

FROM RURAL ABANGAN TO URBAN SANTRI: SOCIAL AND PHYSICAL TRANSFORMATION OF KAMPUNG KRAPYAK, YOGYAKARTA 1910-1980s

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Abstract

This article describes the social and physical transformation of Kampung Krapyak in Yogyakarta, which started from a rural village based on an abangan group moving to an urban village dominated by santri groups. This study aimed to determine the history and development of Krapyak from the 1910s to the 1980s. The method used in this paper is a historical method that includes heuristics, verification, interpretation, and historiography. This paper's focus explicitly discusses the social and physical changes of Kampung Krapyak from the original village with an agrarian culture on the outskirts of the city to being an urban santri village with a strong Islamic identity. The existence of the Pesantren Krapyak since 1910 has succeeded in making significant changes to Kampung Krapyak, making Krapyak known as one of the centers of Islamic religious education in Yogyakarta in the 1980s.

Keywords: Kampung Krapyak; Abangan and Santri; pesantren; urban village transformation.

INTRODUCTION

Kampung is a characteristic of a settlement that traditionally existed before the existence of modern settlements. Setiawan defines the village as the dynamic process of a group of people who are generally poor, provide their own homes, control the environment, and strive to improve their lives (Setiawan, 2010). In addition, the definition of *kampung* can also be understood as a source of civilization, creativity and urban culture because of existing conditions and limitations. Settlement patterns are determined and adapted not only by everyday human needs, but also by social norms and cultural settings (Nunta & Sahachaisaeree, 2012).

Theoretically, the *kampung* is usually interpreted as a settlement. If the settlement with this category is in the neighborhood of the city, then it is referred to as the urban villages. The urban village is generally a settlement ingested by the city's rapid development to transform into a settlement within the city. Krapyak area can be categorized as an urban village because it is located in Yogyakarta. Kampung Krapyak is one of the *kampungs* in Yogyakarta city that has a phenomenon of social and spatial transformation from 1910 to the 1980s. This *kampung* has changed from what was once a suburban rural area that became the base of *abangan* to a *santri* urban area that became a center of Islamic religious education with a strong Islamic identity. Social and physical transformation in Krapyak took place with the establishment of Pesantren Krapyak in 1910. The existence of Pesantren Krapyak has developed rapidly with more and more students studying at the *pesantren*, including the influx of migrants from the area around Yogyakarta.

In several existing studies, the issue of *kampung* transformation has become a much-done study. Arianto and Anna Asriani Muchlis, for example, conducted research on Kampung Maccini, which underwent a physical and social transformation from a suburban village to an urban village from the 1950s to-1990s. The transformation

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occurred as the change and transition of power in South Sulawesi, especially Makassar. The study concluded that significant transformations in spatial arrangements and residential areas in urban village areas affect traditional values towards the modern that affect changes in people's lifestyles (Arianto & Muchlis, [2018](#)).

It is still related to the issue of the social transformation of a *kampung*. Research conducted by Muhammad Mas'udi Rahman looked at the correlation among *kampung* the influence of the existence of *pesantren*. He researched about the change of Yogyakarta at Kampung Gaten by the existence of Wahid Hasyim's *pesantren* from 1977-2010. The results of his analysis concluded that the establishment of Wahid Hasyim's *pesantren* brought a social change in the Kampung Gaten community covering the fields of education, economics, and religion. This shows that *pesantren* in a *kampung* as a socio-cultural identity always has a significant influence on the change of social space and surrounding communities (Rahman, [2014](#)).

Meanwhile, research that discusses Kampung Krapyak is mainly conducted by Gustirani Hedyna Putri. She conducted research on the social changes of Krapyak by placing it in the framework of conflict. He concluded that the development in Krapyak was a contestation between *abangan* and *santri* groups from 1910 to 1989. The contestation was won by *santri*, who succeeded in making Krapyak an Islamic education center in Yogyakarta in 1989 (Putri, [2010](#)).

Another research is still related to Kampung Krapyak conducted by Nensi Golda Yuli. She took focused on spatial changes in the Krapyak settlement around *pesantren*. He concluded that Pesantren Krapyak had influenced spatial changes in the surrounding settlements. There are at least four concepts underlying spatial changes: the concept of interaction, benefits, ideological, and character of the *pondok*. This makes it clear that the values brought by *pesantren* managed to form their character for the change of spatial spaces of a *kampung* (Yuli, [2007](#)).

Related to the issue of the influence of values brought by *pesantren*, Samsul Anam conducts research. He researched Kampung Krapyak by focusing on changing Arabic names in Krapyak. The socio-ethnolinguistic study concluded that at least seven factors cause changes in Arabic self-names in Krapyak, namely geographical, historical, language contact; science and media; social and Islamic degrees; culture; and prestige. He suspected that Pesantren Krapyak indirectly had an influence on the Krapyak community in naming. Especially the use of Arabic or mixed Arabic-Javanese names as names commonly used in *santri* traditions (Anam, [2008](#))

By looking at some of the studies that have been done as mentioned, it appears that the study of Kampung Krapyak Yogyakarta has been widely done. However, no one has specifically discussed it in the context of urban history. Therefore, this paper is intended to fill the void by analyzing the social and physical changes and transformations of Kampung Krapyak by the emergence of Pesantren Krapyak. In addition, this study can also contribute to the study of *pesantren*. During this time, the historiography of *pesantren*, in some ways, is too inclined to focus on the issue of *pesantren* elements such as *kiai* figures, curriculum, facilities, and *santri*. Still rarely is

the study of *pesantren* that tries to see the location of its existence, be it a *kampung* as the part that contributes to the dynamics of the development of a *pesantren* itself.

METHOD

This is historical research. Kuntowijoyo divides historical research methods into five stages: selection of topics, collection of sources (heuristics), verification (historical criticism, validity of sources), interpretation (analysis and synthesis, and historiography (Kuntowijoyo, 1995, p. 67). The research location is in Pedukuhan Krapyak, Kelurahan Panggungharjo, Sewon, Bantul, Yogyakarta Special Region (DIY). The temporal limitations of this study began in 1910, which was the year the establishment of Pesantren Krapyak since the arrival of Kiai Munawwir. In the year, the Krapyak region is still a rural area with deserted residents. The final frontier of this study was in the 1980s. In the 1980s, the identity of Krapyak began to be widely known as *kampung santri*, especially reinforced by the implementation of the Mukhtar NU in 1989 at Pesantren Krapyak. This year is the final frontier of research because Krapyak has become an urban area by becoming a suburban area.

Several sources used include data obtained through direct observation in the field and conducting interviews with many informants. Primary source data is mainly obtained on the official website of Panggungharjo Village, and secondary data as support is obtained through newspapers and several kinds of literature and websites relevant to research topics. In describing and analyzing, the author uses historical approaches with the help of sociological and anthropological disciplines. Sociological approaches are needed to look at the interaction between societies, patterns of society's behavior, the structure of society, and the cultural conditions of society. At the same time, the anthropological approach is needed to look at the cultures of the community. This article aims to examine how the physical development of Kampung Krapyak, including the social development of its people in the period 1910-1980s, including also looking at the extent to which the change became part of the struggle of *abangan* traditions, *santri*, and the values of modernity of the urban village.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Krapyak as *Kampung Abangan*

James L. Cobban interprets the *kampung* as different from the village. According to him, the village is an area with agriculture and vacant land. At the same time, the *kampung* is a settlement without agriculture and vacant land that is common around the rural or urban area (Cobban, 1974). By referring to this definition, the geographical conditions of the Krapyak region around the early 20th century can be categorized as villages. This cannot be separated from its historical roots as a hunting area for the *keraton* family in the Kingdom of Mataram.

It can mainly be traced from the origin of the name "Krapyak" itself. They were referring to the opinion of H.J. De Graaf that the word *krapyak* means the place of maintenance of the *kijang* (a kind of local deer) (De Graaf, 2002, p. 1). Meanwhile, an oral tradition called the term *krapyak* derived from the sound of the banging of the legs of the *kijang* who ran around because they were hunted. From this opinion, it can be

understood that Krapyak was initially a particular area for the maintenance of game animals living in the forest. The geographical condition of the forest is also reinforced by the existence of several place names around the Krapyak stage related to the meaning of the forest, such as Kampung Njanganan, which is thought to come from the word *menjangan* (game animals). Then, next to it, there is also Kampung Pelemsewu which means a thousand mango trees which means the place was once a wilderness (Projosuasono, interviewed on July 3, 2021).

As a countryside, Krapyak until the 1930s is still classified as a quiet area. Based on the topographic map of Kampung Panggungharjo scaled 1:25000 in 1933. The map from Leiden University Libraries (Netherlands) produced in Batavia in 1935 shows that the Krapyak area is still a field and open land. Most are still rice fields and forests that are the character of the countryside. The boundaries of Krapyak, to the north border with Mantrijeron and Yogyakarta City, to the south border with Kampung Janganan and Glogo. The west is bordered by Kampung Krapyak Tegal and the east side borders Kampung Jogokaryan.

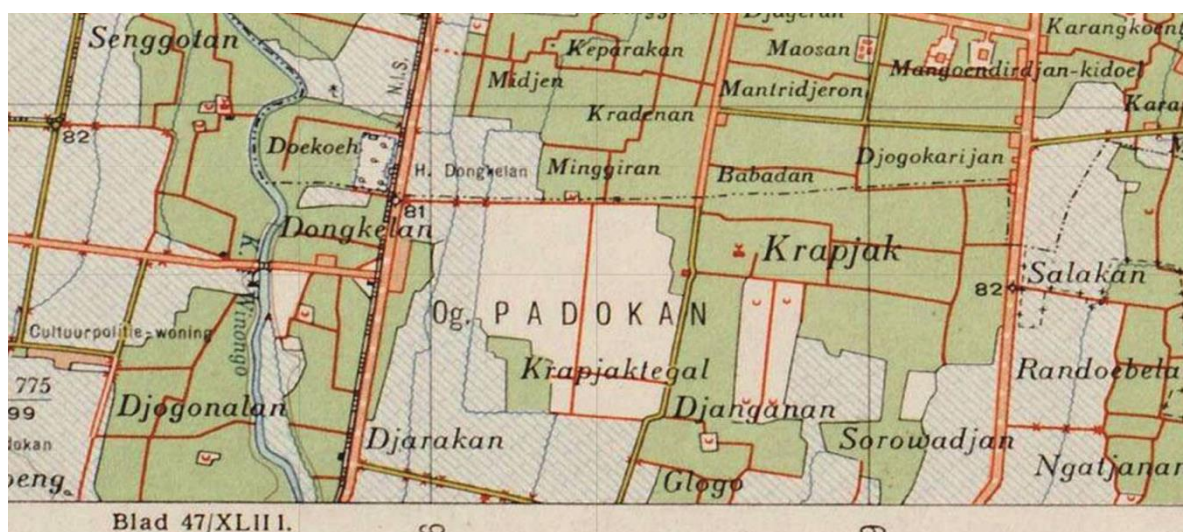


Figure 1. Map of Kampung Krapyak in 1933
Source: Leiden University Libraries

The picture of people's lives in the Krapyak region until the 1910s reflects a rural village that is still quiet. In the Krapyak there is a Segaran area located on the south side of the Umbul Krapyak Baths. The area was initially in fertile rice fields and abundant water. At that time, fish were still often found in rivers because of their clear water and flowed between layers of sandy soil (Murfiah, interviewed on June 23, 2021). According to research conducted by Putri mentioned that around the 1900s, the population was still small. At that time, people's houses had a very long distance between one house and another. Many large trees and empty land are filled with the remaining bushes of hunting forests or lands opened for yards (Putri, [2010](#), p. 29).

Most of the land used as a settlement in Yogyakarta is the territory of the sultanate and belongs to the sultan. However, since the reorganization of land ownership in Yogyakarta in 1918, the lands around Yogyakarta began to be given to relatives and subordinates of the palace (Setiawati, [2000](#), p. 108). This is also certain to happen in the Krapyak. The Yogyakarta Kraton still gives the lands in Krapyak to

someone named Raden Redjo Darsono, who ranks as a *demang* to manage the land that is quite large and gets the right to inhabit and use it. He also has several *bekel* to help him namely Bekel Jopanggung and Bekel Jokrapyak. They were the early settlers in the Krapyak (Putri, [2010](#), p. 28).

The area of rural lands in Krapyak in rice fields and fields that are still deserted does not make all residents have land. Those who own land work as farmers, while those who do not own land become peasants. Therefore, it can be said that most of the population in the Krapyak became farmers or peasants as their primary profession. The presence of several sugar factories in Yogyakarta as a result of the agricultural policy of 1870, the colonial government also influenced the development of the Krapyak, especially on the change of rice fields leased by factories to be used as sugarcane plantations, as well as to new professions that emerged in the Krapyak.

Selo Soemardjan said that the sugar industry had stimulated rural residents to give up tradition-oriented ways of life and forced them to connect with the outside world. Therefore, the presence of sugar factories creates a division of labor among the villagers. Emerging professions include carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, basket makers, and small traders from rural communities (Soemardjan, [1991](#), p. 319). Most of these professions are thought to be owned by immigrants, as Krapyak natives remain mainly in their primary profession as farmers. This lasted until the 1950's (Projosuasono, interviewed on July 3, 2021). This development in fact has not affected the main tradition roots of the Krapyak population as a community. Javanese tradition is still a deeply rooted tradition among the population. This can be understood by referring to the opinion of Mark R. Woodward, who considers Yogyakarta as a cultural center in Javanese society. (Woodward, [1999](#)).

The character of the countryside is the basis of the *abangan* population area. This confirms Clifford Geertz's thesis that the *Abangan* group has its social structure in the village (Geertz, [1989](#)). Since the establishment of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta, the teachings of *kejawen* as Javanese culture is the main element that colors the lives of its people. Koentjoroningrat illustrates that Javanese culture itself is rooted in *kraton* (Koentjaraningrat, [1984](#), p. 25). Similarly, in the Krapyak, it was a vast area with *kejawen* traditions. Therefore, it can be understood that Krapyak was initially inhabited by *abangan* and became a region with the characteristics of a thick *abangan* life.

In *abangan* community, elements in the tradition of the typical *kejawen* of rural villagers such as the tradition of *selamatan*, *sesajen*, *apeman*, and so on are sure to first develop in the Krapyak until the 1900s. As mentioned by Daryanto that until the early days he settled in the Krapyak in the 1960s, the practice of *selamatan* by placing a certain amount of food under a tamarind tree (*Tamarindus indica*) that grow around the buildings is commonly done by people in the Krapyak region (Daryanto, interviewed on June 23, 2021). For the *abangan* community, this practice of *sesajen* is a form of communication, and customary manners carried out against the spirits of ancestors who inhabit trees, mountains, and so on, namely places considered sacred. The tradition of *sesajen* is a tradition that extends to rural areas around Yogyakarta. The tradition is a life attitude that describes self-harmony with the circumstances of the environment.

In addition, various types of arts such as *wayang*, *macapatan*, *ledhek* dance, *jathilan*, and *ketoprak* became part of traditional Javanese art that existed in the Krapyak until the 1900s. Basically, in Yogyakarta, these art forms are an integral part of *kejawan* education. Putri, in her research, mentioned that since the 1900s, *wayang* had been one of the arts in high demand. There is a figure named Raden Kaki Mangun Wijoyo who regularly holds *wayang* shows every month *Suro* (Shawwal) for five days and five nights at his residence. Mentioned, many people who come from outside Krapyak flocked to watch the *wayang* show (Putri, 2010, p. 53). Besides *wayang*, a relatively developed tradition is *macapat*. Projosuasono said that until the 1950s, the tradition of *macapat* or *macapatan* was a tradition commonly done by the Krapyak people. *Macapat* tradition is part of the Javanese literary tradition done by singing (*nembang*) Javanese verses in which it contains ethical and ethical education. *Macapat* is usually done when significant events, especially when there is a newborn baby at night; there are *macapat* activities carried out in groups overnight for 35 days (Projosuasono, interviewed on July 3, 2021). Various traditions and arts are a picture of the agricultural traditions of rural residents who are primarily groups of *abangan*. Krapyak thus, until the 1900s, can undoubtedly be a picture of rural areas that are still colored by a thick culture.

Pesantren Krapyak: The Beginning of the Physical and Social Transformation of Kampung Krapyak

As a rural area with an *abangan* community base, Islamic education and teaching did not exist in Krapyak until 1910. The void may prompt Kiai Munawwir, one of the palace scholars from Kauman, into Krapyak. In his early days in Krapyak, he held Qur'anic learning activities in small prisons with limited students. The small study activity was the forerunner of the birth of a *pesantren*, which later became known as Pesantren Krapyak, established on November 15, 1910. This *pesantren* can be the first Islamic educational institution in Krapyak and the beginning of the entry of the *santri* tradition.

At first, Kiai Munawwir only focused on fostering his students in his *langgar*, but Krapyak people became interested in their activities over time. So, Kiai Munawwir also opened studies for the surrounding community on certain days held regularly. This makes the community begin to follow various religious cultures brought by Kiai Munawwir, such as *yasinan* at death ceremonies and *tahlilan* during the *selamatan* (ex. circumcision ceremonies). The *ngaji* activities were not done by Kiai Munawwir himself but sent his *santri* or confidants. Kiai Munawwir also began teaching religious lectures or advice and *shalawatan* to replace entertainment performances and *zikir* during circumcision ceremonies, weddings, deaths, religious holiday commemorations, clean hamlets, and so on (Putri, 2010, p. 56).

Various *santri* traditions are slowly being accepted by the Krapyak community, initially *abangan*. The process was further strengthened when Kiai Munawwir and the Krapyak community established the first mosque in 1927. The position of the mosque becomes critical. It is based on the mosque's primary function, which is not only for religious rites but also as an educational institution for the surrounding community. As the results of research conducted by Miftahul Khoiri regarding the function of Al-Ikhlas Mosque in Kampung Tempel Yogyakarta. He concluded that the purpose of the

establishment of Al-Ikhlas Mosque, in addition to being a place of worship, also aims to educate the surrounding residents (Khoiri, [2020](#), p. 201). Syakur mentioned that the mosque's construction in Krapyak took place gradually, after starting from the mosque building, road access, until then the construction of the *santri* complex building until 1930 (Syakur, [1968](#)). Since then, the Krapyak area, which was once a rural area, regarding James L. Baccon since those years has developed into a *kampung*. The characteristics of the countryside began to turn into a *kampung*.

The establishment of *pesantren* and mosque in Krapyak is at least the main symbol of the beginning of the *santri* tradition. Pesantren Krapyak made several traditions of *abangan* slowly shift. Various types of arts and traditions rooted in *santri* traditions began to develop in Krapyak. For example, *shalawat*, which is the tradition of reading poems of praise to the Prophet Muhammad accompanied by *hadhroh* music. This includes the tradition of grave pilgrimage and *tahlil* or recitation of prayers for dead spirits. This shift began with the spread of Islamic information carried out by Kiai Munawwir against the surrounding residents. Since then, slowly, several traditions such as *macapat* and *sesajen* began to be rarely carried out and turned to *pesantren* traditions such as *sholawatan*, *dzibaan*, *qosidah*, *hadhroh*, *rodad*, *marawis*, and also cultures attached to worship activities such as *syuran* (anniversary of 1st Muharram), *mauludan* (commemoration of Prophet Muhammad's birthday), *rejeban* (*Isra Mikraj* commemoration), *ruwahan/nyadran* (sending prayers for ancestors in the run-up to Ramadan), and the *selikuran* (*Nuzulul Quran* commemoration).

The process of socio-cultural transformation was going well because the process of disseminating Islamic information carried out by Kiai Munawwir was supported by the power of local rulers in Kampung Krapyak. Putri mentioned that Kiai Munawwir has a close relationship with *lurah* named Abdurrahman Madyo Pawiro, who supports the activities carried out by Kiai Munawwir (Putri, [2010](#), p. 42-43). Nevertheless, *santri* traditions that shift the *abangan* tradition do not cause conflict turmoil. The Javanese people in Yogyakarta are very adaptive to the *santri* tradition, as Mark R. Woodward conducted community research in Yogyakarta. He considers Yogyakarta as a cultural center in Javanese society. According to Woodward, Yogyakarta can collaborate between local culture and Islamic culture. This phenomenon can bring Javanese people to Yogyakarta at a different cultural level than most other Javanese people (Woodward, [1999](#)).

In its development, the population in Krapyak is increasing. Although according to Putri, until the 1930s, settlers who owned land and built houses in Krapyak began to increase by about a dozen to thirty people (Putri, [2010](#), p. 30). Over a relatively long span of thirty years, the increase in the Krapyak population did not occur significantly. Based on the report of the calculation of the population of Yogyakarta in 1900-1930 made by Widjodjo Nitisastro mentioned an increase and decrease in the number of residents in each region in Yogyakarta. So, it can be understood that it also happened in Krapyak as a region that experienced a not-so-significant increase in population (Nitisastro, [1970](#), p. 6).

Table 1. Population in Yogyakarta, 1900-1930

Year	Number of Population
1900	1.084.327
1905	1.118.705
1917	1.374.165
1920	1.282.815
1930	1.559.027

Source: (Nitisastro, [1970](#), p. 6).

Meanwhile, Kiai Munawwir, a famous teacher in Java in the 20th century, managed to attract seekers' interest from various parts of the archipelago. Both from Java and from outside Java. This impacts the number of residents and migrants who enter Krapyak. From 1921 to 1923, the number of *santri* increased from 100 to 150 people. Even until the death of Kiai Munawwir in 1942, the number of *santri* in Pesantren Krapyak amounted to about 200 people (Syakur, [2002](#)). Meanwhile, Ali As'ad mentioned that during the pioneering of Pesantren Krapyak from 1910 to 1942, there were about tens to a hundred *santri*. They mostly came from the regions around Central and East Java.

The presence of *santri* constantly increases, slowly resulting in the physical transformation of space in Kampung Krapyak. Although it can be said that Krapyak during 1910-1942 is still relatively quiet since this began to appear new settlements that mainly belong to the *santri*. They chose to settle in Krapyak by marrying natives as a basis for their respect and devotion to their teachers and boarding schools (Murfiah, interviewed on June 23, 2021). The existence of several residents, mostly *santri*, also influences the kinship that takes place among the residents of Krapyak. Those who married the natives, many of them inherited lands and houses from parents or in-laws. They live and settle mingle with the families of other relatives who live close together. This builds the influence of the relationship between residents and *pesantren*. This happens mainly because the *santri* have a close relationship with the *kiai* (Yuli, [2007](#), p. 82). The closeness of this kinship slowly helped change the orientation of the lives of the peoples who are getting closer to the *santri* tradition.

Besides *santri*, many immigrants also come from the area around Yogyakarta. This makes the physical space of the Krapyak increasingly developed towards increasingly dense settlements with an increase in population thanks to their presence. They came and settled in Krapyak to find work in the city because the Krapyak is relatively close to Yogyakarta. Most of them came from the suburbs of Yogyakarta, such as Bantul, Wonosari, and Gunungkidul (Murfiah, interviewed on June 23, 2021). Putri mentioned that throughout the 20th century, people began to arrive in Krapyak. They live to get the right to work on the land, even some of them also become *abdi dalem* (courtiers of *kraton*) (Yuli, [2007](#), p. 33-34).

Yuli mentioned that since Pesantren Krapyak, many physical changes have occurred, both on the scale of settlements and in the scope of residential houses. One of the changes was triggered by the Gledekan road, located on the inside of the settlement. The existence of this road is the beginning of the development of other roads in Krapyak. The increasing number of residential houses is also a response to the

development of settlements and the influence of the establishment of Pesantren Krapyak in 1910. Many people's lands were inherited by their grandchildren and sold to the surrounding population and the immigrant population (Yuli, [2007](#), p. 42).

Kampung Krapyak as a *Kampung Santri*

In 1942 Pesantren Krapyak was closed due to the impact of the Japanese occupation of Yogyakarta and the death of Kiai Munawwir and mentioned by Suchaimi that the city of Yogyakarta at that time experienced clothes and food crisis due to Japanese politics that impacted the villages around the city of Yogyakarta. Suchaimi mentioned many *santri* who left *pesantren* and returned to their hometowns, so the number of *santri* only stayed in the dozens (Suchaimi, [2011](#)). This situation was experienced by Pesantren Krapyak for 2 years until later in 1946 began to be resurrected by Kiai Munawwir's son-in-law and son known as the "Triad", namely: Kiai Ali Maksum, Kiai Abdul Qadir Munawwir, and Kiai Abdullah Affandi Munawwir. This is what happened in Krapyak.

In the years after Indonesia's independence, the Yogyakarta Special Region government improved governance of the regions around Yogyakarta. This coincided with the overhaul of the governance of the Special Region of Yogyakarta in 1946. Krapyak became one of the *kampung* that experienced the process. Suppose previously the Krapyak stood autonomously as a *kelurahan* territory and was held by a *demang*. Since the issuance of Maklumat numbers 7, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18 of the Yogyakarta monarchy in 1946 which regulates the ordinance of the *kampungs*. In that case, Krapyak is incorporated into the Kampung Panggunharjo. Krapyak is also divided into two areas: Krapyak Kulon and Krapyak Wetan, each held by a head of *dukuh*. After the Maklumat, it was strengthened again with Maklumat No. 5 of 1948 of the Special Region of Yogyakarta on the Change of *Kelurahan* and Their Names. Three *kampungs*, namely Cabeyan, Prancak, and Krapyak merged into a new *kampung* called Panggunharjo, officially established on December 24, 1946.

Since then, several new places have appeared, such as Glugo, Pelemsewu, Dongkelan, Kweni, and others. After the status is changed to the *pedukuhan*, the master of the territory is called *dukuh* (a kind of hamlet). Especially Kampung Krapyak, the Government of Panggunharjo placed Krapyak as an Urban Agglomeration area (North Kring) along with Dongkelan and Glugo. Since that year, Krapyak experienced the switch function of rice fields to settlements relatively high. After that, some of the heads of *dukuh* lead the Krapyak region, including Muh. Danun, led the Krapyak from 1946 to 1950. Atmo Suparto was successor from 1951 or 1952 to 1987, and Kunaini was appointed as a *dukuh* in 1989 at 28. Selo Soemardjan said that the position of head of *dukuh* was abolished in 1946, but because it turned out that the *kampung* was not ready to be ruled directly without a chief of *dukuh*, then the position continued to be maintained (Soemardjan, [1991](#), p. 85).

Since those years, Krapyak began to develop in a more complex direction as a *kampung santri*. The roots of *santri* traditions that have been embedded in the past further strengthen the social structure and affect society. This is evidenced by establishing the Islamic organization Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in Yogyakarta. As a traditional *pesantren*, Pesantren Krapyak is affiliated with the Islamic organization

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). The existence of this Islamic organization in Krapyak has a vital position because the NU organization in Yogyakarta began to be officially established in 1946 and is only centered in Wonokromo and Krapyak. Projosuasono said that almost all Krapyak residents had been affiliated with NU since the beginning. Most are immigrants, even if Muhammadiyah (Projosuasono, interviewed on July 3, 2021). It should be noted that the *santri* tradition that developed in Krapyak is a traditionalist *santri* tradition compared to the modernist *santri* attached to the Muhammadiyah Islamic Organization, which is the most prominent Islamic organization in Yogyakarta. As mentioned by Putri, immigrants more influence the existence of Muhammadiyah in Krapyak. Muhammadiyah Krapyak was originally one part of the Muhammadiyah Karangkajen organization or sub-branch of Muhammadiyah Karangkajen. It was founded by Hudi Pratomo a teacher of *Sekolah Rakyat* (People's School) in 1955. He is from Kauman, Gesokan, West Bantul. He was assisted by other colleagues named Jamal, Kerto Dihadjo, and chief of *kampung* named Muhsabardi, an immigrant from Karangkajen (Putri, 2010, p. 73-74).

Of the two Islamic organizations that became symbols of the *santri* tradition, NU became the dominant organization, followed by Krapyak citizens. This was especially true in the 1955 national elections. In 1955, Kiai Ali Maksum as the prominent leader of the Pesantren Krapyak made a mandatory fatwa for Muslims to participate in the 1955 elections. It paid off for the NU party. Yogyakarta Special Region NU Party in the 1955 election reached third place under the PNI and PKI (Athoillah, 2017, p. 94). The instructions also made most citizens vote for the NU Party and gain victory in Krapyak. Until then, since the New Order period in 1966, every general election, the United Development Party (PPP) as the base of NU always gained high votes in Krapyak (Putri, 2010, p. 90-91).

Pesantren Krapyak indirectly influences the *santri* tradition for the Krapyak community. *Santri* tradition has at least become a value that is held strongly by the majority of the population in Krapyak. Research conducted by Samsul Anam found that residents born in the 1960s already use Arabic or mixed Arabic-Javanese names as names commonly used in *santri* traditions. Meanwhile, those born below those years still use a name not entirely rooted in Arabic. This condition, according to Anam, is likely to be influenced indirectly by the existence of *pesantren* in the Krapyak. He compared it to the names of earlier Krapyak residents who still mostly use pure Javanese names (Anam, 2008, p. 90-94).

In later times, Pesantren Krapyak had an important political position, both at the local and national levels. During the New Order, as *pesantren* built a close relationship with the government, in 1969, President Suharto visited Pesantren Krapyak and provide assistance to establish a new building (*Muktamar Ke-28 NU Dibuka Pagi Ini: KH. Ali Ma'shum Berjamaah Bersama Warga NU*, 1989). Peaked in 1989, Pesantren Krapyak hosted the Muktamar Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). The *muktamar* event also had a significant influence on the development of Krapyak. The event was attended by *muktamar* participants from various cities and regions in Java and outside Java. They need a place to stay, so the residents around the boarding school rent out the rooms in his house for homestay. It is mentioned that the *muktamar* in Krapyak requires lodging of 55 homestays around the dormitories called *pondok* (*Sebelum Muktamar, Jalan*

Krapyak Harus Selesai, 1989). Yuli said the momentum provides opportunities for residents to open homestays, food stalls, and shops (Yuli, 2007, p. 46). In addition, during *muktamar* preparations, many physical changes were made in Krapyak, such as improving the quality of roads, revamping the streets around the stage, installation of tiles, installation of electrical and water installations, manufacture of drainage channels, and installation of culverts at several village points (*Konsep Khittah Plus Dianggap Membedungkan*, 1989). The development of settlements in Krapyak certainly began to become denser until the 1980s, especially after the Mukhtamar NU in Pesantren Krapyak.

In addition, the institution of Pesantren Krapyak over time also changed. However, since the reign of the “Triad” in 1946 has begun, in the subsequent development, the construction of buildings and *pesantren* complexes has been increasingly vociferous. Especially after the Mukhtamar NU in 1989. This has consequences for the need for facilities and infrastructure that must be equipped. Therefore, the construction of school buildings, dormitories, and land area expansion for the development of *pesantren* (Syakur, 2002, p. 9). After 1960, several educational institutions such as *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* (MTs) and *Madrasah Aliyah* (MA) completed their construction. Since then, *santri*’s dormitories complexes slowly began appearing in various corners of the region in Krapyak.

This also affects the economic level of the people of Krapyak. The number of *pesantren* buildings increases, and the number of students studying at Pesantren Krapyak, causing the community around *pesantren* to open economic business units. The development was increasingly complex until 1970. Many communities around Pesantren Krapyak established restaurants, grocery stores, small shops that provide stationery, and several other stalls. In fact, in the 1980s, the *Kedaulatan Rakyat* daily called Pesantren Krapyak better known by the wider community as a “modest dormitory” (*Di Tangan Kiai Ali Maksum, Pondok Krapyak Maju Pesat*, 1989). In addition, the economic sector in Krapyak has also undergone significant changes since the existence of a large textile factory in the Krapyak Kulon region named PT. Samitex was founded in 1973. This textile factory focuses on producing fabrics, especially white woven fabrics and batik materials. PT. Samitex has 1.800 employees. Many Krapyak residents work as employees at the factory.

Identity as an urban education center in the middle of the city is increasingly visible in Krapyak. This is according to Julius Pour during a visit to Pesantren Krapyak. He mentioned that the area of *pesantren* reached 2,5 acre in the south of Yogyakarta City. He described in 1981 in Krapyak standing a mosque surrounded by the residence of a family of scholars and a crowded village of *santri*. The scenery seen in Krapyak Pesantren was the activity of students in the afternoon who were drawing water in the well, waiting in line for a bath, and some were engrossed in reading books (*Percakapan dengan Rois Aam NU, Kyai Haji Ali Ma’shum*, 1981). Until 1989, in Krapyak there were about 24 buildings in an area of 4 ha. With many such buildings, Pesantren Krapyak can accommodate approximately 1.500 *santri*, both coming from Java and outside Java. Of the 1.500 *santri*, it is mentioned that 300 Krapyak students also study at various universities in Yogyakarta, and the remaining 1,200 students only live and study in huts (Athoillah, 2017, p. 105). The atmosphere of religious activity in Pesantren Krapyak in

the 1980s is what then makes Krapyak often referred to as “*kampung santri*” (Putri, 2010, p. 104).

CONCLUSION

From the above explanation, it can be said that Pesantren Krapyak has transformed Krapyak from the beginning as a suburban village area that became the basis of community groups that turned into a *santri*'s urban village with thick Islamic religious characteristics. The physical and social transformation in Krapyak from the 1910s to the 1980s illustrated a significant change in spatial planning and new values influenced by the existence of *pesantren*. It also shows that the transition of values from *abangan* tradition to *santri* becomes an essential part of an urban scheme in Yogyakarta, especially the area that is the basis of *santri* group life. Socio-cultural changes from agrarian rural communities to modern urban societies occurred complexly due to the significant influence of *pesantren*.

The urgency to see that *pesantren* as an institution of religious education can be a transformative force for the development of a society both from social, cultural, political, and even physical spatial space as a whole. In this case, *pesantren* serves as an institution of religious education and as a cultural institution that fosters the existence of Islamic values. Thus, it can be concluded that the establishment of Pesantren Krapyak acts as a religious education institution and has a significant influence on the transformation of the locality of its people. It is also a significant marker of the achievement of modernity in suburban village areas in Yogyakarta by the values of *santri* tradition. Therefore, this paper suggests the need for a more intensive study of the relationship between *pesantren* and *kampung* from a historical perspective.

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