



BEYOND NORMATIVE INSTRUCTION: THE INTERNALIZATION OF SATLOGI SANTRI IN AN INDONESIAN ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOL

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Abstract: This study explores how Satlogi Santri serves as a framework for local cultural values, shaping students' character and moral awareness at the Zainul Hasan Genggong Islamic Boarding School. The research aims to provide a contextual understanding of value education, beyond normative teaching, by examining it as a lived cultural process. A qualitative approach with an ethnographic educational design was used. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with students, senior students, and pesantren administrators, as well as participant observation and document analysis. Thematic analysis was conducted to examine the relationship among the Santri Satlogi value framework, the process of value meaning, and the embodiment of character in students' daily practices. The findings reveal that Satlogi Santri is not explicitly taught but internalized through shared life experiences, social relationships, and repetitive habits. The values are concretely recognized through the Nine Main Virtues of Santri, which serve as indicators of moral maturity within the pesantren community. This study confirms that character development in pesantren occurs as a sustainable cultural process. It contributes to the development of value education studies grounded in local cultural wisdom and pesantren traditions, emphasizing the importance of lived experience in moral education.

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INTRODUCTION

Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) in Indonesia are not just spaces for the transmission of religious knowledge, but also socio-cultural environments where values, identities, and ways of life are continuously shaped (Bashith et al., 2025; Hussin et al., 2017; Muhajir, 2022). The character education within these institutions is deeply integrated into the daily life of students, where religious, social, and moral dimensions are intertwined (Chanifah et al., 2021; Lafrarchi, 2020; Muhammad et al., 2021). The lifestyle, hierarchical relationships, and continuous traditions within pesantren play a crucial role in fostering character development. Amid broader concerns over the value crisis and declining moral

orientation among the younger generation, pesantren are often viewed as alternative spaces where stable value systems rooted in local traditions are preserved (Amin, 2024; Hidayah, 2021; Roqib, 2021).

However, the understanding of how values work in the daily practices of pesantren students is often simplified as the result of formal teaching or adherence to institutional rules. While previous studies have acknowledged pesantren's role in character education, they largely focus on general habits or normative values, without thoroughly examining the local value frameworks that guide students' moral development. These studies typically describe values such as discipline, responsibility, and solidarity as cultivated through routine and example, but without critically evaluating how students interpret, negotiate, and live these values in a specific pesantren context (Cholil & Parker, 2021; Mujahid, 2021; Amin, 2024).

Moreover, the literature tends to overlook the "hidden curriculum" of pesantren – such as interaction patterns, collective habits, and social relations built within dormitory life – which play a significant role in shaping students' characters (Amin, 2024; Lopes Cardozo et al., 2022; Wijaya Mulya & Salvi, 2025). Studies also emphasize the role of kyai figures, seniority, and pesantren traditions in shaping students' moral ethos, but often stop at general descriptions, failing to explore how these values function as a system of meaning within the specific local context (Achmadin et al., 2024; Fathor Rozi et al., 2025; Prasetyo et al., 2025). This gap highlights the need for a deeper investigation into how local value frameworks, such as *Satlogi Santri* and *Sembilan Budi Utama Santri*, operate within pesantren and guide character formation.

This research seeks to fill the theoretical gap by focusing on the role of *Satlogi Santri* as a cultural value framework that shapes student character. It aims to examine how these values are interpreted, learned, and operationalized in students' daily behaviors, moving beyond mere compliance with institutional rules. The study adopts a qualitative approach and traces the process of value interpretation from the perspectives of students and the pesantren community. This approach views character education as a cultural process that unfolds through lived experiences, rather than a product of formal instruction.

The study argues that character formation in pesantren cannot be separated from the local cultural value framework that is mutually recognized and practiced by the community. *Satlogi Santri* functions not only as an explicit set of values but also as a living tradition embedded in students' social relations and daily practices. By analyzing this framework, the research will offer a contextual understanding of how local values contribute to character formation within the pesantren, providing insights into how values are lived, negotiated, and practiced in real life. This approach challenges the dominant view of character education as merely a normative process and emphasizes the role of cultural practices in shaping moral behavior.

This research contributes to the broader field of Islamic education by presenting a deeper understanding of character formation within pesantren. It highlights the importance of local value systems and their role in the educational

process, making a valuable contribution to the study of value education rooted in local cultural traditions. The findings are relevant not only to Islamic educational theory but also to real-world practices in character education within pesantren, where the integration of local values is crucial in shaping students' moral and ethical development.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research is a qualitative study with an ethnographic approach to education, aimed at understanding how Satlogi Santri lives and works as a system of cultural values in students' daily lives at the Zainul Hasan Genggong Islamic Boarding School. The choice of ethnography is based on the character of the phenomenon being studied, i.e., values, meanings, and social practices inseparable from the cultural context in which they develop (Pacewicz, 2022; Pyo et al., 2023; Van Burg et al., 2022). Satlogi Santri does not exist as a stand-alone concept, but rather as part of the collective life of the pesantren, a life repeatedly lived by students. Therefore, this research is not intended to measure the level of internalization of values, but rather to trace the process by which these values are understood, felt, and manifested in daily practice. The qualitative approach was chosen because it allows the researcher to capture the emotional perspective of the students and the pesantren community, so that the value of Satlogi can be understood as experienced by the research subjects in their real-world context (Moradi et al., 2021; Mulisa, 2022; Taquette & Borges da Matta Souza, 2022).

In line with the research design, data collection involved the researcher's direct involvement in pesantren life, alongside in-depth interviews, participant observation, and the analysis of documents and cultural artifacts related to Satlogi Santri (Deterding & Waters, 2021; Opara et al., 2023; Rutakumwa et al., 2020). In-depth interviews were conducted with students, senior students, and pesantren administrators, all selected for their strong involvement in value-building practices. These interviews sought to explore the experiences, reflections, and interpretations of values throughout their student journey. The researcher engaged in dialogical interaction with the informants to gather their perspectives on how Satlogi Santri is lived. Participant observation was used to immerse the researcher in the daily rhythms of pesantren life, providing contextual insights into how values are practiced and shared within the community. Additionally, documents and cultural artifacts, such as written materials, rituals, and other symbolic expressions of Satlogi, were analyzed to deepen understanding of the values embedded in pesantren life.

This research was carried out at the Zainul Hasan Genggong Islamic Boarding School over a period of six months, allowing the researcher sufficient time to understand the rhythm of pesantren life and the dynamics of social relations that form values. The credibility of the findings was ensured through triangulation, comparing data from multiple sources, repetition of interviews on key themes, and the researcher's ongoing involvement in the field to gain a comprehensive understanding of the subject matter.

Table 1. Research Informant

Informants	Age	Education Level	Background and Role in Islamic Boarding Schools
Santri	16-17 years old	Madrasah Aliyah (MA)	Active students who have been active for more than two years and are involved in the daily activities of the pesantren
Senior Santri	20-22 years old	Religious Higher Education	Senior students who act as role models for junior students and are involved in informal coaching
Santri	17-18 years old	Madrasah Aliyah (MA)	Students with secondary school experience who reflect on the gradual process of internalizing values
Pesantren Administrator	35-45 years old	Religious Higher Education	Administrators who are directly involved in the management of student life and the development of pesantren values

All collected data were analyzed thematically with an inductive approach. The analysis process begins with repeated reading of interview transcripts and field notes to recognize patterns of experience and meaning that emerge naturally from the data (Brownstone et al., 2021; Clinton et al., 2020; Kimmitt et al., 2025). The initial codes were developed from the expressions of informants, then grouped into themes that represented the relationship between the Santri Satlogi, the process of meaning, and the embodiment of the character of the students. The analysis is carried out in a gradual and reflective manner, by continuously comparing data between informants and between contexts of the situation. The credibility of the analysis is maintained through the consistency of the coding process, the in-depth involvement of researchers in the field, and openness to the possibility of reinterpretation when data that enriches or challenges initial understanding is found (Brownstone et al., 2021; Lim, 2025; O'Kane et al., 2021). In this way, the analysis is expected to be able to represent the reality of the values of the Santri Satlogi in a complete and contextual manner.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Result

Santri Satlogi as a Framework for Local Cultural Values of Islamic Boarding Schools

Satlogi Santri is a framework of local cultural values that shape the moral orientation, identity, and daily behavior of students at the Zainul Hasan Genggong Islamic Boarding School. This value was born from the historical experience and collective construction of the pesantren community, and is positioned not as a set of written rules that are administrative, but as a system of shared values that are internalized through the social and spiritual life of students. Santri satlogi consists of six main principles formulated in the acronym "SANTRI", namely manners, ajeg (istiqomah), advice, taqwallah, ridlallah, and sincerity lillahi ta'ala. These six values serve as moral guidelines that direct the way students understand themselves, establish social relationships, and orient their actions in the life of the pesantren. Thus, Satlogi Santri represents a local genius of pesantren that integrates the dimensions of ethics, spirituality, and character

education in one vibrant and sustainable cultural framework. The value structure and its relationship with the daily practice of students are conceptually described in Figure 1.

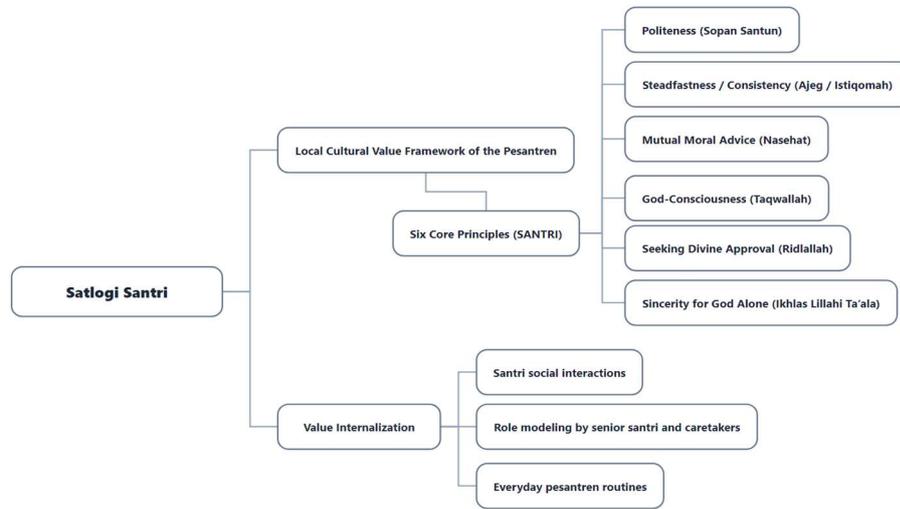


Figure 1. Conceptual Representation of Satlogi Santri as an Indigenous Cultural Value Framework in Pesantren Zainul Hasan Genggong

The meaning of Satlogi Santri is most clearly reflected in the direct experience of students as they navigate their daily lives within the Islamic boarding school. For students, Satlogi is not understood as a concept taught formally but rather as a value that slowly forms self-awareness through social interaction and daily practice. Living in a pesantren environment allows students to interpret Satlogi as a moral guideline embedded in the way they behave and make decisions. One student shared:

"At first, I didn't really understand what Satlogi is, because there are no special lessons about it. But after a long time in the pesantren, we seem to get used to it. The way of speaking must be maintained, the attitude towards the teacher must know the limits, and it feels like a necessity from oneself, not because of fear of punishment." (I_Santri_1_2023)

This experience is echoed by other students who view Satlogi as an integral part of their identity, distinguishing them from life outside the pesantren: "If you have lived in this Islamic boarding school, Satlogi is like being attached. No one tells them directly, but it is their own awareness of how to behave." (I_SantriSenior_2023)

The findings from these interviews suggest that Satlogi functions as an internalized value system, forming moral awareness through life experiences in the pesantren. As reflected in the quotes, students do not gain an understanding of Satlogi through formal lessons or conceptual explanations. Instead, it is through habituation and their immersion in the pesantren's social environment that they internalize the value system. This process makes Satlogi feel like a personal need, not an external obligation. Students' self-reflection on the pesantren's norms leads to the natural adoption of values, such as maintaining proper speech and behavior, and respecting boundaries.

However, the internalization of Satlogi does not remain confined to the pesantren. As students return home, they carry these values with them, demonstrating that Satlogi operates as a sustainable value framework that influences students' moral identity. The experience of living with Satlogi extends to how students view themselves, their social environments, and their actions in different life contexts.

The research also illustrates how Satlogi Santri is reflected in the behavior patterns and social interactions of students in the pesantren. In daily life, students consistently show politeness in communication, maintain respectful behavior towards teachers and peers, and demonstrate discipline in their participation in pesantren activities. These behaviors align with the values of Satlogi, which are also evident in students' adherence to unwritten rules such as humility and mutual respect. Additionally, Islamic boarding school cultural artifacts—such as advice conveyed in recitation and the examples set by caregivers—serve as primary means of transmitting Satlogi values. These practices indicate that Satlogi is not conveyed through formal teaching but is instead brought to life through repeated direct experience and social interaction.

While these findings suggest the natural internalization of Satlogi, it is important to note that the interpretation of these results requires caution. The interpretation is based on interviews with select students and their shared experiences, which may not fully capture the diversity of experiences within the broader student body. Further research may explore variations in the internalization process across different student groups to provide a more nuanced understanding. The findings indicate that Satlogi is embedded in students' lives, but it remains essential to consider how personal and contextual factors may influence the way these values are internalized.

The internalization of the Santri Satlogi as experienced by the students is also reflected in the landscape of pesantren life that they live every day. The values of Satlogi are present not as a discourse that continues to be spoken, but as a social atmosphere that frames the way students move, speak, and interact. In the daily life of the Islamic boarding school, students spontaneously adjust their speech, maintain an ethical distance from the teacher, and show mutual respect for each other without the need for direct instruction. The presence of Satlogi symbols displayed on the gates, dormitories, and strategic spaces of the pesantren strengthens the collective awareness that these values are part of a common identity. More than that, the example of seniors and caregivers is reflected in small but repetitive practices, such as how to give advice, reprimand in fine language, and maintain consistency of attitude. Through this kind of life pattern, Satlogi Santri lives as a habit that forms the self-regulation of students slowly but deeply.

The life of students at the Zainul Hasan Genggong Islamic Boarding School shows that the Santri Satlogi works as a value that flows in daily life, not as a rule that is followed mechanically. The way the students speak, maintain their attitude, and place themselves in social relations shows that Satlogi has become part of their moral consciousness. These values are not present through formal instruction, but grow from habits, examples, and interactions that continue to be repeated in the

pesantren space. This process forms the self-regulation of students slowly, where ethical boundaries are understood and maintained on the basis of awareness, not coercion. In this context, Satlogi Santri not only serves as a marker of the collective identity of the pesantren, but also as a foundation for the formation of a character that is alive and continues to be reproduced from one generation of students to the next.

Construction of the Meaning of the Value of Santri Satlogi in the Life of Islamic Boarding Schools

The construction of the meaning of the values of Satlogi Santri refers to the way students understand, interpret, and live the values contained in Satlogi through daily experiences at Islamic boarding schools. These values are not interpreted as abstract concepts that stand alone, but as life guidelines that continue to be formed and strengthened through social relations, spiritual practices, and repeated interactions in the pesantren environment. In this context, the meaning of Satlogi Santri develops situationally and contextually, following the dynamics of student life. The process of meaning does not take place instantly, but grows over time through the involvement of students in various pesantren activities. Thus, the value of Satlogi Santri is understood as the result of a social construction that is lived values, namely values that are learned, felt, and lived in the practice of daily life, not just memorized or taught normatively.

The results of interviews conducted with several informants show that the construction of the meaning of the value of Satlogi Santri takes place through a process of reflection on the experiences experienced by students in pesantren life. The informant does not interpret values as external rules that must be obeyed, but rather as an inner consciousness formed through involvement in certain social and spiritual situations. When students feel inner discomfort due to violating manners or values, it becomes an internal mechanism that strengthens the meaning of values. In addition, the role of seniors and teachers in providing concrete examples is the main source of the formation of value meaning. This process shows that the meaning of Satlogi Santri is built in a dialogical manner between the personal experience of the students and the norms that live in the pesantren environment. Thus, the value of Satlogi is not only understood cognitively, but is lived as part of the moral identity of students.

In the life of the Islamic boarding school, the process of constructing the meaning of the value of the Santri Satlogi can be seen through the students' responses to various daily situations. When interacting with teachers, students spontaneously adjust their attitudes and language as a form of respect, without waiting for direct direction. In relationships between students, the value of advising each other appears in the form of subtle reprimands and non-judgmental reminders. Situations like this become a space for learning values that continue to be repeated. In addition, the habit of carrying out pesantren activities together strengthens the meaning of istiqomah values and responsibility. Through this experience, students not only know the value of Satlogi, but also understand the moral and spiritual reasons behind it. This process shows that the meaning of the

value of Satlogi Santri is formed through concrete experiences experienced by students in the daily life of the Islamic boarding school. Departing from these findings, the pattern of construction of the meaning of the value of Satlogi Santri experienced by students in the life of the pesantren is summarized in Table 1.

Table 2. Construction of the Meaning of the Value of Santri Satlogi in the Life of Islamic Boarding Schools

Aspects of the Satlogi Santri Value	The Form of Construction of Meaning in Islamic Boarding School Life
Manners	It is interpreted as the awareness of maintaining manners in speaking, behaving, and interacting, which grows through daily relationships with teachers and fellow students.
Regular (Istiqomah)	It is understood as the consistency of attitudes and responsibilities formed through pesantren routines and continuous involvement in joint activities.
Advice	It is interpreted as moral concern that is present in the form of subtly reminding each other without a judgmental relationship.
Taqwallah	It is understood as an inner awareness that directs the behavior of students in social and spiritual situations, not just a ritual obligation.
Ridlallah	It is interpreted as a life orientation that places the attitude and actions of students in an effort to seek Divine acceptance in their daily lives.
Sincerely Yours	It is understood as internal motivation in carrying out pesantren activities without external reward encouragement.

The life experience of students in pesantren shows that Satlogi values are not present as teachings that are completed from the beginning, but as an understanding that grows as they go through the life of the pesantren. The meaning of values is formed when students are faced with social situations, relationships with teachers and fellow students, and the demands of discipline that are lived every day. In this process, the values of Satlogi are not only observed, but considered, felt, and used as a reference in taking a stance. The way students interpret manners, consistency, and mutual advice develops from repeated concrete experiences, thus forming a moral awareness that is personal and collective. Through this process, Satlogi Santri lives as a value that continues to be reinterpreted, not as a static formulation, and plays an important role in the formation of the identity of students as moral subjects in pesantren life.

Nine Main Virtues of Santri as Operationalization of Santri Satlogi Values

The Nine Main Virtues of Santri are a concrete form of the values of Satlogi Santri which are translated into attitudes and characters that can be recognized in the daily lives of students. If Satlogi Santri functions as a framework of cultural values and moral orientation, then the Nine Main Virtues of Santri becomes an operational form that bridges these values with the practice of pesantren life. This main virtue is not understood as a list of normative characters that must be memorized, but as a quality of self that grows through the process of pesantren education. In this context, the Nine Main Virtues of Santri serves as an implicit guide on how a student should behave, relate to, and place himself or herself in

social and spiritual life. Thus, the Nine Budi Utama Santri represents the advanced stage of the internalization of Satlogi, where local cultural values are manifested in a disposition of character that is alive and tested in the daily life of the students.

The experience of students reveals that the Nine Main Virtues of Santri have never been understood as concepts that are specifically taught. Instead, they are recognized through the lived experience of students within the pesantren. Students come to understand these virtues through their daily interactions, facing the demands of discipline, and navigating social relationships. This process of understanding is illustrated by the following statement from a student:

"When it comes to the nine main virtues, to be honest, we have never been told to memorize or explain them one by one. Initially, I just followed the flow of the Islamic boarding school. But after a long time, we come to understand ourselves, oh, it turns out that this attitude is considered good, this is what should be maintained. From the way you talk, the way you respect the teacher, to the responsibility to the small tasks, it all slowly forms a habit." (I_Santri_4_2023)

This experience was also reflected by a pesantren administrator who interpreted the main virtues as signs of maturity, observable in students' daily lives rather than through verbal declarations: "In my opinion, the main virtue can be seen from the daily attitude. Not from people who say they are good. If it has been a long time, usually people can judge for themselves, whether the student can be responsible, can restrain himself, can respect others. It did not appear suddenly, but from the long process of living in a boarding school." (I_Pengurus Pesantren_2023)

To ensure the validity and reliability of these findings, the researcher triangulated data sources and methods. The findings were confirmed through follow-up interviews with different informants, including students and administrators, as well as participant observation. These multiple sources allowed the researcher to cross-check the information and ensure consistency in the reported experiences. Additionally, the data was analyzed at multiple points during the six-month research period, allowing the researcher to observe how the understanding of the main virtues evolved over time. This process of triangulation ensured that the findings reflected a comprehensive and nuanced understanding of how the Nine Main Virtues of Santri are internalized and manifested in daily life.

The students' stories about the Nine Main Virtues show that these values were never present as material that was delivered directly. The experience of "just follow the flow of the pesantren" is the first door for students to recognize what is considered appropriate and inappropriate in the life of the pesantren. In that process, students do not immediately understand the meaning of the main virtue, but experience it through small situations that are repetitive, such as how to speak, behave to the teacher, and carry out simple responsibilities. These habits slowly form the sensitivity of students to values, without having to be given an explicit explanation.

The view of the pesantren management strengthens this picture by placing the main virtue as something that is seen in daily life, not in oral statements. The

main measure of virtue arises from the way students restrain themselves, respect others, and assume responsibility for a long period of time. This kind of assessment is only possible after the students have undergone the process of living in the pesantren, not through a momentary confession. Thus, the Nine Main Virtues grow as a result of a layered life process, where values are recognized through experience, not through direct teaching.

In the daily life of Islamic boarding schools, the existence of the Nine Basic Virtues of Santri is easier to recognize through the way students carry out their daily activities than through formal assessments. Students who are considered to have the main virtue are usually seen from their readiness to carry out their duties, from the way they maintain their attitude when dealing with teachers or seniors, and from their consistency in following the rhythm of pesantren life. In joint activities, such as collective work or daily routines, the difference in attitude between students is clear and becomes the subject of social assessment that is never spoken directly. When a mistaken attitude occurs, the reprimand that appears is generally in the form of a subtle reminder from a friend or senior, not a formal punishment. This kind of pattern makes *budi utama* understood as something that grows from habits and experiences of living together, not as the result of coaching that is forced from outside.

In the daily life of the Islamic boarding school, the value of *Satlogi Santri* seems to be transformed into attitudes and behaviors known as the Nine Main Virtues of Santri, as summarized in Table 3.

Table 3. Nine Main Virtues of Santri as Operationalization of Santri Satlogi Values

The Importance of Self-Esteem	Visible Daily Practices	Meaning for Santri
Honesty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintaining speech • Carrying out the mandate without supervision 	Self-esteem
Responsibilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • complete tasks • accept consequences 	Measure the maturity of students
Discipline	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Follow the rhythm of the Islamic boarding school • Be consistent with the schedule 	Regularity of life
Humility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respect for teachers and seniors • Not standing out 	Harmony in Relationships
Independence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • manage your own needs • take simple decisions 	The process of getting to know yourself
Social Care	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Helping others • Reminding each other 	Togetherness of students
Simplicity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • live as you are • resist desires 	Self-control training
Perseverance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stick to a routine • Not give up easily 	willingness to undergo the process
Attitude Consistency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Same behavior inside & outside the pesantren 	Identity of students

The life of the pesantren at the Zainul Hasan Genggong Islamic Boarding School shows that the values of education do not work through written rules or formal teaching alone, but through the life experiences that students live continuously. Satlogi Santri exists as a framework of cultural values that frames the way students understand themselves, relate to each other, and place attitudes in the life of the pesantren. These values are not introduced as concepts that must be memorized, but grow through habits, social interactions, and examples experienced by students in their daily lives.

The process of interpreting the value of Satlogi develops over time, when students are faced with social situations, disciplinary demands, and relationships with teachers and fellow students. From this process, the values of Satlogi are not only understood, but also lived and used as a reference in taking a stance. The internality of this value is then seen more concretely in the Nine Main Virtues of Santri, which is recognized through the behavior, responsibility, and consistency of the attitude of the students in the life of the pesantren. Thus, the findings of this study show that value education in pesantren takes place as a living cultural process, where values are inherited, interpreted, and realized through continuous shared experiences.

Discussion

The findings of this study show that Satlogi Santri serves as a framework for cultural values embedded in the daily life of the pesantren, shaping students' moral orientation and identity through repeated experiences. Satlogi values are not explicitly taught as norms but are implicitly referenced through students' behavior, speech, and social interactions. Initially, students follow the rhythms and habits of pesantren life, but over time, these values evolve into self-awareness, enabling them to regulate behavior without direct instruction. At an advanced stage, Satlogi becomes both a personal understanding and a socially recognized marker of moral maturity, as evidenced by the Nine Main Virtues of Santri. This process illustrates that value education in pesantren is not a linear instruction-based model but a layered one, connecting cultural frameworks, experiential meaning-making, and the embodiment of character in daily practice.

These findings align with the concept of learning as social participation in communities of practice (Noar et al., 2023), in which learning occurs through the act of "becoming a member" of a community through repetitive practice, rather than solely through cognitive acquisition. The students in this study learn Satlogi values through consistent social interactions, role models, and subtle social reminders, emphasizing the community's role in character formation. Additionally, these findings resonate with Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus (Joseph, 2020), in which values and behaviors are shaped through social experience, gradually becoming ingrained until they become natural to the individual. However, this study expands on the existing literature by demonstrating that local values in pesantren do not merely end with individual internalization. Instead, they are externalized as socially recognized indicators of

character, such as the Nine Main Virtues, which the community uses to assess students' moral maturity in everyday life.

The Nine Main Virtues of Santri, which serve as concrete manifestations of Satlogi values, challenge the conventional understanding of character formation in educational settings. In pesantren, character is not assessed through formal evaluation systems or moral declarations, but through stable, consistent practices such as responsibility, self-restraint, and respect for others. Character assessment is embedded in students' social interactions and participation in daily life, rather than relying on formalized assessment mechanisms (Burholt et al., 2020; De Felice et al., 2023; Folkes, 2023). This finding challenges the prevailing trend in character education literature that tends to emphasize measurable behavioral indicators. It highlights how cultural communities, such as pesantren, use their own internal markers and practices to evaluate and read the character of their members (Connelly et al., 2022; Muthukrishna et al., 2020; Purwaningsih & Ridha, 2024). In this context, character is "seen" in habitual practices, not "expressed" through formal words or declarations.

The findings also reveal the importance of social interaction and community in fostering moral and ethical development. In contrast to formal educational systems that often rely on explicit instruction or standardized assessments, pesantren create a community-based environment where values are passed down and internalized through everyday social practices. This aligns with the idea that education is not merely about the transmission of knowledge but involves becoming part of a social group that collectively upholds and practices certain values. These findings suggest that in traditional, community-based educational systems like pesantren, character development is inherently tied to the community's culture and shared practices, thereby reinforcing students' commitment to these values in their daily lives.

This study contributes to the existing literature on character education by offering a comprehensive mapping of how local genius-based value systems, such as Satlogi Santri, shape moral identity. Unlike previous studies that typically describe values or focus on habituation practices, this research provides a deeper understanding of how values operate at the practical level to shape students' self-regulation and moral identity. It emphasizes that values in pesantren are not abstract concepts but are lived and experienced through daily practices and social interactions. In doing so, this study underscores the importance of considering the local context and cultural practices when examining character education.

Furthermore, this research broadens the understanding of character education by framing it as a dynamic, evolving cultural process rather than a static transmission of institutional norms or external programs. By viewing Satlogi Santri as a cultural framework that guides students through lived experiences, this study challenges the dominant view of character education as merely a set of prescribed behaviors. It offers a more nuanced approach, highlighting the significance of context, community, and lived experience in shaping character, thereby providing a richer understanding of moral and ethical development in traditional educational settings like pesantren.

CONCLUSION

This research challenges the simplistic view of value education in pesantren, which often assumes that student character is primarily formed through formal teaching or obedience to rules. Field findings reveal that Satlogi Santri operates more subtly and profoundly, as its values are integrated into students' daily lives. Rather than being taught as a concept to memorize, Satlogi is experienced through shared practices, social interactions, and personal reflection over time. The Nine Main Virtues of Santri are not merely normative standards but socially recognized measures evident in students' habits, responsibilities, and consistent attitudes. This process highlights that character formation in pesantren is shaped by lived experiences rather than direct instruction.

The study contributes to the broader field by offering a contextual understanding of culture-based character education. It reframes pesantren not just as institutions for transmitting teachings, but as active cultural spaces that reproduce values through everyday life. This perspective emphasizes the importance of local context and lived experiences in shaping character. By viewing value education as lived rather than merely taught, this research encourages future studies to explore how character is formed within tradition-based communities, offering a more dynamic and contextual approach to moral education. The study's contribution lies in shifting the focus from normative instruction to the cultural processes through which values are inherited, negotiated, and lived.

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