



## STUDENTS' RESISTANCE TO TENGKU DAYAH'S AUTHORITY

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### ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the resistance of students against authority of Tengku Dayah in Aceh. The scholarship on Dayah education in contemporary Aceh shows the resistance of santri (students) to the regulations that apply in the Dayah. But so far, studies that address the theme of resistance have not received adequate attention. Based on qualitative data collected through in-depth interviews, observation, and documentation studies, using Michel Foucault's theory. This article argues that the resistance carried out by the santri in the Dayah occurred because of their discourse on the rules and regulations that had been set, and the authorities of the Tengku occurred because of two dominating things, science, and epistemology. In line with that, this article emphasizes that the resistance of santri to the authorities of the Tengku includes various forms, namely: often being late during ablution, students sleeping during tahajjud, buying iftar outside the Dayah complex and eating during breaks, not attending privately for reasons sick, leaving the complex by climbing the fence, not wearing a white robe during Friday prayers

### Introduction

Students' adherence to the rules of the pesantren has a positive correlation with their life in the pesantren (Ma'rufah et al., 2014). Az-Zarnuji also expressed the same thing that the blessing of knowledge will be obtained when students obey the orders of the kiyai. (A. Dardiri, 2017). This shows a portrait of the picture of life in the pesantren and the obedience of the santri is behavior and good deed that will benefit the perpetrator.

However, the above statement cannot be used as a full reference, researchers still found that there were students who violated the Dayah rules and did not obey the orders of the Tengku, this was seen by the presence of some students getting punished during study hours, such as:

cleaning the bathroom (kulah and wuduk places), lifting stones from the river to the Dayah complex by using burlap, cleaning ditches, bald heads and so on (observation made in 2020).

The phenomenon above is an example of a form of punishment as a result of the resistance made by students against the authorities of the Tengku through the Dayah rules that must be obeyed. Every day the santri must be in a circle of Tengku authority, if they get out of the circle then they mean they have put up a fight and will get punished. (an interview carried out with Maulana Zikri in January 2020)

According to the Tengku, the punishments, rules, and regulations applied by the Dayah institution are the only as tools to discipline the santri according to the traditions of the Dayah (Interview with Tengku Bunaiya January: 2020). Borrowing Foucault's theory, this disciplinary process is indirectly a process of sustaining the authority of the Tengku, while the disciplinary system is a system that ensures that authority works. (FOUCAULT, 1980).

This disciplinary process continues to be carried out by the Tengku Dayah, as in an interview with Tengku Muhammad Iqbal who stated: "The lam Dayah regulation kamoe peget kenlah kenlah is anecdotal from freedom, but the rule is kamoe peget nak tapeubet room for failure in achieving goals" (an interview with Tengku Muhammad Iqbal January: 2020) The Dayah regulations are not meant to narrow the space for movement, but these regulations are to narrow the space for failure to achieve goals.

The discipline of carrying out the routine of the Dayah rules makes some students feel that they are always being watched and controlled by the Tengku, so there is resistance because they do not want to be always observed and controlled by the rules, this is based on the confession of a santri: rushed, the CCTV regulations tell you to just run the kenong (interview Ahmad Diyaul Wara January: 2020)"

The two statements conveyed by Tengku Iqbal and Ahmad Diyaul Wara above, show that there is a social gap, namely the compulsion of santri in carrying out the Dayah rules. The compulsion of this santri shows the existence of authority at work in the Dayah institution, this is in accordance with Michel Foucault's statement "When someone acts by force, that's when authority works." (Michel Foucault, 1978).

The authority of the Tengku can be seen when the students act compulsorily in carrying out the Dayah routine, such as the compulsion shown by some students when they are going to perform the tahajjud prayer. They get up to pray but they put up a fight, although sometimes the resistance they do is only in the form of slamming the bedroom door when leaving the bilek (dormitory), slowing the way when leaving the mosque, and often leaving the Dayah complex

(observation). This kind of resistance, Michel Foucault calls rebellion (Kamahi, 2017), while Antonio Gramsci called it resistance (Siswati, 2018). However, to refine the language, in this study, the term resistance is used. Although indeed, there are also many students who do not feel forced by the authorities of the Tengku, this can be seen in some students who are so obedient and obedient to the rules and regulations that are applied, this is due to normalized authority. (Martono, 2014).

In literature, this kind of research is still minimal for public consumption, but there are several studies that are in the same direction but with different goals and the theory used, such as: "Women's Resistance to Traditions in Islamic Boarding Schools Critical Discourse Analysis of Novels of Women with Turbans" in the study the researcher said that a woman who is intelligent, brave, critical of the hegemony of the pesantren that has been happening so far, such as the authoritieship between the santri and the kyai (Adnani et al., 2016). In literature, this kind of research is still minimal for public consumption, but there are several studies that are in the same direction but with different goals and the theory used, such as: "Women's Resistance to Traditions in Islamic Boarding Schools Critical Discourse Analysis of Novels of Women with Turbans" in the study the researcher said that a woman who is intelligent, brave, critical of the hegemony of the pesantren that has been happening so far, such as the authoritieship between the santri and the kyai.

An article entitled Charismatic -Visionary Leadership of Tengku in Developing the Role of Dayah Mudi Mesra Samalanga, Bireun, Aceh, is one of the articles that studies the charismatic Tengku Dayah. The article states that the authority of the Dayah leadership is formed through charismatic origins from his persistence in carrying out Islamic teachings, with this capital the leader is respected and respected with respect and ta'dzim without any objections. (Arifin & Rahmi, 2020). This research only focuses on the authority of the Tengku authority with its charismatic nature which does not get resistance from the santri, while this article wants to explain the resistance of the santri due to the authority of the Tengku Dayah by using Michel Foucault's theory.

## **Research Method**

This research was conducted on several well-known Salafiah Dayahs in the Regency/City in Aceh, the selection of these locations as the research locus because all Salafiah Dayahs in Aceh have the same traditions and goals. This study uses a qualitative descriptive approach to field research, namely: "a method for examining a condition, thought or event at

the present time, which aims to make a descriptive picture or painting in a systematic, factual and accurate manner regarding the facts, nature of -the nature and relationship between the phenomena under investigation” (Nazir & Sikumbang, 2009). The data were collected in the field using two ways, namely unstructured observation. The observations were carried out without using observation guidelines so that researchers develop their observations based on developments that occur in the field (Bungin, 2017). The data collection methods also include in-depth interviews, in which researchers explore information in depth by being directly involved with the lives of informants and asking and answering questions freely without pre-prepared question guidelines so that the atmosphere is lively, and carried out many times. Interviews were conducted face-to-face with informants (face to face) and online (mail intercept interviews).

After all the data is collected, then the researcher describes the results of the research that the researcher did through the theoretical framework described by Michel Foucault, namely a rebellion that occurred due to a discourse contained within him and authorities that have legitimacy and legality, one of which is legitimacy and legality that will be obtained with science, and the authority will work when the behavior and mindset are not in accordance with the current conditions. Then, rules and regulations will be formed to return the behavior and mindset to what is appropriate and desirable. (Michel Foucault, 1978)

### **The Authority of Tengku Dayah**

Kyai and Tengku Dayah have authority in an institution where he has a policy over the institution he leads (Solichin, 2018). Michel Foucault mentions that only authorities occur because two things dominate:

#### **1. Science**

Authority occur because the existence of knowledge and knowledge will produce legitimacy and this legitimacy will make a person have authority. (Michel Foucault, 1978). Science and authority cannot be separated, both have a symbiotic mutualism and are likened to a sword that has two eyes where on the one hand authority will give birth to knowledge, and on the other hand knowledge will gain authority, so there are those who say that knowledge and authority are true partners and dual in an interaction. (Nirzalin Armia, 2014). Likewise, with the authorities possessed by the Tengku Dayah, he gains authority through the legitimacy of science, because authority will not survive if there is no legitimacy in other words legitimacy is an ontological requirement in authority because basically legitimacy makes the legalization

of a authority. (Peter L Berger, 2012). Science gives legitimacy to someone to become a leader where the leader has absolute authority he can act as a catalyst that can change the system for the better (Malla et al., 2020). The knowledge possessed by a Dayah santri will later earn him the Tengku title, and the Tengku title makes legalization of the authority he has, besides that the Tengku title has three other foundations that support his authority to run comprehensively including:

a. Keuramat

Keuramat is an event that occurs to a person outside the logic or normal human behavior. Shaykh Ahmad bin Muhammad in his book *Syarah Sawi 'ala Jauharata Tauhîd* mentions that keuramat (karamah) is one of the abilities that are out of the ordinary (kharijul 'adat) (Muhammad, 1999), this is also justified by Abi Ja'far Lung Angen who said that keuramat is something that violates human habits and this charity is not traded, this charity is purely a gift from the khaliq to his pious servant, namely a wara 'servant, zuhud and never commits a small sin, let alone a big sin, then he will get this blessing (an interview conducted with Abi Ja'far Februari: 2020)

This sacredness is often found in the interactions among the Dayahs, although it is not visible to the naked eye, it is believed to have belonged to the Tengku Dayah, according to the statement by Ismawan Fahmi, a santri from Kotacane who is staying at the Mudi Mesra Samalanga Dayah:

*“bak Tengku na keuramat yang Allah som sama sit lage Allah som lailatul Qadar bak malam puasa dan Allah som ridha dalam but ta'at maka supaya nak jroh hudep donya akhirat tanyou santri beutapateh haba Tengku”* (wawancara Ismawan Fahmi Januari: 2020). In my neck there is a karamah that Allah hides just like Allah hides lailatul qadar on the night of fasting, and Allah hides pleasure in doing obedience, so in order to get a happy life in this world and the hereafter, obey the obstacles of the neck..

The santri's confession illustrates that piety has made the authoritieship of the Tengku stronger, where with this sanctity the santri do not dare to simply violate the orders of the Tengku, and this kindness is certainly obtained through knowledge, namely by doing charity according to their knowledge so that Allah gives him something that is considered sacred by students in general.

b. Beureukat (Blessing)

Abi Sudir explained that bereukat and keuramat are things that are commonly owned by a Tengku. Just as piety is an attribute given by Allah to someone who has deep religious

knowledge and asceticism, so also beurekat is only obtained by people who are zuhud. The generosity of a Tengku, will make him have blessings including; the necessity of praying Tengku to Allah, the ability to provide medical assistance to others, for example keuramah abu kuta krueng who can heal people through the intercession of water which is read a prayer and then drunk for the sick. (wawancara Abi Sudir Februari: 2020)

This bereukah has made Tengku have a strong authority where with Tengku's blessing, students will always obey the rules and regulations that have been made, this is acknowledged by several students: "Menyou perle hudep happy donya ngen hereafter and ilme teuh beurekah then patch haba , Narit's orders are against tuto gure and defender na denies the advice of Gobnyan" (interviews with Ishak, Farhan, Syarkawi, Dzarkasyi January: 2020). If you want to get a happy life in this world and the hereafter and knowledge that is blessed then listen to Tengku's words and never argue with his words.

The student's confession above shows that, with the beurekat (blessing) on a Tengku, the Makasantri will always obey the rules and orders of the Tengku. So indirectly, the blessing has given legitimacy of authority to the Tengku, the blessing is also a support to strengthen the authorities owned by the Tengku.

c. Temeureka

Temeureka is an act that is not commendable and has no ethics carried out by santri to Tengku. This temeureka will be fatal for the life of the santri in the future (not feeling the peace and comfort of life) (Nirzalin Armia, 2014). Temeureka can be in the form of actions or words of students that cause Tengku's heart to feel hurt, therefore students will not get blessings in their lives. One of the examples that Abu Mudi often narrates to his students is that during the Abon Abdul Aziz period there was a student who was very famous for being smart but his intelligence brought disaster to him because he did not heed the words of his teacher. At that time there was one book that should not be read because its contents were wrong from the perspective of the Sunnah wal Jamaa'ah expert, but the smart santri, felt what was wrong if he only read and saw it, of course, it was not wrong, so he read the book, and in the end, people find their lives adrift overseas. (wawancara Teuku Muhammad Ihsan Januari: 2020)

Based on a story that is told, teutheya is also a Tengku legality to strengthen its authoritieship with the negative consequences that arise from temeureka to a Tengku. Therefore, a santri does not dare to fight against the Tengku, he will always obey the Tengku rules even though sometimes the discourse is not in line with the rules he has. Apart from that, there are also students who do not believe in the term teumeureka. This can be proven by the

fact that there are still students who violate the rules and regulations of the Dayah that have been made by Tengku.

## 2. Epistem.

In addition to science, Foucault also mentions that authority occurs because of epistem, namely the knowledge of an era about the way of life and mindset, when an era is not in accordance with the epistem then authority will work (Michel Foucault, 1980). Likewise, with the authority possessed by the Tengku Dayah where when the Tengku get santri behavior, styles, and ways of life that are not suitable for a santri and not in accordance with local customs, the Tengku will make new rules and regulations will be applied as a control to prevent santri do not do good, this is in accordance with what is conveyed by Tengku Hanafiah.

*“Peraturan lam Dayah kamoe peget dengan mekalen kemaslahatan, dan apabila tarumpok na but-but santri yang hana pantas baik secara syarak dan adat maka akan tapeget peraturan supaya para santrinyou bek le dipubut-but yang model menan, jadi peraturannyou hana bersifat selamajih hanya saja wate dibutuhkan maka akan tamufakat dan tapeget peraturan”* (wawancara Hanafiah Januari: 2020)

The rules that we carry out in the Dayah by considering the benefits of these regulations, if there is a student's behavior that is not in accordance with syara' and custom, we will make a rule to prevent students from doing this, this rule is not permanent, it's just that this rule is made according to the situation. and conditions required.

Tengku Hanafiah's statement illustrates that the treatment of a santri must be in accordance with local customs by upholding the local wisdom of the Dayah tradition where he lives. If the santri do not comply with these customs, regulations will be made, because the traditions of Islamic boarding schools in Aceh also rely on the Book of Allah, as the Aceh motto says the custom is like *poe temerehom*. This motto is very much in line with a motto of Minang philosophy which says "adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah (Amsal et al., 2020). The facts above show that the Tengku perpetuate the traditional pesantren tradition in the form of regulations or what is called the Tengku authority.

This epistem will certainly change according to the times and the times as well as the rules and regulations in the Dayah will change according to the situation and conditions needed, otherwise it will not appear that the Tengku authorities only carry out the rules monotonously without following the times. This can be seen when the management changes every year, it can

be seen that there are always new policies and changes that occur in the Dayah, as expressed by the head of the Mudi Mesra Dayah congregation for the academic year 1440:

*Jinoe wate lon duk sebagai kabag jamaah, peraturan set tetap tajalankan akan tetapi na padum-padum boh ata yang baroe yaitu shalat duha berjamaah dan baca waqiah serta puasa sunat, lhev nyan wajib dzuha bagi yang gotong royong* (Wawancara Tengku Muhammad Hasan Januari: 2020)

Now when I am serving as the head of the congregation, the rules remain the same but there are some additional regulations that we will implement such as the dhuha prayer in the congregation, the reading of waqiah letters, circumcision fasting, and the obligatory dhuha prayer for students who work together..

The epistem applied in the Dayah is formed through rules and regulations for the realization of the purpose of Dayah education, namely preparing students to become pious, which will be useful for personal life, family, and the surrounding community. In general, Islamic boarding schools/Dayah have the aim of being able to guide students to become human beings with Islamic personalities who with their knowledge are able to provide changes to a better direction for the community both with lectures and behavior (Saifuddin, 2016). Therefore, when the path chosen by the students deviates from the main goal of Dayah education, the Tengku will make new rules and regulations to return the students who have gone the wrong way to their original destination, this is because the Dayah is a coaching institute that has the role of educating values. normative in order to be able to play a role in accordance with applicable norms (Hidayat, 2017).

### **Perlawanan santri**

In general, the Tengku authorities are formed from science and lead the Tengku to become sacred, beurekat, and teuthey, through this authority the Tengku will always be considered a role model and will not form a rebellion because the students are afraid that there will be 'iqab akabat from resistance. the (wawancara Ismawan Fahmi Januari:2020)

Tengku authorities originating from the epistem ultimately form a rule and these rules are the resistance of the students, this is based on the results of the author's interviews with some students who like to violate, they say that the rules and regulations of the Dayah are too disciplined to make us have no freedom, this causes us to break those rules in order to gain freedom (an interview with Ahmad Diyaul Wara January: 2020). This shows that the dominant factor in the emergence of resistance by santri is because they feel compelled by the rules and

regulations applied in the Dayah, even though according to the researcher, there is nothing wrong with the Dayah rules, but the students who fight feel that their lives have been dictated and their freedom has been restrained by the rules and regulations of Dayah. For them, the ideal life is a life that is not bound by applicable rules and regulations (an interview with Khusyairi Januari: 2020).

Foucault mentions that when someone fights with the capital that is in him, he (the rebel) has been controlled by a discourse (Michel Foucault 1980), as well as the santri when they fight against the Dayah rules, meaning they have been controlled by a discourse of free life, what they get when they return home and see their peers who live so freely without rules and regulations that are so binding even though they are both at the same level of education (an interview with Zulfahmi Januari: 2020).

This rebellion will continue as long as they do not have freedom in their lives and as long as they still have a discourse on the rules and regulations of the Dayah. This is indicated by the fact that every day there are students who increasingly violate the Dayah rules, and there are also students who get punished every day (observation made in January 2020).

The following are some of the Dayah rules and discourses that the students have and the forms of resistance that the students take, including:

a. Purposely being slow during Wudhu'

This form of resistance often occurs when it is time for the wardib and tahajjud (observation) prayers. Tengku implements his authoritieship through a regulation "prayer in congregation on time, but some students have a discourse, it is not necessary to pray on time, it is important to pray because prayer has muwasa (wide) time (Interview). This Tengku regulation and santri discourse eventually formed a resistance to the congregational prayer rules at the beginning of time by often delaying during ablution 'and lazing around when going to the place of ablution (observation). Finally, as a result of their rebellion, they were also sentenced to clean the yard and bathroom. The punishment they received as a result of their resistance was a form of Tengku authorities that continued to work when they saw the behavior of the students who were not in accordance with the Dayah regulations at that time.

a. Sleeping during Tahajjud

The tahajjud prayer is an obligation for students (the mandatory regulation of the Mudi Mesra Samalanga Dayah TA 1441 H / 2020 AD), but this obligation has been given negative responses by some students, marked by the large number of students who oppose these

regulations in the form of still sleeping during the tahajjud prayer schedule. Resistance to this regulation occurs because the santri have a discourse that the practice of circumcision such as tahajjud should not be required of them, the santri, because they are tired of the obligatory practice, this discourse then raises resistance.

b. Buying fast breaking menu outside the Dayah dan and eat before the break

Fasting is an obligation for every Muslim who is mature and reasonable, but for Dayah students are also required to fast sunnah such as: 'ashura, tasu'a, rajab and syakban. This is an obligation for the santri, but this obligation is often violated/opposed because it is not in accordance with their discourse, as stated by Fuadul Hadi "amaliyah sunnah does not have to be obligatory because it is feared that it will abort obligatory practices such as studying, with the excuse of a hungry stomach. will make students not focus on studying (interview Khairul Fani January: 2020)". The discrepancy between the Dayah regulations that require circumcision fasting and the discourse of the santri eventually led to resistance such as buying food outside the Dayah complex and eating during recess when there were no Tengku on patrol (observation).

d. Going back to the dormitory saying that he/she is sick so that he/she does not join the private class

Private is one of the authorities of the Tengku which is formed through an epistem, namely when the Tengku see that many students cannot read the bare/yellow book due to their negligence, then the Tengku applies regulations to require students to study privately after studying at night (interview with Tengku Muhammad Iqbal January: 2020 ). But the students have different discourses, for students, studying at night for a long time is very adequate (tgk Ahmad Diyaul Wara). Thus, when the discourse of the santri appeared in response to the Tengku rule, there was resistance from the santri in the form of excuses for being sick and returning to the dormitory so as not to follow the privacy rules as stipulated.

e. Standing up in the class during Islamic lectures

One of the learning methods applied by Dayah educational institutions, in general, is memorizing ([https://www.mudimesra.com/p/i\\_3.html](https://www.mudimesra.com/p/i_3.html), n.d.), Every santri is required to memorize either in the form of rules to smooth lines such as the Lawael book, the Jariah Dzamon, Alfiah Matanbina or the rules related to law and monotheism such as Matan Jauharah, Sulam Munawarah, (Curriculum Dayah Mudi Mesra 1441 H). However, in the application of this memorization method, there were some students who resisted. This can be seen by the presence of several students who were given a standing sentence in class during the recitation.

They argue that knowledge does not have to be memorized, knowledge is something that can provide benefits, and it shouldn't have to be memorized as long as the students understand the subject matter, then this is enough. (Ismawan Fahmi interview January: 2020)

f. Smoking during break

All students are prohibited from smoking in the Dayah complex. This rule is applied by the Tengku because smoking is a bad act and can harm the students. The prohibition of smoking for students is based on the hadith "la dirara wala dirara". However, this rule is often met with resistance from students. This is clearly seen by the number of cigarette butts and the smell of cigarettes when entering the students' rooms. Even during recess and at midnight, when the Tengku has rested, some students smoke (Dusuki interview January: 2020).

g. Sneak out by climbing the fence

The Tengku authority is formed further through the epistem, namely the regulation which states that every santri is required to be in the Dayah complex and may not leave the complex without the permission of the Tengku council (Dayah Mudi Mesra regulation 1441 H). This regulation gave rise to a discourse from santri stating that "we should not be confined in the Dayah complex, what's wrong when we are bored due to tiredness of learning, we go out of the Dayah complex to look for something new" (interview Ahmad Zaki: 2020). Departing from these regulations and discourses, santri resistance emerged in the form of climbing the fence and leaving the Dayah complex to find a new atmosphere, to eliminate boredom with various Dayah rules and regulations that must be followed at all times.

h. Sleeping in the dormitory when the communal work bell rings

Public mutual cooperation in the Dayah complex on Fridays is the obligation of all students (observations and interviews with several Tengku Dayah: 2020), but this obligation often gets resistance from students because it is not in accordance with the discourse they have, as expressed by Ahmad Zaki:

*" adak mendeh uroe pre bet bek na kegiatan sapu-sapu hare nak mangat ta istirahat dan ta rileks kedro teuh, man menyou sit ka gepawajeb lagenyo, maka salah saboh jalan kadang kamoe me pesaket-saket dro dan meeh dalam bilek "* (Ahmad Zaki Santri Mudi Mesra Januari: 2020)

There should not be any activities on holidays so that we can rest and relax a little, so if it is also mandatory, one way we can do it is to pretend to be sick and rest in our room.

Sleeping in the room with the excuse of pretending to be sick is a form of resistance carried out by the students when the mutual cooperation regulations required by the Tengku are not in accordance with the discourse they have.

i. Do not wear necessary praying attributes

One of the regulations that are required for Dayah santri is to equip themselves with worship attributes such as "wearing siwak, tasbih and turban." ([https://www.mudimesra.com/p/i\\_3.html](https://www.mudimesra.com/p/i_3.html), n.d.). This regulation is considered inconsistent with the discourse. Some students state that wearing a siwak, tasbih and turban will only make them late in the congregation because they are preoccupied with small objects that only function as sunnah, not an obligation in worship (interview Ahmad Daman Huri January: 2020). The regulation regarding the obligation to wear worship attributes is not following the discourse of some students, so they also fight by not wearing a turban, siwak and tasbih when praying in congregation in the mosque.

j. Do not wear white clothes on Friday's Prayer.

Friday prayers are obligatory for Muslim men who are mature and reasonable (Al-Mahally & As-Suyûti, 2012). However, there are different things for the Dayah students regarding the obligation to complete the Friday prayer, the Tengku require the students to wear white robes (Dayah Mudi Mesra Samalangan Regulation 1441 H). This regulation is also not fully complied with, some students oppose this provision by not wearing it and only wearing good and polite clothes. The results of the researcher's interview with several students who wore ordinary clothes during their Friday prayers said that:

*"Jak Jum 'at nyan memang wajib akan tapi baje jubah putih jak jum 'at hana gepawajib dalam agama hanya saja sunnah sagai, maka asai katapakek baje yang get dan gleh ka bereh ka glah fardhu jum 'at"*

The students have their discourse about Friday prayers, according to them wearing white clothes is not an obligation, so there is resistance to regulations that require wearing white robes by wearing ordinary clothes that are considered good and polite by them.

## Conclusion

The santri rebellion occurred due to the Tengku Dayah relationship which was formed through an epistem in the form of rules and regulations that must be followed by students. The rules continue to observe them so that they feel they have no space for freedom in Dayah activities, therefore, a discourse arises in their lives to get out of these rules by violating the

rules and regulations of Dayah in various forms, but on the one hand when they violate the rules The Tengku's Dayahs continue to enforce new rules and regulations to strengthen the Tengku's authorities, as well as punish those who break the rules to bring them back to the general purpose of Dayah education.

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