

RESISTING AND RE-APPROPRIATING ENGLISH IN PESANTREN: Islamic Identity As A Compass

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Abstract: English learning in Indonesia is often framed as a neutral response to globalization, yet its ideological dimensions become especially visible in religious educational contexts. Drawing on a postcolonial and critical applied linguistics lens, this study examines how English learning in *pesantren* has been represented in existing EFL research with particular attention to student resistance and re-appropriation. Adopting a narrative review approach, the study synthesizes 28 scholarly sources comprising peer-reviewed journal articles, conference proceedings, and book chapters on EFL practices in *pesantren*. The findings show that resistance to English is shaped by ideological, curricular, interactional, and structural factors; it signals efforts to govern the language's moral and cultural significance rather than a simple rejection of language learning. At the same time, English is actively re-appropriated through the localization of teaching materials, its use for Islamic purposes such as *da'wah*, and hybrid multilingual strategies involving English, Arabic, and Indonesian. These processes accentuate forms of learner and teacher agency and challenge Western-centered models of English education. The study further emphasizes the need for context-sensitive pedagogies and highlights *pesantren* as an important site of postcolonial linguistic negotiation and epistemic agency.

Keywords: *pesantren*, postcolonial English, linguistic agency, Islamic identity

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Introduction

English occupies an ambivalent position in Indonesia, where it is mainly learned as a foreign language (EFL). On the one hand, English as a global lingua franca is promoted for economic mobility, international communication, academic advancement, and participation in global networks. On the other hand, it carries historical and ideological traces of colonial power and Western dominance.¹ Although Indonesia was not formally colonized by English-speaking powers, having been primarily under Dutch colonial rule, English has nonetheless functioned as a postcolonial language whose symbolic capital is unevenly distributed and ideologically charged. Within this landscape, *pesantren* represents a distinctive educational context characterized by strong ethical orientations and close ties to Islamic traditions.² It engages with English as a language that is embedded in broader questions of identity.

English in *pesantren* is not viewed purely in terms of instrumental educational goals. Islamic educational settings are organized around the cultivation of moral character and religious subjectivity, which affects how knowledge is valued and how outside influences are assessed. Foreign languages are often evaluated not only for their practical value but also for their compatibility with Islamic norms and educational priorities. In this context, Arabic holds a privileged status because of its connection to sacred texts and devotional practice, whereas English may carry more uncertain cultural meanings. At the same time, Islamic schooling in Indonesia is closely tied to broader projects of Muslim identity formation, making language learning inseparable from questions of belonging and self-representation.³ English may therefore be viewed both as a useful global resource and as a language associated with values that do not fully align with *pesantren* norms. This tension helps explain why English learning

in *pesantren* becomes not only a pedagogical issue but also a matter of legitimacy and moral order within Muslim educational life.⁴

Despite the growing body of EFL research in Indonesia, existing studies have predominantly concentrated on public schools, universities, and urban learning environments, often marginalizing religious educational institutions such as *pesantren*. Coleman, for example, examines English-medium instruction in the International Standard School (ISS) program in urban public and private schools such as Jakarta, Makassar, and Bekasi, noting that official statistics often exclude Islamic schools under the Ministry of Religious Affairs.⁵ Zein traces the evolution of English curricula and teacher education, focusing on public junior and senior high schools and universities; he also highlights that while public primary schools had seen English removed from their curricula at the time, Islamic-based schools maintained the flexibility to teach it.⁶ Hidayah and Ali maintain that non-formal education settings, such as the learning center they studied in Pekalongan, are often underappreciated and underutilized in English language teaching research; they suggest that such environments offer overlooked opportunities to foster intercultural awareness through specialized materials such as Asian folktales.⁷ Sholihah et al. find that EFL research on the Merdeka Curriculum remains concentrated on accessible state high schools, with limited attention to its impact in rural schools.⁸ All these trends leave the English learning experiences of *pesantren* students insufficiently examined in their own educational and cultural context.

Even when *pesantren* students do appear in the literature, they are frequently portrayed in simplified terms (e.g. as resistant to English, culturally conservative, or pedagogically disadvantaged) without sufficient attention to the sociocultural and ideological

contexts shaping their learning practices. For instance, a study by Lamb and Farid describes how learners in conservative Salafi *pesantrens* exhibit interactional resistance, such as refusing to reciprocate English greetings, which they interpret as a strategy to manage the cognitive dissonance students feel when studying a language historically associated with non-believers.⁹ Fahrudin further identifies persistent cultural and ideological conflicts where students resist Western pedagogical norms, such as direct eye contact or mixed-gender group work, because such actions are perceived to contradict local codes of modesty.¹⁰ The portrayal of *pesantren* learners as pedagogically disadvantaged is explored by Habiburrahim et al., who document how extreme subject overload constrains students' capacity to engage effectively with English learning.¹¹ Skourdoumbis and Madkur engage a Bourdieusian lens to argue that English often lacks the necessary symbolic capital afforded to Arabic within this specific social field; here, students tend to prioritize religious texts over a language they perceive as a decontextualized classroom activity.¹²

Such representations risk reproducing deficit narratives that overlook how students in *pesantren* actively negotiate and reshape English learning in line with local values.¹³ As a result, the complexity of English engagement in *pesantren* remains under-theorized within mainstream Indonesian EFL scholarship.¹⁴ In this sense, a postcolonial lens offers a productive way to re-examine these dynamics by foregrounding power relations and the situated nature of language learning. From this perspective, resistance is understood as a meaningful response to perceived ideological, cultural, or moral tensions embedded in English and its pedagogies.¹⁵ Postcolonial theory also emphasizes appropriation, the process through which learners rework English to serve local purposes, identities, and epistemologies. Against this backdrop, the current study examines how student resistance and re-appropriation

have been described and interpreted in existing research. It seeks to reframe *pesantren* students not as passive recipients of English instruction, but as active agents who selectively engage with, adapt, contest, and re-signify English in relation to Islamic values and local identities. The study is especially guided by two research questions: (1) How have studies described students' resistance to English learning in *pesantren*? and (2) How do *pesantren* students re-appropriate English to align with Islamic values and local identities?

Method

This study employed a narrative review¹⁶ to examine how existing research has represented students' resistance to and re-appropriation of English learning in Indonesia's *pesantren* through a postcolonial lens. This approach was seen appropriate because scholarship on the topic remains limited and theoretically uneven across the fields of English language education and Islamic education. The review was guided by two research objectives: to examine how existing studies have described students' resistance to English learning in *pesantren*; and to explore how *pesantren* students re-appropriate English in ways that align with Islamic values and local identities. Rather than seeking exhaustive coverage in the manner of a systematic review, the study was designed to produce a focused and interpretive synthesis of empirical evidence relevant to these concerns.¹⁷

The literature search was conducted through Scopus, Google Scholar, and Indonesia's Sinta to identify both international and Indonesian scholarship on English learning in *pesantren*. Studies were located using search terms such as *English learning*, *EFL*, *ELT*, *pesantren*, *Islamic boarding school*, *Islamic identity*, *resistance*, and *appropriation*. Studies were included if they met the following criteria: (1) they were scholarly in nature; (2) they focused specifically

on English learning; (3) they were conducted in Indonesia's *pesantren* or Islamic boarding school settings; (4) they addressed student experiences, classroom practices, learner attitudes, identity, or positioning; and (5) they were available in full text. Additional relevant sources were identified through reference-list checking. After screening titles, abstracts, and full texts, 28 studies were retained and analyzed thematically through a postcolonial lens. The analysis was necessarily interpretive and informed by this theoretical orientation. The analysis focused on how the selected studies described English in relation to religious commitment, moral values, local identity, and broader hierarchies of language and knowledge, with particular attention to two interrelated themes: resistance and re-appropriation. The review also examined how these themes intersected, revealing the ambivalent and negotiated character of English learning in *pesantren*.

Results and Discussion

This section is organized into three subsections. The first provides the conceptual context for the analysis, while the second and third address the two research questions (RQs) focusing respectively on students' resistance to English learning (RQ1) and their re-appropriation of English (RQ2).

Situating postcolonial scholarship on English learning

Postcolonial scholarship has long problematized the global spread of English by situating it within histories of colonial domination and contemporary geopolitical inequality.¹⁸ Rather than viewing English as a neutral medium of international communication, scholars have emphasized its role in reproducing asymmetrical relations of power between the Global North and South.¹⁹ This critique highlights the political and ideological work performed by English in unequal global relations. Even

in postcolonial contexts such as Indonesia, English functions as a global language whose prestige privileges particular cultural norms, epistemologies, and forms of symbolic capital.²⁰ This dominance is often reproduced through education systems, media, and professional gatekeeping that frame English as the default path to modernity and mobility. Closely related critiques of linguistic imperialism highlight how institutional mechanisms sustain English dominance by normalizing inner-circle varieties and marginalizing local languages.²¹ These dynamics shape EFL curricula and teaching materials that often privilege Western cultural content while rendering local knowledge peripheral.²²

Within this critical tradition, learner resistance has emerged as a key lens for understanding how students respond to the ideological dimensions of English education.²³ Early EFL research tended to frame resistance as a pedagogical deficit, whereas critical applied linguistics reconceptualizes it as a socially situated and ideologically meaningful activity.²⁴ From this perspective, resistance is not merely noncompliance, but a form of response to unequal pedagogical and cultural power. Resistance may take subtle forms (e.g. silence and selective participation) that demonstrate learners' responses to the symbolic meanings attached to English.²⁵ Such practices can be read as everyday acts through which learners negotiate dominant expectations without open confrontation. Drawing on the notion of symbolic capital, English can be understood as a valued but contested resource whose legitimacy varies across social fields.²⁶ Its value is socially produced rather than fixed. In religious educational contexts, language engagement depends on whether it supports learners' desired identities and imagined futures.²⁷ Resistance thus reflects identity negotiation rather than rejection of English per se.²⁸

Despite growing recognition of resistance as a meaningful social process, research on resistance in Islamic boarding schools,

particularly Indonesia's *pesantren*, remains limited and fragmented. Existing studies often mention resistance only in passing or frame it as an instructional problem to be managed, rather than as an analytical entry point into questions of power relation and learner agency.²⁹ This tendency leaves the ideological significance of students' responses underexamined. There is little systematic synthesis of how *pesantren* students articulate resistance, how it is justified within Islamic moral frameworks, or how it varies across institutional types and pedagogical orientations.³⁰ As a result, the field still lacks a consolidated account of how resistance is shaped by religious, institutional, and pedagogical contexts. This gap is significant, as *pesantren* are educational spaces where global linguistic forces intersect directly with locally grounded religious epistemologies,³¹ calling for closer postcolonial scrutiny.³²

Postcolonial scholarship further emphasizes that resistance is intertwined with processes of re-appropriation, through which learners actively localize English to serve context-specific goals.³³ Re-appropriation highlights the fluidity of English and learners' capacity to redefine its meanings in alignment with local identities. In Islamic educational contexts, such as *pesantren*, English has been appropriated for religious and communal purposes by groups who recognize its value in fostering their specific ideological ends.³⁴ This view challenges the assumption that English necessarily carries fixed Western meanings wherever it is used. Hybrid linguistic practices illustrate how learners utilize 'safe houses' to assert epistemic and moral authority over English use.³⁵ Such spaces enable learners to reshape English on their own ethical and epistemic terms. From a postcolonial perspective, re-appropriation represents an active process of identity negotiation through which learners position themselves as legitimate English users while maintaining religious and cultural commitments.³⁶ In this sense, using English becomes not a sign of assimilation, but a negotiated act of cultural

and ideological positioning. Postcolonial scholarship thus provides a useful lens for understanding how English is taught, learned, resisted, and re-appropriated in contexts shaped by colonial legacies and unequal global power relations.

Resistance to English learning among *pesantren* students

Across the reviewed literature, resistance to English learning among *pesantren* students emerges as a multifaceted phenomenon rooted in concerns about ideology, morality, and identity. Rather than a wholesale rejection of the language, it often appears as a subtle, situational negotiation of identity, in which students may feel conflicted about studying a language historically tied to Western and non-Muslim identities.³⁷ Resistance is therefore better understood as partial and context-dependent than as total disengagement. This tension can be read through Anderson's concept of 'truth-languages,'³⁸ in which reality is understood through a privileged system of signs; in the *pesantren* context, this privilege is attached to Qur'anic Arabic. He explicitly wrote that "... in the Islamic tradition, until quite recently, the Qur'an was literally untranslatable (and therefore untranslated), because Allah's truth was accessible only through the unsubstitutable true signs of written Arabic". Because religious knowledge and Arabic hold supremacy in the *pesantren* worldview, English is often relegated to an inferior status not only educationally but also symbolically and ontologically.³⁹ Moreover, seen through the lens of linguistic imperialism, the global prestige of English is also linked to colonial histories and missionary work, which can intensify suspicion toward the cultural associations it carries and its possible threat to ideological identity.⁴⁰

Behavioral evidence of this disengagement is most visible in interactional resistance, where silence or minimal participation functions as a culturally meaningful form of agency rather than

simple passivity.⁴¹ Scott's notion of 'weapons of the weak'⁴² helps explain such actions as everyday forms of resistance that signal compliance without full acceptance. In practice, students may arrive late, refuse to reciprocate greetings in English, or remain silent when called upon to read, while becoming more responsive when the teacher switches to Arabic.⁴³ This contrast reveals the unequal symbolic and affective value attached to the two languages and resembles what Canagarajah describes as a linguistic drama,⁴⁴ in which students protect their primary identity through offstage dissent. Although English may represent valuable symbolic capital in the global market, within the *pesantren* it remains morally sensitive and socially contested. As Lamb and Coleman note, speaking English in religious or rural contexts can invite ridicule as *kebarat-baratan* or overly Westernized, producing shame that discourages investment.⁴⁵ Likewise, pedagogical norms imported from Western ELT (English language teaching), such as face-to-face visual engagement and work in mixed-gender groups, are often resisted because they are seen as leading to *zinâ al-'ain* or looking at someone lustfully.⁴⁶ In this sense, resistance illustrates what Gray calls 'ontological imperialism,'⁴⁷ where language teaching is perceived as carrying social norms that threaten the learner's moral framework.

Institutional and structural conditions further intensify these negative attitudes by turning lack of interest into physical and mental fatigue. Disengagement is thus shaped not only by ideology but also by exhaustion. In many *pesantren*, students often face extreme subject overload, sometimes studying up to 35 subjects per week across national and religious curricula.⁴⁸ Stroupe and Halimi argue that the nationally required curriculum in Indonesia places an impossible burden on students through excessive functions, vocabulary, and academic demands.⁴⁹ This pressure is worsened by schedules that begin with Qur'anic studies at 4:00 AM and end at 10:00 PM, leaving students too

tired to focus during afternoon English lessons.⁵⁰ Under these conditions, English is often reduced to a compulsory hurdle rather than seen as a meaningful future tool.⁵¹ Resistance to English is therefore a predictable rather than exceptional response.

Curricular resistance is also widely documented, especially when EFL materials foreground Western lifestyles or social practices perceived as incompatible with Islamic teachings.⁵² Here, resistance is directed less at English itself than at the values attached to its instructional content. When English is presented through themes such as dating or individualistic self-expression, students may find it difficult to connect the language with their religious and social world. This condition helps explain why students' Ideal L2 Self often remains weak when English is detached from *pesantren* values, reducing its motivational power.⁵³ Lamb and Coleman suggest that motivation is closely tied to students' possible selves,⁵⁴ which makes English difficult to imagine as part of a future identity when contextual alignment is absent. In other words, learners engage more deeply when English is connected to their personal goals and identities.

The problem is further aggravated by limited teaching quality and learning support. Some English teachers in *pesantren* are underqualified and lack formal teaching credentials, often relying on decontextualized grammar exercises that fail to engage learners.⁵⁵ In remote or under-resourced settings, this shortage often results in less than maximal lessons and reinforces text-based, teacher-dominated instruction that feels distant and uninteresting.⁵⁶ Many of these environments also lack audio-visual aids and language laboratories, which further contribute to a boring classroom atmosphere.⁵⁷ As a result, weak teacher professionalism, limited facilities, and outdated techniques can alienate students and lead them to undervalue English lessons entirely.⁵⁸ Psychological barriers deepen this problem. High anxiety and low confidence

often hinder participation,⁵⁹ while many students feel ashamed or afraid to speak English because of its difficult pronunciation and vocabulary.⁶⁰ This can be understood through Zentz's notion of language shame,⁶¹ in which speaking English carries the risk of social judgment and moral discomfort. Such discomfort may silence participation even when learners recognize the language's practical value. In *pesantren* and rural contexts, such anxiety is intensified by the belief that English is less relevant to spiritual life than Arabic,⁶² as well as by the stereotype that *pesantren* should remain centers of traditional Islamic learning, making mastery of a Western-associated language seem odd or inappropriate.⁶³

From the above discussion, it can be seen that resistance in *pesantren* is uneven and context-dependent, with the degree of disengagement usually shaped by an institution's level of religious conservatism. Students in Salafi *pesantren*, for instance, tend to show lower intended learning effort and more negative attitudes toward English than those in more moderate institutions. This notion suggests that *pesantren* are not uniform spaces, but contact zones shaped by competing moral, religious, educational, and institutional authorities. Within these 'sites of political and ideological struggle,'⁶⁴ resistance does not seek to eliminate English entirely; rather, it regulates the language's ideological reach so that its use does not unsettle the moral and symbolic order of *pesantren* life. Thus, English is selectively appropriated in line with local values and priorities.

Re-appropriating English through Islamic and local identities

Alongside the documented forms of resistance, the reviewed literature consistently identifies ways in which students and teachers actively re-appropriate English within *pesantren* contexts. Rather than treating the language as an immutable Western product, they reshape its purposes and meanings to align with

spiritual values and local identities.⁶⁵ This process can be read as a microsocial site of policymaking, where classroom actors negotiate how English should be taught, valued, and legitimized in their own setting.⁶⁶ In this sense, they engage in what Sugiharto calls a deconstructive and reconstructive project,⁶⁷ which selectively redefines the language in ways that make it meaningful within *pesantren* life. Such practices support postcolonial and decolonial perspectives that view English not as a fixed Western possession, but as a socially constructed tool that can be locally redefined. In this sense, learners may create spaces in which they can engage with English without relinquishing their cultural or religious grounding. Re-appropriation therefore represents a form of epistemic agency through which learners bridge the perceived gap between religious identity and the demands of a globalized world by Islamicizing English.⁶⁸

One prominent form of re-appropriation involves reframing English as a medium for explicitly Islamic purposes, especially global *da'wah*.⁶⁹ Many *pesantren* students are motivated to master the language so they can spread the word of Allah and explain to non-Muslims that Islam is *rahmatan lil-'âlamîn* or a mercy to all creation.⁷⁰ There is a strong link between language learning and religious purposes. Several studies show that students imagine using English to write Islamic content on social media or deliver sermons that address global misconceptions about their faith.⁷¹ These aspirations reposition English as part of a wider project of religious representation and enable students to construct a possible or Ideal L2 Self that is both globally connected and devoutly Muslim.⁷² In this way, English becomes a vehicle for *da'wah* as well as social mobility.

Re-appropriation is also evident in the localization of EFL content and pedagogy, where teachers adapt materials to reflect Islamic themes and daily *pesantren* life.⁷³ This approach aligns

with Kumaravadivelu's pedagogy of particularity, which maintains that teaching is shaped by learners' specific cultural and social contexts.⁷⁴ Instead of relying on Western-centric textbooks, educators often modify reading passages to include the histories of the Prophets, Muslim philosophers, or moral lessons such as *istighfâr* or seeking forgiveness.⁷⁵ Classroom exercises also draw on familiar student activities, such as queuing for lunch, kissing a teacher's hand, or performing congregational prayer.⁷⁶ In some cases, teachers supplement standard textbooks with materials from Islamic websites so that English tasks are oriented toward communicating Islamic values to a global audience.⁷⁷ These adaptations show that English is not simply transferred into the *pesantren* unchanged, but reshaped to fit its moral and cultural surroundings; it becomes a medium for local expression rather than only a carrier of outside values.⁷⁸

Innovative pedagogical strategies further show how English is localized through familiar learning traditions. Teachers often modify *salawat* (devotional chants for the Prophet) or *qasîdah* (Islamic songs) rhythms to teach difficult concepts of English lesson such as irregular verbs and uncountable nouns; this strategy strengthens memory while increasing affective engagement.⁷⁹ Traditional techniques such as *syawir* (religious discussion), *hafal* (memorization), and *setoran* (memorization check) are likewise repurposed for English speaking and vocabulary learning.⁸⁰ This practice can be understood as a reconstructive effort that reinterprets local wisdom to meet contemporary educational needs.⁸¹ Again, it reinforces Kumaravadivelu's pedagogy of particularity,⁸² since English instruction remains closely tied to the institutional and sociocultural context of the *pesantren*. In some programs, students use English to discuss the daily application of Islamic law, combining religious epistemology with foreign language instruction in ways that make learning more meaningful and locally grounded.⁸³ Pedagogy is designed to remain context-sensitive.

A further strategy of re-appropriation is translanguaging, where English, Arabic, and Indonesian are treated as interconnected linguistic resources. In *pesantren* classrooms, teachers often draw on students' prior knowledge of Arabic grammar to explain English structures, such as comparing English pronouns with Arabic *dhamîr* or verbs with Arabic *fi'l*.⁸⁴ This approach allows learners to use their full linguistic repertoire to make meaning and maintain religious nuance, rather than separating languages rigidly.⁸⁵ More critically, this practice challenges the native-speaker fallacy and shifts attention toward learners as resourceful multilingual speakers rather than deficient imitators of native norms.⁸⁶ It also provides a form of epistemic justice, since students can learn English without distancing themselves from the religious and local identities that they value.⁸⁷ This reorientation makes English a site of agency rather than assimilation.

Institutional and digital agency further supports these re-appropriative efforts through English-rich environments and specialized extracurricular programs. Programs such as English-Tren and the NATA English Club provide context-sensitive training that addresses the communicative needs of santri.⁸⁸ Many institutions also build a bilingual atmosphere by naming classrooms and dormitories in English, posting English slogans, and implementing Language Days.⁸⁹ These practices show that English is not only taught as a formal subject but gradually embedded into everyday *pesantren* life. Digital literacy strengthens this process, as students engage in monologue recording or speech performance on digital platforms to develop their English skills and reach wider audiences.⁹⁰ Such platforms can function as relatively safe spaces for experimenting with new voices and identities beyond immediate classroom pressure.⁹¹ In this setting, students can imagine themselves as competent global Muslim communicators, using English to extend rather than leave behind their religious identity. This

notion also reflects nativization and acculturation, in which English is altered to suit new religious and cultural surroundings so that it can carry local meanings more effectively.⁹²

Viewed as a whole, these practices show an active process of identity negotiation that positions *pesantren* students as legitimate users of English within their own moral and epistemic frameworks. This negotiation is enacted through everyday communicative interactions. Also, by adopting Islamic honorifics such as *ustâdz* (for male teacher) and *ustâdzah* (for female teacher) and centering discussion on religious moderation, students maintain cultural etiquette while mastering a global language. More critically, this shows that the classroom is not a neutral space but a site where learners actively reshape English to fit their own cultural and religious needs.⁹³ Through these practices, English becomes a medium that is selectively localized or ‘Islamicized’ within *pesantren* life.

Conclusion

This study has shown that English learning in Indonesia’s *pesantren* is shaped by both resistance and re-appropriation, rather than by binary assumptions of acceptance versus rejection. The findings indicate that resistance in *pesantren* contexts is neither uniform nor inherently oppositional. Instead, it appears in diverse and often subtle forms, including strategic silence, minimal participation, resistance to morally sensitive classroom practices, and hesitation toward curricular content perceived as carrying values misaligned with Islamic teachings. Such resistance reveals learners’ critical awareness of the ideological, cultural, and moral assumptions embedded in English education, particularly when the language is associated with secular Western values, colonial histories, or forms of knowledge seen as secondary to Arabic and religious sciences. At the same time, the literature

shows that English is not simply resisted. It is also actively re-appropriated through processes that localize, hybridize, and redirect the language toward religious and educational purposes. Through activities such as using English for global *da'wah*, engaging in translanguaging across English, Arabic, and Indonesian, and adapting teaching materials to reflect Islamic narratives and *pesantren* life, students and educators exercise considerable epistemic agency. Read together, these findings position English learning in *pesantren* as a site of postcolonial negotiation, where global linguistic power is filtered through locally grounded moral frameworks and where English becomes meaningful only when it is selectively legitimized within Islamic and local terms.

Theoretically, this review contributes to postcolonial and critical applied linguistics by framing English as a socially embedded and locally reconstituted resource rather than a monolithic global force. By treating resistance and re-appropriation as co-existing practices, it advances postcolonial accounts beyond domination-resistance binaries and foregrounds concepts such as symbolic capital, identity investment, hybridity, and epistemic justice in religious educational contexts. A key limitation of this review lies in its reliance on predominantly small-scale, context-specific studies with uneven theoretical engagement. Future research should employ longitudinal and comparative approaches to examine how resistance and re-appropriation evolve across different *pesantren* types, institutional policies, and faith-based educational settings.

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