

## Moral Governance and Discipline in Hybrid *Tahfidh Pesantren*: A Study of Millennial Qur'an Memorizers at School and *Pesantren*

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### Abstract

The integration of schools and *pesantren* has become a rapidly growing educational model in Indonesia, particularly in shaping the millennial generation of Qur'an memorizers (*hafidh*). This model combines the formal school curriculum with a *pesantren* system based on Qur'anic memorization (*tahfidh*). However, in practice, various challenges arise concerning regulations, violations, and the forms of punishment applied to *santri* (student). These regulations serve to maintain *santri* discipline, academic policies, and character development. Despite well-established regulations, violations frequently occur among millennial *santri*, both in academic contexts and *pesantren* discipline. This study employs a qualitative approach with a case study design. The findings indicate that regulations within this integrated model cover academic discipline, *pesantren* ethics, and Qur'an memorization obligations. Common violations include negligence in memorization targets, improper use of technology, and absenteeism from *pesantren* activities. The forms of punishment applied range from verbal warnings and social sanctions to special guidance for improving discipline. These findings provide insights for educational institutions in formulating more effective policies to nurture millennial *santri* to excel in both formal education and Qur'anic memorization.

**Keywords:** hybrid *tahfidh pesantren*, regulations, violations, millennial *santri*, Qur'an memorization.

### Introduction

The integration between formal schools and *pesantren* has become an increasingly popular educational model in Indonesia. This system offers a balance between academic education and religious education, particularly for *santri* (student) who memorizes the Qur'an. Through this integration, *santri* not only gain deep Islamic knowledge but also acquire the general knowledge necessary for modern life (Ilham, 2020). This aligns with the national education vision, which emphasizes character building and academic excellence. However, in practice, the integration between schools and *pesantren* does not always run smoothly. One of the main challenges is the existence of different regulations between school institutions and *pesantren*. Formal schools follow academic rules

and discipline based on the national curriculum, while *pesantren* implement a discipline system based on distinctive Islamic values (Fatah, 2014).

Additionally, various forms of violations occur within the school and *pesantren* environment. These violations may involve discipline, adherence to study and recitation schedules, and uncontrolled use of technology and social media. This phenomenon has become increasingly complex in the millennial era, where *santri* has wide access to information and digital entertainment that can distract them from their Qur'an memorization journey. As times change, challenges arise in maintaining an education system that is not only focused on academic achievement but also on building Islamic character amid modernization (Safei & Himayaturohmah, 2023).

One crucial aspect of school and *pesantren* integration is the punishment system for *santri* who violates regulations. The implementation of punishment in the context of Islamic education is not merely intended as a penalty but also as a means of educating and guiding *santri* toward becoming better individuals. In modern education systems, punishments can be categorized into various forms, including verbal warnings, administrative sanctions, and more intensive coaching. However, the punishment methods applied must consider the psychological aspects of *santri* to ensure they do not hinder their academic or spiritual development (Ma'arif, 2017).

This study is expected to contribute to the development of an integrated school and *pesantren*-based education system. Academically, this research can serve as a reference for scholars and researchers interested in Islamic education studies and *pesantren* management. Practically, the findings can be used by school and *pesantren* administrators to design more effective policies in managing regulations, addressing violations, and formulating educational punishments that are not counterproductive to Islamic education goals (Solihin & Albab, 2022).

By understanding the dynamics of regulations, violations, and punishments in the integrated school and *pesantren* system, more adaptive solutions can emerge, in line with the challenges of the millennial era in shaping *santri* who excels both academically and spiritually. Additionally, this research can provide policymakers with insights into the importance of adopting a more humane approach in handling *santri* violations, considering their psychological and psychosocial development.

As part of the Islamic education ecosystem, millennial *santri* faces significant challenges in maintaining a balance between Qur'an memorization,

academic education, and the ever-evolving dynamics of social life. Therefore, the regulatory and punishment systems implemented must be able to adapt to contemporary conditions without abandoning the fundamental values that form the core of Islamic education. In this way, the integration of schools and *pesantren* not only becomes a sustainable educational model but also serves as the best solution for shaping a generation with noble character and strong competitiveness (Hafidz, 2021).

Moreover, it is essential to develop a more inclusive and flexible education system that supports *santri* development. One approach that can be implemented is strengthening an integrated curriculum that not only accommodates academic needs but also provides space for *santri* to develop life skills relevant to modern challenges. As a result, education in schools and *pesantren* does not solely focus on acquiring knowledge and memorizing the Qur'an but also on shaping adaptive, creative individuals who are prepared to face social and technological changes (Murniyanto & Siswanto, 2022).

On the other hand, parental and community involvement in supporting the integration of schools and *pesantren* is also a crucial factor that cannot be overlooked. Education is not solely the responsibility of educational institutions but also requires synergy between families, communities, and the government. With effective communication between schools, *pesantren*, and parents, various challenges faced by *santri* in undergoing dual education can be addressed more efficiently. Furthermore, moral and emotional support from families plays a significant role in motivating *santri* to remain enthusiastic in balancing their academic and religious education.

In response to digital era challenges, schools and *pesantren* need to develop more prudent technology management strategies. Access to technology and social media is inevitable, but its use must be directed in a way that aligns with Islamic values and educational goals (Apud & Akrom, 2020). Implementing digital literacy for *santri* is a strategic step in teaching them how to use technology productively without falling into distractions that may hinder their academic and spiritual achievements. Thus, *santri* will not only excel as Qur'an memorizers but also be able to utilize technology as a means of *da'wah* and self-development.

Previous studies have highlighted the importance of integrating formal education with tahfidh-based *pesantren* in shaping *santri*' character in the modern era. For instance, Safei and Himayaturohmah emphasized the urgency of instilling religious values and daily habituation as a foundation for character

education (Safei & Himayaturohmah, 2023). However, their study did not specifically address the regulatory systems and disciplinary enforcement within hybrid educational environments. Similarly, Amalia et al. examined the effectiveness of tahfidh learning methods such as *sima'an* and *murāja'ah*, yet did not explore how these methods could be integrated into character-building strategies or disciplinary mechanisms in response to *santri* misconduct (Amalia et al., 2022).

Munawaroh brought attention to the theme of social control in *pesantren* but focused on general oversight strategies and did not delve into the reflective responses of millennial *santri* to top-down disciplinary rules (Munawaroh, 2024). As a result, existing research tends to be fragmented—addressing curriculum, learning methods, and religious values independently—without constructing a comprehensive understanding of moral governance that reflects the lived interactions between *santri*, educators, and institutional systems in an integrative setting.

This present study seeks to fill that gap by investigating in depth how regulatory and disciplinary systems are implemented, negotiated, and interpreted by millennial *tahfidh santri* in the hybrid educational context of Daarul Qur'an Semarang and Bandung. Rather than viewing regulation solely as a tool of institutional control, this study positions it as part of an evolving moral structure, shaped through dialogue, resistance, and the contextual formation of Islamic identity.

Accordingly, this study occupies a unique position in the existing body of literature by bringing together three critical dimensions previously unintegrated: (1) the reality of disciplinary violations and sanction systems in hybrid *pesantren*–school institutions, (2) the cultural responses of millennial *santri* shaped by digital influences, and (3) a renewed interpretation of *ta'dib* as a foundational principle of moral governance based on Qur'anic values

Ultimately, the success of school and *pesantren* integration largely depends on the commitment of all parties in creating a conducive and harmonious educational environment. The regulations applied must be flexible and adaptive while still being rooted in strong Islamic educational principles. Additionally, the approach to implementing punishments should focus more on education and character-building rather than merely imposing sanctions. In this way, this integrative education model will not only produce *santri* with noble character and academic excellence but also serve as a solution to various challenges faced by Islamic education in the modern era (Ma'arif, 2017).

This research is particularly important within the boundaries of tahfidh *pesantren* that are integrated with schools. Numerous regulations must be implemented to ensure the success of the learning process and the achievement of institutional excellence. However, these regulations also bring the potential for violations, leading to various forms of punishment as an integral part of education and its supporting environment.

This study provides a novel contribution to the discourse on Islamic education by examining the integration model between formal schooling and tahfidh *pesantren* systems, with a distinctive focus on regulatory frameworks, behavioral violations, and disciplinary practices among millennial Qur'an memorizers. While prior research has primarily focused on curriculum design, memorization strategies, and spiritual development, this study shifts the perspective toward the socio-pedagogical dynamics that characterize contemporary integrated Islamic education. It highlights the negotiation of authority, discipline, and moral formation within the unique environment of *pesantren*-based schools.

The urgency of this study stems from the rapid expansion of hybrid Islamic education models in Indonesia, in which *santri* simultaneously engage in both formal schooling and tahfidh-based religious training. This dual-track system often generates complex tensions between institutional authority, the behavioral norms of modern youth, and the ethical-spiritual expectations of Islamic learning. In the absence of a clear framework for understanding how disciplinary actions, violations, and rewards are constructed and internalized by *santri*, there is a growing risk that rigid enforcement mechanisms could undermine the moral and pedagogical goals of Islamic education itself.

This study distinguishes itself by documenting the lived realities and institutional mechanisms that shape the development of Qur'anic character (*akhlāq al-Qur'an*) among today's youth, within contexts marked by increased autonomy, identity formation, and generational resistance. By going beyond the formal curriculum to explore how rules are enforced and moral behaviors are cultivated in daily life, this research fills a critical gap in the literature on Islamic education and offers valuable insights into the ethics of discipline and character development in integrated learning environments.

This research uses a qualitative approach with a case study method in two locations, namely Daarul Qur'an Middle School Semarang and Daarul Qur'an High School Bandung. This approach aims to understand in depth the dynamics of regulations, violations and punishment systems implemented in

*Tahfidh pesantren* which are integrated with formal schools. This research is descriptive-analytic in nature, which describes the applicable regulations and sanctions, as well as how *Tahfidh santri* faces and adapts to the existing system (Moleong, 2019).

The location of this research is a junior high school which is integrated in the *Tahfidh Daarul Qur'an Pesantren*, Semarang and a high school which is integrated in the *Tahfidh Daarul Qur'an Pesantren*, Bandung. Research subjects include *Kyai*, *Ustaz*, and *Pesantren* administrators who are responsible for caring for *santri*, school principals who have a role in academic and disciplinary regulations, as well as *santri* who experiences and undergo regulation and punishment. Data collection was carried out through in-depth interviews with key informants, such as *Kyai*, *Ustaz* in the field of care, school principals, and *santri* to understand their direct experiences regarding regulations and punishment (Lisarani, 2022).

Data analysis was carried out in three stages, namely data reduction, which involved selecting, sorting and filtering data that was relevant to the research focus; presenting data, by organizing findings in the form of descriptive narratives, tables, or diagrams; as well as drawing conclusions, which aims to analyze regulatory patterns, types of violations that often occur, and the effectiveness of punishment in shaping the character of *tahfidh santri* (Miles, M.B, Huberman, A.M, & Saldana, 2014). Such a route will provide a comprehensive picture of how schools and *pesantren* manage regulations, handle violations, and apply punishment to millennial *santri* who memorizes the Qur'an.

## **Result and Discussion**

### **Management, Programs, and Learning Methods in *Tahfidh Qur'an Pesantren***

Memorization is a gift from Allah SWT, bestowed upon His servants according to His will. *Santri* who memorizes the Qur'an not only gain honor in the sight of Allah but also benefit academically, such as having a sharper memory. Therefore, a *santri* should memorize the Qur'an with sincerity and solely for the pleasure of Allah SWT (Amrizal et al., 2022). In the context of *Tahfidh Pesantren*, the memorization model has at least several main stages. First, the attention stage, where the ustadz attracts the *santri*' interest with praise and emotional approaches. Second, the understanding stage, where *santri* is helped to understand the importance of consistency in memorizing through giving

awards. Third, the influence stage, where the benefits of memorizing the Koran, both spiritually and worldly, are conveyed through inspirational stories. Fourth, the memory stage, where rote repetition is carried out so that *santri* can maintain it in the long term. Lastly, the action stage, where *santri* is encouraged to continue trying to achieve their memorized targets with new enthusiasm. The relationship between *santri* motivation and the ustadz's persuasive communication strategy is very close. Internal and external motivation can be strengthened with the right communication approach, thereby creating a supportive learning environment. In this way, *santri* will be more motivated to complete their memorization of the Al-Qur'an well (Novatri, 2025).

The management of educational institutions and *pesantren* includes various main functions. The first function is planning, which involves several important aspects, such as: (a) determining the character education needs of *santri*, including manners, love of reading, religiosity, respect for kiai, and love of the homeland; (b) determine the reasons and program for character education, namely *santri* and *kiai*; (c) determine the time for program implementation; and (d) designing methods for implementing the *santri* character education program. (Darma, 2025) The second function is organizing, which aims to regulate various related aspects, such as: (a) management of teaching staff and administrators, including the division of tasks and responsibilities in guiding *santri*; (b) provision of facilities and infrastructure, such as mosques, *santri* dormitories and other facilities; The third function is coordination, which involves steps such as: (a) monitoring the duties and responsibilities of administrators, religious teachers, *santri*, as well as community involvement; (b) supervision and (c) alignment between character education objectives and activities. The fourth function is implementation, which emphasizes the leader's ability to invite all *pesantren* members to carry out the program with enthusiasm and motivation in order to achieve the goals of character education. Finally, the fifth function is supervision, which includes the process of monitoring, assessing and evaluating the program so that it runs in accordance with the stated objectives in shaping the character of *santri* in *pesantren* (Fibonacci et al., 2023).

The *hafidz* Qur'an development program has a six-year educational duration, with a primary focus on Qur'anic memorization, complemented by the study of tajwid, tahsin, and qira'ah (Zaenurrosyid et al., 2020). Additionally, *santri* is trained to master Arabic and English, while still maintaining proficiency in Indonesian. They are also equipped with life skills to foster independence and

are given opportunities to pursue further studies in the Middle East, such as Egypt, Yemen, Kuwait, Morocco, and Saudi Arabia, for those who meet the criteria (Mitrohardjono & Arribathi, 2020).

Character education in *pesantren* is integrated into formal learning, extracurricular activities, and the daily habits of *santri*. Character education planning is carried out systematically and has been programmed for the next year through various activities, such as the IPDQ Development Program, Extracurricular Program, Code Implementation Program, Guidance and Counseling Program, Creativity Development Program, Qur'an Matriculation Program, as well as various community-based activities. The implementation of character education is also integrated into the schedule for reciting *tahfidh/sorogan* Al-Qur'an, MCK, then preparing for formal school until 12.40.(Sukardi, 2016) After Dhuhr prayer and a break, *santri* participate in Tahfidh activities or Kitab Kuning studies until 2:20 PM, followed by formal schooling until 4:00 PM. In the evening, they perform Maghrib prayer, recite *Shalawat Nariyah*, and continue with *tahfidh* or *kitab* studies until 9:00 PM. Afterward, *santri* engages in independent study until 10:30 PM before resting. The *pesantren* environment adopts a holistic educational approach, integrating academic, spiritual, skill development, and character-building aspects (Isdiyati, 2020).

In *Tahfidh pesantren*, the majority apply the *sima'an* method in learning tahfīz, while other institutions use the *tasmi'* method. *The main difference between these two methods lies in the way they are implemented.* In the *sima'an* method, a *santri* recites his memorization in front of classmates who act as listeners, under the guidance and supervision of the *halaqah tahfīz* teacher. Meanwhile, in the *tasmi'* method, a *santri* only listens to his memorization to the *tasmi'* examining teacher without any active involvement from his friends. Apart from differences in implementation, the objectives of these two methods are also different (Munawaroh, 2024). The *sima'an* method aims to ensure the accuracy of reading by helping each other in improving their memorization of the Qur'an, so that *santri* can avoid mistakes they are not aware of. Meanwhile, the *tasmi'* method focuses more on measuring and assessing the quality of a *santri's* memorization.

The *sima'an* method is applied continuously in the *tahfīz* learning process. Every *santri* who has completed one memorized juz is required to attend a *sima'an* session before continuing to the next juz, especially after completing juz 30. Applying this method helps *santri* not only increase their memorization but also maintain the memorization they have acquired, so that



the quality of their memorization continues to improve. The quality of memorization is categorized into two groups: fluent and non-fluent. This assessment is based on the smoothness of reading, accuracy in pronouncing verses, compliance with tajwid rules, and fluency in recitation. *Santri* who is fluents face no difficulties in reading, while adherence to tajwid reflects their ability to apply the rules of recitation and pronounce letters correctly according to the standards of the Qur'an—and vice versa (Amalia et al., 2022). Meanwhile, the *sima'an* activity (a Qur'anic recitation session) is an achievement that brings pride to *santri*, *tahfidh* teachers, and parents. On the day of *sima'an*, many parents hold small celebrations as an expression of gratitude for their child's achievement (Chandra et al., 2020).

The process of memorizing the Qur'an consists of two main aspects: adding and retaining memorization. The *wahdah* method involves memorizing verse by verse gradually to assist in retention. Additionally, the *tadabburi* method emphasizes understanding the meaning of words to strengthen memorization. In the *talqin* method, *santri* imitates the recitation repeatedly as pronounced by their instructor to ensure accurate memorization. To prevent forgetting, the *murāja'ah* method is applied by repeating previously memorized verses. Meanwhile, *mudārasah* is conducted in groups, allowing *santri* to listen to and correct each other's recitation. Another commonly used method is *tasmī'*, which focuses on reciting memorized verses to a teacher or examiner for evaluation. In contrast, the *sima'an* method involves reciting memorization in front of fellow memorizers to receive corrections and improve recitation quality. Each of these methods has its own advantages and can be applied based on the needs of the memorizer, ensuring that their memorization remains strong and continues to develop effectively (As'ad & Hakim, 2022).

The *sima'an* method applied has proven to be effective in helping *santri* retains its memorization and increase its motivation to continue memorizing the Qur'an properly and correctly. In general, the quality of Qur'anic memorization is influenced by two main factors. The internal factor comes from within the memorizer, including personal motivation, level of intelligence or memory strength, and the memorization targets set. Meanwhile, the external factor consists of elements outside the individual, such as the memorization methods used, time management, and the learning environment arrangement (Zaenurrosyid & Nuruddin, 2019). The indicators used to assess the quality of a person's memorization of the Al-Qur'an can be seen from three main aspects, namely the application of tajwid which reflects accuracy in reciting the verse

according to the correct rules, *fashahah* or fluency in pronouncing each pronunciation, and memorization fluency, which shows a person's ability to read without obstacles or errors (Maulida, 2025).

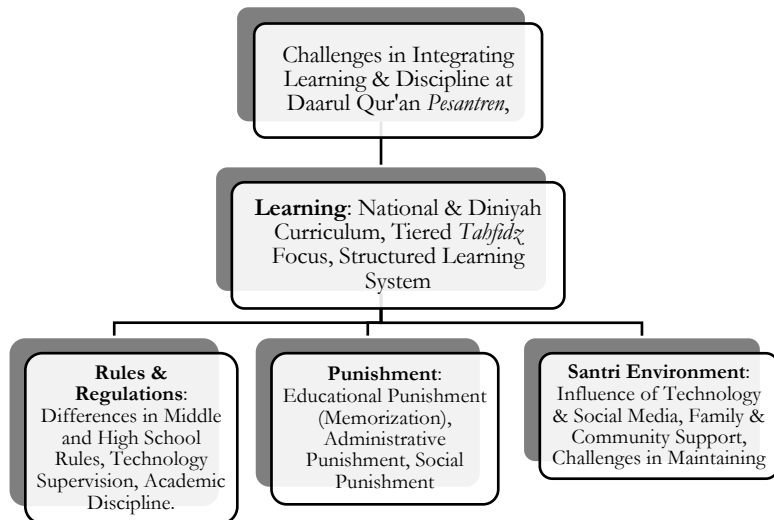
One of the books studied by *tabfidh santri* is *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim*, which contains teachings on the importance of ethics and morality in seeking knowledge. The material delivered by ustadz or ustadzah aims to shape the character of female *santri*, enabling them to develop a deeper understanding of religion (Zubaedi, 2004). Another method for shaping the morals of female *santri* is through role modeling provided by the mudabbir. By setting a good example, they serve as role models for female *santri* in applying ethical values within the *pesantren*. This approach allows *santri* to observe and imitate positive behaviors from their mudabbir, making the character-building process occur naturally (Munawaroh, 2024).

Another method that can be used for memorizing the Qur'an is the writing method or *Laub*. This method is believed to strengthen memory, as what is written and then memorized becomes easier to recall. One country that applies this method is Morocco (Tarmizi & Mitrohardjono, 2020). There, Qur'an memorization *santri* is required to write down all the verses they will memorize on a board. Afterward, their writing is checked by the teacher to ensure there are no mistakes. If any errors are found, they are corrected before the *santri* proceed to read and memorize the verses repeatedly while facing the board. Once they have memorized the verses, they are asked to recite them before the teacher without looking at the written text. (Syahfitri, 2022) Through the listening method (*tasmi' or sima'i*), *santri* memorizes one page of the Qur'an by perfectly memorizing one verse before moving on to the next, without looking at the mushaf (Amalia et al., 2022).

This process continues until the entire page is memorized fluently. In the combination method (*jam'i*), *santri* memorizes one page of the Qur'an sequentially until fluent, then move on to the next verse. After memorizing all the verses on a page, *santri* then repeat the memorization from beginning to end without looking at the mushaf (Jogja, 2024). Another similar method is the partition method (*milqosam*), which is a combination of the tasalsuli and jam'i methods. In this approach, one page of the Qur'an is divided into several sections, memorized gradually, and then combined until the entire page is committed to memory without looking at the mushaf. There is also the group memorization method, where *santri* memorizes together in a group, guided by an instructor or mentor (Abduh, 2024). Initially, the instructor recites one or

several verses, followed by all participants repeating them in unison. Another effective yet more challenging method, especially for children, is the meaning comprehension method (*fahmun al-ma'na*). This approach is based on the principle that understanding the meaning of the verses can accelerate and strengthen memorization. However, this method requires more time, as it involves a deep understanding of the Qur'anic content (Rahmawati, 2018).

One of the modern methods applied in Qur'anic learning is the DaQu method, which consists of six levels of learning. This method is unique in its delivery of material, including discussions on *goroib al-qiro'ah* (uncommon recitations) and the use of color-coded sections to highlight key points. These methods demonstrate that there are various approaches to memorizing the Qur'an, which can be adapted to each individual's abilities and preferences (Habibie, 2019). The following is a diagram of the relationship between learning, regulation, and punishment in formal schools integrated with the *pesantren* education curriculum:



The *tahfidh* camp program held at *Pesantren Tahfidh* Daarul Qur'an Cikarang is an intensive Qur'an memorization program that lasts for 30 days. The main goal of this program is to shape individuals with a Qur'anic character by providing full attention to the Qur'an and allocating more time for memorization. One of the advantages of the Tahfidh Camp is the full support given to *santri*, allowing them to concentrate more on memorization by minimizing the time for Learning and Teaching Activities (KBM) to only 3 hours per day, while the remaining time is entirely dedicated to memorizing the Qur'an (Amalia et al., 2022). In this program, *santri* is targeted to memorize up

to 5 pages per day. The memorization submission schedule is systematically arranged to ensure a structured process. This process is also guided directly by *Halaqah Ustadzah*, who continuously accompanies and provides direction to the *santri*. In addition to intensive guidance, the facilities available at the *pesantren* also support the smooth running of the program, including the provision of three meals a day, allowing *santri* to focus on memorization without being distracted by other needs (Nabilla, 2022).

*Tahfidh* Camp consists of three main activities: the opening, the memorization process, and post-memorization activities. Each day, *santri* is given three dedicated *tahfidh* sessions. During the memorization process, *santri* is grouped into *halaqah* based on their *tahsin and tahfidh* abilities. Each *halaqah* is guided by a *Halaqah Ustadzah* who is responsible for mentoring the *santri* throughout the program. During the memorization submission, one *Halaqah Ustadzah* supervises one to two *santri* per session to ensure optimal monitoring of their progress. This program serves as an effective solution for *santri* who wish to accelerate their Qur'an memorization with systematic guidance and a conducive environment to achieve their memorization targets (Amalia et al., 2022).

The educational curriculum in *pesantren* is no longer fragmented but instead integrates various disciplines. The subjects taught encompass rational and empirical knowledge as well as knowledge derived from divine revelation. This approach aims to cultivate a generation of Muslims who can adapt to modern advancements without compromising their faith and noble character, ensuring success and well-being in both this world and the hereafter. *Pesantren Daarul Qur'an* implements two main curricula: the National Education Curriculum (Diknas) and the *tahfidh* curriculum. The Diknas curriculum is designed to equip *santri* with general knowledge, while the *tahfidh* curriculum focuses on training *santri* to become memorizers of the Qur'an (Fauzi & Fata, 2021).

To support the effectiveness of the learning process, *Pesantren Tahfidh Daarul Qur'an* continuously enhances the quality of comfort, cleanliness, and security within the *pesantren* environment, while also providing more conducive spaces for Qur'an memorization. These efforts to improve both quality and quantity can be achieved through various strategic policies, whether in the form of official *pesantren* regulations or collaborations with different parties. Support from parents, the community, other educational institutions, and the

government also plays a crucial role in creating an optimal learning environment for the *santri* (Fauzi & Fata, 2021).

### **Types of Violations and Punishments for Qur'an Memorization *Santri***

Violations of regulations can have both positive and negative implications. In a positive context, breaking the rules may reflect an individual's efforts to seek new approaches for developing creativity and innovation. However, in a negative context, rule violations among teenagers can be categorized as antisocial behavior or nonconformity to prevailing norms. A violation is an action taken by an individual that does not comply with established regulations. Meanwhile, according to Kartono, a violation is behavior that does not align with the prevailing rules and norms within a particular group (Ma'arif, 2017).

There are Major, Moderate, and Minor Violations for Qur'an Memorization *Santri*, major violations include actions that contradict Islamic teachings and the values of the *pesantren*, such as neglecting religious obligations, engaging in immoral behavior, getting tattoos, and failing to participate in mandatory routine activities. Moderate violations involve actions like leaving the *pesantren* without permission, staying overnight outside the premises, meeting with non-mahram individuals without official approval, and displaying inappropriate appearance or attire. Minor violations include unintentional use of someone else's belongings, failing to maintain cleanliness in bathrooms and surrounding areas, and littering (Listiana et al., 2023).

Violations of rules within the *pesantren* environment can be influenced by various factors. Internal factor, such as a lack of self-control, egocentrism, and aggressiveness, can make individuals more prone to committing violations. (Burga, 2019). In addition to internal factors, external factors also play a significant role in shaping a person's behavior. These include family environment and other surroundings. Discomfort within the *pesantren* environment, such as overly strict regulations or a monotonous atmosphere, can sometimes lead *santri* to violate rules as a form of release. Changes in the surrounding community can also influence *santri*' behavior, especially if they are exposed to environments that do not support positive values. Equally important, peer influence is one of the main factors that drive rule-breaking behavior (Rusli et al., 2022).

In order to enforce discipline, *pesantren* also impose sanctions on *santri* who violate the rules. These sanctions are not intended to provide punishment per se, but rather as a coaching effort so that *santri* realizes their mistakes and

improve their behavior. Several forms of sanctions applied include cleaning the cottage environment, buying cleaning equipment, wearing a red headscarf as a sign of punishment, and reducing the return allowance. Apart from that, *santri* who violate the rules can also be subject to educational sanctions such as memorizing the Koran (Astuti, 2018).

Punishment (*ta'zir*) given to *santri* at school is not a form of revenge or an act to cause harm due to mistakes made. On the other hand, punishment is given as part of the learning process which aims to provide reinforcement so that *santri* avoids behavior that could cause them to receive punishment. Thus, punishment functions as a coaching tool that educates and shapes *santri*' character for the better. Punishment should be followed by further actions aimed at eliminating fear, low self-esteem, or resentment in *santri*. This step is necessary to ensure that punishment is not merely repressive but also supports *santri*' mental and emotional development. Ideally, punishment should be applied wisely to prevent *santri* from feeling inferior or traumatized. Punishment should be combined with reinforcement (positive reinforcement) so that *santri* understand and adopt better behaviors in the future (Burga, 2019).

The implementation of punishment has proven to be more effective in correcting behavior compared to the absence of punishment. However, for punishment to have a positive impact, several criteria must be met. Punishment should be given based on objective standards that are well understood by both *santri* and educators. It should also be preceded by other steps, such as guidance, reprimands, and warnings. Moreover, punishment must be applied fairly, considering the severity and type of misconduct. The purpose of punishment should be educational, contributing to the development of *santri*' mindset and academic growth (Prima, 2016). Comparison Chart of Education Systems & Rules at Daarul Qur'an *pesantren*:

Aspect	Junior High School Daarul Qur'an Semarang	Senior High School Daarul Qur'an Bandung
Learning System	National & diniyah curriculum	National & diniyah curriculum with deeper material
	Focus on Qur'an memorization (basic memorization targets)	Focus on Qur'an memorization with higher targets
	Academic learning follows Kemendikbud regulations	More complex academic education according to high school level
Rules & Discipline	Regulations based on school rules & <i>pesantren</i> values	Stricter rules, adjusted to <i>santri</i> ' maturity level
	Strict supervision of technology & social media use	More flexible regulations with greater responsibility for <i>santri</i>
Punishment System	Verbal warnings for minor violations	Verbal & written warnings for minor violations

	Additional memorization as an educational sanction	More intensive guidance, such as tilawah or khidmah (service)
	Administrative sanctions for repeated offenses	Social punishment (community service) & parental summons for serious cases

In the perspective of Islamic law, punishment has broader objectives, including imposing sanctions on offenders according to the severity of their mistakes, preventing them from repeating their offenses, and serving as a lesson for others to avoid similar violations. Punishment also aims to protect a person's honor and dignity, ensure human survival, and safeguard property. Based on this, it can be concluded that the primary purpose of punishing *santri* is to help them improve and abandon bad habits they previously engaged in. This punishment is also a form of care and affection from educators towards *santri*, ensuring they do not fall into actions that contradict the norms and values taught in the *pesantren* (Ummah, 2020).

Punishment serves as an educational tool for individuals who commit violations, with the aim of preventing them from repeating the same mistakes and deterring future infractions. Additionally, punishment can act as a form of motivation, encouraging individuals to avoid behaviors that violate regulations. There are several key functions of punishment that contribute to shaping desired behavior, including limiting deviant behavior, preventing the recurrence of undesirable actions, and serving an educational purpose by reinforcing motivation to avoid rule-breaking behavior (Prima, 2016).

However, in practice, there are several obstacles for *ustadz* or *ustadzah* in implementing punishment. One of the main challenges is the prohibition of physical punishment, such as hitting, as it may raise concerns related to human rights (HAM). Additionally, the lack of cooperation between teachers and parents also poses a challenge, especially for *santri* who come from distant regions. This makes communication and discussion more difficult when a *santri* commits a violation, unlike those who live in the vicinity of the *pesantren* (Mustofa & Sutrisno, 2023).

On the other hand, the implementation of punishment can also have negative effects on a child's psychology. One of these impacts is the creation of an emotional gap between the child and the educator administering the punishment. Additionally, punishment may trigger feelings of resentment, which could lead to a desire for retaliation in the future. Furthermore, punishment that solely focuses on sanctions without providing a deep understanding of the mistakes made may be ineffective in shaping better behavior (Kaisaria, 2022). Punishment also functions in enforcing discipline,

where punishment and rewards are used as tools to control santri' behavior. Punishment acts as a stimulus that *santri* seeks to avoid, encouraging them to comply with the established rules (Ma'arif, 2017). Based on observations in the *pesantren* environment, the punishments imposed on santri is a form of the *pesantren's* care in guiding and educating them. There are several types of punishments implemented in the *pesantren*, including minor, moderate, and severe punishments.

*Santri* who commits minor violations such as smoking, leaving the *pesantren* without permission, skipping school, playing cards, or bringing a mobile phone before the time will be subject to sanctions such as cleaning the dormitory (sweeping, cleaning the bathroom/toilet), reading one juz of the Qur'an, reading *istighosah*, memorizing *nadham*, or praying in the front row. Moderate violations, such as often being absent from dormitory or madrasah activities, leaving without permission, or not moving up a level in the diniyah madrasah, are subject to punishments such as reading one juz of the Qur'an every day for a month, cleaning the dormitory yard every day for a month, reading *istighosah*, *Yasin*, *Waqi'ah*, and *manaqib* for a month, or having their hair shaved in front of other *santri*. Serious violations such as peeping on female *santri*, adultery, stealing, or consuming alcohol are subject to sanctions such as being moved to the female dormitory to be humiliated, having their parents called, having their hair shaved in public, or being expelled from the *pesantren* if the violation is considered serious (Nidzomi, 2022).

The implementation of punishment in *pesantren* has a positive impact on shaping santri' discipline, including independence, adherence to rules, time management, and daily behavior. This discipline is reinforced through various *pesantren* programs, such as congregational prayers, *mufradat* (vocabulary learning), *qiro'ah* (recitation training), *Thariqah Naqsyabandiyah* (spiritual practice), *manaqib* (biographical studies of saints), *madrasah diniyah* (religious schooling), and *tafsir* (Qur'anic interpretation) studies. Furthermore, punishment helps enhance santri' motivation to learn, both in daily and weekly activities within the *pesantren*, as well as in their engagements outside of it. The application of punishment also contributes to the refinement of santri' character, making them more aware of the importance of maintaining proper behavior and ethics in everyday life. As a result, santri become more disciplined and strive not to repeat the same mistakes (Dahlan et al., 2024).



## Educational Punishment from Various Perspectives

Emile Durkheim argues that in the field of education, the primary purpose of punishment is prevention. Educators impose punishment not only to prevent santri from repeating the same mistakes but also to discourage other santri from imitating rule-breaking behavior. In behavioral theory, punishment is defined as an unpleasant consequence aimed at weakening undesirable behavior. The behaviorist approach emphasizes that reinforcement should be prioritized over punishment. When dealing with santri issues, teachers are advised to use negative reinforcement first before considering punishment. For instance, if a santri frequently fails to complete assignments, the teacher should not immediately impose a punishment such as additional tasks. Instead, they should first apply negative reinforcement as an initial approach (Dzulqarnaim et al., 2024).

According to Siagian, there are several indicators in the implementation of punishment. First, punishment aims to reduce the likelihood of mistakes occurring in the future. Second, if the same mistake is repeated, a stricter punishment should be applied as a reinforcement of the established rules. Third, every punishment must be accompanied by a clear explanation so that the offender understands the reason behind the action. Fourth, punishment should be imposed immediately after evidence of the violation is found to ensure that the message of discipline is effectively conveyed. (Listiana et al., 2023)

In determining and selecting the type of punishment to be applied, several procedures need to be considered. One of the main factors is the severity and type of violation—where the more serious the offense, the greater the punishment imposed. Additionally, the identity of the offender should be taken into account, including personal aspects that influence their behavior. The punishment must also consider factors such as gender, age, and character of the offender to ensure that it remains educational and does not harm their mental or emotional well-being. The potential impact of the punishment must be carefully evaluated to prevent any negative consequences for the child. Therefore, the form of punishment chosen should have pedagogical value and take into account its effects on *santri*, teachers, and parents (Kosim, 2022).

Punishment does not always have a negative impact; in some situations, it can bring positive benefits. One of its advantages is that it provides santri with the opportunity to correct their mistakes. Additionally, punishment can create a deterrent effect, making santri more cautious and less likely to repeat the same mistakes. It can also motivate santri to improve their behavior in order to avoid

future sanctions. However, if not applied wisely, punishment can have negative consequences. Some possible drawbacks include *santri* feeling pressured and losing interest in learning, becoming discouraged from making an effort, or even resorting to dishonesty to avoid punishment. These issues often arise when teachers or parents fail to implement punishment correctly. If punishment is excessive, it can cause *santri* to feel fearful, lack self-confidence, and lose motivation for optimal personal development (Agustina, 2023).

According to Imam Al-Ghazali, giving rewards or *targhib* is a form of reinforcement that involves offering appreciation or praise to *santri*. Meanwhile, *tarhib* or punishment serves as an educational tool that should only be applied as a last resort. In contrast, Ibn Khaldun opposed the use of verbal punishment on *santri*. He argued that individuals who are accustomed to being educated through harsh discipline—whether they are *santri*, workers, or servants—tend to be negatively influenced by such treatment. As a result, they may feel oppressed, lose motivation, become lazy, and even be driven to dishonesty or engage in undesirable behavior (Zaman, 2018).

From the perspective of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), Al-Khasani in his book *Al-Badai' P'ush Shanai* states that punishment in education is not a form of torture but rather a necessary educational method that must be accepted by children. The Prophet Muhammad (SAW) also emphasized this principle by instructing parents to encourage their children to perform prayer starting at the age of seven. If they still neglect it by the age of ten, mild corporal punishment is permitted as a means of discipline. This indicates that in Islamic education, punishment is intended for correction and improvement, rather than harsh reprimand or retaliation. Therefore, educators must carefully assess the conditions and character of *santri* before imposing punishment, ensuring that it serves as guidance to help them consciously avoid mistakes and develop good behavior according to their personalities (Rahman & Nasution, 2023).

As narrated by Imam Bukhari from Abu Hurairah (RA), every child is born in a state of *fitrah*, meaning they possess an innate belief in Allah. However, their parents and surrounding environment play a significant role in shaping their faith and behavior, determining whether they become Jewish, Christian, or Magian. In the context of *tabfidh pesantren*, punishments for *santri* is adjusted according to the severity of their violations. If a *santri* is found to have broken the rules, they are first given a warning before more serious measures are taken. Punishments may include shaving their head completely or other disciplinary

actions deemed appropriate for the level of misconduct committed (Munawaroh, 2024).

Punishment that is imposed arbitrarily and without a sense of responsibility can trigger feelings of resentment in the individual receiving it. Additionally, it may encourage children to become more skilled at hiding their mistakes out of fear of punishment, rather than genuinely recognizing their wrongdoing. Furthermore, inappropriate punishment can instill an excessive fear that hinders their confidence in taking positive actions. Punishment should only be applied if it fosters moral awareness in santri (Irawati Indah, 2021). Punishment should be the last resort after other educational methods have failed. It must leave a positive impression on santri, making it easier for them to recognize their mistakes and avoid repeating them. Punishment should also be accompanied by forgiveness, as well as hope and trust that the santri is capable of self-improvement and taking responsibility for their actions (Yuniarweti, 2023).

In the *pesantren* environment, not all santri agrees with the implementation of punishment for ethical violations. However, due to the lack of space to reject or criticize these policies, many santri develop an apathetic attitude toward punishment. As a result, instead of fostering a sense of deterrence, punishment often leads to indifference. Some santri even commit violations simply for fun or out of curiosity (*njarag*). In such conditions, punishment becomes ineffective in fostering santri' self-awareness to avoid mistakes. Even when they do follow the rules, it is often driven more by fear of punishment rather than an intrinsic awareness of doing what is right (Mibtadin, 2023).

The standard procedure for administering punishment must be enforced to ensure that santri do not repeat their mistakes. The type of punishment should be agreed upon with the santri so that they understand the consequences of their actions. Punishment must also be measured in terms of its effectiveness in changing santri behavior and should be given in a way that is not intimidating or causes long-term trauma. Punishment should not be imposed if it is beyond the educator's control and must be applied consistently (Maliana et al., 2022). The impact of punishment given to santri can be categorized into three outcomes: santri accept it with an open heart, santri become indifferent, or santri experience trauma (Supandi & Ahmad, 2019). An important concern is the psychological pressure and trauma that some santri experience due to punishment, especially physical punishment. Although this

issue is rarely visible explicitly in *pesantren*, its impact can create a negative perception of the educational institution. If educators disregard proper guidelines, the punishment given may fall into the category of corporal punishment, which carries the risk of causing trauma to santri.

M. Athiyah Abrasi argues that physical punishment is not necessarily effective in addressing santri misconduct; in fact, it may worsen their behavior and encourage them to repeat their mistakes in the future. Instead, fostering emotional awareness in santri has a far greater impact on shaping their character compared to physical punishment (Chandra et al., 2020).

A more effective approach is to instill in santri a sense of responsibility for behaving well in accordance with the values taught in the *pesantren*. This awareness must be accompanied by an understanding that every action has consequences, allowing them to accept punishment as part of a constructive learning process. Although educational punishment has positive intentions, its implementation still has some weaknesses. One of these is the potential disruption of the relationship between educators and santri, which may lead to feelings of resentment on the part of the santri. Additionally, santri may lose interest in the teaching and learning process, becoming reluctant to listen to lessons or withdrawing from classroom interactions (Murdianto, 2024).

In many cases, inappropriate punishment can also trigger aggressive behavior, such as damaging school facilities, or even cause psychological issues like low self-esteem. Properly administered punishment will help santri understand their responsibility for their actions (Apriyani, 2021).

### **Moral Governance in Hybrid *Pesantren*-School Education: An Integrative Analysis of Regulatory and Disciplinary Systems**

This study critically explores the dynamics of moral governance and disciplinary practices within a hybrid education model that integrates formal schooling and *pesantren*-based tahfidh programs, particularly focusing on millennial Qur'an memorizers. Based on case studies conducted at Junior High School Daarul Qur'an Semarang and Senior High School Daarul Qur'an Bandung, the research illustrates that while the integration of general and tahfidh curricula offers a holistic educational framework, its implementation faces notable regulatory and pedagogical challenges. One of the central issues is the mismatch between structurally rigid disciplinary rules and the characteristics of digital-native santri who tend to be adaptive, expressive, and critical of authority. In this context, the study underscores the importance of shifting

disciplinary approaches from being merely punitive toward more educational ones—aiming not only at compliance but at nurturing moral awareness.

Violations are categorized into three main levels—minor, moderate, and severe—with corresponding sanctions ranging from verbal warnings and additional assignments to parental summons or expulsion. The study does more than just catalog these sanctions; it evaluates their effectiveness in shaping character. It highlights that punitive measures, when applied without spiritual or psychosocial guidance, often fail to bring about sustainable behavioral change. On the other hand, the implementation of *tahfidh* methods—such as *sima'an*, *tasmi'*, *wahdah*, *murāja'ah*, and *laub*—proves to be effective not only in improving memorization but also in internalizing values such as discipline, patience, and responsibility.

Moreover, the study emphasizes the need for an adaptive and collaborative *pesantren* management model—one that involves teachers, parents, and community actors in creating an educational environment that supports both academic success and personal piety. From a normative standpoint, this work reflects *fiqh tarbawi* values, which stress that punishment should be formative (*islahiyah*), non-traumatizing, and seen as an act of compassion from teacher to santri. This conceptual foundation enriches contemporary Islamic pedagogical discourse by offering a framework of moral governance that is dialogic, participatory, and context-sensitive—especially relevant in navigating the complexities of *tahfidh* education in the digital age.

The study also opens an important reflection on the long-standing use of punishment as a primary disciplinary instrument in *pesantren* settings. It argues that effective punishment systems must account for justice, clarity, and relevance to the individual development of each santri. By integrating psychological theory, behaviorist perspectives, classical Islamic thought, and educational philosophy, the study presents a multidimensional understanding of discipline. For example, Imam al-Ghazali's balance of *targhib* (encouragement) and *tarhib* (warning) is referenced as a normative model that positions discipline not as intimidation, but as a means of spiritual and moral refinement.

In addition, the study addresses cultural resistance among santri toward authoritarian rule enforcement. Among Generation Z—shaped by digital culture and democratic values—rules imposed without dialogical space may foster apathy, passive compliance, or even subversive behavior such as deliberate mischief (*njarag*). The study thus advocates for institutional reform—

from rigid top-down control to collective awareness—where santri is included as active participants in understanding the purpose of discipline.

This work contributes to the integration of moral governance as an ethical infrastructure for shaping *santri* behavior in *pesantren*-based education. Rather than relying on the severity of rules, character development depends on the degree to which santri internalize ethical values through everyday institutional practices. Drawing from empirical experiences at the two Daarul Qur'an campuses, the study offers contextually grounded recommendations for designing value-based disciplinary policies.

As a result, this study provides an important contribution to the development of contextual Islamic education, particularly in addressing the needs of the millennial generation. It not only engages with tahfidh education at a procedural level but also enriches the normative and pedagogical discourse in Islamic schooling through its emphasis on justice, spirituality, and character development.

From a broader epistemological perspective, the study goes beyond technical aspects of school management and addresses how *pesantren*—traditional religious institutions—must evolve in response to rapidly shifting social realities. The integration of general and religious curricula is shown to be not just an administrative arrangement, but also a reflection of institutional awareness and a commitment to relevance without losing traditional Islamic identity. The proposed model is holistic—blending spirituality, social ethics, psychopedagogical principles, and organizational leadership.

Within this framework, *santri* (student) is not merely passive recipients of school rules, but individuals with agency, moral responsibility, and developmental needs. As such, disciplinary systems must be grounded in dialogue, consensus-building, and shared values. The study presents concrete examples of character-building activities—such as *halaqah tahfidh*, *sima'an*, and *tahfidh camp*—which function not just as memorization tools, but as mechanisms for fostering spiritual discipline and intrinsic motivation.

Importantly, the study also calls attention to the essential collaboration between *pesantren*, schools, families, and communities. Institutional failure in enforcing discipline often results not from weak regulation, but from a lack of synergy and communication among stakeholders. When sanctions are administered unilaterally, without the involvement of parents or supportive counseling, they can lead to emotional detachment rather than moral understanding.

From a policy perspective, this work offers a practical contribution to the formulation of Qur'an-based disciplinary strategies that are responsive to the digital age. For stakeholders—whether at the level of *pesantren* leadership, formal schools, or educational policymakers—this study recommends a paradigm shift: from mechanistic, impersonal punishment toward a more humanistic, restorative mentoring model. The implicit concept of *punishment as care* offers a powerful counter-narrative to traditional authoritarianism and repositions *pesantren* as transformative institutions of ethical education in modern society.

Finally, the study combines empirical depth and methodological rigor with a conceptual approach that is both normative and applicable. It advances the crucial idea that moral consciousness, rather than blind compliance, is the true foundation of character education. This insight is essential for shaping the future of *pesantren*-based education—institutions not only entrusted with producing Qur'an memorizers but also with nurturing ethical individuals who embody Qur'anic values in real life.

## Conclusion

This study concludes that moral governance within the hybrid *pesantren*–school education model at Junior High School Daarul Qur'an Semarang and Senior High School Daarul Qur'an Bandung demonstrates a significant institutional shift in addressing the behavioral challenges of millennial Qur'an memorizers in the digital era. The findings indicate that conventional authoritarian disciplinary frameworks, often reliant on mechanistic and punitive sanctions, are no longer sufficient to foster sustainable behavioral transformation among santri. Sanctions imposed in isolation—devoid of contextual mentoring or psychosocial support—tend to be ineffective and, in some cases, counterproductive. However, when integrated with tahfidh-related pedagogical practices such as *balaqah*, *sima'an*, and *murāja'ah*, disciplinary measures contribute more effectively to the internalization of discipline, responsibility, and self-regulation.

Another key finding of this study is the emergence of cultural resistance among millennial *santri* toward top-down regulatory systems that offer limited space for dialogue. Institutions that operationalize the principle of *ta'dib*—through consistent moral mentorship and cross-stakeholder collaboration—demonstrate greater capacity in cultivating internalized discipline compared to those that rely primarily on formalized administrative punishment. Ultimately,

the study affirms that moral governance in the context of hybrid tahfidh education encompasses more than the effective implementation of rules. The success of *tahfidh* education, should not be measured solely by quantitative memorization outcomes, but by the institution's ability to instill contextually grounded Qur'anic values in shaping the character of millennial learners navigating an increasingly complex and digitalized social landscape.

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