Dirasah: International Journal of Islamic Studies
Vol. 4, Issue (2) (August, 2026), pp. 389-418
ISSN: 2986-9250 , DOI: https://doi.org/10.59373/drs.v4i2.156

From Religious Learning Circles to Institutional Diversity: The Historical Development of Pesantren and the Making of Ogan Ilir as a City of Santri

Awaludin[1], Munir[2], Muhammad Noupal[3], Mohammad Syawaludin[4], Pathur Rahman[5]

[1] Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Fatah Palembang, Indonesia; awaludinsw@uqi.ac.id
[2] Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Fatah Palembang, Indonesia; munir_uin@radenfatah.ac.id
[3] Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Fatah Palembang, Indonesia; muhammadnoupal_uin@radenfatah.ac.id
[4] Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Fatah Palembang, Indonesia; mohammadsyawaludin_uin@radenfatah.ac.id
[5] Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Fatah Palembang, Indonesia; pathurrahman_uin@radenfatah.ac.id

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:

Pesantren;
Historical Development;
Institutional Typology;
Social Construction;
City of Santri.

Article history:

Received 2026-07-14
Revised 2026-09-12
Accepted 2026-10-16

ABSTRACT

This study examines the historical development of pesantren in Ogan Ilir Regency, South Sumatra, focusing on institutional diversity and the formation of its socio-religious identity as a City of Santri. Using a qualitative-historical approach, the study investigates 22 pesantren through in-depth interviews with 75 informants, participant observation, and document analysis. Historical source criticism and thematic analysis are employed to reconstruct institutional trajectories and identify patterns of institutional differentiation. The findings reveal three historical phases: initial institutionalization (1932–1967), consolidation and diversification (1983–1996), and institutional expansion and integration (2003–2023). Across these phases, three overlapping institutional orientations emerge: scholarly tradition, educational modernization, and self-reliance and community empowerment. These orientations demonstrate that pesantren development involves the coexistence of Islamic scholarly continuity, educational transformation, and expanding social functions rather than a linear transition from traditional to modern institutions. The study interprets these developments through the perspectives of continuity and change, ideal typology, and social construction, highlighting how institutional practices may reproduce socio-religious meanings. It offers an integrated historical and institutional account of pesantren development in Ogan Ilir while recognizing that the extent to which the City of Santri identity is collectively accepted requires further empirical investigation.

This is an open-access article under the CC BY SA license.

Corresponding Author: Awaluddin
Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Fatah Palembang, Indonesia; awaludinsw@uqi.ac.id

INTRODUCTION

Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) have played a significant role in developing Islamic education in Indonesia, functioning not only as institutions for religious instruction but also as centers for transmitting Islamic scholarship, reproducing religious authority, and engaging with local communities (Abas et al., 2025; Fatah et al., 2025; Hariadi et al., 2024; Hermawan, 2025; Masuwd et al., 2025; Mursidah & Nadhir, 2025). Their institutional characteristics are reflected in the teaching of classical Islamic texts (*kitab kuning*), relationships between kiai and santri, and established pedagogical practices (Arif et al., 2025; Bruinessen, 1995; Muhlis et al., 2025). However, pesantren have not remained institutionally static. Changes in educational policy, community expectations, and social conditions have encouraged the development of formal educational programs, integrated curricula, and more complex organizational arrangements alongside established scholarly traditions (Aisah et al., 2025; Musaddad, 2023; Mustikamah et al., 2025; Rouf, 2016). Understanding pesantren therefore requires attention to both the continuity of Islamic educational traditions and the historical processes that have changed their institutional forms and social functions (M. Hasanah & Husna, 2025).

This relationship between continuity and transformation is particularly relevant to Ogan Ilir Regency in South Sumatra, where the development of Islamic education has been associated with community-based religious learning, cawisan, madrasahs, and networks of Islamic scholars. The development of Madrasah Nurul Islam Seribandung in 1932, Raudhatul Ulum Sakatiga in 1950, and Al-Ittifaqiah Indralaya in 1967 illustrates important stages in the institutionalization of Islamic education in the region (Ilhamudin et al., 2020). Subsequent developments have been accompanied by diversification in educational programs, institutional management, and community-oriented activities. Ogan Ilir is also associated with the designation 'City of Santri', a socio-religious label that links the region's Islamic educational institutions with its broader religious character. Nevertheless, the historical presence and institutional growth of pesantren do not, by themselves, establish the extent to which this designation is recognized as a shared identity among the wider population. Examining this relationship consequently requires distinguishing the historical foundations of regional religious identity from the social processes through which such an identity may acquire broader collective significance.

Previous research provides several foundations for examining these issues, although its analytical emphasis has varied. Studies of Islamic educational history in Ogan Ilir have documented the development of religious institutions, scholarly networks, and local Islamic traditions, providing a historical basis for understanding the emergence of pesantren in the region (Ilhamudin et al., 2020). Research on pesantren transformation has examined institutional adaptation, curricular development, and the integration of religious and general education in response to changing educational demands (Musaddad, 2023). More specifically, research on pesantren modernization in Ogan Ilir has examined institutional-level educational changes, including curriculum reform, classroom-based instruction, and technological integration. For example, studies of Al-Ittifaqiah, Al-Basya, and Darul Funun show that traditional and modern educational characteristics can coexist within individual institutions rather than develop as mutually exclusive models (Maulidi et al., 2025). These studies contribute to understanding pesantren history and institutional transformation, but their emphases leave room for a broader comparative examination of historical development and institutional diversity across the region.

Related research has classified pesantren by educational and organizational characteristics, including *salaf*, *khalaf*, and combined models (Hidayati et al., 2025; Rouf, 2016). These classifications help identify differences in curricular organization and educational orientation. However, institutional characteristics may overlap in ways that cannot be adequately represented by a simple distinction between traditional and modern education. A pesantren may maintain classical Islamic instruction and established scholarly networks while also operating formal educational institutions, developing language programs, adopting new management practices, or undertaking economic and community-oriented activities. The analytical challenge is therefore not merely to assign institutions to predetermined categories, but to explain how different institutional orientations emerge, coexist, and change within particular historical contexts.

Despite these contributions, the literature discussed above remains insufficiently integrated in linking the historical development of pesantren, their institutional differentiation, and the formation of regional socio-religious identity. Historical studies describe institutional emergence and scholarly networks, while research on modernization and typology highlights educational change and organizational diversity. Yet scholars often examine these analytical dimensions separately. Bringing them together allows investigation of how historical trajectories shape institutional characteristics and how resulting educational and social practices may contribute to the broader religious meanings associated with a region. This study addresses this analytical problem by examining 22 pesantren in Ogan Ilir Regency. Rather than assuming that institutional growth automatically produces a shared regional identity, it investigates the historical and institutional conditions through which pesantren traditions may become associated with the designation *City of Santri*.

The study combines three complementary analytical perspectives. The framework of continuity and change is used to examine the persistence and transformation of pesantren traditions across different historical periods. An ideal-typological perspective is employed to identify recurring institutional orientations while recognizing that individual pesantren may exhibit overlapping characteristics. Social construction provides a framework for interpreting how religious practices and institutional arrangements may acquire enduring social meanings through processes of externalization, objectification, and internalization (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Their integration enables the study to connect historical reconstruction with institutional comparison and the interpretation of socio-religious identity. Its contribution lies in developing a historically grounded explanation of the relationship between pesantren development, institutional diversity, and the potential formation of regional religious identity, rather than treating the number of pesantren as sufficient evidence of collective identification.

Accordingly, this study addresses three research questions: (1) How has the historical development of pesantren in Ogan Ilir Regency unfolded in relation to social and political change? (2) What indicators characterize the different institutional orientations of pesantren in the region, and how can these orientations be classified while accounting for their overlapping characteristics? (3) Through what historical and social mechanisms may pesantren contribute to the formation of Ogan Ilir's identity as a 'City of Santri'? By addressing these questions, the study seeks to explain the relationship between historical continuity, institutional diversification, and the social reproduction of religious traditions. It also distinguishes the historical and institutional foundations of regional identity from the question of whether that identity is collectively recognized by the wider community.

METHODS

This study employed a qualitative-historical approach to examine the historical development of pesantren in Ogan Ilir Regency, South Sumatra, their institutional diversity, and their contribution to the region's socio-religious identity as a 'City of Santri'. The qualitative approach helped explain institutional practices, educational orientations, and relationships between pesantren and surrounding communities. The historical approach was used to reconstruct institutional trajectories through the examination and interpretation of oral accounts and documentary evidence. Historical sources were evaluated in terms of their provenance, credibility, and chronological consistency before being interpreted within their broader social and educational contexts (Howell, 2001).

The study examined 22 pesantren selected through purposive sampling based on their relevance to the research objectives. This sampling strategy enabled the selection of institutions considered informative for examining historical development and institutional diversity (Patton, 2023). The historical analysis covered three periods: 1932–1967, 1983–1996, and 2003–2023. These periods were used to organize evidence concerning the emergence, consolidation, and subsequent development of pesantren in Ogan Ilir. The historical events or criteria underlying these period boundaries should be specified to clarify the basis of the periodization.

Data were collected in June and July 2026 through in-depth interviews, participant observation, and document analysis. The study involved 75 informants comprising pesantren leaders or kiai, santri, alumni, ustadz and ustadzah, religious figures, and community leaders. Informants were selected based on their knowledge of, experience with, or involvement in pesantren development in Ogan Ilir. Interviews explored institutional origins, historical developments, educational orientations, leadership, and relationships with surrounding communities. Participant observation and document analysis provided contextual and historical evidence to complement the interview data.

Historical evidence was examined through source criticism and chronological reconstruction. Where applicable, external criticism was used to assess the provenance, authorship, date, and authenticity of documentary sources. Internal criticism focused on the credibility, context, and consistency of the information contained in those sources. Oral accounts were compared with available documentary evidence, particularly when they concerned institutional origins, establishment dates, and organizational changes. Discrepancies were evaluated by considering source provenance, proximity to the events described, chronological consistency, and corroborating evidence (Howell, 2001).

Data analysis combined historical interpretation with thematic analysis. Interview and observational materials, together with relevant documentary evidence, were examined through manual coding to identify recurring patterns related to the research questions. Thematic analysis provides a systematic and flexible approach to identifying and interpreting patterns of meaning in qualitative data (Ahmad, 2023; Braun & Clarke, 2006). The analysis focused on three dimensions: scholarly traditions, educational modernization, and self-reliance and community empowerment. These dimensions provided a common analytical framework for comparing the institutional characteristics of the 22 pesantren.

Scholarly traditions were examined through indicators such as classical Islamic texts, the role of kiai, scholarly transmission, cawisan, and traditional teaching methods, including sorogan and bandongan. Educational modernization was examined through formal education, curricular integration, foreign-language instruction, accreditation, and educational technology. Self-reliance and community empowerment were examined through cooperatives, entrepreneurship, productive waqf, and community-service activities. These dimensions were treated as potentially overlapping analytical orientations rather than mutually exclusive categories. The procedure for determining each pesantren's dominant orientation must be specified, including how indicators were assessed and how overlapping characteristics were handled.

The credibility of the findings was strengthened by comparing information from interviews, participant observation, and documentary sources. This comparison helped identify corroborating evidence, inconsistencies, and gaps in the historical record. The analysis also considered source provenance and the context of participants' accounts to reduce reliance on individual institutional narratives. The interpretation drew on three complementary perspectives: continuity and change, ideal-typical analysis, and social-construction theory. These perspectives were used to examine historical transformation, compare institutional orientations, and interpret how religious practices and institutional traditions might contribute to Ogan Ilir's identity as a 'City of Santri (Berger & Luckmann, 1967).

The existence and development of pesantren were not treated as sufficient evidence that the 'City of Santri' designation was collectively accepted by the population. Such a claim requires evidence of how relevant community groups understand and recognize the designation. Informed consent was obtained from research participants, subject to confirmation that this accurately reflects the procedures followed. Any formal institutional ethical approval should be reported separately, including the approving institution and reference number where applicable.

Table 1. Analytical Matrix of Pesantren Typologies

Analytical Dimension	Indicators	Sources of Evidence	Classification Rationale
Scholarly traditions	Classical Islamic texts, kiai, sanad, cawisan, sorogan, bandongan	Interviews, curricula, historical records, observations	Predominance of Islamic scholarly preservation and transmission
Educational modernization	Formal education, integrated curricula, foreign languages, accreditation, technology	Institutional documents, educational records, observations	Predominance of formal educational development and institutional adaptation
Self-reliance and empowerment	Cooperatives, entrepreneurship, productive waqf, community services	Institutional records, activity reports, interviews	Predominance of economic self-reliance and community empowerment

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

History of the Development of Islamic Boarding Schools in Ogan Ilir Regency

The historical development of pesantren in Ogan Ilir Regency can be examined through three periods characterized by distinct patterns of educational and institutional transformation. The first period (1932–1967) represents the emergence and institutionalization of Islamic education rooted in home-based religious learning, *cawisan*, *halaqah*, and scholarly networks. The second period (1983–1996) reflects institutional consolidation and diversification, marked by the expansion of formal education and the coexistence of traditional and integrated pesantren models. The third period (2003–2023) demonstrates broader institutional expansion through Qur'anic memorization programs, integrated curricula, technological adaptation, and community empowerment. These distinctions are based on changes in educational practices, institutional structures, scholarly authority, and social functions rather than establishment dates alone. The historical reconstruction identifies 22 pesantren: five established in the first period, six in the second, and eleven in the third. The intervals between these establishment clusters do not necessarily indicate a lack of pesantren activity or institutional development. They reflect the chronological distribution of the institutions documented in this study, while developments during the intervening years require consideration within the continuing histories of existing pesantren.

The historical distinctions among these three periods are presented in Table 2. The periodization is based not merely on the establishment dates of pesantren but also on changes in educational orientation, scholarly authority, institutional development, and socio-religious functions.

Table 2. Historical Periodization of Pesantren Development in Ogan Ilir Regency

Analytical Dimension	First Period (1932–1967)	Second Period (1983–1996)	Third Period (2003–2023)
Historical characteristics	Emergence and institutionalization	Consolidation and diversification	Expansion and institutional integration
Educational orientation	*Cawisan*, *halaqah*, Qur'anic instruction, and early madrasahs	Traditional and formal education, integrated curricula	Classical Islamic studies, tahfidz, integrated education, and technology
Scholarly authority	Local kiai and scholarly networks	Kiai leadership and increasingly structured institutional management	Kiai leadership, foundations, and diversified institutional management
Institutional development	Transition from religious learning circles to madrasahs and pesantren	Formalization and differentiation of educational models	Expansion of educational programs and institutional functions

Socio-religious functions	Religious instruction, da'wah, and community-based education	Broader educational access and community religious activities	Education, skills development, community services, and empowerment
Number of pesantren established	5	6	11

Source: Research findings synthesized from the historical development of 22 pesantren in Ogan Ilir Regency.

The historical characteristics presented in Table 1 indicate three patterns of pesantren development: initial institutional formation, diversification of educational models, and expansion of institutional functions. These patterns reflect changes in educational practices and institutional organization while maintaining the continuity of Islamic scholarly traditions. The year ranges refer to the establishment of pesantren documented in this study and do not imply a lack of educational activity during the intervening years. The following sections examine each period through its historical context, institutional development, scholarly networks, and socio-religious contributions.

First Period: The Emergence and Institutionalization of Pesantren Before and After Independence (1932–1967)

The first period encompasses the late colonial era and the early decades following Indonesian independence. The pre-independence phase was characterized by community-based religious instruction supported by local ulama. In contrast, the post-independence phase saw religious learning activities gradually consolidate into more organized educational institutions. Pesantren development in Ogan Ilir was closely tied to teaching the Qur'an, classical Islamic texts, and local traditions of *cawisan* and *halaqah*. The emergence of Nurul Islam Seribandung in 1932 illustrates the institutionalization of religious education through the authority of local scholars and community support (Rosyada & Hudaidah, 2022; Syarifuddin et al., 2021) . This period includes five pesantren, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Pesantren Established During the First Period (1932–1967)

No.	Pesantren	Year	Location	Historical Development
1	Nurul Islam Seribandung	1932	Seribandung, Tanjung Batu	Developed from *cawisan* into Madrasah Sa'adatud Darain and subsequently into a pesantren
2	Raudhatul Ulum Sakatiga	1950	Sakatiga	Emerged from scholarly networks and the consolidation of Madrasah Al-Falah and Al-Shibyan
3	Nurul Hilal Senuro	1952	Senuro, Tanjung Batu	Developed from Madrasah Diniyah Nurul Hilal into a pesantren
4	Amjaiyah Tanjung Batu	1957	Tanjung Batu	Developed through community-based religious education with a traditional *salaf* orientation
5	Al-Ittifaqiah Indralaya	1967	Indralaya	Originated from the Sakatiga scholarly network and developed through successive stages of institutionalization

Source: Historical reconstruction based on institutional histories and research findings documented in the study.

The earliest development of Islamic education in Ogan Ilir grew out of religious activities in local communities rather than fully established boarding schools. These activities included cawisan, home-based Qur'anic instruction, *halaqah*, and instruction in classical Islamic texts. Religious scholars provided instruction in homes, mosques, and community learning spaces before educational activities developed into more organized institutions. The role of ulama in Islamizing and developing religious education in South Sumatra illustrates the importance of local religious authority in shaping Muslim educational traditions (Wulandari & Hudaidah, 2021). The historical development of pesantren in Indonesia also shows that Islamic educational institutions often emerged through gradual community participation and institutional formation (Firmansyah & Amirudin, 2023). In Ogan Ilir, this pattern was particularly evident in the establishment of Nurul Islam Seribandung and the development of the scholarly networks associated with Sakatiga.

Nurul Islam Seribandung became an important historical foundation of pesantren education in Ogan Ilir. The institution grew from religious learning activities led by K.H. Anwar bin H. Kumpul, whose teaching began through cawisan before it became Madrasah Sa'adatud Darain on November 1, 1932. Historical research on the role of K.H. Anwar identifies his contribution to the development of Nurul Islam Seribandung during 1932–1959 (Syarifuddin et al., 2021). The establishment of the madrasah represented a transition from informal religious instruction toward a more organized educational structure. The development of pesantren in Ogan Ilir during 1932–2004 has similarly been linked to the growth of Islamic scholarly and educational institutions in the region (Ilhamudin et al., 2020). The institutional history of Nurul Islam demonstrates how religious authority, educational needs, and community support contributed to the emergence of an institution capable of sustaining Islamic learning beyond its initial teaching activities.

The development of Islamic education in Sakatiga followed a related but more network-oriented historical trajectory. Before the institutional establishment of Raudhatul Ulum Sakatiga in 1950, local scholars had developed religious instruction through cawisan and early madrasahs. The scholarly activities of K.H. Bahri bin Bunga, K.H. Abdul Ghani Bahri, K.H. Abd. Rahim Mandung, and K.H. Abdullah Kenalim helped develop Madrasah Al-Falah and Al-Shibyan, which later formed the institutional foundations of Raudhatul Ulum. These scholars' intellectual backgrounds were connected to wider networks of Islamic learning, demonstrating the importance of religious knowledge transmission in forming educational institutions. The historical role of scholarly networks and intellectual authority has been closely associated with the development of pesantren traditions in Indonesia (Ahmad, 2023). The continuity of Islamic knowledge through teachers, students, and established learning methods also represents an important dimension of pesantren intellectual culture (Cahyadi et al., 2025). These connections indicate that the emergence of pesantren in Sakatiga cannot be understood solely through institutional establishment dates, but must also be examined through earlier educational activities and scholarly relationships.

The historical development of Al-Ittifaqiah Indralaya further illustrates the distinction between the origins of religious education and subsequent institutional establishment. Its intellectual and educational roots were associated with the activities of K.H. Ishak Bahsin in Sakatiga during 1918–1922. These activities contributed to the emergence of formal religious education that later formed part of Al-Ittifaqiah's institutional history. The institution was established in Indralaya in 1967 and later became a pesantren in 1976. These milestones show that institutional formation often involves successive stages rather than a single founding event. Historical studies of pesantren development similarly identify gradual changes in educational organization and institutional structures as part of the broader evolution of Islamic education (Ahmad, 2023). Al-Ittifaqiah's historical trajectory therefore illustrates the continuity of earlier scholarly traditions alongside the development of new institutional arrangements.

The post-independence phase demonstrated a clearer process of institutional consolidation. Raudhatul Ulum Sakatiga developed into an established institution in 1950, followed by Nurul Hilal Senuro in 1952 and Amjaiyah Tanjung Batu Timur in 1957. Nurul Hilal developed through madrasah

diniyah education, while Amjaiyah maintained a community-based salaf orientation emphasizing religious instruction and traditional learning practices. These institutions differed from Nurul Islam Seribandung and Raudhatul Ulum in their educational backgrounds and subsequent institutional development. The emergence of different educational models shows that pesantren's early history involved varying forms of religious education rather than a single uniform institutional structure. Studies of pesantren typologies have similarly identified differences in educational orientation, organization, and instructional traditions as important characteristics of institutional diversity (Zakki & Hazinah, 2023). The establishment of these institutions after independence reflected the growing organization of Islamic education within local communities while preserving the central role of religious scholars.

Classical Islamic learning remained a defining feature of pesantren education during this period. Qur'anic instruction, *kitab kuning*, *halaqah*, and *madrasah diniyah* provided the foundations of religious learning, while the relationship between kiai and santri supported the transmission of knowledge and moral values. Traditional instructional practices have historically contributed to the preservation of religious authority and intellectual traditions within pesantren (Cahyadi et al., 2025). Educational activities were also closely connected to community religious life, including religious gatherings, Islamic celebrations, and local traditions. Research on the historical role of pesantren identifies their contribution to religious education and the formation of socio-religious values within Muslim communities (Rois et al., 2023). The development of pesantren in Ogan Ilir therefore involved both educational institutionalization and the continuation of religious practices that connected scholars, students, and surrounding communities.

The social and political context of the colonial and post-independence periods also influenced the development of Islamic education. During the colonial period, religious learning gave communities opportunities to preserve Islamic knowledge and educational traditions outside dominant colonial educational structures. The historical role of pesantren during colonial rule illustrates their significance in sustaining Muslim religious and intellectual life (Ismah, 2022). After independence, the development of madrasahs and more structured educational institutions reflected the growing importance of organized Islamic education. The transformation of educational institutions did not necessarily eliminate community-based religious practices, since pesantren continued to maintain close relationships with local society. The preservation of religious and cultural traditions has remained an important element of pesantren development across different historical periods (Sunarto, 2023). In Ogan Ilir, these developments suggest that institutional consolidation was shaped by the interaction between existing scholarly traditions and the changing educational circumstances of the post-independence period.

The first period's historical significance lies in the shift from community-based religious learning to increasingly organized Islamic educational institutions. Before independence, the development of pesantren was primarily supported by local ulama, *cawisan*, home-based instruction, and scholarly networks. The post-independence phase witnessed the establishment and consolidation of madrasahs and pesantren with clearer educational structures. The five institutions examined in this period followed different institutional trajectories, yet their development demonstrated a shared relationship between religious authority, community support, and the transmission of Islamic knowledge. Historical research on pesantren emphasizes the importance of continuity in religious traditions alongside changes in educational organization (Ningsih et al., 2023). The first period therefore represents the foundation of pesantren institutionalization in Ogan Ilir, rather than merely a chronological grouping of five establishment dates. These developments created the scholarly and institutional foundations for the subsequent diversification of educational models during the New Order period

Second Period: Development of Islamic Boarding Schools during the New Order (1983–1996)

The development of pesantren in Ogan Ilir during 1983–1996 marked a period of institutional consolidation and diversification. Unlike the earlier period, which was characterized by the emergence of religious learning circles and their transformation into organized institutions, the New Order period witnessed the establishment of pesantren with increasingly distinct educational orientations. Changes in national educational policies, the growing demand for formal qualifications, and the persistence of local religious traditions influenced institutional development. The formalization of Islamic education prompted adjustments in curricula and institutional management, though pesantren responded differently based on their educational traditions and community circumstances (Steenbrink, 1986; Yuningsih, 2015). Six pesantren were established during this period, reflecting the coexistence of traditional, combined, and modern-integrated educational models.

The development of those six pesantren revealed two major institutional orientations. Tarbiyah Islamiyah and Al-Barokah maintained a strong traditional salaf character, emphasizing classical Islamic texts, *sorogan*, *bandongan*, and *madrasah diniyah*. The preservation of classical learning practices reflects the importance of scholarly transmission in maintaining the intellectual foundations of pesantren (Cahyadi et al., 2025). In contrast, Inayatullah, Darul Iman, Masdarul Ulum, and Darun Najah developed educational arrangements combining Islamic religious instruction with increasingly structured educational programs. The diversity of educational models is consistent with studies identifying differences in curriculum, institutional organization, and educational orientation as important dimensions of pesantren typology (Zakki & Hazinah, 2023). This distinction indicates that pesantren development during the New Order did not represent a uniform transition from traditional to modern education. Instead, different institutional models emerged and coexisted in response to local educational priorities.

The differentiation of educational models became increasingly evident through curriculum development and institutional management. Inayatullah evolved from a madrasah diniyah into a combined educational institution, while Darul Iman adopted a stronger orientation toward Arabic-language instruction and structured learning. Masdarul Ulum incorporated MI, MTs, and MA into its educational system, whereas Darun Najah combined formal education with classical Islamic learning and tahfidz. The development of formal educational institutions within pesantren reflects broader changes in the relationship between Islamic education and national educational systems (Ahmad, 2023). Curriculum development in pesantren has involved adjustments in educational content and organization while maintaining essential religious learning traditions (AR, 2018). These changes suggest that pesantren adopted formal education to align with institutional priorities, community expectations, and opportunities to expand access to recognized educational qualifications. The continued presence of traditional educational models demonstrates that formalization was not a universal institutional choice.

Table 4. Pesantren Established during the New Order Period (1983–1996)

No.	Pesantren	Year	Location	Main Institutional Characteristics
1	Tarbiyah Islamiyah	1983	Limbang Jaya II, Tanjung Batu	Traditional *salaf* education, sorogan, bandongan, and community-based religious learning
2	Inayatullah	1985	Limbang Jaya I, Tanjung Batu	Developed from madrasah diniyah into an institution combining religious and formal education
3	Darul Iman	1989	Seri Kembang, Muara Kuang	Modern-integrated education, Arabic and English instruction, and formal madrasahs

4	Masdarul Ulum	1991	Teluk Kecapi, Pemulutan	Integrated education combining MI, MTs, MA, classical instruction, and *halaqah*
5	Darun Najah	1995	Bangun Jaya, Tanjung Batu	Modern-integrated education incorporating classical Islamic texts, tahfidz, and formal madrasahs
6	Al-Barokah	1996	Tanjung Batu Seberang	Traditional *salaf* education, madrasah diniyah, *halaqah*, and community-based religious instruction

Source: Historical research findings and institutional development records documented in the study.

Scholarly networks and the authority of founders also influenced pesantren development during this period. Tarbiyah Islamiyah was founded by K.H. M. Amin Soleh, Inayatullah by H. Amirudin, Darul Iman by Ust. Suaidi, Masdarul Ulum by Drs. Junaidil Burdadi and Hj. Latifah, Darun Najah by K.H. Umar Idris, and Al-Barokah by K. Ahmad Darfa'i. The position of religious scholars as educators and institutional leaders has historically shaped pesantren development through the transmission of knowledge and the formation of religious authority (Ahmad, 2023). Masdarul Ulum maintained scholarly connections with the earlier Nurul Islam Seribandung network, while Darul Iman and Darun Najah were associated with educational influences linked to K.H. Imam Zarkasyi. The continuity of scholarly networks indicates that newly established pesantren remained connected to earlier intellectual traditions despite differences in educational orientation. Religious authority therefore continued to provide institutional legitimacy even as some pesantren developed more formalized organizational structures (Cahyadi et al., 2025).

Differences in institutional development also related to the relationship between pesantren and the surrounding community. Several institutions maintained semi-residential arrangements, allowing students from nearby villages to participate in educational activities without permanently residing in the pesantren. This arrangement reflected the pesantren's continued role as community-based centers of Islamic learning. Pesantren have historically contributed to religious education, social relationships, and community development beyond their formal instructional functions (Rois et al., 2023). The development of religious instruction alongside formal schooling also expanded educational opportunities for local communities. The relationship between pesantren and community participation remained important for sustaining institutional activities, particularly in rural educational environments (Rahmansyah, 2023). These findings suggest that institutional diversification was accompanied by the continuation of community-oriented religious services rather than a complete separation between pesantren and local society.

The geographical distribution of pesantren established during 1983–1996 provides further insight into the historical context of institutional development. Four institutions were located in the Tanjung Batu area: Tarbiyah Islamiyah and Inayatullah in Limbang Jaya, Darun Najah in Bangun Jaya, and Al-Barokah in Tanjung Batu Seberang. Masdarul Ulum developed in Pemulutan, while Darul Iman emerged in Muara Kuang. This distribution indicates that pesantren development was concentrated in areas with established Islamic educational activities and community religious networks. The historical role of religious scholars in South Sumatra has been associated with the development and dissemination of Islamic education within local communities (Wulandari & Hudaidah, 2021). The concentration of institutions in particular areas suggests that their emergence was connected to existing scholarly traditions and community support. However, geographical proximity alone does not establish direct genealogical relationships among all pesantren.

Institutional diversification during the New Order was shaped by the interaction between educational formalization and the persistence of local religious traditions. The development of madrasahs and structured schooling aligned with broader changes in Islamic educational institutions

in Indonesia, where policies and institutional recognition increasingly shaped educational organization (Siddiq, 2023). Traditional pesantren continued to emphasize classical learning and local religious authority, while integrated institutions expanded educational levels, language instruction, and institutional management. Pesantren's resilience in maintaining distinctive educational traditions despite changing external conditions has been identified as an important characteristic of Islamic boarding school development (Supriyanto et al., 2025). Variation among pesantren in Ogan Ilir indicates that national educational developments were mediated by institutional priorities, leadership orientations, and community needs, rather than producing identical changes across all institutions.

The historical significance of the New Order period lies in consolidating established scholarly traditions and fostering more diverse institutional models. The first period (1932–1967) primarily reflected the institutionalization of community-based religious education, whereas the second period (1983–1996) demonstrated differentiation between traditional salaf pesantren and institutions incorporating formal education. Classical Islamic learning and kiai authority remained important, while curricula, institutional organization, and educational services developed along different trajectories. Historical studies of pesantren development emphasize that educational transformation is closely associated with the interaction between inherited traditions and changing social conditions (Ningsih et al., 2023). The historical development of pesantren during this period therefore did not follow a linear transition from traditional to modern education. It represented a process of institutional diversification that established an important foundation for the expansion of educational programs and socio-religious functions during the Reform Era (Budiman et al., 2025).

Third Period: Development of Islamic Boarding Schools during the Reform Era (2003–2023)

The Reform Era introduced a new phase in pesantren development in Ogan Ilir, marked by expanded educational programs, diversified institutional models, and broader socio-religious functions. Although Indonesia's political Reformasi began in 1998, the period 2003–2023 refers specifically to the documented years of emergence and institutional establishment of eleven pesantren examined in this study. This distinction matters because the start of a political era does not necessarily coincide with the establishment of educational institutions. Compared with the New Order period, when institutional differentiation was primarily reflected in the coexistence of traditional religious education and formal madrasahs, developments during the Reform Era included stronger Qur'anic memorization programs, integrated schooling, foreign-language instruction, institutional management, and community empowerment. These characteristics did not develop uniformly across all pesantren; instead, they reflected different combinations of inherited scholarly traditions, educational priorities, and institutional capacities.

Table 5. Pesantren Established or Institutionally Consolidated during the Reform Era (2003–2023)

No.	Pesantren	Year	Location	Main Institutional Characteristics
1	Raudhatul Qur'an	2003	Payaraman Barat	Tahfidz, classical Islamic texts, foreign languages, and formal madrasahs
2	Syafaatut Thullab	2008	Patra Tani/Bakung, Indralaya Utara	Diniyah, classical Islamic texts, MI–MTs–MA, tahfidz, and life skills
3	Darul Funun	2009	Tambang Rambang, Rambang Kuang	Modern-integrated education, MI–MTs–MA, and classical Islamic studies
4	At-Tauhid/Kampoeng Tauhiid Sriwijaya	2010	Pemulutan	Religious education, da'wah, waqf, and community empowerment

5	Darussalam Al-Fatah	2013	Tanjung Pering, Indralaya Utara	Traditional salaf education, classical Islamic texts, sorogan, and *halaqah*
6	Madinatul Qur'an	2013	Betung, Lubuk Keliat	Tahfidz, MTs–MA, and Arabic–English instruction
7	Modern Sriwijaya	2015	Tanjung Temiang, Tanjung Raja	Integrated education, SMP IT, MA, foreign languages, and social activities
8	Al-Umar	2016–2019	Talang Seleman, Payaraman	Developed from Rumah Tahfidz (2016) into Pondok Tahfidz (2017) and a named pesantren (2019)
9	Hilyatul Quran	2020	Indralaya Indah	Tahsin, tahfidz, Arabic, and residential education
10	Kampoeng Quran Ancol	2022	Tanjung Atap, Tanjung Batu	Thirty-juz tahfidz, MI–MTs–MA, and integrated learning
11	Al-Basya	2023	Payakabung, Indralaya Utara	Tahfidz, formal schooling, Arabic–English, and digital skills

Source: Research findings, institutional histories, and educational records documented in the study. The years indicate the documented emergence or institutional consolidation of each pesantren; they do not necessarily reflect identical stages of legal or administrative establishment.

Pesantren development during this period showed increasing integration of Qur'anic education, traditional Islamic scholarship, and formal schooling. Raudhatul Qur'an, established in 2003, combined tahfidz with classical Islamic texts, foreign-language instruction, and formal madrasahs. The preservation of religious learning alongside institutional innovation reflects the continuing importance of scholarly traditions within pesantren education (Ahmad, 2023). Syafaatut Thullab developed from the study of *Fatḥ al-Qarīb* in 2007 into an institution formally established in 2008, subsequently expanding into MI, MTs, MA, tahfidz, and practical skills. Darul Funun, established in 2009, developed an integrated educational structure while maintaining the teaching of classical Islamic texts and connections with the Nurul Islam Seribandung scholarly network. Research on educational modernization in Ogan Ilir similarly identifies curricular integration and institutional adaptation as important features of pesantren transformation (Maulidi et al., 2025). These cases indicate that educational expansion was not necessarily accompanied by abandoning traditional religious instruction.

Scholarly authority and networks of knowledge transmission remained central to forming institutional identity. Raudhatul Qur'an maintained a scholarly connection with K.H. Tidjani Jauhari of Al-Amien Prenduan, while Darul Funun was linked to the earlier intellectual tradition of Nurul Islam Seribandung. The authority of kiai and the continuity of Islamic scholarship have historically contributed to the social and intellectual formation of santri (Ahmad, 2023). The transmission of religious knowledge through sanad, sorogan, and bandongan also demonstrates how teaching practices sustain intellectual authority across generations (Ardianto et al., 2026; Cahyadi et al., 2025; Efendi et al., 2026). In Ogan Ilir, these scholarly connections suggest that newly established pesantren developed by continuing and reinterpreting earlier educational traditions. Their institutional

development therefore involved both inherited religious authority and adjustments to contemporary educational expectations.

Institutional diversification during the Reform Era did not follow a uniform transition toward modern schooling. At-Tauhid/Kampoeng Tauhiid Sriwijaya, which developed around 2010, emphasized religious outreach, waqf, and community empowerment. The contribution of pesantren to community development extends beyond classroom instruction and includes activities addressing wider social needs (Rahmansyah, 2023; Sanusi et al., 2026). Darussalam Al-Fatah, established in 2013, maintained a traditional salaf orientation through classical Islamic texts, *sorogan*, and *halaqah*. Its continued emphasis on traditional learning illustrates the persistence of established educational models within an increasingly diverse institutional environment. The variety of pesantren typologies demonstrates that institutional identity cannot be understood through a rigid opposition between traditional and modern education (Zakki & Hazinah, 2023). These contrasting institutional orientations show that modernization was one possible response to changing educational demands, not an inevitable direction followed by every pesantren.

The expansion of integrated education became increasingly visible through Madinatul Qur'an and Modern Sriwijaya. Madinatul Qur'an, established in 2013, combined tahfidz with MTs and MA education, along with active Arabic and English instruction. The field findings recorded an increase in student enrollment from fewer than 100 students during its initial development to approximately 300–500 students at the time of data collection. Educational transformation in pesantren has been associated with the integration of religious and general education as institutions respond to broader learning requirements (Abdullah, 2026; Musaddad, 2023; R & Thohir, 2024; Utama & Salim, 2024). Modern Sriwijaya, established in 2015, developed SMP IT and MA programs while retaining *sorogan*, *bandongan*, and *halaqah*. Its educational services were accompanied by community activities, including public health initiatives and religious guidance. The continued involvement of pesantren in community religious life is consistent with their historical role as institutions that connect education, social relationships, and Islamic traditions (Rois et al., 2023). These examples demonstrate how some pesantren expanded their educational and social functions without abandoning established forms of religious instruction.

The development of Al-Umar illustrates the importance of distinguishing the beginning of educational activities from subsequent institutional recognition. Al-Umar began as Rumah Tahfidz in 2016, became Pondok Tahfidzul Qur'an in 2017, adopted the name Pondok Pesantren Al-Umar in 2019, and obtained its pesantren statistical number in 2021. Al-Basya followed a comparable process in which tahfidz activities preceded its formal institutional establishment in 2023. The historical development of pesantren has often involved gradual institutional formation rather than the immediate emergence of fully organized educational structures (Murtadho et al., 2024). The organizational evolution of these institutions demonstrates that a single establishment date may not fully represent the processes of educational initiation, institutional development, and administrative recognition. Historical interpretation therefore requires attention to the sequence of institutional changes and the documentary basis of each chronological claim.

The final phase of the study period, particularly 2020–2023, demonstrated increasing specialization in Qur'anic education and integrated schooling. Hilyatul Quran, established in 2020 within the Menara Fitrah Foundation, developed tahsin, tahfidz, Arabic instruction, and residential education. Kampoeng Quran Ancol, established in 2022, combined thirty-juz Qur'anic memorization with MI, MTs, and MA education. The development of pesantren curricula reflects an ongoing process of adapting educational content and institutional organization to changing social expectations (AR, 2018). Al-Basya, formally established in 2023, expanded its educational orientation through tahfidz, formal schooling, foreign-language instruction, martial arts, and digital skills. Pesantren resilience in confronting modernity is linked to their capacity to maintain religious identity while selectively incorporating contemporary educational practices (Supriyanto et al., 2025). These developments

indicate a stronger presence of specialized programs, although the evidence does not support assuming that technological adaptation was equally developed in all eleven institutions.

Changes in educational programs were accompanied by the persistence of scholarly authority, religious learning, and community-based traditions. Classical Islamic texts, Qur'anic instruction, the authority of kiai, and religious guidance continued to influence institutional identity. The role of pesantren in preserving religious and cultural traditions has remained significant despite transformations in educational organization (Sunarto, 2023). Institutional changes were more apparent in the expansion of formal education, specialized curricula, residential arrangements, and social services. The development of formal schooling also corresponded with changing educational policy frameworks and the growing institutional recognition of pesantren within the Indonesian education system (Usman & Widyanto, 2021). In Ogan Ilir, these transformations took different forms across institutions, shaped by their scholarly connections, educational priorities, community expectations, and organizational resources. The evidence consequently suggests that educational diversification represented the coexistence of multiple institutional orientations rather than the replacement of traditional pesantren by modern schools.

The historical significance of the Reform Era lies in the increasing specialization of educational programs and the expansion of pesantren's institutional and social functions. The first period (1932–1967) was characterized by the institutionalization of community-based religious education, while the New Order period (1983–1996) witnessed the consolidation and diversification of traditional and integrated educational models. The Reform Era (2003–2023) extended these transformations through the development of Qur'anic specialization, formal educational integration, institutional management, and community empowerment. Historical studies of pesantren emphasize the relationship between educational transformation and the preservation of Islamic intellectual and social traditions (Isbah, 2020; Ningsih et al., 2023). The continued presence of traditional educational practices across these periods indicates that institutional change did not eliminate earlier forms of religious scholarship. The historical development of pesantren in Ogan Ilir therefore represents a differentiated process of continuity and change in which inherited traditions interacted with evolving educational and socio-religious needs.

Typology of Pesantren in Ogan Ilir Regency

The institutional diversity of pesantren in Ogan Ilir Regency reflects a historical process in which Islamic educational traditions have developed alongside changing social expectations, educational demands, and institutional capacities. A conventional distinction between salaf and khalaf pesantren cannot adequately explain the development of these institutions, since their educational orientations and organizational characteristics do not always fit into mutually exclusive categories. Pesantren have historically demonstrated considerable institutional flexibility, maintaining religious authority and established educational traditions while responding to wider transformations in Indonesian society (Isbah, 2020). This pattern is particularly evident in Ogan Ilir, where *cawisan*, classical Islamic scholarship, and *madrasah diniyah* have continued to develop alongside formal education, Qur'anic memorization, foreign-language instruction, and community-oriented institutional activities.

The historical development of the 22 pesantren examined in this study reveals three principal typological orientations: Scientific Tradition, Modernization of Education, and Independence and Empowerment. These categories represent differences in institutional orientation rather than absolute distinctions between organizational models. Scientific Tradition emphasizes transmitting Islamic knowledge through classical texts, scholarly authority, and established learning practices. Modernization of Education concerns the institutional expansion of formal education, curricular integration, educational management, and the development of student competencies. Independence and Empowerment refers to the strengthening of institutional resources, productive economic activities, and relationships between pesantren and their surrounding communities. The coexistence of these orientations reflects the broader development of pesantren as institutions that continually

negotiate the relationship between educational continuity and organizational transformation (Mas'udi, 2024).

The classification is informed by an ideal-typological perspective in which institutional categories function as analytical constructions rather than complete representations of individual institutions. Identifying a dominant typology therefore depends on the relative centrality of particular characteristics within each pesantren's educational practices, institutional structures, and social activities. Institutional diversity in Indonesian pesantren has been associated with differences in educational systems, curricula, institutional management, and responses to changing social circumstances (Meliani, Suhartini, et al., 2022). Within the Ogan Ilir context, a pesantren may retain classical Islamic instruction while simultaneously developing formal educational institutions and community empowerment programs. The presence of multiple characteristics does not invalidate the classification but indicates that pesantren development involves intersecting institutional orientations.

Three groups of indicators provide the analytical foundation for this classification. Scientific Tradition is identified through the centrality of *kitab kuning*, the authority of the kiai, scholarly transmission through sanad, and instructional practices such as cawisan, sorogan, bandongan, and halaqah. Modernization of Education is identified through formal educational institutions, integrated curricula, Arabic and English language programs, student organizations, institutional administration, accreditation, and technological adaptation. Independence and Empowerment is identified through cooperatives, business units, productive waqf, entrepreneurship, vocational activities, community services, and social empowerment initiatives. These dimensions reflect different expressions of institutional transformation rather than a linear progression from traditional to modern education (Musaddad, 2023).

Table 6. Typological Framework of Pesantren in Ogan Ilir Regency

Typology	Principal Institutional Orientation	Operational Indicators
Scientific Tradition	Preservation and transmission of Islamic scholarly traditions	Classical Islamic texts, kiai authority, *sanad*, *cawisan*, *sorogan*, *bandongan*, *halaqah*, *madrasah diniyah*
Modernization of Education	Institutional and curricular development	Formal education, integrated curriculum, foreign languages, student organizations, accreditation, institutional management, technology
Independence and Empowerment	Institutional sustainability and socioeconomic engagement	Cooperatives, business units, entrepreneurship, productive waqf, vocational activities, social services, community empowerment

Source: Analytical organization of the research findings.

Table 6 presents the principal indicators that distinguish the three typological orientations. These indicators should not be interpreted as exclusive attributes because pesantren institutional practices frequently intersect across educational, organizational, and socioeconomic dimensions. The historical diversity of pesantren suggests that differences in institutional forms are closely related to the particular circumstances through which individual pesantren emerge, consolidate, and expand their activities (Zakki & Hazinah, 2023). Consequently, the classification distinguishes between dominant institutional orientation and secondary characteristics. The former refers to the educational or organizational orientation most prominently represented in an institution's development, whereas the latter captures additional characteristics that coexist with its principal function.

The comparative examination of the 22 pesantren indicates that the relationship between scholarly tradition and educational modernization is particularly significant. Raudhatul Ulum Sakatiga

and Al-Ittifaqiah Indralaya show how institutions originating in religious scholarly networks later developed broader formal educational structures and community-oriented activities. Other pesantren, including Tarbiyah Islamiyah and Darussalam Al-Fatah, maintain stronger emphasis on classical instructional practices despite the increasing prominence of formal education and institutional modernization elsewhere. These variations suggest that pesantren development is shaped not only by changing educational policies but also by the historical authority of religious scholars, community expectations, and individual institutions' capacity to expand their educational functions. The historical relationship between Islamic educational traditions and institutional transformation has likewise been identified as a central characteristic of pesantren development in Indonesia (Ahmad, 2023).

Classification Matrix of Pesantren in Ogan Ilir Regency

The institutional information concerning the 22 pesantren was organized into a comparative matrix to clarify the relationship between typological categories and observable institutional characteristics. The matrix distinguishes each institution's proposed dominant orientation from additional characteristics identified in the historical and institutional descriptions. This distinction matters analytically because the presence of formal education, classical religious instruction, or socioeconomic activities does not necessarily determine their relative prominence within an institution. Each classification therefore requires consideration of the pesantren's historical development, educational programs, organizational arrangements, and community-oriented activities.

Table 7. Analytical Classification Matrix of the 22 Pesantren in Ogan Ilir Regency

No.	Pesantren	Proposed Dominant Typology	Additional Characteristics	Empirical Indicators Identified in the Manuscript
1	Nurul Islam Seribandung	Scientific Tradition	Scholarly networks and institutional development	*Kitab kuning*, kiai authority, *cawisan*, scholarly networks, religious literacy
2	Raudhatul Ulum Sakatiga	Modernization of Education	Scientific Tradition; Independence and Empowerment	Integrated education, Arabic-English programs, classical scholarship, cooperatives, institutional management
3	Nurul Hilal Senuro	Scientific Tradition	Institutional development	*Madrasah Diniyah*, religious instruction, continuity of teaching traditions
4	Amjaiyah Tanjung Batu	Scientific Tradition	Community religious engagement	*Madrasah Diniyah*, m*ajelis taklim*, local kiai, community religious traditions
5	Al-Ittifaqiah Indralaya	Modernization of Education	Scientific Tradition; Independence and Empowerment	Formal education, tahfidz, foreign languages, scholarly networks, cooperatives, productive activities
6	Tarbiyah Islamiyah	Scientific Tradition	Educational development	*Salaf* curriculum, *sorogan*, *bandongan*, classical religious instruction

7	Inayatullah	Modernization of Education	Scientific Tradition	*Madrasah Diniyah*, MTs–MA, *kitab kuning*, classical educational development
8	Darul Iman	Modernization of Education	Scientific Tradition	MI–MTs–MA, Arabic-English instruction, classical education, *kitab* learning
9	Masdarul Ulum	Modernization of Education	Scientific Tradition	Integrated education, MI–MTs–MA, *halaqah*, scholarly networks, accreditation
10	Darun Najah	Modernization of Education	Scientific Tradition	TAAM, TPA, *madrasah diniyah*, MTs–MA, classical Islamic texts
11	Al-Barokah	Scientific Tradition	Educational and social development	Salaf education, *halaqah*, *madrasah diniyah*, RA, social activities
12	Raudhatul Qur'an	Modernization of Education	Scientific Tradition; Independence and Empowerment	Tahfidz, *kitab kuning*, formal education, entrepreneurship, community service
13	Syafaatut Thullab	Modernization of Education	Scientific Tradition; Independence and Empowerment	*Madrasah Diniyah*, *kitab kuning*, MI–MTs–MA, tahfidz, life skills, business activities
14	Darul Funun	Modernization of Education	Scientific Tradition; Community engagement	MI–MTs–MA, foreign languages, *kitab* learning, tahfidz, vocational activities
15	Kampoeng Tauhiid Sriwijaya	Independence and Empowerment	Religious education and da'wah	Waqf, community empowerment, social services, institutional self-reliance
16	Darussalam Al-Fatah	Scientific Tradition	Scholarly networks	*Salaf* education, *sorogan*, *halaqah*, *kitab kuning*, scholarly *sanad*
17	Madinatul Qur'an	Modernization of Education	Qur'anic education	Tahfidz, MTs–MA, Arabic-English instruction, integrated educational system
18	Modern Sriwijaya	Modernization of Education	Scientific Tradition; Community engagement	MA, SMP IT, foreign languages, *sorogan*, *bandongan*, social activities
19	Al-Umar	Modernization of Education	Qur'anic education	Tahfidz, institutional development, integrated educational programs

20	Hilyatul Quran	Modernization of Education	Independence and Empowerment	Tahsin, tahfidz, Arabic, boarding education, skills development, social activities
21	Kampoeng Quran Ancol	Modernization of Education	Qur'anic education	Tahfidz 30 juz, MI–MTs–MA, *halaqah*, integrated educational programs
22	Al-Basya	Modernization of Education	Qur'anic education and vocational development	Tahfidz, Arabic-English programs, formal education, digital skills

Source: Preliminary analytical classification based on the historical and institutional descriptions presented in the research manuscript.

The matrix illustrates three important patterns of institutional development. First, pesantren established in earlier periods generally show stronger historical connections to scholarly authority, classical Islamic instruction, and community-based religious education. Second, several institutions have expanded their educational functions through formal schooling, foreign-language programs, and increasingly differentiated organizational structures. Third, economic and community empowerment activities have developed alongside educational programs, particularly among institutions seeking to strengthen organizational resources and expand their social contributions. These patterns indicate that pesantren transformation is not simply a consequence of educational modernization but also reflects continuing relationships between religious knowledge, institutional capacity, and community expectations.

The overlap among typologies is especially visible in institutions that maintain scholarly traditions while expanding formal education and community-oriented activities. Al-Ittifaqiah and Raudhatul Ulum illustrate this pattern by combining Islamic scholarship, integrated education, institutional management, and economic initiatives. The relationship between scholarly authority and contemporary institutional practices matters because the transmission of religious knowledge continues to provide cultural and religious legitimacy for pesantren development. The role of *sanad*, *sorogan*, and *bandongan* in maintaining intellectual authority demonstrates that established scholarly practices remain significant even when pesantren institutions undergo broader educational transformations (Cahyadi et al., 2025).

The classification further indicates that institutional modernization should not be understood as a uniform developmental trajectory. Pesantren differ in how much they institutionalize formal education, develop foreign-language programs, or incorporate technology into educational activities. Some institutions prioritize classical religious instruction, while others emphasize integrated curricula and broader educational competencies. Modern educational development can therefore be interpreted as an expansion of institutional capacity rather than the displacement of Islamic educational identity. The continuing role of Islamic values in modern pesantren education supports the understanding that religious continuity and educational development can coexist within a single institutional framework (Mujahid, 2021).

The empowerment dimension introduces another important distinction. Institutional independence is not limited to establishing cooperatives or business units; it also encompasses developing human resources, community services, and productive relationships with local society. Pesantren may therefore contribute to community development through different institutional arrangements, including entrepreneurship, vocational activities, educational services, religious outreach, and social initiatives. Pesantren's role in community development shows that their institutional significance extends beyond religious instruction to broader processes of social participation and local development (Rahmansyah, 2023). Nevertheless, socioeconomic activities

should not automatically be interpreted as evidence of financial independence without further information on their scale, management, sustainability, and contribution to institutional resources.

The comparative analysis establishes that the three typologies represent interconnected institutional orientations rather than mutually exclusive categories. Their significance lies in explaining differences in the relative emphasis placed on scholarly continuity, educational institutionalization, and socioeconomic engagement. The classification also reveals that similar educational programs may serve different institutional purposes depending on historical background, organizational priorities, and community relationships. The typological diversity of pesantren in Ogan Ilir consequently reflects the broader interaction between tradition, institutional transformation, and local social development.

Islamic Boarding Schools Based on Scientific Traditions

Pesantren based on Scientific Tradition are characterized by the centrality of classical Islamic scholarship, the authority of religious teachers, and the continuity of established instructional practices. Their institutional identity is closely associated with the transmission of religious knowledge through *kitab kuning*, *sanad*, *sorogan*, *bandongan*, *halaqah*, and *madrasah diniyah*. These educational practices serve not only as methods of instruction but also as mechanisms through which religious knowledge, scholarly authority, and relationships between teachers and students are sustained across generations. The preservation of Islamic educational traditions remains closely connected to the historical role of pesantren as institutions rooted in local religious and cultural practices (Sunarto, 2023).

The historical foundations of this typology are particularly evident in Nurul Islam Seribandung, established in 1932 through the educational initiatives of K.H. Anwar bin H. Kumpul. Its development from cawisan and Madrasah Sa'adatud Darain into a pesantren institution demonstrates the relationship between religious instruction, scholarly networks, and community demand for Islamic education. Historical scholarship has also examined K.H. Anwar's intellectual development and his contribution to establishing Islamic educational institutions in Seribandung (Syarifuddin et al., 2021). Nurul Islam consequently represents a form of pesantren development in which institutional legitimacy emerged through religious knowledge, scholarly authority, and sustained community relationships.

The development of Islamic educational networks in Sakatiga further shows the significance of religious scholarship in pesantren institutional formation. Connections between local scholars and centers of Islamic learning outside the region helped circulate religious knowledge and shape cawisan and madrasah education. These relationships laid the foundation for the later development of institutions such as Raudhatul Ulum Sakatiga and Al-Ittifaqiah Indralaya. The historical role of religious scholars in South Sumatra illustrates the significance of ulama networks in shaping the development and continuity of Islamic education (Hudaidah, 2021).

The continuity of the Scientific Tradition is also evident in Nurul Hilal Senuro and Amjaiyah Tanjung Batu, which developed through *madrasah diniyah*, religious instruction, and community-based educational activities. During the New Order period, Tarbiyah Islamiyah and Al-Barokah maintained traditional instructional methods, particularly *sorogan*, *bandongan*, and *halaqah*. Darussalam Al-Fatah, established during the Reform period, similarly demonstrates the continued relevance of the salaf educational model through classical Islamic texts and scholarly connections with Al-Fatah Temboro. These institutions indicate that traditional religious education has remained an active component of pesantren development despite changing institutional circumstances.

The persistence of the Scientific Tradition should not be interpreted as resistance to institutional development. Several pesantren maintaining classical instructional practices have also expanded their educational services through early childhood education, Qur'anic memorization, and other institutional activities. The historical relationship between educational continuity and curricular change indicates that maintaining established religious traditions can coexist with institutional adaptation (AR, 2018). Scientific Tradition therefore represents a continuing foundation of pesantren identity through which religious knowledge, educational legitimacy, and scholarly relationships are reproduced within changing social circumstances.

Islamic Boarding Schools Based on Educational Modernization

Pesantren based on educational modernization are distinguished by the expansion of formal educational institutions, the development of integrated curricula, organizational management, foreign-language instruction, and increasingly diversified student development programs. In this context, modernization refers primarily to institutional and educational transformation rather than abandoning classical Islamic scholarship. The transformation of traditional Islamic education in Ogan Ilir has been examined in relation to the development of modern pesantren educational models (Maulidi et al., 2025). This perspective is relevant to institutions that have incorporated formal schooling and contemporary educational programs while preserving religious instruction as an essential component of their educational identity.

Al-Ittifaqiah Indralaya and Raudhatul Ulum Sakatiga represent significant examples of educational modernization rooted in established Islamic scholarly traditions. Both institutions developed broader educational structures involving formal education, foreign-language instruction, student organizations, and institutional management. Their historical connections with earlier religious educational networks demonstrate that modernization emerged through institutional expansion rather than a complete departure from established scholarly traditions. The coexistence of religious education and modern institutional development reflects pesantren's capacity to negotiate educational change within their historical and cultural contexts.

The development of Darul Iman, Inayatullah, Masdarul Ulum, and Darun Najah during the New Order period further illustrates the diversification of educational institutions. These pesantren combined religious instruction with formal education, including MI, MTs, and MA, while maintaining varying degrees of classical text learning and traditional instructional practices. Developing formal educational institutions also required stronger organizational arrangements, administrative procedures, and educational management. Institutional governance consequently became an increasingly important dimension of pesantren modernization, particularly as educational services expanded beyond traditional religious instruction. The role of educational supervision and institutional development in strengthening pesantren education has been highlighted in previous research (Murtadho et al., 2024).

During the Reform period, educational modernization became increasingly associated with Qur'anic education, foreign languages, vocational competencies, and technological adaptation. Darul Funun, Madinatul Qur'an, Modern Sriwijaya, Hilyatul Quran, Kampoeng Quran Ancol, and Al-Basya demonstrate different combinations of formal education, *tahfidz*, Arabic-English instruction, and student development activities. Raudhatul Qur'an and Syafaatut Thullab similarly combine Islamic educational traditions with broader educational services and community-oriented programs. These developments indicate that modernization has increased the diversity of institutional arrangements through which pesantren respond to changing educational expectations.

The expansion of educational programs also demonstrates that pesantren modernization involves a transformation in educational orientation. Classical Islamic knowledge remains important, but it is increasingly accompanied by programs intended to strengthen communication, leadership, organizational participation, and practical competencies. The involvement of stakeholders in pesantren curriculum development is particularly significant because institutional adaptation requires negotiation between educational objectives, religious values, and community expectations (Sholeh et al., 2023). Educational modernization therefore involves not only curriculum expansion but also changes in institutional governance and the organization of learning opportunities.

The findings indicate that Modernization of Education represents a process of institutional differentiation in which pesantren expand their educational functions without necessarily relinquishing established religious traditions. Formal education, foreign-language instruction, and technological development are incorporated according to institutional needs and educational priorities. The relationship between contemporary educational demands and the preservation of pesantren

traditions demonstrates that modernization operates through different institutional strategies rather than through a uniform model of development.

Independence-Based and Empowerment-Based Islamic Boarding Schools

Pesantren based on Independence and Empowerment are characterized by their efforts to strengthen institutional resources, develop productive activities, and expand their socioeconomic relationships with surrounding communities. This orientation includes cooperatives, entrepreneurship, productive waqf, vocational programs, agricultural activities, and various forms of community service. Institutional independence does not necessarily imply complete financial autonomy or the absence of external support. Rather, it reflects the development of organizational capacities that enable pesantren to manage resources, sustain educational activities, and extend their social contributions. The relationship between community participation and socioeconomic development provides an important perspective for understanding the broader significance of these institutional activities (B. Hasanah et al., 2022).

The development of Independence and Empowerment is particularly evident in Al-Ittifaqiah Indralaya and Raudhatul Ulum Sakatiga, where educational expansion has been accompanied by institutional resource development and community-oriented activities. Cooperatives, economic units, and social programs represent efforts to strengthen organizational sustainability while maintaining pesantren's educational and religious functions. These activities demonstrate that institutional independence can develop alongside educational modernization rather than constituting an entirely separate institutional model.

Other pesantren demonstrate empowerment through different organizational activities. Syafaatut Thullab develops vocational and life-skills programs alongside religious education, while Raudhatul Qur'an incorporates entrepreneurship and community-oriented initiatives. Kampoeng Tauhiid Sriwijaya places particular emphasis on waqf, religious outreach, and social empowerment. Hilyatul Quran and Al-Barokah also demonstrate additional social and institutional development activities, although the available descriptions do not establish the scale of their economic contributions. These differences suggest that empowerment varies with institutional priorities, organizational resources, and relationships with surrounding communities.

The significance of this typology extends beyond economic activities because pesantren also operate as social institutions that maintain religious and cultural relationships with local communities. Religious outreach, communal activities, educational services, and community participation help reproduce social relationships between pesantren and surrounding society. Pesantren's role in maintaining local traditions and cultural continuity shows that its social functions are closely connected to the religious and cultural environments in which it operates (Fiqih, 2022).

Institutional empowerment must nevertheless be distinguished from the mere existence of productive or social programs. A cooperative, business unit, or vocational activity provides evidence of an empowerment initiative, but it does not, by itself, demonstrate financial sustainability or substantial socioeconomic impact. Drawing such conclusions requires further examination of institutional records, program continuity, economic performance, and community participation. This distinction matters because empowerment is both an institutional orientation and a process whose outcomes may differ among pesantren.

The Independence and Empowerment typology therefore expands pesantren functions beyond conventional religious instruction without separating these activities from their educational foundations. Productive economic initiatives support institutional development, while community engagement strengthens the social relationships through which pesantren maintain their relevance. The different combinations of educational, religious, and empowerment activities reinforce the argument that pesantren development in Ogan Ilir is characterized by overlapping institutional orientations rather than mutually exclusive organizational forms.

Typological Synthesis

The three typologies show that pesantren development in Ogan Ilir Regency is shaped by ongoing interaction among religious scholarship, educational transformation, and socioeconomic engagement. Scientific Tradition provides continuity through classical Islamic knowledge and scholarly authority; Modernization of Education expands educational opportunities and organizational capacity; and Independence and Empowerment strengthen institutional resources and community relationships. These orientations do not represent successive stages that every pesantren must pass through. Instead, they coexist in different combinations, shaped by each institution's historical formation, educational priorities, and organizational capacity.

This typology contributes analytically by recognizing institutional diversity without reducing pesantren to rigid classifications. The historical development of individual pesantren demonstrates that religious continuity and organizational transformation are not necessarily competing processes. Educational modernization may strengthen the institutional reach of traditional religious instruction, while economic and social initiatives may support the sustainability of both traditional and modern educational activities. This relationship offers a more nuanced understanding of pesantren development. It provides an analytical foundation for examining their collective contribution to Ogan Ilir Regency's religious and social identity as a *City of Santri*.

The Tradition of Pesantren in the Formation of Ogan Ilir's Identity as a 'City of Santri'

The formation of Ogan Ilir's identity as a *City of Santri* represents a sociohistorical process in which religious educational traditions, institutional development, and community relationships intersect over time. This identity cannot be explained solely by the numerical presence of pesantren or their institutional expansion. Instead, it requires examining how religious practices gain historical continuity, develop into diverse educational institutions, and become associated with broader social meanings. The relationship between Islamic education and the sociocultural development of local communities demonstrates that religious institutions may contribute to regional identity through the preservation of traditions, the formation of social networks, and the transmission of values across generations (Suradi, 2022). This study identifies four interconnected dimensions through which this relationship can be examined: the historical development of pesantren, institutional typology, the process of social construction, and the formation of regional identity. These dimensions provide a framework for explaining pesantren's contribution to Ogan Ilir's religious and social identity without treating the designation *City of Santri* as an identity automatically established by the existence of Islamic educational institutions.

The first dimension concerns the historical development of pesantren, which provides the temporal and institutional foundations of religious identity. The findings indicate that pesantren in Ogan Ilir emerged through successive historical periods characterized by continuity in Islamic educational practices and changes in institutional organization. Early religious education was closely associated with *cawisan*, home-based Qur'anic instruction, *madrasah diniyah*, and the transmission of classical Islamic knowledge. These practices formed part of the historical development of Islamic culture in Ogan Ilir, where religious scholars and community-based educational activities played important roles in sustaining Islamic learning (Ilhamudin et al., 2020). The establishment of Nurul Islam Seribandung in 1932 illustrates this relationship. Religious educational activities associated with K.H. Anwar bin H. Kumpul developed into Madrasah Sa'adatud Darain and subsequently into a more established pesantren institution. The historical contribution of K.H. Anwar demonstrates the significance of scholarly leadership and community participation in the development of Islamic educational institutions (Syarifuddin et al., 2021). Similar processes are reflected in the development of educational networks in Sakatiga, where religious instruction and scholarly connections contributed to the institutional foundations of Raudhatul Ulum and Al-Ittifaqiah.

The historical significance of these developments extends beyond institutional chronology. The shift from informal religious instruction to organized pesantren shows how Islamic educational practices gained continuity through institutional arrangements and scholarly relationships. During the

New Order period, the emergence of Tarbiyah Islamiyah, Inayatullah, Darul Iman, Masdarul Ulum, Darun Najah, and Al-Barokah demonstrated different responses to the growing importance of formal education. The Reform period introduced further institutional diversity through the development of *tahfidz*, integrated education, foreign-language instruction, and community-oriented programs. These transformations align with pesantren's historical capacity to maintain religious traditions while adapting educational structures to changing circumstances (Isbah, 2020). Historical continuity therefore provides an important foundation for understanding how pesantren traditions became enduring parts of Ogan Ilir's educational and religious landscape.

The second dimension is the typology of pesantren, which explains how historically established religious educational institutions developed different orientations and expanded their functions within society. The findings identify three major typologies: Scientific Tradition, Modernization of Education, and Independence and Empowerment. These categories reflect differences in institutional emphasis rather than mutually exclusive organizational forms. The diversity of pesantren educational systems demonstrates that institutional development cannot be adequately explained through a rigid distinction between traditional and modern educational models (Meliani, Muhyiddin, et al., 2022). Scientific Tradition maintains the transmission of classical Islamic knowledge, scholarly authority, and religious educational practices. Modernization of Education expands institutional capacity through formal schooling, integrated curricula, foreign-language instruction, and organizational development. Independence and Empowerment extend institutional functions through entrepreneurship, productive activities, social services, and community participation. These orientations show that pesantren contribute to regional religious life through different but interconnected institutional mechanisms.

The relationship between these typologies is evident in the development of individual pesantren. Nurul Islam Seribandung, Tarbiyah Islamiyah, and Darussalam Al-Fatah demonstrate the continued significance of classical religious instruction and scholarly authority. Al-Ittifaqiah Indralaya and Raudhatul Ulum Sakatiga combine established religious educational traditions with formal educational development and broader institutional activities. Syafaatut Thullab and Raudhatul Qur'an illustrate how religious education can coexist with vocational programs and community-oriented initiatives. At the same time, Kampoeng Tauhiid Sriwijaya places stronger emphasis on religious outreach, waqf, and social empowerment. The transformation of pesantren into institutions with increasingly diverse educational and social functions reflects their capacity to expand organizational activities without necessarily abandoning their religious foundations (Musaddad, 2023). The significance of typological diversity for regional identity therefore lies in the different channels through which pesantren interact with society. Scholarly traditions sustain religious authority, educational modernization broadens institutional participation, and empowerment initiatives strengthen relationships between pesantren and surrounding communities.

The third dimension concerns the process of social construction, which explains how pesantren's historical presence and institutional diversity may help form shared social meanings. The analytical framework of externalization, objectification, and internalization provides a way to examine the relationship between religious practices, institutional arrangements, and the reproduction of social identity (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). These processes should not be interpreted as separate chronological stages, but as interconnected mechanisms through which individuals and institutions continuously produce and reproduce social realities. In Ogan Ilir, the historical development and institutional diversity of pesantren provide relevant evidence for examining how Islamic educational traditions move beyond formal learning and become associated with broader religious and social practices.

Externalization is reflected in the expression of Islamic values through religious education, communal worship, *cawisan*, *majelis taklim*, *tahfidz*, *haflah*, *da'wah*, and community service. These activities represent concrete practices through which religious knowledge and values are introduced, maintained, and communicated within social relationships. The continued practice of cawisan in Ogan

Ilir provides an example of how religious instruction operates within community-based settings beyond formal pesantren education (Rizkydermawan et al., 2024). The early development of Nurul Islam Seribandung and the Islamic educational networks in Sakatiga similarly indicates that religious learning practices preceded the consolidation of several pesantren institutions. Externalization therefore provides a historical explanation of how religious values become expressed in recurring social activities that may contribute to a shared religious environment.

Objectification occurs when these recurring religious practices acquire relatively stable institutional forms and become recognizable elements of social life. In Ogan Ilir, this process can be examined through the transformation of *cawisan* and religious instruction into madrasah and pesantren institutions, followed by the development of educational structures, organizational arrangements, and institutional traditions. The historical development of Islamic educational institutions demonstrates how religious practices may acquire continuity through institutional consolidation and organizational transformation (Ahmad, 2023). Nurul Islam Seribandung, Raudhatul Ulum Sakatiga, and Al-Ittifaqiah Indralaya illustrate this process, as religious educational activities developed into institutions with recognizable histories, educational programs, and scholarly networks. Mosques, dormitories, classical Islamic texts, educational ceremonies, and institutional histories also contribute to the symbolic visibility of pesantren. These elements demonstrate institutional continuity, although their recognition as symbols of a shared regional identity must be distinguished from their existence as institutional features.

Internalization concerns the process through which religious values, educational traditions, and institutional meanings become incorporated into individual dispositions and social practices. Pesantren education provides an important setting for this process through Qur'anic learning, classical Islamic instruction, religious discipline, respect for teachers, and the cultivation of *adab*. The relationship between Islamic values and character formation within modern pesantren demonstrates the continued significance of religious education in shaping students' moral and social orientations (Mujahid, 2021). In Ogan Ilir, the transmission of values through relationships between *kiai*, santri, and educational institutions provides a mechanism through which religious traditions may be reproduced across generations. Scholarly practices such as *sanad*, *sorogan*, and *bandongan* reinforce this continuity by connecting religious instruction with recognized forms of intellectual authority (Cahyadi et al., 2025). Alumni relationships, family participation, and community engagement may extend these values beyond pesantren environments. However, determining how far they are incorporated into wider collective identity requires direct evidence from the communities concerned.

The interaction between externalization, objectification, and internalization provides a more precise explanation of the relationship between pesantren traditions and regional identity. Religious practices contribute to the formation of educational institutions, established institutions provide spaces for transmitting values, and individuals who participate in these institutions may reproduce religious practices within wider society. The relationship between Islamic traditions and local cultural practices in Ogan Ilir demonstrates the importance of social interaction in shaping religious and cultural meanings (Syawaludin, 2017). This process is dialectical because institutional continuity depends on continued participation by individuals and communities, while existing educational institutions and social traditions also shape religious practices. The persistence of pesantren traditions therefore cannot be attributed exclusively to institutional authority or individual religious commitment; it requires consideration of the reciprocal relationship among historical institutions, educational practices, and community participation.

The fourth dimension concerns the formation of Ogan Ilir's regional identity as a *City of Santri*. This dimension represents the potential collective significance of the preceding historical, institutional, and social processes. The existence of 22 pesantren within the research corpus demonstrates the historical development and institutional diversity of Islamic education in Ogan Ilir. Their activities also reveal different forms of religious instruction, educational development, and community engagement. These findings provide a basis for explaining how pesantren may contribute to the region's religious

character. The preservation of religious traditions and cultural practices through pesantren has broader significance for the relationship between Islamic educational institutions and local social life (Sunarto, 2023). Nevertheless, the number of pesantren and the diversity of their educational programs do not, on their own, establish that the *City of Santri* constitutes a uniformly accepted collective identity.

A distinction must therefore be maintained between the historical foundations of identity, the mechanisms through which identity may develop, and the wider community's empirical recognition of that identity. Historical evidence establishes the presence and institutional development of pesantren. Typological analysis identifies the different educational and social functions through which pesantren maintain relationships with society. Social construction explains how religious practices and institutional meanings may be reproduced beyond the educational environment. The recognition of Ogan Ilir as a *City of Santri*, however, raises questions about the extent to which different social groups understand these historical and institutional experiences as representative of the region. The social role of pesantren in community development indicates that religious educational institutions can maintain relationships with society through educational services, social activities, and community participation (Rahmansyah, 2023). Whether these relationships have generated a shared regional identity must be evaluated through community narratives, documentary evidence, and accounts of collective recognition.

The four dimensions can consequently be understood as analytically interconnected rather than as independent explanations. Historical development establishes the continuity of pesantren traditions and the institutional foundations of Islamic education. Typological diversity explains how pesantren extend their educational, religious, and social functions through different organizational orientations. Social construction identifies the processes through which these practices become institutionalized and reproduced within social relationships. Regional identity represents the broader collective meaning that may emerge when such practices and institutions become socially recognized as characteristic of Ogan Ilir. The interaction between institutional continuity and adaptation demonstrates that pesantren preserve their religious foundations while developing new forms of educational and organizational activity (Mas'udi, 2024). These relationships help explain the historical and social conditions through which pesantren traditions may become associated with regional identity.

The interrelation between these dimensions is illustrated in Figure 1. Historical development provides the institutional foundation, typological diversity demonstrates the different forms of pesantren contribution, and social construction explains the relationship between religious practices, institutions, and the transmission of values. Regional identity represents the collective significance these interactions may produce. The model should not be interpreted as a strictly linear sequence in which institutional development automatically produces collective identity. Rather, the relationships are continuous and reciprocal. The reproduction of religious practices may strengthen institutional traditions, while the expansion of pesantren functions creates additional opportunities for community engagement and the circulation of religious values.

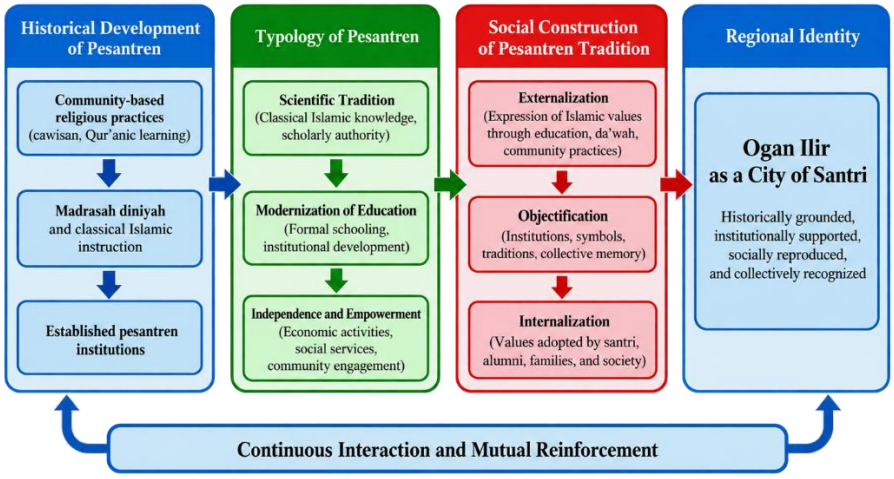

Figure 1. Interrelation between Historical Development, Typology, Social Construction, and the Formation of Ogan Ilir's Identity as a *City of Santri*

The conceptual model shows that forming a *City of Santri* identity requires the convergence of historical continuity, institutional diversity, social reproduction, and collective recognition. Its significance lies in distinguishing pesantren's existence from the social processes through which pesantren traditions may become meaningful to the wider community. The historical and institutional findings support the argument that pesantren have developed into enduring components of Ogan Ilir's religious educational landscape. The social construction framework extends this analysis by identifying mechanisms through which educational traditions may influence broader social meanings. The findings therefore explain the historical and institutional foundations of Ogan Ilir's identity as a City of Santri, while recognizing that claims about the extent of collective acceptance require direct empirical confirmation.

This study contributes by integrating historical development, institutional typology, and social construction into a framework for understanding the relationship between pesantren and regional religious identity. Earlier discussions of pesantren development have emphasized different aspects of educational continuity, institutional transformation, and social adaptation (Supriyanto et al., 2025). The present analysis brings these dimensions together by demonstrating how historically established pesantren traditions are maintained through different institutional orientations and reproduced through educational and community practices. Ogan Ilir's identity as a *City of Santri* can therefore be interpreted as a historically grounded and socially negotiated construction rather than a fixed designation derived solely from the presence of Islamic boarding schools. The framework provides a basis for further examining how such an identity is recognized, maintained, and contested within the experiences of local communities.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that the development of pesantren in Ogan Ilir Regency constitutes a continuous process of religious, educational, and institutional transformation across three historical periods: the pre- and post-independence period (1932–1967), the New Order period (1983–1996), and the Reform period (2003–2023). The historical development of the 22 pesantren reveals three interconnected institutional typologies: Scientific Tradition, Modernization of Education, and Independence and Empowerment. These typologies are not mutually exclusive; they reflect different orientations through which pesantren preserve Islamic scholarly traditions, expand educational opportunities, and strengthen their socioeconomic functions. The interaction between historical continuity and institutional diversity provides a foundation for understanding how pesantren traditions contribute to Ogan Ilir's religious and social character. Through externalization, religious

values are expressed in educational and community practices; through objectification, these practices acquire enduring institutional and symbolic forms; and through internalization, pesantren values are transmitted across generations. Ogan Ilir's identity as a City of Santri is therefore better understood as a historically situated, socially constructed process rather than a designation determined solely by the number or presence of Islamic boarding schools.

This study's principal contribution is integrating historical development, institutional typology, and social construction into an analytical framework for understanding the relationship between pesantren and regional religious identity. This framework shows that pesantren's significance extends beyond education to include reproducing religious traditions, developing institutional networks, and shaping social meanings within local communities. The findings also emphasize that continuity and transformation are not opposing tendencies but interconnected processes through which pesantren maintain their religious foundations while adapting to changing educational and social circumstances. Although the historical and institutional evidence establishes the foundations through which a City of Santri identity may develop, the extent of its collective recognition among the wider population requires further empirical investigation. Future research should therefore examine community narratives, alumni experiences, and local cultural representations to determine how this identity is interpreted, reproduced, and negotiated across different social groups. These considerations extend the relevance of the findings beyond Ogan Ilir by offering a framework for examining the relationship between Islamic educational institutions, historical continuity, and regional identity in other local contexts.

REFERENCES

Abas, Z., Tajudin, A., Nugroho, A., & Putra, H. R. (2025). Guardian of Faith: Comparative Insights of Teaching Islamic Theology in Indonesian and Malaysian Pesantren. *Nazhruna: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, *8*(2), 382–399. https://doi.org/10.31538/nzh.v8i2.235

Abdullah, A. H. bin. (2026). Check and Balance in Islam: The Role of the 'Ulama. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Social Sciences*, *3*(1), 30–53. https://doi.org/10.59373/ijoss.v3i1.296

Ahmad, T. A. (2023). The Social and Intellectual History of Santri In Indonesia. *Journal of Islamic Studies and Civilization*, *1*(02), 255–286. https://doi.org/10.61680/jisc.v1i02.18

Aisah, Asy'ari, H., & Rofiq, M. H. (2025). The Role of Islamic Religious Education Teachers in Fostering the Habit of Congregational Prayer for Students. *Journal of Education and Learning Innovation*, *2*(1), 16–26. https://doi.org/10.59373/jelin.v2i1.94

AR, Z. T. (2018). Dinamika Perkembangan Kurikulum Pendidikan Pesantren: Satu Analisis Filosofis. *EL-BANAT: Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Pendidikan Islam*, *8*(1), 1–21. https://doi.org/10.54180/elbanat.2018.8.1.1-21

Ardianto, A., Rofiq, M. H., Ismawati, I., Mubin, N., & Romadhan, M. S. (2026). Konsep Zikir dalam Tarekat Qadiriyah Naqsabandiyah dan Implikasinya terhadap Pembentukan Kepribadian Spiritual: The Concept of Zikr in the Qadiriyah Naqshbandiyah Order and Its Implications for the Formation of Spiritual Character. *Attadrib: Jurnal Pendidikan Guru Madrasah Ibtidaiyah*, *9*(1), 62–75. https://doi.org/10.54069/attadrib.v9i1.1172

Arif, M., Nasir, R., & Ma'arif, M. A. (2025). The Kitab Kuning Learning Model in the Development of Student Expertise in Pesantren-Based Higher Education. *Nazhruna: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, *8*(1), 52–74. https://doi.org/10.31538/nzh.v8i1.8

Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1967). *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77–101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Bruinessen, M. van. (1995). *Kitab kuning, pesantren, dan tarekat: Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia*. Mizan.

Budiman, A., Anwar, S., Zarkasyi, A., & Lateh, A. (2025). Constructing the Body of Knowledge of Pesantren Education: A Philosophical, Historical, and Curricular Inquiry. *At-Ta'dib: Journal of Pesantren Education*, *20*(1), 1–18. https://doi.org/10.21111/at-tadib.v20i1.25

Cahyadi, I., Yunani, A., Dachlan, M., & Suhendra, A. (2025). The Sociology of Knowledge in Pesantren: Sanad, Sorogan-Bandongan, and the Making of Intellectual Authority. *Al-Tahrir: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam*, *25*(2), 439–462. https://doi.org/10.21154/altahrir.v25i2.10952

Efendi, R., Bakar, M. A., Sunusi, I., & Pranto, U. H. (2026). From Technocentric Learning to Spiritual Integration: Rethinking Innovation in Islamic Religious Education. *Attaqwa: Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan Islam*, *22*(2), 196–211. https://doi.org/10.54069/attaqwa.v22i2.1110

Fatah, M., Khoiruddin, M. A., & Fakhruddin, F. M. (2025). Pesantren-Based Character Education: The Dzuriyah Strategy in Shaping the Character of Santri Ndalem. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Social Sciences*, *2*(2), 65–75. https://doi.org/10.59373/ijoss.v2i2.191

Fiqih, M. A. (2022). Peran Pesantren dalam Menjaga Tradisi-Budaya dan Moral Bangsa. *PANDAWA: Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Dakwah*, *4*(1), 42–65. https://doi.org/10.36088/pandawa.v4i1.1422

Firmansyah, A. & Amirudin. (2023). Understanding and History of the Development of Islamic Boarding Schools in Indonesia. *Al-Fadlan: Journal of Islamic Education and Teaching*, *1*(2), 81–91. https://doi.org/10.61166/fadlan.v1i2.36

Hariadi, N., Sumardjoko, B., & Maryadi. (2024). Charismatic Leadership in Improving The Quality of Resources in Islamic Boarding School. *Kharisma: Jurnal Administrasi Dan Manajemen Pendidikan*, *3*(2), 83–96. https://doi.org/10.59373/kharisma.v3i2.42

Hasanah, B., Sururi, A., Prananda, D. P., & Noval, A. M. (2022). Kewirausahaan Sosial: Partisipasi Masyarakat dan Evaluasi Dampak Sosial-Ekonomi. *Jurnal Administrasi Negara*, *28*(3), 291–317. https://doi.org/10.33509/jan.v28i3.1721

Hasanah, M., & Husna, N. (2025). Islamic Educations and Moral Development: Teachers Approaches in Shapping Students Character. *Journal of Education and Learning Innovation*, *2*(2), 82–98. https://doi.org/10.59373/jelin.v2i2.120

Hermawan, H. (2025). Parents' Expectations and Their Relevance to the Character Education Program in Pesantren. *Tafkir: Interdisciplinary Journal of Islamic Education*, *6*(4), 1118–1136. https://doi.org/10.31538/tijie.v6i4.2407

Hidayati, A., Nur, F., Haedari, A., Karim, A., Jalaludin, & Mupid, U. A. (2025). Improving Graduate Quality in Vocational High Schools through Pesantren Curriculum Integration: A Vocational Approach. *Nidhomul Haq : Jurnal Manajemen Pendidikan Islam*, *10*(3), 715–732. https://doi.org/10.31538/ndhq.v10i3.264

Howell, M. C. (with Internet Archive). (2001). *From Reliable Sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods*. Cornell University Press. http://archive.org/details/fromreliablesour0000howe

Ilhamudin, Pulungan, J. S., & Huda. (2020). Sejarah Perkembangan Kebudayaan Islam di Ogan Ilir, 1932-2004. *JUSPI (Jurnal Sejarah Peradaban Islam)*, *3*(2), 104–123. https://doi.org/10.30829/juspi.v3i2.4421

Isbah, M. F. (2020). Pesantren in the Changing Indonesian Context: History and Current Developments. *QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)*, *8*(1), 65–106. https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v8i1.5629

Ismah, N. (2022). Pesantren: Its Founding and Role in the Colonial Period. *Tebuireng: Journal of Islamic Studies and Society*, *3*(1), 1–16. https://doi.org/10.33752/tjiss.v3i1.2610

Mas'udi, A. T. (2024). The Evolution of Pesantren Education: Continuity and Change in Curriculum and Management amid Modernization. *Journal of Pesantren and Diniyah Studies*, *1*(2), 211–218. https://doi.org/10.63245/jpds.v1i2.23

Masuwd, M. A., Wasil, A., & Hidayatulloh, M. (2025). Islamic Boarding School Media as a Bridge of Communication for Multicultural Communities. *Communicator: Journal of Communication*, *2*(1), 47–67. https://doi.org/10.59373/comm.v2i1.97

Maulidi, M. M., Ismail, F., Karoma, & Mardeli. (2025). The Transformation of Traditional Islamic Education: Model of Modernization of Islamic Boarding Schools in Ogan Ilir. *Jurnal Iqra': Kajian Ilmu Pendidikan*, *10*(2), 242–255. https://doi.org/10.25217/ji.v10i2.6312

Meliani, F., Muhyiddin, D. S., Ruswandi, U., Arifin, B. S., & Suzana. (2022). Challenges of Using Technology in Islamic Religious Education Learning (Application of Flipped-Classroom in Class X PAI Subjects at SMA Plus Pagelaran Subang). *Edukasi Islami: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, *11*(001), 41–57. https://doi.org/10.30868/ei.v11i4.3536

Meliani, F., Suhartini, A., & Basri, H. (2022). Dinamika dan Tipologi Pondok Pesantren di Cirebon. *Al-Thariqah: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam*, *7*(2), 297–312. https://doi.org/10.25299/al-thariqah.2022.vol7(2).10629

Muhlis, A., Wardi, M. C., Mardhatillah, M., Wahyuningrum, S. R., & Hayatullah, I. K. (2025). Transformation beyond Transgression; Resistance-based System Improvement in Kitab Kuning Reading Acceleration Program. *Nazhruna: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, *8*(3), 535–549. https://doi.org/10.31538/nzh.v8i3.214

Mujahid, I. (2021). Islamic Orthodoxy-Based Character Education: Creating Moderate Muslim in a Modern Pesantren in Indonesia. *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, *11*(2), 185–212. https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v11i2.185-212

Mursidah, L., & Nadhir, M. (2025). Diversification of Funding Based on Productive Assets as a Strategy for the Economic Self-Reliance of Islamic Boarding Schools. *Dirasah International Journal of Islamic Studies*, *3*(2), 222–236. https://doi.org/10.59373/drs.v3i2.96

Murtadho, M. A. C., Aldiansyah, M., & Shofiyah, R. (2024). Supervision of Islamic Education: The Development History of Pesantren Amanatul Ummah Surabaya in Improving the Quality of Pesantren Education. *Proceedings of International Conference on Islamic Civilization and Humanities*, *2*, 744–764.

Musaddad, A. (2023). Transformation of Islamic Boarding Schools as Islamic Education Institutions in Indonesia. *Journal of Islamic Education Research*, *4*(1), 73–82. https://doi.org/10.35719/jier.v4i1.319

Mustikamah, M., Na'imah, F. U., & Qutsiyah, D. A. (2025). The Role of the Women's Organization 'WIsSNU' in the Internalization of Character Values in Pesantren. *Attaqwa: Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan Islam*, *21*(1), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.54069/attaqwa.v21i1.942

Ningsih, I. W., Basri, H., & Suhartini, A. (2023). History and Development of Pesantren in Indonesia. *JURNAL EDUSCIENCE*, *10*(1), 340–356. https://doi.org/10.36987/jes.v10i1.3392

Patton, M. Q. (2023). *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods: Integrating Theory and Practice*. SAGE Publications.

R, A. A. M., & Thohir, M. (2024). Cognitive Disputation Through Sholawat Burdah To Overcome Stress of a Santri In Pesantren. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Social Sciences*, *1*(2), 67–78. https://doi.org/10.59373/ijoss.v1i2.62

Rahmansyah, I. T. (2023). Pesantren and Community Development. *Jurnal Syntax Transformation*, *4*(11), 192–205. https://doi.org/10.46799/jst.v4i11.860

Rizkydermawan, Choiriyah, & Muslimin. (2024). Aktivitas Dakwah Melalui Metode Cawisan di Majelis Inaayatul Qubro Desa Teluk Kecapi Kecamatan Pemulutan Kabupaten Ogan Ilir. *Pubmedia Social Sciences and Humanities*, *1*(4), 15–15. https://doi.org/10.47134/pssh.v1i4.185

Rois, C., Dewi, M. S., & Robaniyah, N. (2023). The History of Pesantren: An Overview of Civilizational Discourse and the Religious Moderation Among Santri. *Progresiva: Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Pendidikan Islam*, *12*(01), 147–160. (Pemikiran Islam, Sejarah Islam, Pendidikan Islam). https://doi.org/10.22219/progresiva.v12i01.24473

Rosyada, A. & Hudaidah. (2022). Peranan K.H. Anwar Bin H. Kumpul dalam Pendirian dan Perkembangan Pondok Pesantren Nurul Islam Seri Bandung. *SINDANG: Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah Dan Kajian Sejarah*, *4*(1), 66–73. https://doi.org/10.62112/sindang.v4i1.1214

Rouf, A. (2016). Potret Pendidikan Agama Islam di Sekolah Umum. *Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam (Journal of Islamic Education Studies)*, *3*(1), 187–206. https://doi.org/10.15642/jpai.2015.3.1.187-206

Sanusi, M., Mukti, A., & Usiono, U. (2026). Islamic Knowledge Transmission in Salafiyah Pesantren: An Analysis of Sorogan, Wetonan, and Bandongan Learning Methods. *Dirasah International Journal of Islamic Studies*, *4*(1), 97–109. https://doi.org/10.59373/drs.v4i1.67

Sholeh, M. I., Fathurro'uf, M., Sokip, Syafi'i, A., Nur'azah, & Andayani, D. (2023). Partisipasi Stakeholder dalam Pengembangan Kurikulum Pendidikan Islam di Pesantren. *Edu Journal Innovation in Learning and Education*, *1*(2), 121–141. https://doi.org/10.55352/edu.v1i2.759

Siddiq, A. (2023). Reforms on Islamic Education in Indonesia (A Case of Pesantren, Madrasah, and Islamic University). *Shibghoh: Prosiding Ilmu Kependidikan UNIDA Gontor*, *1*. https://shibghoh.proceeding.unida.gontor.ac.id/index.php/shibghoh

Steenbrink, K. A. (1986). *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah: Pendidikan Islam dalam Kurun Waktu Modern*. LP3ES.

Sunarto. (2023). Peran Pesantren dalam Mempertahankan Kearifan Lokal dan Budaya Tradisional. *Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan Islam*, *21*(2). https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.36835/jipi.v21i2.4127

Supriyanto, Bahri, S., & Ghifari, A. (2025). Patterns of Pesantren Strength in Facing the Hegemony of Modernity. *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Jauhari: Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Interdisipliner*, *10*(1), 51–72. https://doi.org/10.30603/jiaj.v10i1.5127

Suradi, A. (2022). The Social, Political, and Cultural Perspective of Islamic Education in Palembang Malay: A Continuous Evaluation from the Dutch Colonial Period to Today. *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Studies*, *9*(3), 56–71. https://doi.org/https://www.jstor.org/stable/48710350

Syarifuddin, Supriyanto, Ajimiliansyah Ajimiliansyah, Rizki, T., & Fikri, M. (2021). Peranan K.H Anwar dalam Perkembangan Pesantren Nurul Islam Seri Bandung 1932-1959. *Jurnal Tamaddun: Jurnal Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Islam*, *9*(2). https://doi.org/10.24235/tamaddun.v9i2.7554

Syawaludin, M. (2017). A Cultural Harmony between Islam and Local Tradition of Caram Seguguk in Rengas Payaraman, Ogan Ilir, South Sumatra. *Indonesian Journal of Islamic Literature and Muslim Society*, *2*(1), 49–60. https://doi.org/10.22515/islimus.v2i1.710

Usman, M., & Widyanto, A. (2021). Undang-undang Pesantren: Meneropong Arah Kebijakan Pendidikan Pesantren di Indonesia. *Ar-Raniry: International Journal of Islamic Studies*, *8*(1), 57–70. https://doi.org/10.22373/jar.v8i1.10991

Utama, A. P., & Salim, H. (2024). Strategi Muhammadiyah Boarding School Klaten dalam Mengatasi Bullying di Kalangan Santri. *Attadrib: Jurnal Pendidikan Guru Madrasah Ibtidaiyah*, *7*(2), 229–243. https://doi.org/10.54069/attadrib.v7i2.862

Wulandari, U. & Hudaidah. (2021). Peranan Ulama dalam Islamisasi di Sumatera Selatan. *Danadyaksa Historica*, *1*(1), 34–47. https://doi.org/10.32502/jdh.v1i1.3595

Yuningsih, H. (2015). Kebijakan Pendidikan Islam Masa Orde Baru. *Tasyri': Jurnal Tarbiyah-Syari'ah Islamiyah*, *22*(2), 175–194.

Zakki, M. & Hazinah. (2023). Pesantren Pespektif Historis: Memahami Ragam Tipologi dan Perkembangan di Indonesia. *Molang: Journal Islamic Education*, *1*(1), 67–78. https://doi.org/10.32806/jm.v1i01.606