CHAPTER V
ANALYSIS ON THE IDENTITY AND STRUCTURE
OF PESANTREN AREA

5.1. Development of Pesantren Al-Munawwir

As mentioned previously, the embryo of Pesantren Al-Munawwir started in Keraton Hadiningrat (Palace of Yogyakarta). In 1909, Kyai Munawwir just returned from Mecca from a long period of Qur’an study, and soon decided to open a Qur’an school for people around Keraton (in Kauman). Soon after, the place became too small to contain all the santri, and Kyai Munawwir moved to Krapyak Kulon.

The first building to be built was not Masjid Jamī’. Instead, it was the house of Kyai Munawwir, and a building they use for mass congregation or for Qur’an study. The mosque was not built until enough funds were collected, and it finished in 1927, more than a decade after the pesantren started.

After the passing of Kyai Munawwir in June 6th, 1942, pesantren Al-Munawwir was led by KH. Abdullah Affandi Munawwir and KH. Abdulqodir Munawwir. This is the era where Pesantren Al-Munawwir really cemented its status as specialist in studying Qur’an. Madrasah Hufadz was initiated during this era, which is a school designated for those who want to memorize and study Qur’an intensely.
In year 1953, dormitories and schools for female santri opened up ± 200 meters northern of the main pesantren. The dorm was then called Nurussalam complex, and was led by Hj.Hasyimah Aly Maksum. The era after Kyai Ali Maksum reign the pesantren was very fast-developing. Kyai Ali Maksum built new buildings and expanded the pesantren to cater the need of the expanding number of santri.

During this era, Kyai Ali managed to build Madrasah Tsanawiyah and Madrasah Aliyah (Middle School and High School) for male santri in 1978, Madrasah Tahassus for Arabic language and Sharia law, and then developed Madrasah Tsanawiyah and Madrasah Aliyah for female santri in 1987.

Fourth generation Kyai is Kyai Zainal Munawwir, who passed away on February 16th 2014. Kyai Zaenal led the pesantren through modern era and made the most development. Most of the buildings are now two or three floors high; the mosque was developed to be bigger, taller, and more luxurious.

Kyai Zainal’s era was also the era where Al-Munawwir opened Ma’had Ali, a college in pesantren that is standardized with other universities. Kyai Zainal pushed the boundaries and developed pesantren Al-Munawwir beyond traditional salafiyyah pesantren, but he also injected modern education to help santri cope with the modern world.

During the 2006 earthquake, many buildings in pesantren was severely damaged that they had to renovate most of them, or even building new ones. In 2007, pesantren started renovating Masjid Jamī’ by adding another floor and remodeling the roof. They also had to remake buildings C and D and mesh them
together in an L-shaped building southern of Masjid Jam'i. Q complex in the south side of Nurussalam was slowly developed as well. They also built a new building western of the mosque for hall.

In 2010, the front office was built into 2 floors and is connected to make classrooms for Mahad Ali. This year, the renovation of the mosque was finished and the design stands until today. In 2012, pesantren added a floor to the hall building for rooms. One of the Kyai also built his house on the south western of the mosque. Year 2012 also marked the start of the development of K1 complex to a three floors building.
Figure 5.3. Site area and skyline of Pesantren Al-Munawwir in Krapyak Kulon
Source: Google Earth 2014, accessed in March 2014
LEGEND

—— border between Krapyak Kulon (Bantul) and Yogyakarta

Figure 5.4. Block division in Pesantren Al-Munawwir, 2014
Source: Google Earth 2014, accessed in April 2014, graphic by researcher
Figure 5.5. buildings in Pesantren Al-Munawwir
Source: Google Earth 2014, accessed in April 2014, graphic by researcher
5.2. Structure of Pesantren Al-Munawwir and Krapyak Kulon

The structure of Krapyak Kulon should be influenced by the existence of Pesantren Al-Munawwir. Physical structure includes layouts of the buildings, the hierarchy of the setting, and the structure pattern.

5.2.1. Layout Analysis

The layout of an urban environment consists of its two dimensional figure-ground design, its linkage system, and also the connection in its places.

5.2.1.1. Figure Ground Design

Figure ground is the two dimensional plan of the urban environment. Through the figure ground design, we are able to locate and distinguish between the open spaces (solids) and the building masses (voids).

According to Trancik (1986), there are three groups of urban solids and five groups of urban voids. Urban solids include public monument or institution, urban blocks, and edge defining buildings. Urban voids consist of the entry foyer space, the inner block void, the network of streets and squares, public parks and gardens, and the linear open space.

In Krapyak Kulon, what’s considered public monuments or institution are Kandang Menjangan (deer cage) and Majid Jami’, pesantren’s main mosque. There is a large cemetery on the corner south side of Krapyak Kulon which serves as an open space as well as an edge to the area.

However, in Krapyak Kulon, not all three urban solids can be categorized and not all five urban voids can be grouped. The building masses
can be categorized into two categories while the open spaces are labeled in four different groups

a. **Urban Solids**

![Urban solids in Krapyak Kulon](image)

**LEGEND**
- Krapyak Kulon border
- Border between buildings
- Open spaces in Krapyak Kulon (Voids)
- Public Monument (Solid)
- Urban Blocks (Solid)

*Figure 5.6. Urban solids in Krapyak Kulon*
*Source: Google Earth 2014*

1) The first group of urban solids is *public monuments or institution*. These urban solids are often a visual focus in the landscape and they
have a particular social and/or political significance. This includes *Kandang Menjangan* and *Masjid Jami*.

*Kandang Menjangan*, also called *Panggung Krapyak* (Krapyak Stage), has a historical significance that holds importance not only to the people of Krapyak, but the entire Javanese society in Yogyakarta. According to the histories, Sultan Hamengku Buwono I built this about 2.5 centuries ago as a shelter for when he went hunting for deer.

![Image of Kandang Menjangan or Panggung Krapyak](Survey May 2014)

The building stands tall right in the middle of an intersection. Structurally, this alone indicates that the building is a monument in its own; a landmark. *Panggung Krapyak* is also on the imaginary axis that connects Merapi, Tugu Jogja, *Keraton*, and the Southern Sea. The historical factor supported by the physical traits cement *Panggung Krapyak* as one of the most important public monuments in Krapyak Kulon.
*Masjid Jamī*, on the other hand, is located in a middle of a private property, and is practically invisible from the main road, Jalan Ali Maksum. However, the monumentality of *Masjid Jamī* lies beyond what meet the eye. *Masjid Jamī* is the center of one of the biggest and most respected religious institution in Indonesia. Its significance influences not only the *santri* of Pesantren Al-Munawwir and the people around it, but also to those living hundreds of kilometers from it. Its sacredness is what makes it a monument.

2) The second group is the *urban blocks*. Considering that Krapyak Kulon mostly consists of settlements, almost three quarter of Krapyak Kulon can be categorized as settlement urban blocks. They can be broken down into smaller blocks by the alleys, but they form bigger blocks separated by the main roads of Krapyak Kulon.

Another urban block appears in the west side of Krapyak Kulon, which is the industrial urban block. This block comprises of several large factory buildings and it has its own entrance.
b. Urban Voids

1) The first group of urban voids is *entry foyer spaces*. These spaces allow transitions from areas that are private to areas that are very public. Foyer spaces or transitional spaces are important for the sake of security. This spaces present in the form of the front yard of...
pesantren Al-Munawwir’s ground, in every building complex. Entry foyer space is essential in pesantren to filter visitors and basically create elusive boundaries between private and public areas.

Figure 5.9. Foyers that buffer between pesantren blocks and the surrounding area
Source: Survey March 2014

2) The second group of void is the inner block void, or often called the hole in the doughnut. This simple open space may be used to cater
many functions, such as for recreation or simply just as a transitional space. Inner block voids present in both the pesantren ground and in Krapyak Kulon. In Pondok Pusat as well as in L complex, there are open spaces built in the middle of the ground, surrounded by privately owned buildings. Even though the inner void in Pondok Pusat is open to everyone due to its function as the mosque’s accompanying open space, it is still structurally an inner block void.

In Krapyak Kulon, there are several houses or buildings that purposefully open a space in between the buildings for recreation or ventilation purposes. Some of these buildings are the industrial buildings. In the industrial block, the inner void is far more private than pesantren’s open space. People other than factory workers are seldom allowed in the area.

3) The third group is the network of streets and squares. The highest hierarchy in Jalan Ali Maksum, as it is the main axis that connects Krapyak Kulon to Palace of Yogyakarta, and by far the most lively and
dynamic road in Krapyak Kulon due to the active micro-economy sector. It is also the largest road in size. The second hierarchy is the road that stretches from east to west, creating a major intersection in which *Kandang Menjangan* is located. This road connects Krapyak Kulon to Ring Road and is the main road of Krapyak Kulon’s industry sector.

4) The fourth group is *public parks and gardens*. Aside from being a place to relax, unwind, and provide a much-needed water reservation area for modern urban environments, parks and gardens also function as nodes in an environment. There are several points of parks and gardens in Krapyak Kulon, mostly owned by the local citizens. These parks are planted with trees such as mango trees or...
guava trees, basically any trees that bear fruits. An important public park is the memorial park, or the cemetery. This cemetery is publicly owned but mostly run by the *pesantren*.

Even though there is a small axis in the form of Jalan Ali Maksum towards *Kandang Menjangan*, this axis does not have a significant role in determining the overall pattern of the figure ground constellation in Krapyak Kulon. The combination is also too crooked and too random to be categorized as grid, angular, curvilinear, or radial. In conclusion, judging by the random undersigned combination of the solids and voids, Krapyak Kulon’s figure ground urban pattern forms an organic pattern.
5.2.1.2. Linkage System

a. Visual Linkage

In a very organic settlement like Krapyak Kulon, visual linkage is essentially hard to find. Buildings are not designed especially to be connected with each other, and therefore there is no clear definition in the visual. However, as any of the simplest environments do, Krapyak Kulon still has several corridors of streets. These corridors are guided by alignments of buildings. In Jalan Ali Maksum, the buildings are mainly shops and stores, making the corridor very similar to marketplace. In the other streets, the corridors are aligned with houses and public settlements.

As mentioned before, places in Krapyak Kulon are not built to into certain specialization that demands some sort of connection, except for the two sites of Pesantren Al-Munawwir. The Nurussalam, L, and Q complex and Pondok Pusat are connected via a street corridor. This corridor is laced with varying types of building, most of which function as the main support for Krapyak Kulon’s economic aspect. This corridor is also a part of the axis that connects pesantren to Kandang Menjangan in specific, and in the more major term, connecting Keraton Yogyakarta to Kandang Menjangan, and then to the Southern Sea.

There is also axis in Krapyak Kulon, due to the existence of Kandang Menjangan. All larger roads in Krapyak Kulon act as axis connecting any
other place to *Kandang Menjangan*, making it the center and landmark of Krapyak Kulon.

![Figure 5.13. Visual Linkage in Krapyak Kulon](image)

*Source: Survey March 2014*

b. **Collective Linkage**

The structure of linkage in Krapyak Kulon can be categorized as a mega form. The structures are connected with roads and alleys that are rigid and angular in form, and open ended in connection. The linkage also holds hierarchy, with the larger roads being the most vital road and connecting the major buildings in Krapyak Kulon, and the smaller alleys branching from the main road, connecting houses.

The important features about a mega structure are how the linkage is physically imposed and the hierarchy that falls in the structure to
increase ease in access and efficiency. Krapyak Kulon’s linkage was not built nor designed at the same time. The development is gradual and also hierarchical. Streets with more width were built first to create the major structure, and then smaller streets were created as branches of the main street. Small alleys and blocks were added earlier as the settlement grew, resulting in the crooked, unorganized shape.

The main road, Jalan Ali Maksum, is a part of Yogyakarta’s imaginary axis that connects Merapi to the Southern Sea, bypassing Tugu Jogja, Keraton, and consequently, Pesantren Al-Munawwir. Jalan Ali Maksum stretched beyond Krapyak Kulon’s border, all the way to the southern Ring Road of Yogyakarta. This is considered the main road as it connects some of Krapyak Kulon’s most important features. It connects the two sites of Pesantren Al-Munawwir, Kandang Menjangan (Panggung Krapyak), Patma Suri Hospital, and it is also the main road for economic activities.

The second Jalan Ali Maksum, that stretched perpendicular to the first one, connects two major roads; Jalan Bantul and Jalan Parangtritis.

The third Jalan Ali Maksum is smaller in width, branched from the main road to the east side, and ends in the border of Krapyak Kulon. Jalan Dongkelan is also secondary road, branched from the main road to the west side, pass through Krapyak Kulon border, and ends in Jalan Bantul. The other smaller alleys were built alongside the development of the
settlement. Some of them are paved instead of asphalted, and some are not bigger than 1.5 meter.

From the explanation above, it can be concluded that Krapyak Kulon falls in the category of mega form in Maki’s collective linkage types. The main roads—Jalan Ali Maksum, was imposed first to create the basic network and connect the border of Krapyak Kulon from the four major directions. Smaller or secondary roads then added as a branch from the main road to connect Jalan Ali Maksum to Jalan Bantul and Jalan Parangtritis. Smaller alleys to create access from houses to houses then grew along with the settlement gradually. This type of linkage form is very effective to arrange administration and land use, as well as to determine hierarchy in the urban environment.
Figure 5.15. Linkage system and street sections in Krapyak Kulon
Source: Survey March 2014, Google Earth 2014
5.2.1.3. Place Analysis

A place in simple explanation is a space with human in it. The main element of a place is not what it looks like but what made it. Human and their culture change a simple void space and turn it into a place with meaning.

In Krapyak Kulon, the most apparent culture is the Islamic culture brought by pesantren. Not only did pesantren fuel the development of Krapyak Kulon, it is still Krapyak Kulon’s main driving force in economic, social, and religious aspect of the people’s life.

The most culturally and humanly influenced aspect is Krapyak Kulon is the religious aspect. Pesantren Al-Munawwir brought Islam to Krapyak Kulon when it was void of any religion, and cultivated that until now. People who are born and raised in Krapyak Kulon experience a unique bond with pesantren and generally believe in Islam as their normal culture. Practice of religion spans much more than the compulsory prayer five times a day; they even celebrate Islamic holidays as much as they do national holidays. Pesantren Al-Munawwir is the part of Krapyak Kulon that gives the most meaning of place in the religious aspect.

All the buildings in each complex in pesantren are built facing the same focal point. This is done for various reasons. In complexes Hindun and Taman Santri and also L and Q, this is done because the two complexes standing side by side are occupied by different gender. As mentioned before, visual and physical contacts are best avoided, and this is one of the many ways to do so.
Meanwhile in *Pondok Pusat*, buildings are faced to the main open space in front of *Masjid Jam'i* to give a sense of sacredness to the open space and consequently, the mosque. The other reason is that they openness is very important for a *pesantren*. *Kyai* in *pesantren* must make all visitors feel welcomed into the environment and their respective houses. By directing the houses to the open space which also functions as a linkage, *Kyai* indirectly open up their houses and invite people in.

Understanding the basic layout of *pesantren* issued by Moersid, Fanani, and Budhi (2002), the layout or structure of *Pesantren Al-Munawwir* does not concur. Since the *pesantren* is built gradually and organically without the benefit of a designer, *Kyai* Munawwir and the former leaders used what they had at that moment to develop *pesantren*. Understanding that extravagant waste is one of the things that are forbidden in Islamic architecture and planning, *Kyai* in *Pesantren Krapyak* would not build a new building or expand an old building until it was absolutely necessary. This process resulted in the rather disarranged design of *Pondok Pusat*.

The disarray of buildings also produces unwanted lost spaces. These spaces (marked with red color) are the contrast between buildings and site borders. Some of the spaces are too small to hold any coherent functions, but even the bigger ones are not properly used for any significant purposes. They are mostly only used as parking, or simply just empty spaces.

The circling of religious buildings (mosques and *mushalla*), the strict boundary between female and male *santri*, the attempt to limit contacts between
male and female santri, the glorification of open space as the center of all activity, all are the specific cultural description of settlements with strong Islamic influence. The culture of Islam, obviously, plays an incredibly invaluable part in Pesantren Al-Munawwir and makes it a place with the strongest religious meaning.

Figure 5.16. Place analysis and the locations in Pesantren Al-Munawwir Source: Google Earth 2013, analysis based on Trancik (1960)

Part of Krapyak Kulon with the most economic places is the corridor of Jalan Ali Maksum, mainly from Kandang Menjangan up north. Both sides of the streets are clad with stores and small restaurants. This happened, also, by the influence of pesantren. As the number of the santri increased, more people grew interest in the market and decided to open a business in Krapyak Kulon, close to
pesantren. There are clothes stores, copy shops, internet café, banks, street food vendors, every imaginable business opportunity is taken in Krapyak Kulon, and all of them flourish there.

Similar with the economic aspect of life in Krapyak Kulon, the social life in Krapyak Kulon is also ruled by Pesantren. For example, the social events held by the whole citizens of Krapyak Kulon are always built around the schedule of Pesantren. Whenever the pesantren is having large banquet or celebrating a religious ceremony, it immediately becomes more than just a religious activity; it becomes very social. People from all over Krapyak Kulon come to pesantren and socialize there. Village meetings are sometimes done in pesantren’s hall, involving Kyai and santri as one of the predominant voice of citizen.

The way people socialize in smaller scope is not much different. People in Krapyak Kulon generally treat their neighbors very well, and very often any dispute happens between neighbors will be brought to the main Kyai in pesantren to ask for solution. In the smallest social platform, which is inside a
family, religious teaching of the *pesantren* is introduced to children since an early age. Children, mainly the boys, come to mosque to pray with their father as soon as they can walk. The girls usually pray at home with their mothers and attend banquets for female citizens. The children are also sent to study in *pesantren* in one way or another. If they are not enrolled in one of the many schools owned by *pesantren*, they are at least sent to the afternoon school, or the madrasa, to learn about Islam.

5.2.2. Hierarchy in Krapyak Kulon

5.2.2.1. Hierarchy by Size

Structurally, in Krapyak Kulon, the buildings’ sizes are very highly varied. Since the environment thrived on its own, there is no certain consideration on the buildings’ sizes. The sizes vary from the biggest—the factories on the west side, to the smallest—houses on the dense settlement area. Some of the other larger masses are Patma Suri hospital and MA Ali Maksum buildings on the south side.

The existence of *pesantren* does not affect much on the hierarchy based on the size. Buildings in *pesantren* are more or less the same size with the ordinary buildings. Even the main Mosque of *pesantren* is not significantly larger or taller than the other buildings.

Even though the *pesantren* is supposed to hold the highest hierarchy, the minimal distinction between *pesantren* buildings and the surrounding area is not very surprising. It is indeed the truest style of Islamic Architecture to modestly blend with its surrounding without showing any extravagant and
unnecessary distinction. In most *pesantren* in Indonesia, the buildings of *pesantren* tend to be very similar with the surrounding. The difference in size is not a matter of hierarchical importance, but more on the functionality because *pesantren* buildings host more people than regular settlement buildings.

**Figure 5.18. Sizes of buildings in Krapyak Kulon and the bigger masses in labels**
*Source: Survey April 2014*

5.2.2.2. **Hierarchy in Shape**

Similar with the hierarchy in size, the shape of buildings in Krapyak Kulon is both too varied and yet too similar for any regular building in a larger
scale to be special. The only buildings with different styles and shapes are *Masjid Jamî* and several *mushalla*. These buildings have domes attached to their roofs that therefore set a distinction from the other traditionally roofed buildings. They are also taller and have ornaments that reaffirm the Islamic function of the building, such as calligraphy or geometric ornaments.

![Figure 5.19. Masjid Muslimat (left) and Masjid Krapyak Kulon (right)](image.png)

Among these domed building, *Masjid Jamî* holds the highest hierarchy because it is the biggest in size, not to mention the fact that is the tallest one. *Masjid Jamî* is also equipped with a large open space in front of it and designed with large columns to distinguish its majestic nuance. The other difference is when the other *mushalla*s are sitting on predetermined sites which are parallel to the angle of the street; *Masjid Jamî*'s orientation is slightly crooked to the northwest direction, which is then followed by the other buildings around it. These differences make *Masjid Jamî* unique and therefore it has a high hierarchy.
5.2.2.3. **Hierarchy in Placement**

Regarding the placement, there is one building that is particularly unique. It is placed right in a middle of an intersection, massive and proud. *Kandang*
Menjangan or Panggung Krapyak is not a very large building, and the shape is also not incredibly unique, but the placement earns it the highest hierarchy in Krapyak Kulon. Any observer coming from either one of Krapyak Kulon’s four main roads will eventually bump into Kandang Menjangan. The placement of it signifies its function as a landmark, a node, a visual direction, and a visual linkage of axis.

Figure 5.22. Placement of Kandang Menjangan in a middle of an intersection
Source: Survey April 2014

Masjid Jami’, the main mosque in Pesantren Al-Munawwir, is not only the core building of pesantren, but also the core building of Krapyak Kulon. Kyai, santri, and even the citizens of Krapyak Kulon have the utmost respect for the mosque, and they treat it as a sacred place. It not only a facility in which they
pray five times a day, but it is a landmark, a symbol, a status, that is maintained and cared for by all occupants of pesantren.

One thing that cements its status as the highest hierarchy is that it stands tall before a large open space right in the heart of the pesantren. Anyone who enters Pesantren Al-Munawwir through Jalan Ali Maksum will first be greeted by the open space, and their attention shall immediately shot to the large marble building of Masjid Jami'. The majestic feel that comes with the design and the spatial positioning is also a strong factor that makes Masjid Jami' the highest hierarchy in pesantren from the land use.

*Figure 5.23. Alley that leads to the open space (left); Mosque from the open space (right)*
*Source: Survey April 2014*

*Figure 5.24. Placement of Masjid Jami' in the center of Pondok Pusat*
*Source: Survey April 2014*
In conclusion, the physical hierarchy in Krapyak Kulon can be divided into three causes: the size, the shape, and the placement. However, not all those factors are influenced by the existence of pesantren. The size of buildings is true to the function; mass buildings are bigger and settlements are smaller. The shape of buildings is also uniform, except for the mosques that has distinct Islamic architecture flairs and also dome roofs. Especially in Masjid Jamī where not only the style and the color are different, the orientation of the building is also different, setting it apart from the other buildings, cementing its status.

In Krapyak Kulon as a whole, one building with a special placement is the Kandang Menjangan, which is rightfully located in a middle of an intersection to symbolize historical significance. Kandang Menjangan is a very special landmark in Krapyak Kulon and it has a high hierarchy. Meanwhile inside the pesantren ground, Masjid Jamī’s placement is also special. It is located right in the center of the ground, in front of a large open space that provides abundant access both from the main Jalan Ali Maksum in the west and the second smaller road in the north. The centralization of Masjid Jamī earns it the highest hierarchy among pesantren buildings, but it does not have as much influence in the larger scope of Krapyak Kulon.

5.2.3. Pattern of Structure in Krapyak Kulon

The pattern in Krapyak Kulon can be categorized as an organic pattern, solely for the reason that it developed without the benefit of a designer and was very dependent on the people who live in it. However, Krapyak Kulon is not entirely void of urban design. Several ideas and early concept was already
implemented in Krapyak Kulon, such as the existence of Jalan Ali Maksum as a part of the imaginary axis that connects Merapi and the Southern Sea. The placement of *Kandang Menjangan* as a monument to reminisce Sultan’s hunting hobby was also predetermined.

According to Kostof (1991), some of the signs of organic cities are the crooked street, the irregular geomorphic shape of the blocks, and the randomly defined open spaces. All these signs present in different parts of Krapyak Kulon. Some are influenced by the existence of *pesantren*, some just naturally happened along the development stage.

Figure 5.25. Pattern Mode in Krapyak Kulon
Source: Survey April 2014

LEGEND

- Krapyak Kulon Border
- Open spaces
- *Pesantren* Area
- Citizen’s settlements
5.2.3.1. Pattern of Pesantren Al-Munawwir

It is important to analyze the pattern of pesantren on itself due to its cultural significance in Krapyak Kulon. Pattern of space in pesantren is very similar to regular Islamic settlement, as shown by having an open space used as a communal space, a certain inner void used privately, and women settlement relatively detached from the public spaces.

The pattern of the main pesantren shows an open space used as a communal space, with two large openings into it. The open space is connected to the mosque, which is also considered public due to its function generally. This very public place is located right in the middle of the main ground, surrounded by semi-public spaces: the Kyai houses. Kyai houses are considered semi-public because their first function is as a private living space, but the Kyai’s responsible as public figures change the function. Kyai houses are expected to always open their doors to guests and basically any person who wishes to meet the Kyai. Kyai’s houses are then attached to dormitories. These dormitories have limited access, and not all guests are welcomed in, especially in female dormitories, where doors and windows are eluded to limit access even more, making them even more private.

The relation of open space – Kyai houses – dormitories persists not only in the main pesantren ground, but also in other complexes. The difference is that the open space in main pesantren ground is located in the middle, making the pattern radial; while the open spaces in other complexes are located upfront, making the pattern linear.
Figure 5.26. Building patterns in Pesantren Al-Munawwir
Source: Survey April 2014

Figure 5.27. Building Pattern of Pesantren Al-Munawwir
Source: Survey April 2014
5.2.3.2. Model 1

The first example of irregularity exists near pesantren Al-Munawwir’s L complex in the north side of Krapyak Kulon. L complex sits in a densely populated segment of public settlement. There are small alleys every few houses for access in and around that segment, but the existence of L complex alienates that concept.

The front part of L complex is facing Jalan Ali Maksum; it is compliant with the usual regular pattern of site division. The opening of one of the alleys is located right on the south of L complex’s site. The alley is supposed to be straight to the west where it would meet the perpendicular alleys to form a geometrical grid on the settlement, but in the practice, the alley is interrupted with the existence of L complex’s dormitory buildings and is made to proceed around the L complex ground.

![LEGEND](image)

**Figure 5.28. Pattern Model 1 in Krapyak Kulon**
*Source: Survey April 2014*
5.2.3.3. Model 2

The second model of pattern irregularity happens in the alleys that branch from Jalan Dongkelan. In the other parts of Krapyak Kulon, the shape of the morphed grids is mostly close to a square shape. But in Jalan Dongkelan, small alleys appear every two houses and they form linear paths parallel with each other. This is unique because some houses then have alleys in both their front and back side. These alleys are only big enough for two motorcycles to cross pass each other, some of them even only big enough for two people crossing paths.

This is very different with the common Islamic settlement where houses are kept tight with minimal opening to the public area to protect the privacy of the home owners. With alleys both on their front and back yard, the private area in each houses is reduced significantly. On the other side, this really increases the degree of accessibility for each house.

This segment also has a relatively large mosque, called Masjid Muslimat. This mosque has an open space right in front of it, just like the common norm of mosque in Islamic architecture. This open space is used by the mosque during congregations or public prayers. When there is no public event, this open space is free to be used by any of the citizens who live around it.

This goes to show that religion is a significant element in the lives of people who live around this area. However, the fact the home owners would rather implement access and practicality than privacy suggests the minimal influence of Islamic planning in this segment of Krapyak Kulon.
5.2.3.4. Model 3

Model three is a segment of Jalan Ali Maksum, the main road in Krapyak Kulon. One of the reasons of why it is called the main road aside of its size is because it’s the road corresponding directly to pesantren Al-Munawwir, and because it holds the most dynamic economic sector in Krapyak Kulon. Jalan Ali Maksum is the host of many stores and shops that appeared as the collateral effect of the existence of Pesantren Al-Munawwir.

As explained earlier, the relocation of pesantren Al-Munawwir to Krapyak Kulon has opened a whole new exciting market for home business
such as copy shops, tire shops, food stalls, restaurants, laundry, grocery stores, even for larger franchise such as minimarkets and national banks.

*Pesantren Al-Munawwir* also has its own coop. The coop sells everything from food to clothes to *santri*’s daily necessities such as stationary and books for congregations. However, the coop is located upfront in Jalan Ali Munawir, instead of inside the *pesantren* ground. This is done to open the coop for public, not just for *santri*, so that there is actual integration of activity and facility between *pesantren* and the public society apart from religious aspect.

Apart from large franchises like banks and minimarkets, the citizens who open up shops or business usually use the front part of their houses as the stores, and the back part as their home. The development of large minimarket franchises is still under control to give chance to local shop owners to thrive.

Majority or Krapyak Kulon’s micro economy business or home businesses are located in Jalan Ali Maksum, on the road that connects both *pesantren* grounds. This signifies that the *pesantren* and the micro economy sector in Krapyak Kulon has a tight bond and it is codependent with each other.
5.2.3.5. Model 4

One of the symptoms of urban environment with organic pattern is the randomly situated open space. Model 4 is an example of a randomly situated open space. The open space here is located in an intersection of crooked alleys on the east side. In Krapyak Kulon, there are actually many stranded open spaces like the one in segment 4. These open spaces are mostly in a form of gardens of trees or just empty space they use to park cars or do their laundry. At certain times of the year, during the times of social or traditional events, these open spaces are used as the place for guests to gather around. These gardens
are the lungs that create fresh air in the middle of densely populated and actively industrialized Krapyak Kulon.

![Figure 5.31. Pattern Model 4 in Krapyak Kulon](image)

**Figure 5.31. Pattern Model 4 in Krapyak Kulon**
*Source: Survey April 2014*

**5.2.3.6. Model 5**

The fifth model is on the west side of *Kandang Menjangan*, where the supposedly straight intersection went crooked slightly to the southwest direction and forward to the outer ring of Krapyak Kulon’s area.

This change in road direction is a response towards the latter built Yogyakarta’s southern ring road. Yogyakarta’s southern ring road acts as the border in Krapyak Kulon, specifically on the southwest area where it’s curved.
along the path. In order for the access to be easier, roads are built as a continuation from the ring road and therefore it has to be turned to reach the intersection of *Kandang Menjangan*.

The accessibility is vital for this particular segment in Krapyak Kulon because this road is the main road to access Krapyak Kulon’s industrial area. Many large and heavy vehicles drive in and out the factory that it is imperative for the access to be as free and as open as possible. Connecting this road to Yogyakarta’s southern ring road is a strategic development to increase the performance of Krapyak Kulon’s industrial area.

The industrial area in Krapyak Kulon is one of the most vital economic supporters. Aside of it taking almost twenty percent of the whole land of Krapyak Kulon, many people who are not opening home businesses actually work in these factories to support their daily life. The factories is one of the main source of formal income for people in Krapyak Kulon, as well as Krapyak Kulon’s local income.
Figure 5.32. Pattern Model 5 in Krapyak Kulon  
Source: Survey April 2014
5.2.3.7. Model 6

Model six is the symbolic representation of Krapyak Kulon’s religious life. This segment is located on the southeast side of Krapyak Kulon, right on the border between people’s settlements and Krapyak’s cemetery. The most interesting matter is that there actually is no significant border between the cemetery and the settlement. The cemetery takes up almost 20% of Krapyak Kulon’s area, and the citizens have adapted their live so much into accepting that. It is also under the influence of pesantren that the cemetery is allowed to be a part of the citizen’s life.

In the world of Islam, honoring the dead is a very important aspect. Muslims are expected to constantly pray for parents or relatives that died, and this tradition is alive and well in the realm of pesantren. Grave visiting is also a tradition held by Javanese people, and Islam in Indonesia generally welcomes and relishes that tradition. Krapyak cemetery is not the property of pesantren Al-Munawwar, but santri help a lot in taking care of it since it holds the cemetery of pesantren’s respected late Kyai. It is a tradition in pesantren to visit the cemetery at least once a week every Thursday or Friday, and people in Krapyak Kulon are following into this tradition as well. The roads in the middle of the cemetery ground shows how much it is integrated into the daily lives of people. When in other places graves are haunting place, in Krapyak Kulon it is a perfectly fine spot to go around in on a normal day.
5.3. Identity of Krapyak Kulon as a Pesantren Area

For majority of people in Yogyakarta and Bantul, pesanten *Al-Munawwir* is known as "Pondok Krapyak" or "pesantren Krapyak", a clear sign that attach
the identity of *pesantren* to Krapyak Kulon and vice versa. To understand how this identity sticks in Krapyak Kulon, there are three major factors: the physical appearance of the area, the activities conducted by people in the area, and the meaning of the area for all types of observer.

### 5.3.1. Physical Appearance

As one of the major determining elements in identifying an environment, the physical feature of the *pesantren* is very important. However, as stated before, Islamic architecture is a very morphologic style; it changes depending on the local influence. Islamic buildings in Indonesia are often in the shapes of common housings, some of them even adapt the shape of Joglo, Indonesia’s traditional house. However, several distinct features still appear that makes *pesantren Al-Munawwir* and its surrounding more identifiable.

#### 5.3.1.1. Shape and Style

The shape of buildings in *pesantren* is not that different with the other houses around the *pesantren*. The architecture style in Krapyak Kulon is more influenced by the common shape of houses in Indonesia than Islamic style buildings.

a. The height of the building.

*Masjid Jami*, or the main mosque of *Pesantren Al-Munawwir*, is not necessarily the tallest building in Krapyak Kulon. It is actually a three story building, but since the ceilings are made to be higher, *Masjid Jami* is more or less the same height as any four-story buildings. Some other
buildings in *pesantren* also have three floors, especially the dormitories; Taman *Santri* dormitory building even has four floors. *Pesantren* principally will not build new building or expand and add another floor to an existing building if were not completely necessary. This is true to the teaching of Islamic architecture about minimizing extravagance in architecture and planning.

![Figure 5.35 4 and 3 floors buildings in Pesantren Al-Munawwir](source)

Essentially, Krapyak Kulon is a humble settlement. Based on 2009 survey by Panggungharjo village, only about 30% families can be named prosper, and about 15% are categorized poor. The houses are mostly single floor, except for business owners and shop houses which tend to have second floors for the living areas. Apart from public settlements, school buildings are mostly two-story. Patmasuri Hospital on the southern side of Krapyak Kulon has three floors, and the factories on the western side have three to four floors.
b. The architectural style

*Masjid Jami* boasts a style very similar to traditional Middle Eastern buildings, with large columns circling the façade of the mosque. The doors are tall and large and are open most of the time to give a welcoming sense for everyone who need to pray in the mosque. The openings on the second tier are also large and enclosed, giving *Masjid Jami* the full benefit of natural air conditioning. The dome is not very big, defying from the usual style of Middle-Eastern mosques. There is also one other small dome used to shelter the speakers that are used to broadcast adzan. On the edges of *Masjid Jami* buildings are furnished with ornaments in the shape of flowers and leaves, which is one of the main features in Islamic architecture ornaments. They are carved on andesite stones in white to give a lighter accent to the terracota-clad mosque.
In the pesantren ground, the mosque is the only building distinctive enough from the style only. The other buildings, including Kyai houses, dormitories, school buildings, offices, do not have any particular style. However, there are several building considerations that nod to the guidance of Islamic architecture, apart from the modesty. One of them is the placements of windows and doors in dormitories.

In male dormitories, doors and windows are placed right at the front in normal height and without any covering. Meanwhile in female dormitories, doors and windows are seemingly hidden. Access to dormitories is not as obvious as that of male dormitories. Window glasses in female dormitories are all tinted and/or covered up with blinds, or simply located too far up the wall for people to be able to see the activity inside the building. This is a consideration based on Islam’s policy to always protect women’s privacy.
In figure x below, the light brown building on the left is Kyai’s house with its second and third floors used as female dormitory. Notice the blinds on the windows on second and third floors, but the first floor’s windows are not covered. The entrance to the female dormitory is not through the Kyai house’s door, but rather through a door between Kyai’s house and the male dormitory (white building) on the right (see figure 5.42 below). The doors and windows on the male dormitory are not covered and are located on a very straightforward position.

![Image](image1.jpg)

Figure 5.38. Kyai’s house, entrance to female dormitory, male dormitory
Source: Survey February 2014

![Image](image2.jpg)

Figure 5.39 Entrance to female dormitory, shaded (left), entrance to male dormitory (right)
Source: Survey February 2014

Buildings in Krapyak Kulon have many different styles, but nothing very detailed or very special in particular. Since they are not built under any
specific direction or guidelines, the styles are randomly diverse; ranging from some of more traditional Javanese styles, to the most modern-minimalist. The existence of pesantren has very little to no influence at all to the style of building in its surrounding.

![Image: House with art deco style (left) and modern-contemporary style (right)](source: Survey February 2014)

5.3.1.2. Colors and Materials

Krapyak Kulon is not a completely homogenous settlement. There are variety of characters and backgrounds, no matter how small of an amount. This becomes apparent in the visual appearance of the environment in Krapyak Area. Buildings and houses are built in a large array of colors and there are no boundaries or guidelines about this, even in the pesantren itself.

Inside the pesantren area, majority of the colors is white. White is the sign of purity, signifying that pesantren is a serene place. While is also the color of authority and rigidness, signifying the fact that pesantren is operated under considerably strict rules.
The main color of *Masjid Jamī‘* is brownish or earthy color. This is a signature color for many Middle-Eastern buildings and Middle-Eastern inspired architecture. The marble and granite floors and columns signify luxury, but not in an extravagant style. This elevates the status of the mosque to something majestic and somehow heavenly. Even people who visit the *pesantren* for the first time will feel the majesty of *Masjid Jamī‘*.
The colors of houses around *pesantren* are very varied, and *pesantren* doesn’t issue any rule regarding this matter. The people are generally free to design and beautify their houses according to their own preferences. Some of the houses are built with exposed brick or wooden walls, some others with higher incomes may choose to paint the houses in bright colors. Even so, there is still the similarity of window and vent placements. The yellow houses has windows facing the street, but are covered with pieces of paper, and the green house only has vents that are located way above the street level. This is one of the influences that *pesantren* has to its people.

5.3.1.3. Signage

The most obvious physical features that can clearly reveal the identity of an environment is the signage. In Krapyak Kulon, Arabic letters are commonly found on wooden signs around *pesantren*. These signs are a great help in identifying the environment as an environment with Islamic education institute.
Figure 5.44 Signages around Krapyak Kulon’s pesantren.
Source: Survey February 2014

5.3.2. Observable Activities

Activities in Krapyak Kulon make for a strong factor in identifying the area as a pesantren area. The difference between an area of Muslim majority and a pesantren area is located mainly on the existence of the pesantren. Pesantren Al-Munawwir has such presence that is able to move people around it into conforming to the rules of pesantren. With presence that strong, pesantren influences almost every activity in the surrounding area. Religious activities are still the most observable, seeing that people are still willing to go to mosque or mushalla to pray five times a day, attend mass congregation in pesantren every week, and contribute in any monthly and annual religious activities held by pesantren.

Social activities, such as neighborhood meetings or even in the very personal household level are also influenced by the activities of pesantren.
Public creates schedule for their meetings and social interaction around pesantren’s schedule. For example, female citizens don’t interact with each other outside of their houses during Friday prayer or maghrib time (sunset). This is done out of respect for the Islamic culture implemented by the pesantren. In a larger scale, it is impossible to set pesantren completely apart from any social interaction since they are also part of the society there. Besides, public meetings in Krapyak Kulon are often held in the hall of pesantren Al-Munawwir, and the Kyai usually have a say in many social decisions.

The social activities influenced by pesantren are not limited to the administrative boundary of Krapyak Kulon. Other villages around Krapyak Kulon also often conduct social activities involving pesantren. Determining the exact boundary for pesantren’s influence is difficult because they expand well beyond any physical territory. But the area around pondok pusat, despite the fact that they don’t belong in Krapyak Kulon, is also strongly influenced by pesantren.

Economic activities are not much different from this. The stores and shops are open for business as a direct consequence of the pesantren. Hundreds of santri equal hundreds of demands for production goods and it means lucrative business opportunity. People come to Krapyak Kulon to open restaurants, copy shops, retail business, grocery stores, and many other businesses. Al-Munawwir foundation also has several businesses of its own that contribute to the economic scene in Krapyak Kulon. It manages several shops, a drugstore, a health clinic, and several schools. The economic activities, similar with the social activities, also expand to areas beyond Krapyak Kulon’s territory,
further signifying the boundless influence of pesantren. To eliminate *pesantren* is to eliminate economic activities in Krapyak Kulon and its surrounding.

5.3.2.1. **Religious Activities**

a. **Daily religious activities**

Even though there are several *mushalla* spread around Krapyak Kulon, most people still go to *Masjid Jamī* to pray 4 to 5 times a day during dzuhur, ashar, maghrib, and isya mass prayer. *mushalla* 1, 3, and 5 (see figure 5.45) are mostly used by citizens who live around 50-100 meters radius from there. *mushalla* 2, the *mushalla* inside L complex, is used almost exclusively by residents of L complex due to its exclusive location inside the ground of L complex.

Number 4 is *Masjid Jamī*; the mosque inside *pesantren* ground. This is the biggest mosque in Krapyak Kulon and it draws so many congregates that it is almost impossible to determine the exact radius. *Kyai*’s followers who live 2 or 3 kilometers from *pesantren* would still come to the mosque to pray a few times a day.

Even though the location is more secluded than *mushalla* 1 and 5, who are right on the main roads, people seem to be interested in coming to *Masjid Jamī*. This is due to the history that it has been through. The identity of *Masjid Jamī* as the main mosque in Krapyak Kulon does not come from the location or the shape of it, but it comes from the amount of people who come to pray in it. The activity rate is much higher than the other *mushalla*. When at certain times during the day the other
mushallas may be empty or quiet, Masjid Jami is always occupied with people reading the Holy Qur’an, studying Kitab Kuning, or doing Sunnah Prayer.

Masjid Jami’, as one of the most important mosque in the area, is also attracting people from areas outside of Krapyak Kulon. As we can see in figure 5.45, there is an approximate radius of area that’s strongly influenced by the mosque. This area is not limited to any physical administrative boundaries and the furthest one is approximately as far as the southern point of Krapyak Kulon. This area combined with the administrative boundary of Krapyak Kulon put pondok pusat as the center, which is relatively accurate considering the amount of power it possesses as the core of religious life in Krapyak Kulon and its surrounding.

Other than Masji Jami’, the mushallas that are open for public are located in proportionated places; one in the north side of Krapyak Kulon, the other one in the south side of Krapyak Kulon. This further affirms the importance of Islamic culture in Krapyak Kulon and its fair distribution.
b. Weekly religious activities

One of the weekly religious activities is during the Friday prayer, where all Muslim men from Krapyak Kulon and areas around it come to Masjid Jami to pray. Friday prayer has become a very eventful routine in pesantren. The amount of people who come over to the mosque is so massive that they have to cautiously use all three floors in the mosque,
when the 3rd floor is usually used by female congregates. Jalan Ali Maksum also becomes temporary parking spots for all the vehicles brought by congregation.

Every time this happens, there are also many panhandlers who come to pesantren and neatly lining up along the front foyer, hoping that some of congregates will give them money. One of the teachings in Islam is compassion, and therefore pesantren usually tolerate them. Kyai would then give them food and drink after the Friday prayer before they go home.

Figure 5.46. Friday prayer spatial setting
Source: Google earth 2014 and analysis
The other observable activity is the visit to the graveyards that are conducted every Thursday evening or Friday morning. Most of the elderly of pesantren Kyai are buried in Krapyak Kulon’s graveyards, and people usually come to visit the graves. But these people don’t only come from pesantren or Krapyak Kulon. Kyai’s followers are distributed to many places and some of them still come regularly to Kyai’s grave. The scale of activities of Friday prayer is slightly bigger than that of grave visits because Friday prayer is considered wajib, or a must-do, while grave visits is considered a complementary act of religious practice.
c. **Monthly and annual religious activity**

There are mass congregation in *Masjid Jam'i* every month, and also once every year to commemorate the death of elder Kyai. The annual events, called haul, is generally very festive and is attended by many people from all over the area in Indonesia, not only from Krapyak Kulon. During this time, the open space in front of *Masjid Jam'i* will be packed.
with people and are decorated with tents and equipped with chairs for people to sit during the mass congregation.

During haul, a small space between the parking lot and the pesantren hall becomes an open kitchen. Local citizens and female santri lend their hands to cook for meals that will be distributed for free to anyone who come to the Haul. There is no actual order or rule from pesantren that all local citizens must take part in the preparation for Haul, but this is something that they do out of love and respect for the pesantren and the Kyai’s family. The preparation usually starts one or two days before the Haul day, from very early in the morning to late in the evening. People usually take turns in helping out to be effective. Even citizens of other villages around Krapyak Kulon often come over and bring rice, cooking oil, tea, sugar, or anything that they can bring to help the preparation of Haul. This is a tradition that is alive in almost all pesantren in Indonesia.

On 16th February 2014, the oldest Kyai of Pesantren Al-Munawwir, Kyai Zaenal, passed away. The entire pesantren community in Indonesia was shocked and mourning for his passing. Almost all well-known religious leaders and Kyai from all across the country came to Krapyak Kulon to pay homage to the great Kyai Zaenal. Haul-like commemoration was held in Al-Munawwir until the 7th day of Kyai Zaenal’s passing. After that, a smaller gala was held until the 40th day. Every day for more than a
month, citizens come over to help for the banquet and the mass congregation, and they all do that purely out of their own initiatives.

Outside of pesantren, the Masjid Muslimat and Masjid Krapyak also holds monthly congregation. Kyai from pesantren usually take turns giving speeches in these two mosques. People from the northern side of
Krapyak Kulon would come to Masjid Muslimat, and those on the southern side would come to Masjid Krapyak. *mushalla* Nurussalam and *mushalla* L do not have any special monthly activities because they are centered in *Masjid Jami*.

*Figure 5.50. Weekly and annual religious activity map in Krapyak Kulon*
*Source: Google earth 2014, survey February 2014*
5.3.2.2. **Social Activities**

In Krapyak Kulon, only a few social activities are completely detached from religious or pesantren. In day-to-day life, people interact with each other under the capacity of following through with pesantren’s activity. Most neighbors meet during mass prayer in pesantren or during Friday prayer, some social meetings are even conducted in mushalla. Large social gathering are usually held in pesantren’s hall or open space in front of Masjid Jami’.

However, considering that Krapyak Kulon is located very close to Keraton (± 1.6km), the Javanese tradition in the social life is not to be diminished. It is essential to remember that however strong the influence of pesantren and Islam in the citizens’ everyday lives, they are initially Javanese. The culture of Kejawen is older than the age of Islam in Indonesia, so it is Islam who came and tried to adjust to the culture of Javanese people, not the other way around.

This is a beautiful proof that traditional culture and religious teaching can seamlessly go hand in hand. People are very respectful and obedient towards the pesantren and the new life style that it brings, but in return, pesantren also understands and appreciate the original Javanese culture that the people uphold. The reason why there is very little conflicts ever happened in Krapyak is because of the mutual understanding.

Spatially, large scale social interaction such as village meetings or banquet are done in either the hall of pesantren Al-Munawwir, Masjid Jamī and its open space, or the hall of MA Al-Munawwir in the south. Some festivals are
done in the small open field on the southern side, right next to Patmasuri Hospital (see figure 5.55 below).

Smaller, neighborhood social activities can be done in the random open spaces around Krapyak Kulon. Understanding the chatty and very friendly nature of Javanese people, anywhere in Krapyak Kulon is a place to interact with neighbors. They interact on streets, in front of their houses, while dropping their children off to school, while going to the hospitals, even when shopping or eating out, blurring the line between social facility and economic facility. Interfamily activities are done privately in each of the citizens’ respective houses.

And as mentioned before, social life in Krapyak Kulon also isn’t limited to the boundary. People from outside of Krapyak Kulon are welcomed to join in any social events. And vice versa, santri and Kyai are often invited to join social activities in areas around Krapyak Kulon. The influence of pesantren truly crosses all limit and boundary.

Figure 5.51. social interactions in Krapyak Kulon Source: survey February 2014
5.3.2.3. Economic Activities

As what has been constantly mentioned, the economic activities in Krapyak Kulon revolve around Jalan Ali Maksum, which is the main road that is located in front of pesantren Al-Munawwir. Alongside the street are shops after shops, food stalls, clothes stores, banks, minimarkets, salons, grocery stores,
laundry marts, almost every kind of small scale business exist here in Krapyak Kulon. And why not? The santri of pesantren alone in 2013 accounts for more than 1000 people, not to mention the native Krapyak Kulon citizens of more than 2000 people. To think that one third of the entire population of Krapyak Kulon live around Jalan Ali Maksum, it is only expected that the street will be packed with bustling daily economy activities. And following the street that expands beyond the boundary of Krapyak Kulon, the economic activity also follows. Shops are still appearing on either side of Jalan Ali Maksum way to the north side of Krapyak Kulon, stretching the economic activity of santri and civilians.

School buildings and hospitals also influence the dynamic of economic activities in Krapyak Kulon. Aside of its prime social function, school buildings and hospital give chances for people who live around them to open food stalls, targeting the students and hospital visitors. This may not seem significant, but it should not be overlooked either.

The economic activities on a bigger scale is located on the industrial area on the western and south western of Krapyak Kulon. There are factories producing bricks and building materials, workshops for cars, and also paddy field to support the agriculture needs of Krapyak Kulon. Most of the productive citizens in Krapyak Kulon, except those who decided to start businesses on their own, work in the factories or the field. Factories in Krapyak Kulon play a big role in providing formal working environments.
5.3.3. Meaning

Analyzing meaning in a Krapyak Kulon is somehow complicated. As a sub-village with 912 families, the meaning perceived from the *pesantren* must be varied. It has been mentioned earlier how different backgrounds among people will most likely affect the way they perceive the environment, thus affecting how
they give meaning to it. Ethnicity, age, gender, travel mode, lifestyle, and length or residence, are the factors that will create those differences. And in a pesantren area, all those factors are well served.

Even among the santri itself, the backgrounds are different. There are female and male santri; young and old santri; Javanese, Sundanese, even Sumatran santri; there are santri who had been staying in pesantren for eight years, and there are newcomers; there are santri who own motorbikes, and there are santri who walk everywhere. This diversity is supposed to create different meanings of pesantren for them.

However, most santri give similar answer to the question of ‘what does Pondok (pesantren) mean to you?’ The answers are not exactly the same, but this goes to prove just how strong the identity that pesantren exudes to its santri. Uniformity in an identity can be bad because it then provides no distinction, but when an identity is so strong, observers often can’t help but perceive the same meaning of that environment.

What is strange about the meaning of pesantren for the people around it who are not santri is the fact that they feel very involved in the development of pesantren. When asked to choose which of the seven types of identity they can relate the most, almost all of them choose to be either existential or empathic insiders, which means they feel like they have a part in developing the pesantren and are somehow emotionally connected to it.

Those who do not choose existential insiders or empathic insiders mostly choose to be behavioral insiders or incidental outsiders. This proves that
no matter how emotionally detached the people in Krapyak Kulon are, they still have some sort of respects and they are still willing to fulfill the function of pesantren and its influence to the area.

Considering the enormous impact the pesantren has to the daily life of people in Krapyak Kulon, it is fairly straightforward to analyze the meaning of pesantren for Krapyak Kulon’s citizens. Understanding that meaning comes to observers through experience and familiarization, it is logical that citizens who stay the longest in the pesantren and the surrounding area have solid connection with the pesantren and can convey the most meaning. However, length of residence is not the only factor that can manipulate how an observer gives meaning to the environment. There are six factors of human differences that could give affect the way an observer perceives its environment (Madanipour, 1996).

5.3.3.1. Gender

Male and female observers are known to have different approaches to its environment. Men are generally more caught up on the big pictures, whereas women are more focused on the details of the environment (Madanipour, 1996).

The culture of Islam also treats women differently from men, which may cause different perception as well. Islam gives a lot of emphasis to the privacy of women and how they should be treated with respect. Female citizens and female santri are not usually out of their houses after dark due to the culture. When several female subjects were asked about how they felt living in Krapyak Kulon, they responded with warm endearing adjectives, such as “comfortable”,

161
“safe”, or “great”, whereas men were more indifferent—“fine”, “so-so”, and of the likes.

5.3.3.2. Age

Meaning is something that is gained through experience and familiarization (Relph, 1976). This directly suggests that observers who have been through more experiences and are more familiar with a certain environment will produce stronger meaning. Thus, older observers are likely to have a meaning stronger than those produced by younger ones.

When asked about the pesantren and its surrounding environment, older observers (above 35 year old) were able to give more detailed explanations. They remember what the buildings used to look like and how they have changed throughout the years. They experience almost as much as the pesantren does. Most of the older observers knew the second generation Kyai of the pesantren ever since they were very young, and they described it as “pleasant” or “an honor” or “wonderful” to be able to witness the growth of Kyai along with the development of the pesantren. This is the reason why older observers in Krapyak Kulon have such compassion and dedication towards the pesantren.

The younger observers (below 35 years old), on the other hand, have a slightly weaker connection to the pesantren because they haven’t been through as much. Younger generations usually go to school outside of Krapyak Kulon and thus spend less time to experience and familiarize themselves with the environment. Consequently, their portrayals of the environment are not as detailed or as meaningful as those of the older observers. But no matter how
very generic their perception of the environment is, there is similarity. Both age
groups are very respectful towards the pesantren and its family; they treat
pesantren as the main ethical and moral convener.

5.3.3.3. Ethnicity

In terms of ethnicity, Krapyak Kulon is a fairly homogenous settlement.
The local citizens consist of mainly Javanese, including the Kyai and their
families. But since the name of pesantren Al-Munawwir grew bigger, the number
of people enrolling to be santri also expanded. People from West Java, East
Java, even from Sumatra and Sulawesi came to pesantren to study. However
insignificant the percentage is, this minority group still has its own perception
towards the pesantren.

Observers from ethnicities other than native Javanese usually have
problems communicating and adjusting to the laid back, slow pace activities of
Javanese people. The language barrier is one of the main factors; considering
Krapyak Kulon is very traditional and Javanese is still the most used language.
Indonesian is very rarely heard, even in government offices. But these observers
also agreed that the discomfort never lasts for a long time. Javanese people are
famous for being very friendly and very hands-on, which is a big help for
newcomers to learn the language and the living culture.

5.3.3.4. Lifestyle

There are two major lifestyles in Krapyak Kulon: the lifestyle led by
santri, and the lifestyle led by native citizens. Even though they are bound by the
same rules and generally the same views in life, the meaning they have for the
environment are different in the core because essentially Krapyak Kulon has different functions for them.

Native citizens are people who call Krapyak Kulon “home”. They were born there, raised there, and live most of their lives there. As connected as they are to pesantren, it is still an institution outside of their private lives. No matter how strong pesantren’s rules are and how strict they apply those rules for santri, misconducts among citizens is punished only with moral judgment. It is true that pesantren has a loud voice in the day to day life of Krapyak Kulon and that people look up to pesantren for life advices, but it is not the formal government. Pesantren actually has no right and authority to punish people whose behaviors defy the pesanten rules. Pesantren can only pass judgment to misdemeanor and hope the official government will handle the matter accordingly. This is a little bit of a sense of a freedom that the people in Krapyak Kulon have. They are generally bound by the moral values of pesantren, but there is no punishment for disobedience.

On the other side, santri look at Krapyak Kulon as a place where they study Islam. These santri are more emotionally invested with the pesantren because they spend almost all day in it. They are in Krapyak Kulon to study in the pesantren, which has a series of rules and a punishment waiting for rule breakers. The lifestyle they lead in Krapyak Kulon is shaped and molded under the law of pesantren. Their obedience is rewarded, and their rebellion is punished. As comfortable as they say they are in pesantren, there is a certain fear that help guide their lifestyle. The consequences for misconduct are more
than mere moral consequences. “Pesantren Al-Munawwir” has a stronger meaning for them than “Krapyak Kulon”.

5.3.3.5. Length of residence

This point is more or less similar with how age affects the meaning of pesantren environment. It is made into different point because of the possibility of an older person having a shorter length of residence than someone younger. Naturally, the person with longer residing time have stronger meaning for the environment because they have more experience and are more familiar with the environment.

5.3.3.6. Mode of transportation

Madanipour (1991) stated that different transportation mode affects the way an observer give meaning to its environment. In Krapyak Kulon, most people mobilize by walking. Santri go from their dorm to the main mosque on foot with their groups of friends. Local citizen also walk everywhere most of the time. Car owners are not of a significant number in pesantren and they don’t use their cars much in daily life. Motor bikes and pedi-cabs are the most common transportation mode other than walking. The popularity of walking and riding slow transportation modes (bikes and pedicabs) among santri and native citizens of Krapyak Kulon actually provides them with opportunities to connect with their environments. They understand the environment with more vivid details then those who ride motorbikes or cars most of the time.
5.4. Reinterpreting The Grand Theory

Based on the theory elaborated in the second chapter, the data in the fourth chapter, as well as the analysis of the structure and identity in Krapyak Kulon as a *pesantren* area, there are several interpretations and findings regarding this case.
Table V.1
Reinterpretation and Findings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grand Theory</th>
<th>Pesantren and Krapyak Kulon Data</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
<th>Findings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Urban Design Theory (Trancik, 1986) | ![Map 1](image1.png) | ● *Kandang Menjangan* and *Masjid Jami* are the public monuments/institutions that holds significance to the people of Krapyak Kulon.  
● Most of Krapyak Kulon are Urban Blocks  
● There are many open spaces, such as parks and open fields. The biggest open space is the cemetery.  
● Pesantren and the factory complex has inner block void as private communal spaces.  
● All complexes in pesantren has foyers as buffer zones  
● The visual linkage consists of corridors and axis to *Kandang Menjangan*.  
● Highest linkage hierarchy is in Jalan Ali Maksum, which connects both pesantren grounds and is filled with the micro-economy sector.  
● The sense of place is strongest in around pesantren, but the effect can be seen all across Krapyak Kulon. | ● Structurally, the urban design in Krapyak Kulon focus more to *Kandang Menjangan* than to *pesantren Al-Munawwir*, due to the nature of pesantren to blend in its surrounding.  
● Jalan Ali Maksum, which connects both pesantren grounds, is the most important corridor due to the micro economic activities. The micro economic activities are the effect of pesantren.  
● All pesantren grounds have strong sense of Islamic culture and generally apply it to the physical appearance, but it is much less visible in Krapyak Kulon.  
● The urban design in Krapyak Kulon does not reflect the existence of pesantren in the area. |
| Hierarchy theory (Ching, 1991) divide hierarchy into three settings: based on size, based on shape, and based on placements. | • Buildings in Krapyak Kulon are built according to the needs and the function, not to satisfy the hierarchy.  
• Larger buildings are public buildings, such as hospitals, schools, factories, and *Masjid Jami*.  
• *Masjid Jami* is uniquely shaped and oriented, as well as particularly placed, marking its high hierarchy in Krapyak Kulon  
• *Kandang Menjangan* is a landmark due to its placement in the middle of a vital intersection. | • *Pesantren* buildings are built to be functional, not to be hierarchically recognizable.  
• The mosque has hierarchy based on the unique Islamic-style shape, but even more so based on the function and activities.  
• Hierarchy by placement puts *Kandang Menjangan* as an undisputable landmark. |

| Pattern (Kostof, 1991) recognizes organic pattern due to the geomorphic street networks, undersigned development, and randomly placed open spaces.  
Islamic architecture guides should have tendency to change the pattern of an environment of Muslim majority (Llewellyn, 1983; Rapoport, 1969) | • The streets are randomly crooked yet some of them are straight and axial  
• The development was very organic, resulting in many cases of lost spaces and randomly situated open spaces  
• All *pesantren* grounds have open spaces as communal spaces and are very protective to female territories. Dormitories are the only private territories in *Pesantren*  
• Some of the roads are continuation of preexisting larger scale urban design | • Areas closer to *pesantren* are more likely to be influenced physically. Areas further are more detached to the influence, despite the religiousness of the citizens.  
• Cemetery is a normalized existence, completely absorbed into the daily life of people around it  
• *Pesantren* takes female privacy very seriously and implement it to the designs of the buildings.  
• Communal space (public space) is the highest hierarchy in *pesantren*, with easiest access and most space for activities. |
Identity (Relph, 1976) is comprised of three elements: physical appearance, observable activities, and meaning.

Physical appearance divided into the shape and style, color and material, and signage.

| • Islamic architecture style is not visible in the *pesantren* ground except for *Masjid Jami*. |
| • Buildings are not uniformed in style or shape or color, with the purpose of blending them into the surrounding. |
| • The buildings outside of *pesantren* ground are very varied in terms of style, but mostly contemporary. |
| • Signage is the only way to see that Krapyak Kulon is an area of a very old and respected *pesantren*. The overall physical appearance of Krapyak Kulon is very ordinary. |
| • As an institution that grows along with the society, the physical appearance of *pesantren* is hard to be distinguished from its surrounding. |
| • Identity based on physical appearance is very vague because without the signage, it is hard to tell that Krapyak Kulon is a religious environment heavily influenced by *pesantren*. |

Activities and function in an environment accounts for its social dimension (Madanipour, 1996; Relph, 1976)

| • Religious activities, be it daily, weekly, monthly, or annually, centers in *Pesantren Al-Munawwir* |
| • Social activities in a larger scale have tight ties with *pesantren*, since they are held in the *pesantren* ground, and are mostly conducted within the knowledge and supervision of *pesantren* |
| • Micro-economy activity accounts for most of Krapyak Kulon’s economical dynamic, and the activity centers around *Pesantren Al-Munawwir* |
| • Locations for social, religious, and economic activities are often overlapped |
| • *Pesantren* has penetrated every aspect of life in Krapyak Kulon, including all the religious, social, and economy aspects. |
| • The existence of *pesantren* does not only affect the religious practices in Krapyak Kulon, but also functions as an umbrella for its social activities, as well as acts as catalyst for its economy aspect. |
| • Religious, economic, and social activities in a larger scale are overlapped with each other and cannot be separated, proving the integration of *pesantren* into the general life of Krapyak kulon |
Meaning, according to Relph (1976), is gained through experience and familiarization. It is an interpretation highly dependent of individual process.

Madanipour (1996) categorized six individual differences: ethnicity, age, gender, lifestyle, length of residence, and travel mode.

- **Pesantren Al-Munawwir** host santri from all over Indonesia, with differences in ethnicity, age, gender, lifestyle, length of residence, and travel mode.
- Krapyak Kulon is a heterogeneous environment, hosting as much diversity as pesantren.
- Ethnicity is not a main concern in Krapyak Kulon, people socialize well despite ethnical differences.
- Citizens/santri who are older and have lived longer in Krapyak Kulon possess a stronger sense of meaning.
- People in Krapyak Kulon like to walk, because it allows them the social interaction that vehicles don’t.
- Female santri tend to give meaning to pesantren as a “fortress”, showing protections. Male santri refer to it as “home” or “place”, showing less restriction.
- Despite the many individual differences, for most people in Krapyak Kulon, Krapyak Kulon means “pondok”, and “pondok” means Krapyak Kulon.
- Differences in individuality may results in different meanings, but a very strong presence triumph all differences in giving the similar meaning.
- Pesantren is the heart and soul of life and activities in Krapyak Kulon.

**Source:** Researcher’s analysis