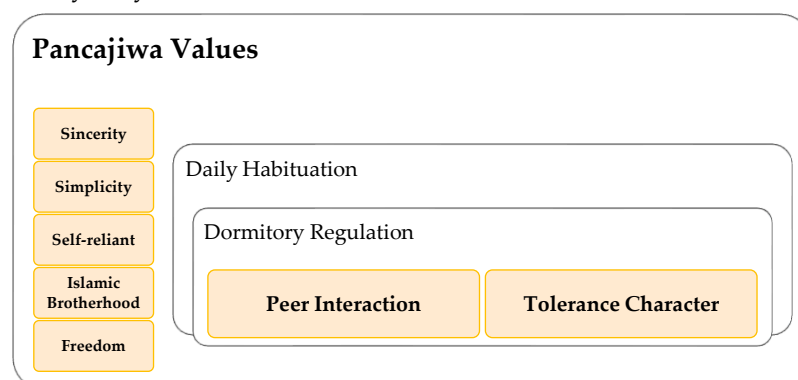


Figure 3. Data-driven synthesis of tolerance internalisation derived from ethnographic themes.

Source: Data Collection, 2025

The synthesis of these recurring ethnographic patterns is illustrated in Figure 3 as a data-driven representation of tolerance internalisation. The figure illustrates how *Pancajiwa* values are internalised within the dormitory system through recurring ethnographic patterns, including daily habituation, institutional regulation, peer interaction, and teacher role modelling. These interrelated mechanisms function as a hidden curriculum that transforms normative values into lived practices, showing how tolerance emerges through sustained social experience rather than direct moral instruction.

Internalisation and Manifestation of Tolerance in Everyday Practices

Tolerance at PMDG is manifested as a socially enacted competency, reflected through a sophisticated array of everyday practices, including cross-regional collaboration, dialogical engagement, and non-repressive conflict resolution. Field observations indicate that multicultural interaction is intense within the 24-hour ecosystem, particularly in the fluid spaces of dormitory life and student organisational activities, where diversity is a daily reality. In one observed case, a heated disagreement during an organisational meeting was resolved through an intricate deliberative process guided by senior students, demonstrating a reliance on peer-led mediation rather than on immediate, top-down institutional authority.

However, the ethnographic data suggest that this competency is not static; classroom observations revealed that dialogical confidence and the ability to navigate complex differences vary significantly across student levels. While senior students demonstrated high levels of critical engagement, younger students often showed initial hesitation when entering open debates, suggesting that the capacity to manage diversity develops gradually through prolonged institutional immersion. Beyond the formal classroom, this multicultural interaction was strategically enforced through dormitory arrangements that intentionally mixed students from disparate regional backgrounds. While these arrangements initially generated psychological discomfort, they ultimately facilitated deep adaptation and empathy-building through repeated, high-frequency social encounters.

The emphasis on deliberation and organic growth is strongly reflected in the following interview evidence:

"If there is a problem, we are usually asked to solve it through discussion and mutual understanding first; punishment is always the last resort because the goal is for us to understand our mistakes." (ST-K4, personal communication, 2025).

"Living with roommates from Aceh to Papua forces us to move beyond our stereotypes. You cannot hate a culture when you have shared your meals and your struggles with its people for years." (ST-K6, personal communication, 2025).

These findings collectively confirm that tolerance at PMDG is not merely a theoretical virtue but a hard-won organisational accomplishment. It is produced through a deliberate synthesis of structural engineering, such as regional mixing in dormitories, and a supportive cultural environment that prioritises dialogue over repression. Patterns of multicultural interaction identified through field observations are summarised in Figure 4 as an ethnographic map of recurring intercultural encounters.

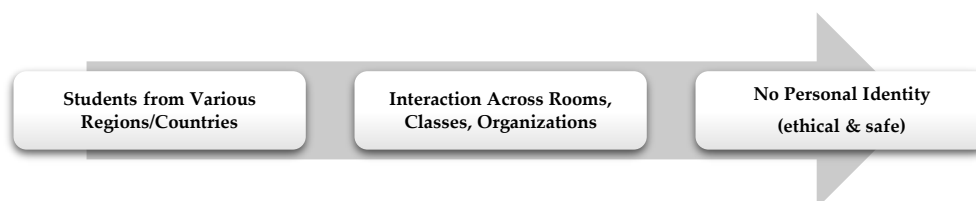


Figure 4. Multicultural Interaction Pattern among Santri
Source: Data Collection, 2025

This figure illustrates recurring interactional patterns observed during fieldwork, showing how students from diverse regional and cultural backgrounds engage in daily dormitory life, organisational activities, and dialogical exchanges. The mapping is derived from ethnographic observations and interview data, highlighting how multicultural encounters function as lived arenas for negotiating tolerance, empathy, and inclusive social relations. Meanwhile, analysis of student organisational systems and disciplinary guidelines shows that dialogue and deliberation are institutionalised as mechanisms for conflict management. However, the findings also reveal an

adaptive process in which new students initially experience discomfort before gradually developing intercultural competence.

Thus, tolerance does not emerge instantly but develops through repeated interaction within a structured environment that promotes openness and cooperation. Overall, the findings demonstrate that tolerance at PMDG is best understood as an outcome of integrative educational management rather than a purely cultural or pedagogical product. The 24-hour system provides the structural foundation, institutional mechanisms ensure value consistency, and everyday social practices serve as the arena for the internalisation of tolerance. These results support the argument that tolerance can be conceptualised as an organisationally produced outcome, emerging from the dynamic interaction between governance structures, institutional culture, and sustained social experience.

DISCUSSION

Integrative Educational Management as a Theoretical Reconstruction of Tolerance Formation

This study advances a significant theoretical shift by demonstrating that tolerance in Islamic boarding school education should not be conceptualised merely as a pedagogical outcome or cultural by-product, but as an organizationally produced outcome of integrative educational management (Syarifah et al., 2024). The findings show that tolerance emerges through the alignment of governance structures, institutional culture, and continuous social interaction within a 24-hour educational system. (Fahmy Zarkasyi et al., 2024). This challenges dominant approaches in the literature that primarily situate tolerance within classroom instruction or moral discourse (Banks, J. A, 2020; Juwaini et al., 2025; Nieto, S & Bode, P., 2021; Permadi et al., 2025; Salamah et al., 2025).

The first key contribution lies in the reconstruction of holistic education, a philosophical concept, into a governance-driven system. While previous studies emphasise holistic education as an integrative learning philosophy (Miller, J. P, 2021). This study demonstrates how such integration is operationalised through institutional management. The 24-hour system observed at PMDG reflects a structured alignment of formal, informal, and non-formal learning environments. (Triyawan & Sa'idah, 2022). Supporting the argument that integrative learning environments extend beyond disciplinary boundaries and shape learners' social attitudes (Jusubaidi et al., 2024).

This finding expands the theoretical scope of integrative curriculum studies, which have largely focused on curriculum design rather than institutional enactment (Mahfud, C., & Prasajo, Z, 2022). The evidence presented here suggests that curriculum integration must be understood as a multi-layered organisational process, (Saifulloh & Neoh, 2022) involving not only content alignment but also governance, supervision, and daily institutional routines (Hajar et al., 2025). Similar findings in recent studies confirm that integrative curriculum management plays a crucial role in shaping student character and social competence (Yusuf et al., 2025). However, this study goes further by explicitly linking such management processes to the production of tolerance as a measurable social outcome (Nuruddin et al., 2025).

From a critical theoretical standpoint, these findings culminate in a novel conceptualisation: tolerance as an emergent property of managed educational ecosystems. This study challenges conventional paradigms that treat tolerance merely as an isolated individual attitude or a static psychological trait. Instead, it positions tolerance as a systemic organisational outcome, meticulously produced through the convergence of continuous social exposure, deliberate structural regulation, and consistent institutional reinforcement (Schein, E. H, 2017; Sirojuddin et al., 2025)

This reconceptualisation aligns with classical organisational culture theory, which posits that values are reproduced through shared practices and ingrained institutional structures. It significantly extends the theory into the unique domain of Islamic education management. By demonstrating that

tolerance can be 'engineered' through a 24-hour holistic environment, this research offers a transformative perspective: character formation is not just a pedagogical task but a complex management achievement in which the institution itself functions as the primary curriculum.

Hidden Curriculum and Value Consistency as Mechanisms of Institutional Reproduction

The second major contribution of this study lies in explaining how value consistency is sustained across educational domains through institutional mechanisms, particularly the hidden curriculum. While previous research acknowledges the role of hidden curriculum in value transmission (Fahrudin et al., 2022; Mahfudhoh et al., 2023). This study demonstrates that such processes are not incidental but systematically managed within an integrated governance framework. The findings show that values such as Pancasila are embedded in daily practices rather than explicitly taught, confirming that tolerance is cultivated through habituation (Amalia et al., 2025; Mariyat, 2011; Shakina et al., 2025) and social interaction (Ahmad Suharto, 2017). This supports recent empirical studies indicating that the hidden curriculum operates through structural, interactional, and cultural dimensions within Islamic boarding schools (Ashari et al., 2023).

However, this study introduces a critical refinement to existing hidden curriculum theory. Rather than viewing the hidden curriculum as a passive or spontaneous process, the findings suggest that it functions as a managed cultural mechanism embedded within institutional governance. (Fahrudin et al., 2022) This aligns with recent work emphasising that the hidden curriculum can be strategically designed and controlled to achieve specific educational outcomes. (Dewi, 2021). Thus, the hidden curriculum should be reconceptualised not merely as implicit learning but as an intentional institutional strategy for the reproduction of value.

His reconceptualisation contributes to the literature by bridging the gap between micro-level interaction and macro-level institutional design. While many studies focus on interpersonal dynamics, this research demonstrates how organisational structures, including dormitory systems, student leadership hierarchies, and institutional regulations, shape those dynamics. In this sense, tolerance is sustained not only through interaction but through institutionalised patterns of interaction.

At the same time, the findings invite critical reflection on the limits of the hidden curriculum. As noted in recent research, the hidden curriculum may reinforce conformity and institutional stability rather than critical autonomy (Mohebi Amin et al., 2024). This tension is also evident in the present study, where value consistency is maintained through structured routines and hierarchical supervision. Therefore, tolerance in this context may be better understood as regulated inclusivity, where diversity is accommodated within institutional norms rather than fully negotiated in open, critical spaces.

Tolerance as Social Practice: Between Internalisation and Institutional Regulation

The third major contribution of this study is the empirical demonstration that tolerance manifests as a socially enacted competency, rather than as a purely cognitive or attitudinal construct. (Syarifah et al., 2024). This aligns with contemporary perspectives in multicultural education, which emphasise practice-based learning and experiential engagement as key drivers of tolerance (Waghid, Y., 2022). The findings show that tolerance is enacted through everyday practices such as collaboration, dialogue, and conflict resolution. This supports recent studies indicating that tolerance is shaped through informal interactions, student-led activities, and culturally embedded practices within educational environments (Abdurrohman et al., 2025). Moreover, integrative learning approaches have been shown to enhance openness and acceptance by exposing learners to diverse perspectives in real-life contexts.

However, this study contributes a more nuanced and critical interpretation by highlighting the role of institutional regulation in shaping these practices. While dialogue and deliberation are

encouraged, they occur within structured norms and hierarchical authority systems. Senior students and institutional actors function as mediators who regulate interaction, ensuring that conflict remains within acceptable boundaries. (Angin, 2025). This observation leads to an important theoretical insight: in this context, tolerance is not equivalent to unrestricted pluralism but reflects a form of structured pluralism. (Rahman, F., & Abdalla, M, 2022). Diversity is not left unmanaged but is actively organised, supervised, and guided through institutional mechanisms. This finding challenges idealised notions of tolerance as purely organic coexistence and instead positions it as a disciplined social practice shaped by organisational control. (Syarifah et al., 2024).

Furthermore, the findings reveal a nuanced distinction between superficial behavioural adaptation and profound, deep-seated internalisation of values. While students consistently demonstrate tolerant behaviour within their daily social interactions, a critical question remains regarding whether such conduct reflects a genuine transformation of personal values or merely a strategic compliance with rigid institutional norms (Mahfud, C., & Prasajo, Z, 2022). This phenomenon aligns with established organisational research, which posits that highly cohesive and regulated environments often run the risk of producing surface-level conformity, a social mimicry where individuals adhere to expectations to avoid friction without necessarily undergoing a fundamental shift in their underlying belief systems. This distinction is vital, as it suggests that the visible harmony within the pesantren might be a byproduct of 'enforced habituation' rather than a spontaneous ethical conviction, raising scholarly debate on the psychological depth of character education in total institutions (Schein, E. H, 2017)

This inherent tension represents a critical contribution of the study, as it illuminates the potential limits and structural boundaries of institutionalised tolerance. The research highlights a significant '*durability gap*'; without longitudinal evidence, it is premature to assume that tolerance developed within a highly structured and sheltered boarding environment will automatically persist once the individual transitions beyond institutional boundaries into a pluralistic, unregulated society. This study argues that the very system that fosters tolerance through constant supervision may also create a dependency that weakens autonomous moral agency. Consequently, this calls for a shift in future research agendas to move beyond the study of institutional processes and examine the long-term durability of tolerance as a learned social competence, specifically focusing on its resilience when students face genuine cultural or ideological conflicts in real-world contexts.

From Pedagogical Discourse to Organisational Theory

Taken together, the findings of this study contribute to a theoretical reconstruction of tolerance education by shifting the analytical focus from pedagogy to organisation. Unlike conventional approaches that emphasise teaching methods or curriculum content, this study demonstrates that tolerance is fundamentally shaped by how educational systems are managed (Banks, 1995). The novelty of this research lies in three key contributions: first, it introduces the concept of integrative educational management as a framework for understanding the formation of tolerance (Febrianti et al., 2025; Hakim & Muhid, 2025; Syarifah et al., 2025; Wonuola et al., 2025). This framework highlights the importance of aligning curriculum, culture, and governance within a continuous educational system. While previous studies have discussed these elements separately, this research integrates them into a unified analytical model (Jones & Smith, 2017; Mariyat, 2011).

Second, it reconceptualises the hidden curriculum as a managed institutional mechanism, rather than a passive process. This shifts the theoretical understanding of value transmission from implicit socialisation to intentional organisational design. Third, it positions tolerance as an organisational outcome that emerges from the interaction among structural systems, cultural practices, and lived experiences (Mohebi Amin et al., 2024). This contribution extends beyond Islamic education and offers

broadier implications for character education, multicultural learning, and educational leadership in diverse societies. (Ashari et al., 2023)

Importantly, this study also contributes methodologically by demonstrating the value of ethnographic approaches in uncovering institutional processes that are often invisible in quantitative or policy-oriented research. By combining observation, interviews, and document analysis, the study provides a holistic understanding of how tolerance is enacted in practice. Despite its contributions, this study acknowledges several limitations (English & Larson, 1996; Jones & Smith, 2017). As a single-case ethnographic study, the findings are context-specific and may not be fully generalizable to other pesantren or educational settings. PMDG represents a highly systematised institution with strong governance structures, which may not reflect the diversity of Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia.

Moreover, the structured nature of the educational environment raises questions about the balance between institutional control and individual agency. While governance mechanisms ensure value consistency, they may also limit critical engagement and alternative perspectives. This highlights an important area for future research: how to balance discipline and deliberation in tolerance education. From a practical perspective, the study suggests that efforts to promote tolerance should move beyond curriculum reform and focus on institutional design and governance alignment. Educational leaders should consider how values are embedded in daily routines, organisational structures, and social interactions, rather than relying solely on formal instruction (Abdurrohman et al., 2025).

In conclusion, this study demonstrates that tolerance in Islamic boarding school education is best understood as a managed institutional outcome rather than a spontaneous cultural trait or purely pedagogical achievement. Through the integration of governance, hidden curriculum, and lived social practices, tolerance emerges as an organizationally produced competence within a holistic educational system. (Jackson, P. W., 1968; Snyder, B. R, 1971). By reframing tolerance as an outcome of integrative educational management, this study offers a novel theoretical contribution that bridges educational theory, organisational analysis, and ethnographic insight. This perspective not only enriches the discourse on Islamic education but also provides a foundation for developing more effective models of tolerance education in diverse and plural societies (Syarifah et al., 2024).

This pathway underscores that tolerance is not only taught but administratively sustained through monitoring, role modelling, and institutional discipline. Such a perspective contributes to emerging discussions on the management of integrative Islamic education, where governance alignment plays a central role in shaping student character outcomes. PMDG represents a highly systematised and resource-rich pesantren with strong organisational capacity and integrated governance structures (Ikhwan et al., 2023).

Table 2. Summary of Research Discussion

Key Findings	Theoretical Analysis	Novelty & Contribution
24-Hour Tolerance Ecosystem: Tolerance is cultivated through routine interactions in dormitories, organisations, and worship spaces, rather than through isolated classroom doctrines.	1. Grounded in Hidden Curriculum and Organisational Culture theories. 2. Values are reproduced through daily social practices and shared institutional structures. (Schein, E. H, 2017)	Tolerance as an Organisational Accomplishment: Shifts the perspective of tolerance from a spontaneous individual trait to a systemic outcome that can be intentionally "engineered" through organisational design.
Non-Repressive Conflict Resolution: Intercultural frictions are resolved through peer-led deliberation and	1. Aligns with Social Learning Theory.	Peer-Led Governance Model: Demonstrates that student autonomy in conflict resolution is a critical mechanism for the

senior mediation rather than immediate top-down disciplinary intervention.	2. Tolerance is acquired through the active navigation of social differences within a controlled, yet pluralistic, environment.	effective internalisation of moderate values in Islamic education.
Structural & Value Integration: Institutional policies (dormitory regulations and organisational manuals) are meticulously aligned with the foundational <i>Pancajiwa</i> philosophy.	1. Extends Organisational Culture Theory into the domain of Islamic education management. 2. Bureaucratic structures function as deliberate moral instruments.	Managed Cultural Mechanisms: Proposes a novel framework where formal governance structures are used strategically to sustain and reinforce the hidden curriculum consistently across all domains.
Tension Between Compliance and Internalisation: While students demonstrate tolerant behaviour, there is a risk of surface-level conformity to institutional norms rather than deep personal belief.	1. References the concept of Total Institutions (English & Larson, 1996). 2. Highly cohesive environments may produce behavioural mimicry without fundamental transformation of belief systems.	The Durability Gap: Identifies the inherent limits of institutionalised tolerance and emphasises the need for longitudinal research to examine value resilience beyond the institutional boundaries.

Source: Data Collection, 2025

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that tolerance formation within the integrative ecosystem of Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor is not merely a spontaneous cultural byproduct or a static pedagogical outcome, but a sophisticated organisational accomplishment. The research objectives were met by demonstrating that tolerance emerges from a strategic alignment between foundational values (*Pancajiwa*), robust governance structures, and a 24-hour managed social environment. Ethnographic evidence confirms that through prolonged immersion, the institution’s hidden curriculum and peer-led governance mechanisms effectively transform diversity into a lived social competence. By reframing tolerance as a systemic output of institutional management, this study demonstrates that character formation in holistic education is most effective when values are embedded across every layer of organisational life, from formal policy to everyday social interactions.

However, these findings must be interpreted within the inherent limitations of a single-case ethnographic design, which limits their direct generalizability to more decentralised or community-based Islamic boarding schools. While the study captures high levels of behavioural harmony, it also identifies a “*durability gap*”: uncertainty about whether this institutionally scaffolded tolerance will persist as an autonomous moral agency once students transition into unregulated, pluralistic societies. Therefore, future research should pursue comparative multi-site studies to test the transferability of this governance model across diverse *pesantren* typologies. Furthermore, longitudinal inquiries are essential to examine the long-term resilience of learned tolerance, ensuring that the character formation achieved through intensive institutional management remains sustainable beyond the school’s boundaries.

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