

CHAPTER IV

DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH LOCATION

This research is done in Krapyak Kulon village, the closest governmental unit where pesantren Al-Munawwir resides in. Krapyak Kulon village is located specifically in Bantul regency, Special District of Yogyakarta. Pesantren, as explained earlier, is a borderless and limitless institution whose influence affects people and places located hundreds kilometers away. Limiting the research to Krapyak Kulon is done due to the factor of proximity and tangible governmental borders.

The data will be presented according to the grand concept. The first data is the location and brief history of Krapyak Kulon village and pesantren Al-Munawwir. The second data is the physical aspects of Krapyak Kulon and pesantren Al-Munawwir that influence both the structure and the identity of the pesantren area. The third data is the non-physical aspect, which include matters such as the socio cultural condition in Krapyak Kulon as a whole, as well as activities conducted inside the pesantren specifically and in Krapyak Kulon generally.

4.1. Description of Krapyak Kulon and Pesantren Al-Munawwir

4.1.1. Research Setting

Pesantren Al-Munawwir is located in Krapyak Kulon village; a village in Sewon, Bantul Regency, Special District of Yogyakarta. Krapyak Kulon is a village right on the border between Bantul Regency and Yogyakarta City. Part of

the cause of pesantren's location is its proximity to Keraton (Palace of Yogyakarta).

Krapyak Kulon is one of the busiest and most populated areas in Panggungharjo, Bantul. It is located very near to the city of Yogyakarta and packed with one of the most diverse citizens. Krapyak Kulon has a relatively balance ratio of its population based on gender, with 1076 males and 1085 females by the year of 2009. Most of the citizens in Krapyak Kulon work in the trading industry or as entrepreneur, which is rational seeing the dynamic of economic sector in Krapyak Kulon. The survey in Krapyak Kulon also recorded that almost half (905) of the citizens are within the productive age group of 25-49. It is also recorded that 30% of the citizens are High School graduates, and 14% are college graduates. The rest are either still in unproductive age, or are actively in school, whether in public school or in Islamic School manage by the pesantren. Krapyak Kulon also has one of the areas with high density in Panggungharjo, with 108citizen/km². With the total area of 39.50 hectares, Krapyak Kulon allocates almost half of its area for settlements, and the rest are distributed for agriculture (5.5 ha), industry (2.5 ha), and other uses.

According to the survey conducted by Panggungharjo village in 2009, Krapyak Kulon has a total of 917 families, the most number of families among sub-villages in Panggungharjo, 320 of which are considered prosperous. On the other spectrum, 127 families in Krapyak Kulon are considered poor. However, citizens of Krapyak Kulon are also knowledgeable with waste management; they

usually incinerate wastes or process them to either one of the 2 local landfills.

Household wastes are also managed well using closed sewage system.

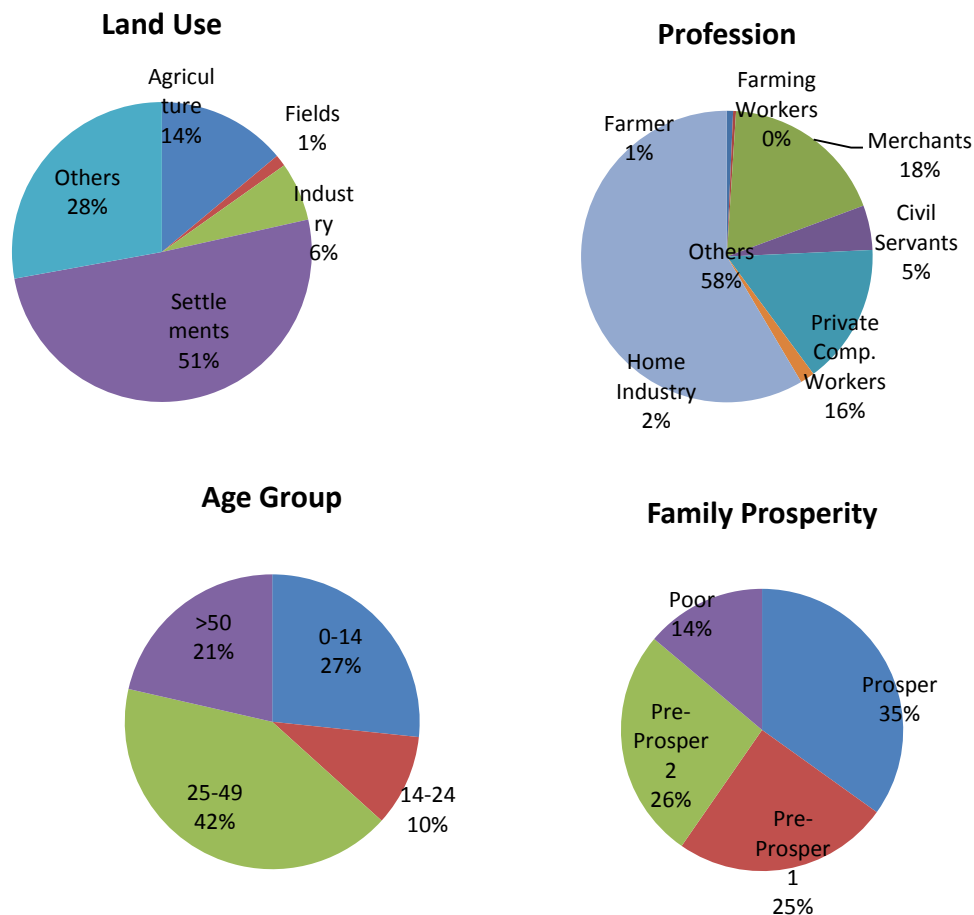


Figure 4.1. Krapyak Kulon chart based on Land use, Profession, Age Group, and Family Prosperity
Source: Panggungharjo Survey, 2009

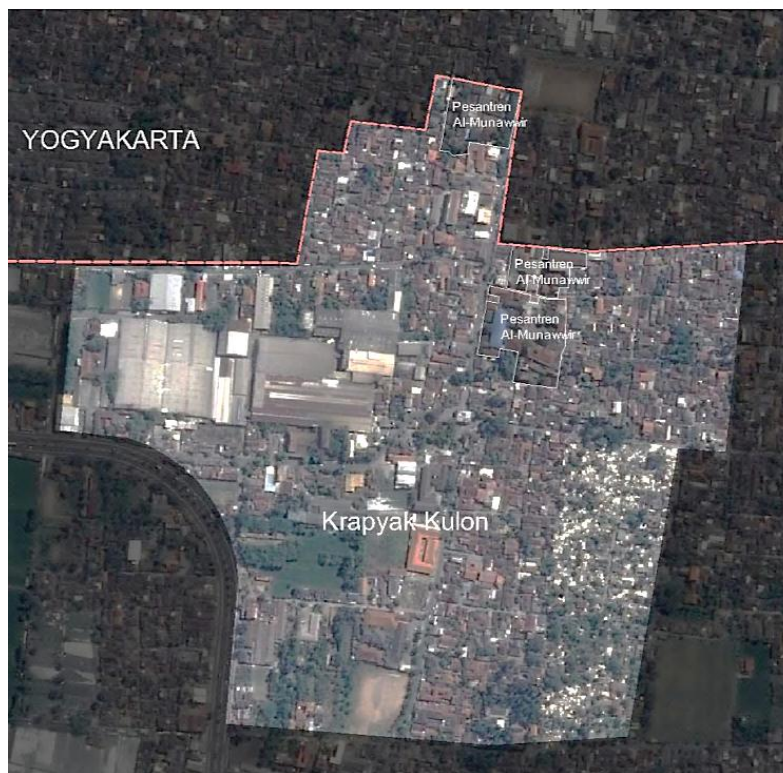
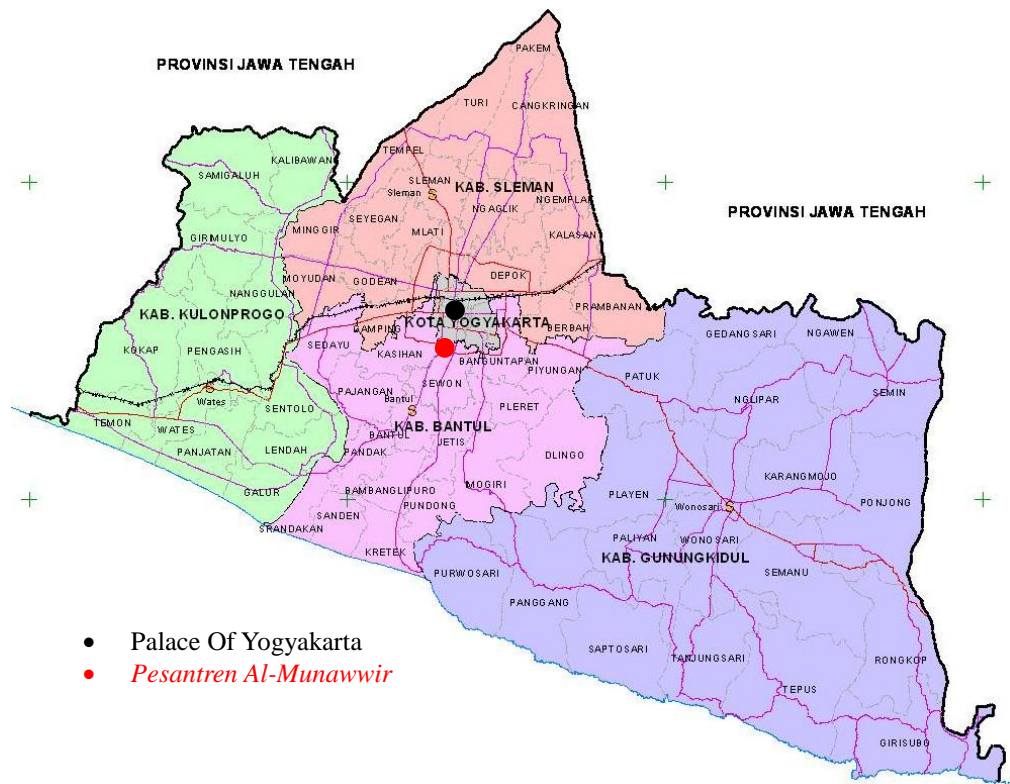


Figure 4.2. Location of Krapyak Kulon
 Source: Google Earth 2014, processed with AutoCad.

4.1.2. Brief History

Pesantren Al-MunawwirK rapyak was initiated by the late KH Muhammad Munawwir. According to "*KHM Moenauwir al-marhum*", a biography published by pesantren's office, the exact date of initiation has never been announced, but it was issued around the year 1909 to 1910, around the time that Kyai Munawwir came back home after a study period in Mecca and Medina for 21 years. After he came home, Kyai Munawwir settled in Kauman, Yogyakarta, in the house where his parents lived. His father was KH Abdullah Rasyad, one Keraton Ngayogyakarta's courtiers, in charge of the Keraton's spirituality. Kyai Munawwir started Qur'an studies in his parents' house for about a year. This study then became his focus since it was deeply related with the major he took in Mecca and Madina.

It was particularly difficult for the early pesantren to thrive within the limited space of Keraton, until Kyai Munawwir received an advice to perpetually move the pesantren outside of Keraton. This advice came from KyaiSa'id, a well-respected religious leader from Cirebon, who also stated that he believed Kauman was not a suitable environment for the pesantren. Kyai Munawwir eventually decided to move the pesantren to Krapyak Kulon, a small village whose population consisted mainly of trees. Krapyak Kulon was located about one and a half kilometer southern from the gate to Keraton. According to a senior santri, the decision to move to Krapyak Kulon was also influenced by the condition of Krapyak Kulon that was, at that time, populated with people of

deviated behavior. Kyai Munawwir aspired to change the condition by initiating a pesantren there.

During the era of Japanese invasion, pesantren Al-Munawwir experienced a heavy blow. All the santri (students) returned to their respective hometowns for around 2 years due to the Japanese government's policy that caused Indonesian to be deprived of food and clothes. The grief was even more severe when Kyai Munawwir, the founder and the father of the Pesantren, passed away with no heir to the throne as his children were considered too young and unfit to hold responsibilities of the pesantren.

After a long period of discussion, the family decided to summon Kyai Ali (Kyai Munawwir's son-in-law) from pesantren Al-Hidayat Lasem. This move was not exactly an easy way out because pesantren Al-Hidayat too experienced a massive loss of resource due to the Japan political invasion. Kyai Ali finally accepted the request, after being asked three times, and moved to Krapyak.

Upon his arrival to Krapyak, Kyai Ali took strategic steps straight away, which is to prepare an army of qualified human resources as an effort to produce other santri. At that time, Kyai Ali could only trust the offspring and the in-laws of Kyai Munawwir. Among those are Abdul Qadir, Mufid Mas'ud, NawawiAbd Aziz, Dalhar, Zainal Abidin, Abdullah Affandi, Ahmad, and Warson. He also included several trusted neighbors; Wardan Joned from Kauman, ZuhdiDahlan, and Abdul Hamid. For a period of 2 years (1943-1944), Kyai Ali vigorously educated these selected individuals until he was certain that they

were wise and resourceful enough to be Kyai that in the future would trigger the development of pesantren Al-Munawwir.

Under the leadership of Kyai Ali, the amount of Qur'an study and other books (kitab kuning) was put to a balance. Personally, Kyai Ali was said to be more into the study of kitab kuning, and so was his son Kyai Atabik Ali and his son-in-law Kyai Mohamad Hasbullah. Kyai Munawwir's sons also took to the same liking; among them are Kyai Zainal Abidin, Kyai Warson, and Kyai Dalhar. The study of Quran was handled by Kyai Ahmad, Kyai Zaini, Kyai Najib Abdul Qadir, Kyai Hafid Abdul Qadir, and Kyai Ali's daughters; Hj. Nafisah dan Hj. Ida Rufaida, also his daughter-in-law, Hj. Lutfiyah Jirjis.

After Kyai Ali Maksum passed away, Pesantren Al Munawwir experienced a vast development. The assets of the pesanten are managed by the sons of Kyai Munawwir, such as Kyai Zainal Abidin Munawwir, Kyai Warsun Munawwir, and the grandsons of Kyai Munawwir. The developed assets of the pesantren are managed under the Ali Maksum foundation that is run by Kyai Atabik Ali, with the help of the other sons and grandsons of Kyai Ali Maksum.

Pesantren Al Munawwir today is a comprehensive Islamic study institution. Every educational stage is available, from kindergarten, *Madrasah Diniyah Awaliyah*, *Wustha*, and *Ulya* (elementary school), *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* (middle school), *Madrasah Aliyah* (high school), regular middle school, *thakhassus* and *tahfidhul* Qur'an (Qur'an studies), Islamic Studies for university students, and public congregation every Friday *Legi* and Saturday *Pon* (traditional Javanese calendar system).

Pesantren Al Munawwir was the one catalyst that helped boost the condition in Krapyak Kulon. Kyai Munawwir, later succeeded by Kyai Ali, showed their neighbors how to live healthily and to conduct their behavior according to the eastern values and Islam sharia. According to Cak Nasir, a santri of pesantren for over 30 years, Pesantren was the modern force among the primitive community in Krapyak Kulon. They shared information and helped build new technologies, such as the drainage and sanitary system and waste management system. The existence of pesantren was proven to be effective to alleviate the standard of living and improve the general condition of Krapyak Kulon.

Krapyak Kulon in the recent years is a village populated with people of diverse background, under the wings of the pesantren. Economic condition prospers along with the ever-growing number of santri, and the two large cultures of Javanese and Islam sharia are still coexisting peacefully.

4.2. Physical Aspects

4.2.1. Land Use Division in Krapyak Kulon

Krapyak Kulon has over 2000 citizens in a small area, resulting in 108person/km²; which then considered a dense settlement by the government of Bantul Regency. It makes perfect sense that most of the land use division in Krapyak Kulon was aimed to be settlement area. However, Krapyak Kulon still has an industrial chapter and a considerably large area for farming.

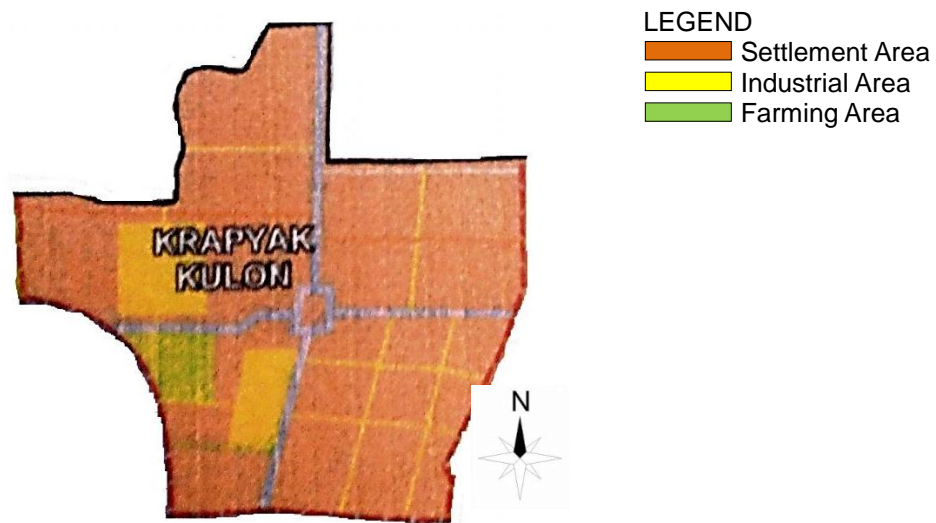


Figure 4.3. Land Use Division in Krapyak Kulon
Source: Panggungharjo Village mapping project, 2008

4.2.2. Road System in Krapyak Kulon

Like any other high density villages in Indonesia, Krapyak Kulon is webbed with various kinds of roads. The sizes, material, and function of these roads vary. The main road, Jalan Ali Maksum, stretched from the north side, a continuous line from Keraton's road, all the way to the southern border, circling Kandang Menjangan. Kandang Menjangan (literally translates to "deer cage") is a massive brick and concrete building used by Sultans as a shelter when they went hunting in Krapyak Forest. It is rightfully located in a middle of an intersection. The large roads are branched into smaller streets, and then to even smaller alleys. In areas with very high density, the alleys are so small; they are only big enough for pedestrians.

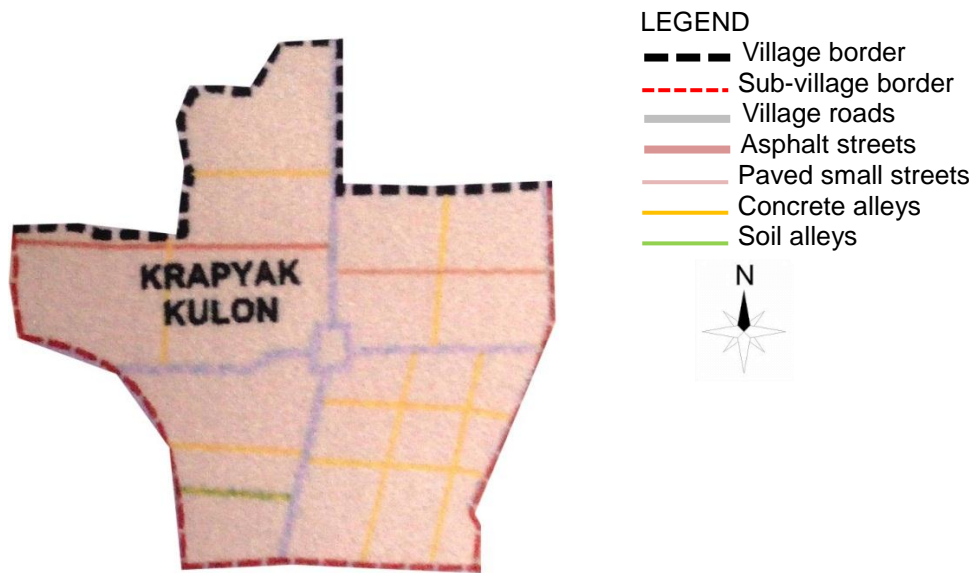


Figure 4.4. Road System in Krapyak Kulon
Source: Panggungharjo Village mapping project, 2008

4.2.3. Facilities and Visual Appearance

4.2.3.1. Social facilities

Social facilities are generally facilities that are utilized by all citizens in the area, regardless of what group they belong in the social scene. These facilities are:

a. Education facilities

Considering the fact that Krapyak Kulon is an environment heavily influenced with Islam, there are only very few public school in the area. There is one public elementary school located in Krapyak Kulon, named SD Negeri Jageran Bantul, a total of 4 kindergartens and playgroups, one middle school, and two vocational schools.



Figure 4.5. MTs Ali Maksum, one of the education facilities in Krapyak Kulon
Source: Survey February 2014

There are many Islamic schools in Krapyak Kulon. The Islamic schools are still considered social facilities because the students in those schools are not limited only for santri of pesantren Al-Munawwir. There are also students from different areas around Krapyak Kulon who choose to enroll in these schools. The difference between the Islamic school and the public school only lies in the curriculum. One of the Islamic schools owned by pesantren is SMK Al-Ma'arif.

SMK Al-Ma'arif is a vocational school with three major; religion, automotive, and fashion. SMK Al-Ma'arif strives to create alumnus that have many workable abilities but are still religious. The automotive major is restricted only for the male students, and the fashion major is restricted for the female.

b. Public facilities

According to Mr. Kunaini, Krapyak Kulon's Chief, Krapyak Kulon has 2 meeting halls, a total of 12 security posts, and 8 workshops distributed in its area. It also has 3 toddler clinics, 3 senior clinics, and 1 mother and child clinic. Other than those, Krapyak Kulon also owns 4 sporting fields

and 2 playgrounds. These facilities are managed by both the santri and the regular citizens and are used in harmony.

4.2.3.2. Economic facilities

Jalan Ali Maksum, the main street of Krapyak Kulon, is a street packed with many stores and shops. The street has lively and dynamic economic activities almost 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. The economic activities driven by the theory of supply and demand is prospering with the existence of pesantren. There are hundreds of santri and all of them are consumptive in a way. Stores are always busy, restaurants are always full of hungry santri, and banks are always active during the day. Major modern retail franchises have opened up their branches in Krapyak Kulon, but the traditional small retail shops are also alive because the demands are that immeasurable. Pesantren is a market that never goes out of demand, and it is good news for the economic livelihood in Krapyak Kulon. According to the survey conducted by Panggungharjo village, Krapyak Kulon is home to 31 stores and 58 stalls. The pesantren has a total of 3 coops whose customers are not limited to santri.



Figure4.6. Some of the economic facilities in Krapyak Kulon
Source: Survey June 2014

There are also factories on the west side of Krapyak Kulon that produce building materials and vehicle spare parts. These factories are the formal workplace for many people in Krapyak Kulon.

4.2.3.3. Religious facilities

Islam is a majority religion in Krapyak Kulon, which is clearly visible by the amount of Mosques and mushallas (small or private mosques) in Krapyak Kulon. Pesantren Al-Munawwir has one large mosque (central mosque) that holds a very sacred position in the religious activities of Muslims in Krapyak Kulon. However, some of the dormitories that are located quite far from the central mosque usually have their own mushalla for private praying and small religious occasions. There are a total of 2 mosques and several mushallas in Krapyak Kulon.



Figure4.7.Mosque and Mushalla in Krapyak Kulon
Source: Survey March 2014



Figure 4.8. Mapping of facilities
Source: Google earth 2014 and analysis

4.3. Non-Physical Aspects

4.3.1. Socio-Cultural Condition

4.3.1.1. Religion

Seeing that Krpyak Kulon is an area containing one of the largest pesantren in Indonesia, it is not surprising that the majority of religion is Islam. However, the area is not exclusively for Muslim. There are a small percentage of other religions residing near and around Pesantren, and there is no recorded

turmoil between religions in Krapyak Kulon. Under the wisdoms of pesantren, citizens of Krapyak Kulon led their lives peacefully.

Islam as the majority religion plays a big role in the social life of Krapyak Kulon. Many of their activities are navigated and guided by the Islamic law enforced by pesantren, even though it is not forced or obligated. Since pesantren grew along with the environment, people naturally follow the rules of pesantren and implement them to their daily lives.

4.3.1.2. Ethnicity

The native people of Krapyak Kulon and most of those who immigrate to Krapyak Kulon after the pesantren developed are mostly of Javanese. The most common daily language practiced in Krapyak Kulon is also still Javanese, and Indonesian language for the more formal conversations.

However, since Al Munawwir is widely known in the country, many of the santri actually come from outside of Yogyakarta and Central Java; some of them even come from outside of the island. All these ethnicities are living together harmoniously inside the pesantren ground.

4.3.1.3. Social Behaviors

Pesantren is the largest part of Krapyak Kulon's social behavior in general. Most of the social interactions consist of activities related to the pesantren or the santri. Even though Krapyak Kulon already existed before pesantren Al Munawwir moved to the area, it was not until the pesantren developed that the environment thrived. The development of pesantren means that more people are signing up to study or become santri. This encourages

pesantren to expand the facilities, which almost automatically provoke other parties to also keep up with the development. The large amount of santri is an incredible market for small retail business. More santri means more demands, ergo more opportunities for suppliers. The economic condition in Krapyak Kulon is on an ascending condition because people are becoming keener in creating business opportunities. Santri need food, so they start learning how to cook and open up small restaurants; some of the santri need school supplies, so they open up stationary and copy shops. The increase of demands even encourages large franchise of retail stores and national banks to invest in opening up a business branch in Krapyak Kulon.

For those whose purpose is solely to study Islam, their activities are centered on the pesantren and the main mosque. They study Qur'an and kitab kuning on a daily basis, and very rarely have activities outside of the pesantren. The other santri may go schools or universities outside of pesantren, and they are only obliged to be in pesantren and follow activities starting 6 in the afternoon. During the day they mostly spend their time in their own respective schools or campus.

There is also a minor number of temporary settler; these are the people who actively use the facilities in the area but not residing in Krapyak Kulon. The length of each residence may vary; students may only be in Krapyak Kulon during school time; people who has business in the retail stores or stop by to eat in the many food stalls may not be in Krapyak Kulon for a long time; the honorary guests of the Kyai usually stay in for two or three days; and followers

of the Kyai who may come from all over the country for festive annual events that usually stay for one or two days.

Based on the social activities, the citizen of Krapyak Kulon can be divided in several groups:

a. Family of the Kyai.

The Kyai and the family belong in a group of themselves because they generally led a different life with the santri. As humble or as grounded as they are, the activities are still very much different with the santri. Kyai may spend a lot of time in the pesantren, but they also travel a lot and sometimes only stay to do the compulsory public congregation. The families of Kyai also have more privilege in the society.

b. Santri of salafiyah pesantren.

These santri spend majority of their time in the pesantren area. The salafiyah pesantren has a stricter set of rules when compared to the modern-salafiyah pesantren. Santri in salafiyah pesantren are not allowed to bring cellular phone, have very limited access to internet, and are expected to spend day by day inside the pesantren to study kitab kuning or Qur'an. Their activities revolve mostly around the dormitories and the mosque and then back. They rarely go out of the pesantren area unless it is a business within the acknowledgement and permission of the Kyai and the supervisors.

c. Santri of modern-salafiyah pesantren.

Santri who choose to enroll in the modern-salafiyah pesantren are mostly university students or students of public high school in downtown Yogyakarta. The rules of this pesantren is more lenient, meaning that santri are still allowed to own cellular phone, they have freer access to internet, they are allowed to choose if they want to bring motor cycle or ride public transportation. The most distinct difference is that santri of modern-salafiyah pesantren spend most of their time outside of the pesantren area. The modern-salafiyah pesantren acknowledge their activities as students of public schools and universities and schedule the religious activities after 6 in the afternoon to give the santri sufficient amount of time to do school-related businesses. All santri are expected to be in the dormitory since before sunset and will continue with compulsory pesantren activities until bedtime.

d. Permanent residents.

The permanen residents are mostly native citizens of Krapyak Kulon and their offspring. Their families may have been around since pesantren first started, or during its early years. Some of the permanent residents may also come from other regions in Indonesia and decided to settle in Krapyak Kulon. These include the sellers or people who come to invest their business in Krapyak Kulon. They understand the pesantren culture very well and are happy to lead their lives according to the rules and standards set by the pesantren. Their activities usually balance from

being in their own respective houses, out and about the neighborhood to socialize, or in the pesantren ground to be involved in many of the religious activities. Permanent residents are the witnesses of the development of pesantren.

e. Temporary citizens.

As explained before, temporary citizens may consist of but not limited to school students, the honorary guests of the Kyai, the followers of the Kyai, and passer-by or people who temporarily utilize the facilities around the Pesantren.



Figure 4.9. Mapping of population groups
Source: Google earth2014 and analysis

4.3.2. Life in Pesantren

Pesantren Al-Munawwir is home to a total of 1414 santri. These santri are separated in many dormitories, more commonly known as “complex” or “blocks”. Some of them hold salafiyah methods, modern pesantren methods, or especially allocated for those who do Qur’an tahfidz (memorizing).

Table IV.1
Number of Santri by gender and dormitory blocks

No	Blocks	Number of Santri	Details	Focus of study
Male				
1	AB	37	Avaliable	Salafiyah
2	CD	30	Avaliable	Ma’hadAly (college)
3	Huffadz 1	140	Avaliable	Al-Qur’an
4	Huffadz 2	25	Full	
5	IJ	42	Full	Kitab
6	K-1	31	Avaliable	Kitab
7	K-2	50	Avaliable	
8	L	170	Full	Al-Qur’an and Kitab
9	M	39	Avaliable	Al-Qur’an and Kitab
10	Nurussalam Putra	80	On visitation	Al-Qur’an and Kitab
11	PJ	48	Full	Al-Qur’an and Kitab
12	S	15	Avaliable	Al-Qur’an and Kitab
13	SMK	60	Avaliable	Vocation school
14	T	13	On inquiry	Al-Qur’an and Kitab
Male santri total			780	
Female				
15	NurussalamPutri	75	Avaliable	Al-Qur’an and Kitab

16	Q	360	Full	Al-Qur'an and Kitab
17	R-1	41	Avaliable	Salafiyah and Ma'had Aly (college)
18	R-2	158	Full	
Female santri total			634	
Total number of Santri			1414	

Source: Pesantren Al-Munawwir, last updated September 2013

Commonly in any pesantren, future santri who wants to enroll in pesantren must visit the Kyai's house with their parents or legal guardians. Pesantren usually don't implement placement test to their dormitories, but rather implement it to the madrasa. This visitation, called "*sowan*", is a way for the Kyai to at least meet their santri one by one and know them by their names. Parents will also feel a sense of closeness to the Kyai, thus giving them a sense of security to leave their children under the Kyai's guidance.

In the case of pesantren Al-Munawwir, where the blocks are under several different Kyai, santri mostly have to do two visits. First to the oldest Kyai, and then to the Kyai that teaches in any particular blocks that they wish to enroll in.

4.3.3. Activities in Pesantren and Krapyak Kulon

4.3.3.1. Activities in Pesantren

Life in a *pesantren*, *salafiyah* or modern, is a life packed with activity. Normal *santri* usually only sleep 4-5 hours in the night and maybe a short while during the day. They generally wake up right at dawn to do *Subuh* Prayer, and

go to sleep around midnight. Activities are varied from daily, weekly, monthly, and annual activities.

a. Daily Activities

Santri wake up at dawn and do *Subuh* Prayer together. After that they usually read Al-Qur'an or other books, and some of them maybe go back to sleep before school in the morning. Since it is mandatory for children aged 7-15 to go to school, even the *santri* in *salafiyah pesantren* still have to go to elementary or middle school in the morning.

Schools are usually over around 1 or 2 in the afternoon, and they have very little time to rest because the madrasa usually start at 3. Madrasa will be over around 5, and then they prepare to pray together at 6 in the evening. The usual activity after *maghrib* is reading Al-Qur'an. *Santri* will read until isya, which is around 7 p.m, pray together, and then attend bandongan with the *Kyai* until around 9. After that they study together in the hall and then go to sleep around midnight. The same activities follow in the next day.



Figure 4.10. Students going to madrasa (left); santri going to mosque for daily prayer (right)
Source: survey 2014

b. Weekly Activities

Islamic Schools usually have breaks on Fridays instead of Sundays. So on Fridays, *santri* clean up the dorm together and attend mass assembly in the mosque. Once or twice a week, public discussions are held in the halls. Weekly activities also include Jumat prayer which is joined by men from around the *pesantren*.

c. Monthly Activities

Monthly evaluations are usually held once in a month, near the end or the beginning of the month. Special assembly is also held once a month in most *pesantren*.

d. Semester Activities

Since *santri* are also students, *pesantren* usually compromise with school schedule in making semester activities. Most madrasa already adapt to the semester system and end of semester activities are usually celebrated around June-July and at the end of the year.

e. Annual Activities

Santri usually have a rather festive end-of-term celebration, ranging from various competition and extracurricular activities to public assemblies.

Haul, or commemoration of death, is celebrated annually. Every *pesantren* has highly respected *Kyai* in the past, and they commemorate

the life of the *Kyai* by holding a special annual public teaching. The bigger the *pesantren*, the more festive this annual event gets. In Pesantren Krapyak, haul may close the entire street since so many people come. They rent busses and use the main street as a parking space, resulting in the close-down. Open space in the middle of the street is used as an extra place for visitors for the mass congregation.



Figure 4.11: parking on Jalan Ali Maksum during the day on Haul
Source: survey 2014

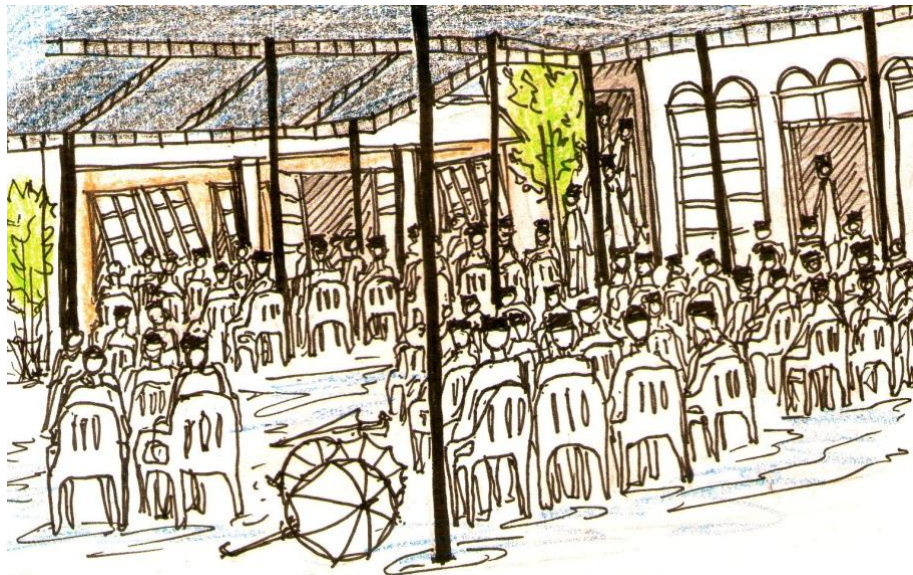


Figure 4.12: Illustration of the open space is used as extra space for santri in mass congregation or special occasions
Source: survey 2014

4.3.3.2. Activities in Krapyak Kulon

a. Social activities

Even though Krapyak Kulon is pretty much infused with the activities from the pesantren, the native citizens are also entitled to have their own social life apart from the pesantren. These activities include:

- 1) Personal household activities. Personal household activities are those conducted in each house by the family members.
- 2) Activities between neighbors. The activities between neighbors can be conducted at home, in the streets, in the stores, or in the open spaces. Javanese neighborhoods are known to be very sociable and the people are very friendly and familiar with each other. Krapyak Kulon is not an exception since the interaction between neighbors is considerably high.
- 3) Activities in Krapyak Kulon. Activities in Krapyak Kulon are the larger scale of neighborhood interaction. The activities may include monthly or annual meetings, or any traditional Javanese festival and events attended by all the citizens in Krapyak Kulon.

b. Religious activities

In a pesantren area, religious activities take most of the dates in a year. Pesantren have their own curriculum and calendar and this may or may not include the native citizens. Apart from the very rare private

pesantren moments, citizens are mostly included in many of the pesantren activities.

- 1) Intern pesantren activities. Intern pesantren activities are variedly ranged. The curriculum in pesantren determines the schedule of the activities that is either compulsory or non-compulsory for santri. The curriculum determines the santri's daily activities, weekly activities, monthly activities, and even annual activities. Some of these activities are exclusive for a certain group of santri, and some of them are open for all santri.
- 2) Non-pesantren activities. Non pesantren activities are the religious activities done by the native citizens, apart from the pesantren. This may include special events such as Qur'an readings or celebration by each family. Santri are allowed to participate, but these activities are not scheduled under the pesantren curriculum and are organized by the native citizens.
- 3) Mixed activities. Mixed activities are activities organized by a joined committee of santri and native citizens. They are plenty of events conducted in such fashion, mostly annual events and large-scale festivals. Santri and native citizens happily manage and plan these events and seamlessly cooperate in making these events successful.

c. Economic activities

The economic activities do not discriminate between the santri and the non-santri citizens. This include the newcomers or the passer by;

people who invest their money to create a shop in Krapyak Kulon; people who are native citizens and decided to create a business opportunity by opening up a restaurants; people who come from areas outside of Krapyak Kulon to buy daily needs or to visit the shops, and so on.

The economic activities are the most observable activities from the main road, Jalan Ali Maksum, because most of the shops and restaurants take places on the main road for the sake of accessibility.

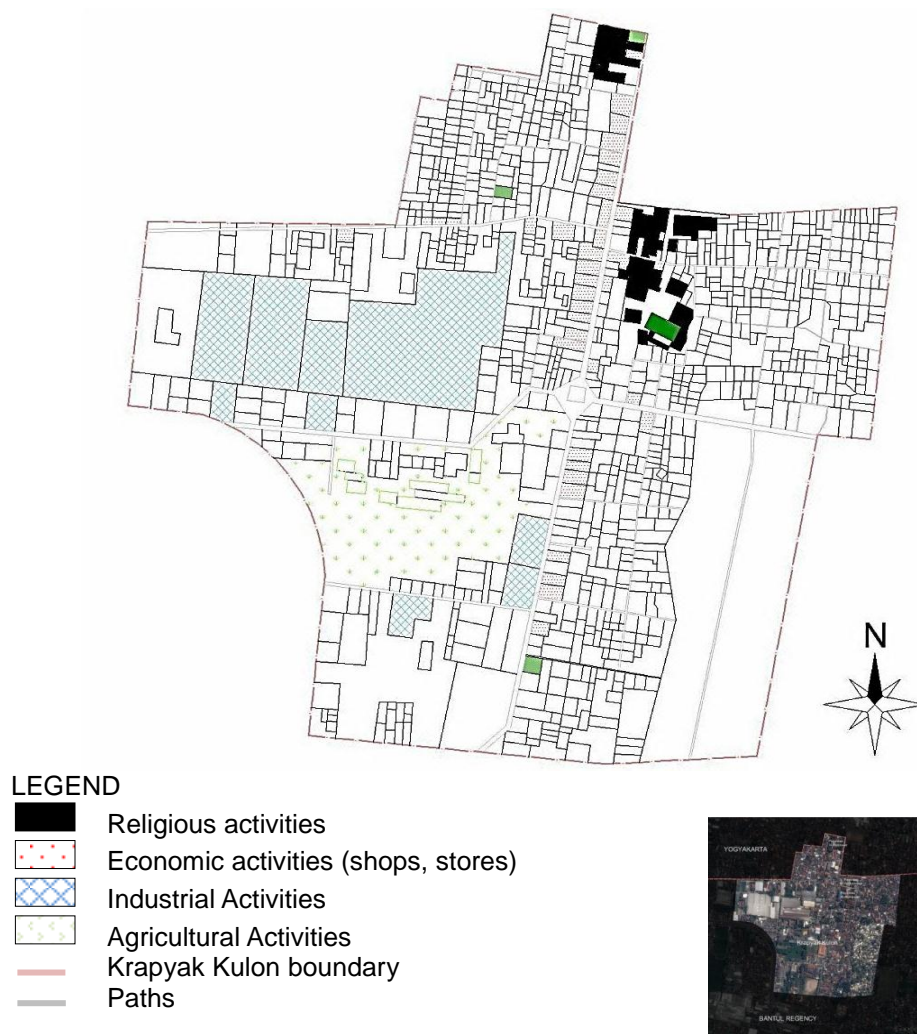


Figure 4.13. Mapping of activity groups
Source: Google earth 2014 and analysis