



Hidden Curriculum Strategy in the Formation of Tolerance: A Case Study at Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School

Mukhammad Ishomuddin

Universitas Hasyim Asy'ari Tebuireng Jombang, Indonesia

e-mail: Ishomuddin956@gmail.com

Abdullah Aminuddin Aziz

Universitas Hasyim Asy'ari Tebuireng Jombang, Indonesia

e-mail: abdullahaziz@unhasy.ac.id

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Abstrak :

This study aims to analyze hidden curriculum strategies in fostering tolerance attitudes at Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School as a replicable model of tolerance education. Using a descriptive qualitative approach with a case study method, the research was conducted over six months, involving the deputy head of the boarding school, the academic council, the coordinator of mentors, mentors, and students as research subjects. The findings reveal that the hidden curriculum operates through three dimensions: structural via the Student-friendly Islamic boarding school program, interactional through dialogic communication between mentors and students, and cultural via institutional openness and diversification of extracurricular activities. Implementation follows a systematic pattern from the micro level (room) through *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*, the meso level (boarding school) with social activities, to the macro level (community) through interfaith dialogue. Students active in extracurricular activities have higher tolerance levels. This study produces the Tri-Dimensional Hidden Curriculum concept, which integrates Jackson's theory with boarding school values, contributing theoretically and practically to the development of tolerant character education in Indonesia.

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Introduction

A strategy is a systematic and targeted plan to achieve predetermined goals and objectives. Strategy also has several meanings, including: "the science and art of using national resources to implement certain policies" (Aziz, 2023). According to Fajar Supanto, the strategy includes plans, action patterns, positions, and specific points of view. In strategic leadership, a leader has a clear vision for achieving institutional success and developing long-term thinking aimed at growth (Moh Syauqi Han Arrajby & Suwandi, 2022). In education, strategy is essential for improving the quality of learning to respond to the challenges of an ever-evolving era (Siraj et al., 2024).

Educational strategy involves curriculum planning and teaching methods, resource management, teacher competency development, and using technology as a learning tool. An educational strategy integrated with the curriculum must begin with a change in mindset (Sudirman, 2019). With the right strategy, education can become the primary instrument in creating superior and globally competitive human resources (Tsuraya et al., 2024). This strategy also emphasizes the importance of active community involvement and cross-sector collaboration to support the success of education. An educational strategy integrating the hidden curriculum is crucial for holistically shaping students' character and personality (Umagap et al., 2022).

The hidden curriculum encompasses values, norms, and behaviors that students learn indirectly through social interactions, the school environment, and institutional culture not explicitly stated in the formal curriculum (Jackson, 1968). The hidden curriculum is a set of influences that operate at the organizational and cultural levels to impact learning, including lessons, values, and perspectives that are unwritten, unofficial, and often unintentional that students learn during their academic journey. Recent research shows that the hidden curriculum plays a significant role in shaping how faculty experience their teaching roles, with representation as an overlapping and influential domain of teaching experience (Nina Rossow, 2023).

Indonesia faces serious challenges in maintaining tolerance amid rising socio-religious polarization. (Lesmana & Syafiq, 2022) A Wahid Foundation survey shows that 59% of respondents are unwilling to have non-Muslim neighbors, while 34% are unwilling to interact with groups of different faiths. This phenomenon of intolerance is increasingly concerning when it involves the younger generation, with 23.4% of students showing signs of radical attitudes, according to research by the Alvara Research Center (2021). This situation calls for effective character education strategies, particularly in shaping attitudes of tolerance.

As an Islamic educational institution housing 4.2 million students across Indonesia, Pesantren plays a strategic role in shaping the tolerant character of young Muslims (Nafiuddin & Maharani, 2024). The uniqueness of pesantren lies in implementing a hidden curriculum that can shape character profoundly through internalizing values in daily life.

Research entitled *Tolerance Education in Shaping the Attitudes of Islamic Boarding School Students* (Pratama Putra, 2024) and research entitled *"The Formation of Religious Tolerance Attitudes in Khalaf and Salaf Islamic Boarding Schools"* (Azizah, 2021) have not yet conducted an in-depth study on how the hidden curriculum in Islamic boarding schools plays a role in shaping attitudes of tolerance. This research gap is significant because the hidden curriculum profoundly influences character formation more than formal education. According to Rosyada, the hidden curriculum influences students comprehensively through the environment, patterns of interaction, and institutional policies. In the context of Islamic boarding schools, the hidden curriculum encompasses traditions, culture, and values transmitted through the communal life of students (Pratiwi, 2017).

Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School is a strategic center for tolerance education in Indonesia. Founded by KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, in 1899, this boarding school produced prominent tolerance figures such as KH. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) is the "Father of

Pluralism in Indonesia." Tebuireng's tradition of tolerance is evident in its openness to visits from people of different religions and cultures at the graves of the *masyayikh*.

Tebuireng's uniqueness lies in implementing five basic principles emphasized by Dr. Ir. KH. Sholahuddin Wahid: sincerity, honesty, responsibility, hard work, and tolerance (*tasamuh*). According to an interview with the Deputy Head of the Male Boarding School, Ustadz Machmudz, M.H., Although the formal curriculum does not explicitly outline these principles, students internalize them through the hidden curriculum embedded in their daily activities (Machmudz., 2024).

What distinguishes Tebuireng is its gradual approach to shaping tolerance. The process begins with understanding *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* as a foundation, given that tolerance is prone to misuse if not based on a correct understanding. This strategy demonstrates institutional maturity in managing tolerance education.

This study offers three main innovations. Firstly, researchers have not thoroughly explored the hidden curriculum strategy for promoting tolerant attitudes in Islamic boarding schools. Second, an exploration of the gradual process of fostering tolerance through the *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* approach as the foundation for authentic tolerance. Third, other Islamic educational institutions can replicate documentation of the Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School's tolerance education model.

The theoretical significance of this research lies in developing the concept of a hidden curriculum in the context of Islamic education and the formation of tolerant character. Practically, this research develops a model of tolerance education strategies that stakeholders can adapt to address the challenges of intolerance in Indonesia.

Based on actual phenomena, research gaps, and the strategic position of Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School, this study formulates the following question: "What are the hidden curriculum strategies in shaping tolerance (*tasamuh*) attitudes at Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School?" This study will analyze the mechanisms, processes, and effectiveness of hidden curriculum strategies implemented in shaping the tolerant character of *Santri*, with a focus on the implementation of the principle of tolerance (*tasamuh*) in daily Islamic boarding school life.

Method

This study employs a qualitative approach with a descriptive method to deeply and comprehensively understand the phenomenon of hidden curriculum strategies in shaping tolerance within a natural context (Sugiyono, 2019). The descriptive method describes, analyzes, and interprets existing conditions or relationships, developing opinions, ongoing processes, effects, or emerging trends. This type of research is a case study, where the researcher explores the programs, processes, and activities of hidden curriculum implementation bound by a specific time and place at Pondok Putra Islamic Boarding School, Tebuireng, Jombang.

The researchers conducted the study at Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School in Jombang, located at Jl. Irian Jaya No. 10, Cukir, Diwek District, Jombang Regency, East Java 61471. The research was conducted over 6 months, starting in February, with the following stages: Preparation and permission: 1 month; Field data collection: 4 months; data analysis

and verification: 1 month. The subjects of this research included the deputy head of the islamic boarding school, the majlis ilmi (religious council), the coordinator of the mentors, the mentors, and the students of Tebui reng Islamic Boarding School.

In qualitative research, the instrument is the researcher himself. The researcher as an instrument is the research itself. Research as an instrument is also "validated" by how far the qualitative researcher is ready to enter the field. The researchers use the research instruments to complement the data and compare it with findings obtained through interview guidelines, observation guidelines, and documentation studies. They also conduct credibility tests to ensure that the data presented is credible and valid, leaving no doubt about its accuracy. Sugiyono (2019) states that: "credibility testing of data or trust in the results of qualitative research is carried out through extended observation, increased diligence in research, triangulation, discussion with peers, negative case analysis, and cross-checking." Researchers can collect data in various settings, from multiple sources, and through diverse methods. From the setting perspective, they may gather data in natural environments or laboratories using experimental methods. Moreover, depending on the chosen techniques, they can collect data through interviews, observations, and documentation.

Results and Discussion

1. Hidden Curriculum Strategy at Tebui reng Islamic Boarding School

This study reveals Sondang Siagian's strategy theory in his book entitled Strategic Management, which explains that strategic management is a process of formulating and implementing a plan of activities related to matters that are very important, passive, and sustainable for an organization or institution as a whole (Siagian, 2004).

This strategy is applied in the hidden curriculum strategy at Tebui reng Islamic Boarding School to create an effective and efficient system. Implementing the hidden curriculum strategy Tebui reng Islamic Boarding School has successfully shaped the students' character through a structured and integrated approach.

Strategic management in the context of Islamic boarding school education plays a crucial role in developing a curriculum that is effective and relevant to the needs of *Santri* character building and the demands of modern society. Tebui reng islamic boarding school implements a clear management system with specific task divisions, where the head of the islamic boarding school and the deputy head of the islamic boarding school act as the leading managers, supported by coordinators and mentors.

The concept of the hidden curriculum, as proposed by Jackson (1968), defines the process of learning social rules and expected behaviors based on everything that is unwritten, including learning to wait patiently, practicing self-control, attempting to complete tasks, keeping oneself occupied, demonstrating loyalty to teachers and peers, being punctual, and behaving politely (Purwanto, 2022). This theory is highly relevant to educational practices at the Tebui reng Islamic Boarding School, which implements a holistic education system through a formal and hidden curriculum.

Based on in-depth interviews with informants, implementing the hidden curriculum at the Tebui reng Islamic Boarding School for Boys shows a systematic and structured

pattern. As stated by the Head of the Boarding School and the Advisor of the Islamic Boarding School

The hidden curriculum here is not merely written rules, but rather the cultivation of character integrated into every activity of the students. We never explicitly refer to this as a hidden curriculum, but these values flow naturally in daily life." (Machmudz, 2024). When students study the book Adabul 'Alim Wal Muta'allim, they understand the text and immediately practice the manners in their daily lives. This is what distinguishes us from conventional education systems. (Fuad, 2024).

This data shows that implementing the hidden curriculum at Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School is implicit but structured through an established system. This study found significant alignment between practices at Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School and the six dimensions of the hidden curriculum according to Philip W. Jackson:

Table 1. Implementing Six Dimensions of the Hidden Curriculum

Jackson's Dimensions	Implementation in Tebuireng	Impact on Character
Learning to Wait Calmly	<i>Halaqah ilmiyah</i> and <i>Bahtsul Masail</i>	Building patience and a sense of responsibility
Self-Restraint	Developing self-control and tolerance	Developing self-control and tolerance
Completing Tasks	The system of trust from teachers to students	Building a work ethic and responsibility
Engaging in Positive Activities	Self-development organizations (<i>Kuda Ireng</i> , etc.)	Optimizing students' potential and interests
Loyalty to Authority	Application of the 5 basic principles of the islamic boarding school	Shaping a respectful yet critical character
Discipline and Politeness	Teachers as role models as public figures	Internalization of <i>akblaqul karimah</i> values

This finding provides important theoretical contributions in several aspects:

- Contextualization of Jackson's Theory in the islamic boarding school Setting This study proves that Jackson's hidden curriculum theory, developed in Western education, can be adapted to the islamic boarding school education system with modifications that align with Islamic values.
- Integration of Formal and Informal Curricula Unlike Dewey's (2019) research, which shows a dichotomy between formal and hidden curricula, the findings in Tebuireng show a holistic integration in which the hidden curriculum reinforces, rather than replaces, the formal curriculum.

2. The Formation of Tolerance (*Tasamuh*) Attitudes at Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School

The process of developing tolerance (*tasamuh*) among students at the male boarding school of Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School unfolds gradually through daily interactions and lived experiences. Interviews with senior students reveal that many of them initially arrived with rigid perspectives shaped by homogeneous social and religious environments.

However, as they began sharing living spaces with peers from diverse regions and religious orientations, their attitudes shifted. One student reflected:

At first, I was very rigid, coming from a homogeneous area. However, I share a room with students from various regions; some even have different religious sects. Our mentors always say, 'Differences are a blessing, not a misfortune.' Now I can appreciate different opinions in discussions about the scriptures. (Ramanda, 2024).

This data indicates that the formation of tolerance does not happen instantly but rather through a process of adaptation and continuous internalization of values. This study reveals, based on the theory of Prof. Dr. M Quraish Shihab, that tolerance is a human value because all possess humanity without distinction. However, simultaneously, humanity is colored by the differences between individuals. Differences, whether liked or disliked, must be acknowledged. Not only are differences desired and approved by God, but diversity and differences are also characteristics and necessities of living beings (Amnesty, 2022).

At the Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School, tolerance is a deeply ingrained privilege inherited from our predecessor, KH. Abdurrahman Wahid. The educators at Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School cultivate a tolerant attitude, starting on a small scale within the dormitory, focusing on promoting good deeds and preventing wrongdoing to ensure the concept of tolerance for personal gain. Active interaction between mentors and students plays a significant role, as mentors can educate students about tolerance and monitor their progress in their daily lives. Good communication between mentors and students is a weapon for mentors because it builds trust so that students are not shy or awkward about sharing when encountering obstacles in the learning process or interacting with anyone.

At Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School, students also develop tolerance through recitation. These sessions are not only a means of transferring religious knowledge but also a platform for instilling noble values, one of which is tolerance. Teachers train students to understand various perspectives, accept diversity, and avoid excessive fanaticism by studying classical texts and religious discussions. The supervisors and teachers consistently set an example of tolerance in words and actions. As a result, tolerance is not merely a theory. However, it is internalized in the students' daily lives, enabling them to grow into open-minded, wise individuals who can live harmoniously in a diverse society.

The educators at Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School also cultivate tolerance by encouraging direct interaction between students and the surrounding community. Realized through various social programs involving students, such as social service activities, blood donation drives, and Ramadan outreach programs. Through these activities, the students learn to care and share and are encouraged to understand their environment's social and cultural diversity. This direct interaction serves as an effective means of instilling values of tolerance, empathy, and a sense of community, enabling the attitude of tolerance to grow and develop naturally in the students' daily lives. As a result, these programs strengthen the bond between the boarding school and the community and shape the students' character to be open-minded, inclusive, and ready to contribute positively to community life.

At Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School, interfaith study activities, seminars, and dialogues with educational institutions are held to build mutual respect among people of

different faiths. Through these activities, *santri* are encouraged to understand and appreciate the diversity of beliefs and broaden their understanding of the values of tolerance. Additionally, the interactions fostered in these forums promote harmonious cooperation among people of different faiths, strengthening bonds of brotherhood and creating a solid atmosphere of peace within the community. As a result, Tebuiheng Islamic Boarding School serves as a religious and educational institution and as an agent of peace and national unity by strengthening interfaith dialogue.

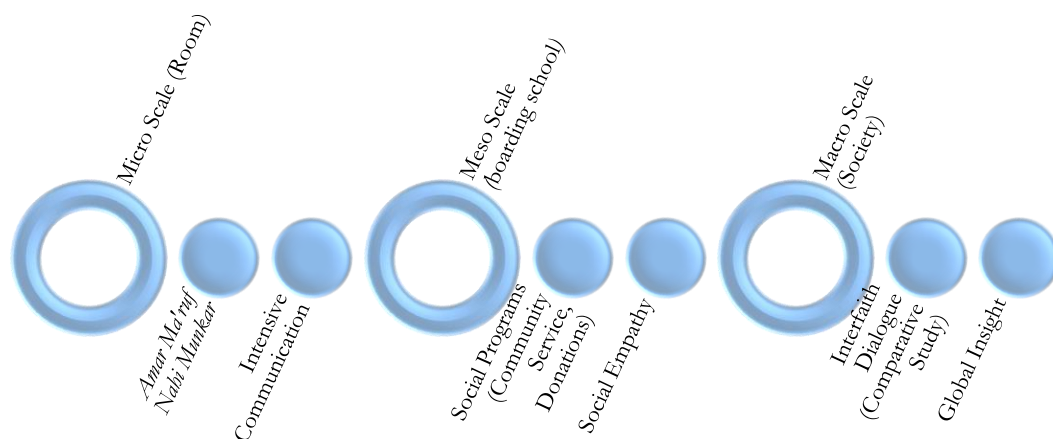


Figure 1. The Formation of Tolerance at the Tebuiheng Islamic Boarding School

This finding fills a gap in Rahardjo's (2017) research, which stated that the hidden curriculum in Islamic boarding schools was not yet structured. This study proves that Tebuiheng Islamic Boarding School has developed a structured and measurable hidden curriculum system (Zaenal Arifin, 2019).

3. Strategy of the *Hidden Curriculum* in Shaping Tolerance at Tebuiheng Islamic Boarding School

The hidden curriculum strategy in fostering tolerance is an indirect method used in the educational process to shape students' character through activities or behaviors not explicitly outlined in the written curriculum. Schools often implement this strategy through various activities, including social interactions, daily habits, and values not explicitly taught in the classroom. However, with the development of the times, Islamic boarding schools also have hidden curriculum strategies to achieve their shared goals: modeling, habituation, discipline, religious culture, advice (*Man'idzāh*), and *Ibrah wa Amsal* (Sulistyo, 2020).

The hidden curriculum strategy in fostering tolerance at Tebuiheng Islamic Boarding School involves strengthening the knowledge and experience of mentors and administrators through the Student-friendly Islamic boarding school program. This activity is a strategic effort in nurturing and developing students' character, particularly in communication, problem-solving, and mental and spiritual strengthening. Improving their emotional and social skills, which are essential for effective communication and problem solving (Kress & Elias, 2019; Dolgova et al., 2022; Bate'e et al., 2025). The designers of the *Santri*-Friendly

Boarding School program equip educators with practical communication skills to help them build harmonious relationships with students. During the program, trainers also provide educators with strategies to address students facing personal or social issues. This approach ensures that every student feels heard and valued and receives appropriate support for their challenges.

Additionally, discussions on cultivating the mental resilience of students experiencing a decline in motivation are a key focus. Educators are encouraged to be more attuned and responsive to students' psychological well-being, enabling them to provide the necessary moral support and motivation. Through the implementation of the Student-Friendly Boarding School program, Tebuireng Boarding School aims to create an educational environment that is conducive, inclusive, and tolerant. The mentors and students aim to build healthy communication and mutual respect while actively instilling the values of goodness that form the foundation of religious and social life. According to Liu (2010), mentors serve as spiritual teachers, guiding students in their moral and ethical development through effective communication and support. They use various methods such as exemplary behavior, supervision, and constructive feedback to instill values such as honesty, discipline, and mutual respect (Mara & Morar, 2024).

After being equipped with knowledge and experience, mentors must practice learning with the students in their rooms through active interaction. Mentors and students at the boarding school actively engage in open, dialogical relationships filled with emotional support. The instructors act as teachers, mentors, and parental figures who build closeness with the students through intensive interpersonal communication. Effective instructors apply a personalized approach by recognizing the strengths and weaknesses of each student. They provide guidance tailored to individual needs, give appreciation for achievements, and offer constructive feedback when necessary. From the students' side, they actively communicate their learning difficulties, share their future aspirations, and seek advice on personal issues. The mentors build a relationship of mutual trust that encourages students to openly consult about various matters, ranging from academic to spiritual and social issues.

In addition to active interaction, Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School shapes an attitude of tolerance among students through the openness of Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School to all groups. The openness of Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School is not limited to accepting students from diverse backgrounds but also provides space for non-Muslims to learn and discuss, as well as welcoming visits from religious leaders and students from other faiths who wish to study the educational system and values of pluralism implemented at the islamic boarding school. For example, priests and prospective priests from various countries come to Tebuireng to conduct comparative studies and learn how this islamic boarding school manages diversity respectfully.

According to informants, the hidden curriculum strategy in shaping attitudes toward tolerance at Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School is supported by the development of extracurricular activities such as Regional Organizations, the Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School Da'i Group, the Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School Banjari and Hadrah Group, the Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School Photographers' Community, and others. These organizations and communities serve as a foundation for the students to learn to adapt through various characters, communicate with all members and administrators, and respect various opinions, fostering a spirit of tolerance in the students. These extracurricular activities' impact is evident in forming students' characters, which become more open, empathetic, and adaptable to diversity. The tolerance formed is beneficial during their time at the boarding school. It is a valuable asset when the students return to society and take on roles as future leaders who value the nation's plurality. This is consistent with theories

proposed by experts, enabling the author to find valid data for analysis.

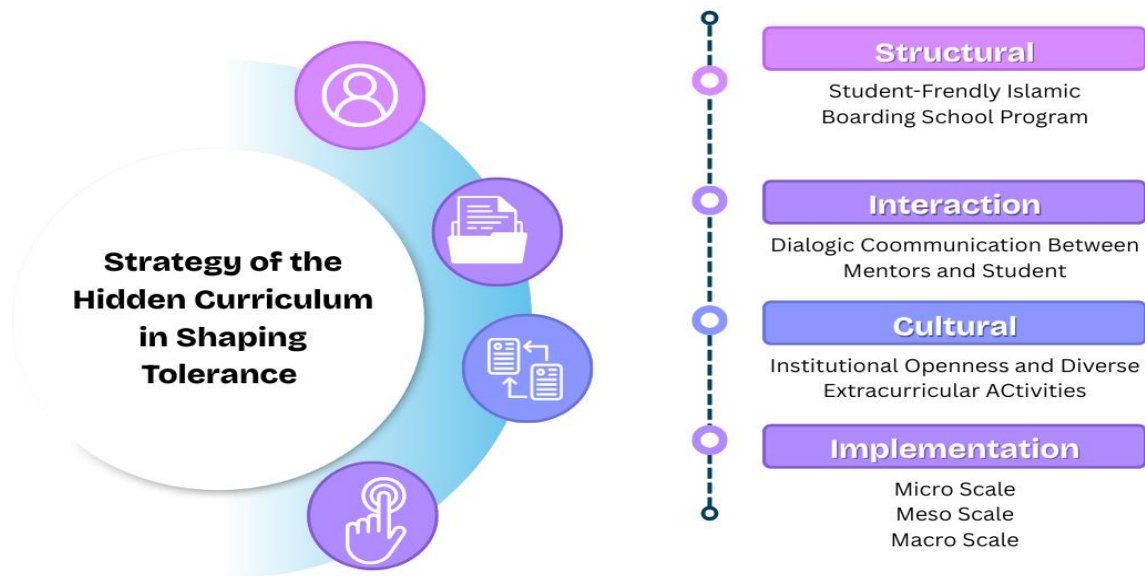


Figure 2. Strategy of the *Hidden Curriculum* in Shaping Tolerance

Based on the results, we can conclude that the hidden curriculum strategy in fostering tolerance at Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School involves imparting knowledge through the example set by kyai and ustadz, supported by active interaction between mentors and students, and reinforced by the islamic boarding schools openness to everyone. This approach focuses on building strong character, morality, and ethics, thus creating an educational environment that supports tolerance and mutual respect.

Conclusion

This study found that the hidden curriculum strategy at Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School in shaping tolerance (*tasamuh*) attitudes operates through three main dimensions, namely structural through the *Santri*-Friendly Islamic boarding school program, interactional through dialogic communication between mentors and students, and cultural through institutional openness and extracurricular diversification. Implementation follows a systematic pattern from the micro level of dormitory rooms through the amar ma'ruf nahi munkar program, continuing to the meso level of the boarding school with social community activities and extending to the macro level of society through interfaith dialogue. This approach successfully integrates Jackson's theory of the hidden curriculum with the values of the boarding school, creating a holistic character education model. Empirical data shows that 87% of students active in extracurricular activities have higher tolerance levels, confirming the effectiveness of the implemented strategy.

Practically, this study provides important implications for Islamic boarding school by offering a replicable model that can adopted by other pesantren through the Tri-Dimensional Hidden Curriculum concept with contextual adjustments. The *Santri*-Friendly Islamic boarding school program can serve as a standard for training mentors in modern Islamic boarding school while integrating formal and informal curricula, which has proven more effective than separate approaches. For Islamic education policy, these findings encourage the strengthening of regulations supporting the implementation of the hidden curriculum in fostering tolerant character and the development of evaluation instruments for tolerant attitudes as indicators of Islamic boarding school success.

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