

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS TRANSFORMATION AND RESILIENCE OF ISLAMIC IDENTITY IN KAUMAN VILLAGE OF YOGYAKARTA

Muhammad Arifin

Universitas Mulawarman, Samarinda, Indonesia

Email: muhammad.arifin@fisip.unmul.ac.id

Nabila Ulamy Alya

Institute of Anthropology, Leipzig University, Germany

Email: uv08togi@studserv.uni-leipzig.de

ABSTRACT

This article aims to study and describe the changes occurring in Kauman Village. The targeted transformation involves converting Kampung Islam into a tourist village. This study aims to examine how Kauman's sacred religious space changed into a profane tourist area, from Kampung Islam (Islamic Village) to Kampung Pariwisata (Tourist Village). This research aims to explore how the religious and sacred Kauman neighborhood transformed into a profane tourist space. This study employed qualitative methods that involved observation, in-depth interviews, and a review of relevant literature to collect data. The research findings are presented as an account of direct observations of ongoing religious events and interview findings from respondents. This research shows that Muhammadiyah's entry as a modern movement in religious affairs represents a socio-religious transformation in response to unstoppable global flows of information and globalization. Despite various challenges to their values this study found that Islamic values have grown stronger and continue to exist. The Kauman community shows strong determination and actively works to maintain its identity. While adapting Islamic identity materials to represent Islam and Muhammadiyah, the community ensures that fundamental religious values remain intact.

Keywords: Socio-Religious Transformation; Resilience of Islamic Identity; Tourist Village

INTRODUCTION

During the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Kingdom period, *Kampung Kauman* became the first village established when the Kraton and the Great Mosque of Kauman opened on May 29, 1773 AD (Darban, 2010). During different time periods, Kauman Village transitioned from being known as the official religious neighborhood to the royal servant neighborhood, then to an Islamic

learning hub, and finally, a batik production center (Prasodjo, 2020). It earned the titles *Islamic Village* and *Muhammadiyah Village* because it served as the starting point for Muhammadiyah's religious social work (Zarro, M, et al., 2020) and the growth of religious-based businesses (Oktavianto, S.W & Azaki Khoirudin, 2023). During its initial years, the village stood as a key indicator of changes that shaped Java's Islamic development in the early 1900s (Woodward, 1999).

The name likely developed because most residents follow Islam and daily life adheres to Islamic law (Arifin, 2020; Junara et al., 2019). The village functions both as a center for learning and studying Islam (Darban 2010; Triadmodjo 2010). The branding '*Welcome to Islamic Village*' reinforces this development pattern. Visitors entering Kauman Street through the North Alun-Alun gate see this slogan at the entrance to Kauman. This inscription shows more than just the religious background of this village community which connects to Islamic Mataram history and Muhammadiyah growth. It also marks the start of transforming this village into a tourist attraction in Yogyakarta.

Kauman was selected for this status for several important reasons. The heritage tourism industry keeps growing, while cultural heritage tourism has become increasingly popular (Setiawati, 2018). The Yogyakarta provincial government has supported multiple villages in gaining tourism status, including Kauman Village, which became a destination for religious tourism in Yogyakarta City. To formalize this initiative, the Yogyakarta Special Region enacted Regulation No. 40 of 2020, which established Tourism Awareness Groups and Tourist Villages. The provincial government supports tourism development through its Tourism Awareness Groups program.¹

The residents of Kauman Village formed tourism awareness groups "Saka Wisata" and "Blusukan Kampoeng Jogja Community" in response to this regulation. Governor Regulation No. 2 of 2024 established the Great Mosque of Kauman as a World Heritage Site through Article 24, along with other heritage locations in Yogyakarta.²

The Gedhe Keraton Mosque at Kauman Village functions as a religious tourism site, while the neighborhood retains its broader Islamic cultural features, including prayer rooms (*langgar*), small mosques (*musholla*), mosques, the royal religious leader's residence, Nyi Ahmad Dahlan's grave, and an Aisyiah Kindergarten that serves the local community. These buildings are spread across several neighborhood units (RT) within the Kauman settlement area, as illustrated by Aryanti (2015) in the following sketch map:

¹ <https://www.panggungharjo.desa.id/2021/03/Pergub-DIY-No-40-Tahun-2020.pdf>

² <https://jdih.jogjaprov.go.id/tahun-2024-tentang-pengelolaan-warisan-dunia>.



Figure 1.
Map of the historical relics of the development of Islam in Kauman Village³

Their daily religious practices support this physical heritage through prayer and Quran recitation alongside religious studies and annual rituals such as the Grebeg ritual (Pratisara, 2020; Nursalam & Syahputra, 2023). The village's deep Islamic roots, combined with its many sacred buildings—including *langgar* (prayer rooms) *musholla* (small mosques) and Muhammadiyah schools—help create the image of Kauman as an Islamic Village representing Muhammadiyah (Arifin et al., 2019). Tourism development now affects many villages in Yogyakarta, but Kauman Village stands out as a distinct tourist destination. It has led to multiple transformations in community life through physical changes to the village design and infrastructure, alterations in land use and building functions, and shifts in social connections and the local economy. Despite these changes, the community continues to live with and adapt to the ongoing religious and social transformations in Kauman Village.

³ Source: <https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Tutin-Aryanti/publication/>

THE EXISTENCE OF KAUMAN VILLAGE AS AN URBAN VILLAGE

A village represents more than just a place where people live; it also functions as a social tool to separate communities based on physical space requirements. In some cases, the term *village* refers to a settlement associated with traditional life within a specific environment (see Sumintarsih and Adrianto, 2014: 3-4). When such a settlement exists within an urban setting, it is referred to as an “urban village” (*kampung kota*). According to Funo Yamamoto & Silas (2002), this term in Indonesia denotes a distinct form of informal urban settlement, which emerges as people migrate from rural areas to cities in search of employment opportunities.

Particularly in Yogyakarta, the term “*kampung*” [village] conveys an idea for most city dwellers, often referred to as *wong cilik*, or those who identify as village people (Sullivan, 1986: 70). The village people who live in urban areas maintain distinct traditions and economic lifestyles that differentiate them from other social groups. Different social groups coexist in urban settings, which form separate communities that keep their identity while navigating both social and physical spaces for survival, as shown by Kauman Village in Yogyakarta. This study is structured around three key concepts: urban village, touristic space, and social transformation.

Urban Village

Urban villages play a crucial role in reproducing specific work methods and labor systems while reflecting the social dynamics of these settlements (Newberry, 2008:25). According to Song et al. (2016:187), urban villages exist within the boundaries of urban development areas. Additionally, Hidayah and Shigemura (2005) argue that urban villages have become integral to the urban system by providing low-cost rentals that accommodate migrant housing needs. These villages function as essential components of urban development, both spatially and socially. Wu Hong et al. (2017: 2026) explain that urban villages emerge as a result of both rapid urban development and informal housing markets. This finding aligns with Kumar, Bipasha, and Bhaduri (2018:1309-1311), who studied Delhi, India, to show how development planning created urban villages that later became trapped within metropolitan urbanization. Similarly, Lai et al. (2014) argue that China’s rapid urbanization over recent decades has contributed to the emergence and expansion of urban villages.

Urban villages are often perceived as urban problems due to the persistence of slum areas and squatter settlements. According to Wu Hong et al. (2017:2026), the mismatch between urban village planning and city planning results in unhealthy living conditions, characterized by overcrowded housing,

poor lighting, and inadequate ventilation. The problems of urban villages are also highlighted by Kumar, Bipasha, and Bhaduri (2018) in Delhi. They discovered that their irregular building designs make these neighborhoods more dangerous. Supporting these findings, Lai and Tang (2016:482) argue that urban villages lack basic infrastructure, suffer from disorganized land divisions, and are marked by extreme population density. Taken together, these studies shows that slum areas are seen as problematic because they suffer from poor public space planning, inadequate infrastructure, disorganized private spaces, and difficult living conditions.

The issue of slum areas, as noted by Kumar, Bipasha, and Bhaduri (2018:1324), arises when development fails to follow approved procedures. Similarly, Lai and Tang (2016:482) found that many urban village residents do not have full legal ownership of their buildings. Additionally, Wu Hong et al. (2017:2026) show that illegal urban village settlements tend to be constructed within specific zones of these communities, which create a mix of official neighborhoods and unauthorized settlements within urban village spaces. The basic purpose of settlements as living areas is often shaped by external influences that make them complex to analyze. According to Hidayah and Shigemura (2005:137-138), many urban village homeowners convert their private spaces into rental units to provide affordable housing solutions for urban communities. As a result, urban village buildings can shift from family living spaces to adaptable rental properties that help communities adjust to new conditions. They experience significant changes in space use because owners and renters share common areas while losing between 10% and 50% of their private spaces (Hidayah & Shigemura, 2005). These formal and informal housing transformations do not necessarily have negative associations with legal regulations, as urban village buildings did not exceed the residential space limits defined by provincial authorities (Hidayah and Shigemura, 2005:142).

Urban village communities must adapt to the effects of urbanization, but not all are equally successful in adjusting to these changes. According to Kumar, Bipasha, and Bhaduri (2018:1311), Delhi's rapid urbanization has created new economic opportunities, yet many former agricultural workers struggle to transition into urban labor markets. This is also supported by Song et al. (2016:187), that urban village communities have largely abandoned their traditional agricultural economy to become landlords for migrants. These new urban village economic systems demonstrate how different communities vary in their ability to adapt to changing market conditions.

Touristic Space

Heritage now serves as a tool for development rather than as a shield against it (Long, in Laukkanen, 2018:199). Earlier societies viewed traditional practices as backward but now recognize them as assets for regional growth (see Laukkanen, 2018). This shift, however, has led to conflicts that some developing nations struggling to balance heritage protection with tourism growth (Li et al., 2016:30). The rise of cultural tourism stems from its ability to offer visitors authentic local cultures despite ongoing disputes. Cultural tourism objects appear authentic to tourists because they believe modern society lost these cultural elements (Culler in Wei et al., 2018:91). Tourism and space interact not only as tourist attractions but also as tools to reshape regional identities. Digitalization and social media drive this transformation, which influence how tourists engage with cultural spaces (Stepchenkova & Zhan in Pauli, 2018:103).

The World Travel & Tourism Council (in Wearing, Stephen, and Carmel Foley, 2017:99), emphasizes that tourism operates as an economic business that adds substantially to global GDP. However, economic interests remain deeply intertwined with community intervention, as the desire to profit from local economies in historical heritage tourism areas often dictates how tourism spaces are regulated (Li et al., 2016:30). Urban tourism requires a series of processes that mediate between movement spaces, destinations, memory experiences, and representations (Hayllar et al., in Wearing, Stephen, and Carmel Foley, 2017:102). Similarly, Warszńska & Jackowski (in Hacia, 2014:61) explain that tourism spaces combine both physical environments and economic functions, which highlight the growth of local commercial areas as a key factor in connecting tourism spaces to the global markets. James and McDonald (2013) further support this by noting that commercial spaces serve as middle spaces, linking tourists to their travel destinations.

While tourism development brings economic benefits, it also raises concerns about sustainability, particularly in heritage sites where rapid commercialization can threaten cultural integrity. Discussions on sustainable tourism development often begin with government ideas. Laukkanen (2018) argues that governments must address challenges related to local growth and cultural heritage, which often stem from conflicting perspectives among different stakeholders. In the case of cultural heritage tourism, Laukkanen (2018:214) shows how local communities and the Chinese government view heritage differently from Western perspectives, which often separate culture from nature. Li et al. (2016:30) suggest that effective tourism development requires recognizing the natural features and behavioral patterns of specific

spaces, as this helps explain how social and cultural systems shape tourism environments. Lastly, planning for tourism areas should prioritize holistic solutions that support sustainable regional development (Hacıa, 2014:67).

Social Transformation

Hettige et al. (2018: 387) argue that social transformation represents fundamental changes in how society functions through adjustments or resistance to new influences across social, economic, cultural, and political domains. When society transforms, its members expand the meaning of symbols beyond their original definitions. In line with this, Calhoun (in Zbarauskaitė, 2015:121-122) defines social transformation as the process through which a society alters its core traits, such as social values and cultural products. Religious faith systems, for example, use sacred symbols in their spiritual practices, while profane values exist within activities associated with religious practice. In their analysis of the Camino de Santiago pilgrimage, Bona Kim et al. (2016, 151-152) demonstrate that participants blend sacred and profane values in their spiritual journey, with motivations that include both religious devotion and personal achievement.

Shifting social dynamics manifest both in individual behavior and in collective transformations within communities. People with specific values influence how they interact with others, which shape broader group-level changes that drive societal transformation. Social change occurs in every social interaction where individuals work toward shared goals. Maira and Maulsharif (2013:638) found that families in Kazakhstan are transitioning from traditional male-led relationships to modern, equal partnerships. Over time, both spouses have come to share their roles more freely, which lead to a less rigid division of family labor. As men and women increasingly work in the same environments, families become more adaptable to shared responsibilities.

Both the economic and social systems undergo transformation over time. Economic shifts can be observed through changes in how people manage their financial resources within their local communities. The way actors work together in economic networks determines how a society's economy functions. Lim and Endo (2016:493) illustrate this by demonstrating how political forces shape economic systems. The network of actors and entities create power chains that transform government-controlled economies into profit-driven economies. However, while these national-scale economic transformations occur, they often result in a slower rate of development.

The global environment extends these changes beyond economic actors and

entities, shaping local industries, land use, and labor markets. As foreign investment in land acquisition increases, manufacturing and service industries expand. This is of then at the expense of agricultural land and rural livelihoods. This shift forces farmers and local communities to adapt to new economic realities. According to Jia et al. (2018:411), farmers navigate these economic pressures more effectively when they possess strong personal skills and receive institutional support from authorities. In this context, globalization not only restructures economies but also alters traditional ways of life, requiring local communities to balance economic opportunity with cultural values.

KAUMAN VILLAGE AS A CENTER FOR ISLAMIC LEARNING

In the past, Kauman Village served as a religious learning center for *Santri* students and *Kyai* scholars, as it hosted around 30 *Kyais*. These *Kyais* scholars taught *Santri* students from different areas across Indonesia. According to local accounts, the *Kyais* of Kauman gained deep religious knowledge by studying at Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) and abroad, particularly in Arab countries such as Egypt. The *Kyais* transformed their prayer houses into educational spaces, by accepting students and teaching them about Islam. Over time, Kauman earned its name as *Kampung Santri* (student village) because its small *Kyai*-led mosques featured numerous students engaged in religious studies. As explained by Mr. BG in an interview:

“Before the arrival of foreign students, Kauman had numerous *Kyais* who achieved complete religious understanding by studying Islam at religious schools such as the *pesantren* or directly under Arab teachers. When they returned home, they educated students from Kauman and other regions, including Sumatra, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi, who traveled to Kauman to study religion. Students learned directly from *Kyais* at their homes or prayer houses through *sorogan* sessions, where students took turns reciting Quranic verses while sitting cross-legged. *Santri* from all over Java and other islands came to Kauman to study at both prayer houses and prayer rooms.” (Interview, October 27, 2022)

Today, Kauman Village retains its Islamic educational heritage, evident in its prayer rooms, small mosques, and historical Muhammadiyah buildings. Among these is the Aisyiah Kindergarten, which used to teach children of Kauman. Several other historical buildings reflecting the village's rich religious and educational legacy can also be found, as shown in the following Figure 2:



Figure 2.
Kindergarten and Aisiyyah Islamic Boarding School in Kauman

EXPRESSING ISLAMIC IDENTITY: SYMBOLS AND TRADITIONS IN KAUMAN

Kauman Village expresses its Islamic identity through both tangible and intangible religious elements. The Gedhe Keraton Mosque stands as a central religious landmark, accompanied by prayer rooms (*musholla*) and small prayer houses (*langgar*), such as Langgar KHA Dahlan, which serve as spaces for worship and religious education. These architectural and spiritual elements collectively reinforce the village's Islamic character, as seen in the following Figure 3:



Figure 3.
Gedhe Keraton Mosque and Langgar KHA Dahlan⁴

Beyond its physical structures, Islam is also represented through rules that control religious practices including *tadarrusan* (Qur'an recitation) and Qur'anic study sessions. The traditional practices in Kampung Kauman Yogyakarta can be categorized into two distinct groups. The first group consists of customs rooted in the traditions of the Yogyakarta Palace, which originate from Islamic court heritage. These include the *garebeg* celebration. The second

⁴ Source: <https://www.maioloo.com/legendary-points-in-the-kauman-tourism-illage/>

group comprises religious practices observed independently by Kauman residents, which reflect Muhammadiyah teachings and their commitment to uphold Islamic principles. People practice mandatory and Sunnah prayers, regular Qur'an recitation, and religious discussion, all of which align with the Five Pillars of Islam. As illustrated in the figure below, these religious practices continue to shape Kauman's Islamic identity through communal rituals:



Figure 4.

Routine Recitation Activities and *Tadarrusan* Schedule for Kauman Residents

The Kauman community actively upholds Islamic traditions through various religious practices. Many residents do voluntary fasting on Mondays and Thursdays as well as regularly performing *Dhuha* [morning] and *Tahajjud* [night] prayers. They also participate in religious gatherings, which are held separately for men and women. The Kauman Mosque serves as a center for collective worship, hosting collective eclipse prayers and other congregational religious activities. Throughout the day, residents dedicate themselves to religious observance, with daily Quran recitation and religious education sessions taking place at the Gedhe Mosque. The Kauman community remains deeply committed to preserving and passing down Islamic traditions to future generations. Beyond religious practices, Islamic symbols—particularly those associated with Muhammadiyah—are embedded in the visual culture of Kauman. These symbols are prominently displayed on household decorations, front porches, and walls, while even tablecloths feature Muhammadiyah motifs and religious messages, such as the following:



Figure 5.

Symbols and Religious Messages in Households Kauman

Transformation of Kauman: From Private Spaces to Public Spaces

The rapid growth of Yogyakarta's tourism sector has brought significant transformations to Kauman Village. These changes are evident in both the village's physical landscape and its social and economic dynamics. The transformation of Kauman Village, Yogyakarta, is marked by modifications to its spatial layout, repurposing of buildings, and shifts in community activities, particularly following the village's inclusion in the DIY Province Tourism Development Program. During our field observations, we identified four houses in Kauman Village that now operate as homestays, while dozens of other homes have been converted into long-term rental properties, available for monthly or yearly leases. This trend reflects a broader shift in housing functions within the village, as noted by Mr. BG, the head of RT. 13 in Kauman Village, as follows:

“Many Kauman residents now rent their homes as rental houses or boarding houses to both male and female tenants. Most renters include students and workers who trade alongside other individuals. Daily rental houses, known as homestays, primarily serve tourists and trader family members. I can remember there are four rental houses in this area.”

The buildings in Kauman now serve both residential and commercial purposes, with grocery stalls, food stands, beverage shops, and hair salons integrated into the neighborhood. The Gedhe Mosque, which was originally a religious space, has also been repurposed to accommodate tourists. Today, the mosque serves a dual function—it remains a place of worship while also acting as a rest area for visitors and a filming location for the soap opera *Tukang Bubur Naik Haji* (Porridge Vendor Performs the Hajj).

Tourism development in Kauman Village, Yogyakarta, has led to the transformation of private spaces into public areas. These changes can be categorized into two types of space conversion. First, residents now share their private spaces with visitors. For example, batik artisans in Kauman have opened their homes to tourists as historical attractions, rather than using them solely as family living spaces. Second, the government has taken control over formerly private areas associated with the Sultanate, converting them into publicly managed spaces. Cultural heritage sites, including the Gedhe Mosque, various prayer halls, Muhammadiyah school buildings, and the Joglo house of the Royal Religious Leader, now functioned as regulated tourism sites. However, the state's intervention in Kauman's spatial transformation has sparked concerns. The government's legal framework, particularly Laws No. 24 of 1992 and No. 5 of 1992, has played a role in redefining Kauman's spaces,

often stripping them of their original functions and meanings. The central government's push to establish Yogyakarta as a major tourism destination has been a driving force behind these policy decisions.

These transformations have had profound effects on Kauman's social structure and exclusivity. Historically, Kauman was an exclusive neighborhood, primarily inhabited by religious servants of the palace who upheld strict Islamic customs. This exclusivity was reinforced not only by its unique religious traditions but also by its physical layout, which was intentionally designed to maintain privacy and separation from outsiders. The narrow streets, controlled access points, and closely built houses facing inward created a walled-in effect, which limit external influences. Additionally, strict vehicle restrictions and spatial planning ensured that Kauman remained a protected religious space, where spiritual values were passed down through generations.

Despite these historical boundaries, Kauman has gradually opened to outsiders, particularly as tourism and urbanization have reshaped its social fabric. Visitors are welcome, provided they adhere to local rules, such as wearing modest clothing, turning off vehicle engines, and obtaining special permission for street performances. However, social integration did not begin solely with tourism. By the 1970s and 1980s, intermarriage with outsiders increased, and public schools introduced students from beyond the community, which led to greater interaction between Kauman residents and the broader Yogyakarta population. As explained by Mr. HW:

“By 1970 several Kauman residents had chosen partners from outside their neighborhood. Most men from the Kauman community chose partners from outside their neighborhood. During the 1980s, numerous young men left Kauman to pursue employment opportunities. They left for two reasons: they needed work, and they wanted to escape the bad reputation that made residents appear tough and ready to fight.” (Interview, October 29, 2022).

The desire to seek economic and social opportunities beyond Kauman remains a common theme among its residents. As Mr. BG expressed:

“If you want to progress, you must leave Kauman. According to Kauman residents, they need to go beyond their neighborhood because accepting outside connections helps them advance. The expression pushes many residents to move away. Despite their deep connection to Kauman, they still want to progress and develop, which does not force them to stay in their hometown.” (Interview with Mr. BG October 2022).

Tourism and the Renewal of Islamic Identity in Kauman

Tourism has played a significant role in revitalizing Islamic symbols and heritage in Kauman. Historic Islamic architecture, once overlooked, is now being preserved and promoted as a major tourist attraction. The Muhammadiyah Heritage Trail Tours have incorporated visits to historic buildings, which enhances Kauman's role as a center of Islamic heritage tourism. Beyond tourism, academic institutions have also contributed to Kauman's conservation efforts. The Architecture Department of Indonesia Islamic University (known locally as UII) in Yogyakarta, in collaboration with the National University of Singapore (NUS) and University of Malaya (UM), launched the Kauman UM-NUS-UII Architectural Conservation Field School. This program, which took place from July 9 to August 2, 2018, brought architecture students from the three universities to study and engage in conservation efforts in Kauman. Through this initiative, tourism and academic learning have merged to support historical preservation.

Tourism-driven revitalization efforts have restored Islamic traditions that had previously declined. Many Islamic identity markers have been reintroduced through modern adaptations, which ensure that Kauman's heritage remains relevant. One such revival is the return of collective prayer practices, where residents once pray together and take turns reciting the Qur'an from house to house. This congregational prayer movement, which was reintroduced in 2018, reflects a renewed commitment to communal religious practices. Similarly, Kauman's culinary heritage has also been revived. The temporary Ramadan market has reintroduced traditional dishes such as goat curry and *kicak*, which are known as Kauman's legendary *takjil*. These culinary offerings not only strengthen Kauman's cultural identity but also attract tourists interested in experiencing local Islamic traditions.

The revival of Kauman's Islamic traditions is deeply connected to its historical relationship with Muhammadiyah, which emerged as a reformist Islamic movement in 1912 in this village. Kauman's residents express their deep Islamic devotion to Muhammadiyah through the saying "*Kauman is Muhammadiyah and Muhammadiyah is Kauman*." As tourism continues to grow in Yogyakarta, Kauman's residents aim to position their village as an open, globally connected Islamic destination. Rather than being perceived as strict and isolated, they seek to highlight Kauman's inclusivity by emphasizing Islamic cultural tourism as a key feature of the village's identity.

TRANSFORMATION FROM AN ISLAMIC VILLAGE TO A TOURIST VILLAGE

The introduction of state schools and Muhammadiyah private schools has contributed to a decline in the number of Islamic students and a reduction in the influence of Islamic scholars in Kauman. The presence of public schools led to the gradual disappearance of the *santri* learning tradition, which had long been a defining characteristic of the village. Today, it is rare to hear children or *santri* reciting Quranic verses in mosques, prayer rooms, *langar*, or *kyai* homes, as they once did. Instead, students now spend their time on academic coursework and extracurricular activities that are unrelated to religious learning, both within and beyond the school environment. Public schools prioritize secular education, focusing on subjects such as science, mathematics, biology, chemistry, and social studies, while religious education is given minimal time in the curriculum.

Muhammadiyah's educational philosophy emphasizes rational thinking as a key component of learning. The movement encourages individuals to embrace truth, accept constructive feedback, and pursue progress as part of their intellectual and spiritual development. However, religious education alone is not considered sufficient to cultivate rational thinking; it must be combined with general education to achieve a balanced perspective. As a result, Muhammadiyah has expanded its network of public schools across different educational levels and continuously improving their quality. Despite the existence of Muhammadiyah's religious schools such as *Muallimin* and *Muallimat*, many Kauman residents now attend public schools as well.

The shift from a religious education model to a broader public education system has played a significant role in reshaping Kauman's identity. Previously recognized as a *santri* and *Kyai* village, Kauman gradually transformed into an Islamic Village during the 2000s, driven by its deep historical ties to Muhammadiyah. While Muhammadiyah was founded in 1912, it was the Kauman community itself that reinforced the village's Islamic character and association with the movement. Today, with tourism programs expanding in Yogyakarta, Kauman has undergone another transformation: emerging as one of the city's recognized tourist attractions. Branded as *Kampung Wisata Kauman* (Kauman Tourist Village), the area now offers various tourism packages, as seen below:

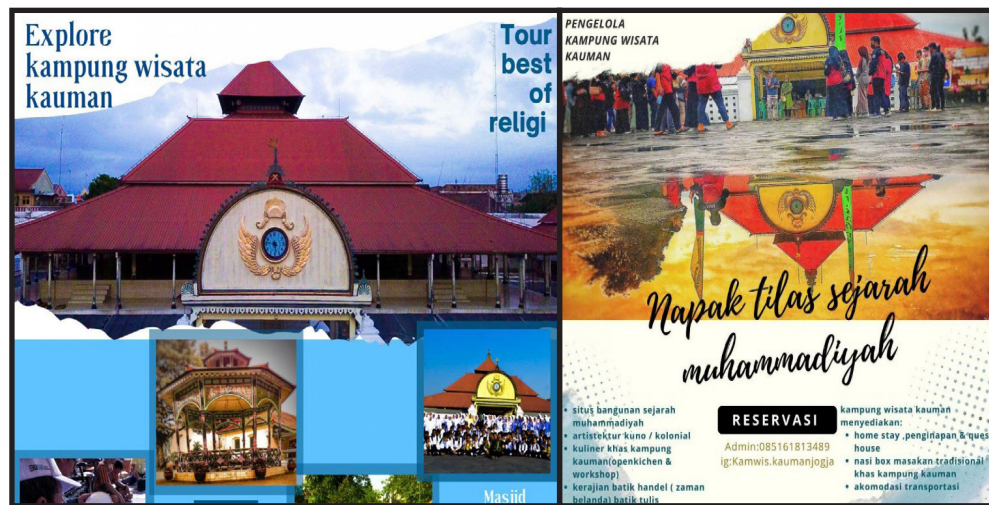


Figure 6.
Kauman Village Tourism Promotion and Tour Packages⁵



Figure 7.
Kauman Village Tour Package Classification⁶



Figure 8.
Tourist Visits to Kauman Village, Yogyakarta⁷

⁵ Source: https://diy.jadesta.com/paket/jejak_peradaban_mataram_islam

⁶ Source: <https://kampungwisata.jogjakota.go.id/Customer/DetailPaket/82>

⁷ Source: <https://pwmjateng.com/napak-tilas-di-kampung-wisata-kauman-keju-tan-sejarah-di-tengah-kota-yogyakarta/>

Students gain greater intellectual independence through through general education, which encourages critical thinking and diverse perspectives. In contrast, religious education often operates under strict leadership control, where students are expected to accept religious teachers' interpretations as absolute truth. By integrating general education, students develop new values that extend beyond individual spiritual growth to influence their social, financial, and political engagement. Although Muhammadiyah actively promotes general education, continued intellectual development remains essential for enhancing all aspects of life within the community.

The intellectual movement within Muhammadiyah is guided by rational principles, which emphasizes reasoning and critical evaluation in all areas of life. This approach is deeply embedded in the daily lives of Muhammadiyah members in Kauman, who evaluate social, economic, and religious issues through a rational lens. However, Muhammadiyah's intellectual framework is not confined to theoretical discussions—it also prioritizes practical action that leads to community progress and prosperity.

Economic development, as advocated by K.H. Ahmad Dahlan, is a core pillar of Muhammadiyah's mission. The growth of local economies is viewed as essential to broader community development, which provides individuals with financial stability and opportunities for advancement. In Kauman, tourism has become a central driver of economic activity. However, while residents recognize the economic benefits of tourism, they emphasize the need for religiously aligned tourism initiatives that reinforce Islamic identity and values rather than compromise them.

Changes in Tourism and the Resilience of Islamic Identity

As part of the Yogyakarta palace administration, Kauman Village has long been engaged in state and palace policies, contributing to their development and implementation. However, the growth of tourism in Yogyakarta has brought an increasing number of outsiders to the palace's surrounding areas, which affects Kauman's community. Despite this, the arrival of outsiders has not altered how Kauman residents practice their Islamic faith.

For over a century, the *Sekaten* and *Garebeg* ceremonies, held at the Great Mosque of Kauman, have reinforced the community's commitment to Islamic traditions. Kauman residents actively preserve their religious identity, to adhere strictly to Muhammadiyah principles while maintaining a selective openness to external influences. While they reject outside traditions that conflict with their Islamic values, they welcome ideas and practices that align

with Muhammadiyah teachings, including those introduced through tourism.

Tourism in Kauman is not passively accepted but evaluated and adapted to ensure its alignment with Islamic principles. Under this Islamization approach, Kauman's Islamic values are expected to shape both tourism activities and tourist behavior. Maintaining modest dress codes is seen as essential for preserving religious norms, while Islamic symbols and heritage sites remain central to the tourist experience.

Located between the Yogyakarta palace area and the city's economic hub, Kauman Village is regularly exposed to diverse cultural influences. They embrace new information technology without hesitation because mobile phones and television have become familiar parts of their daily life. However, rather than diluting Islamic values, technological advancements have instead strengthened the community's religious identity. Kauman residents actively utilize information technology tools to spread Islamic teachings and strengthen brotherhood. Through Radio Saka, they disseminate Muhammadiyah teachings, while WhatsApp groups, email, and Facebook facilitate religious discussions and community engagement. While they engage with various cultural and technological developments, their primary focus remains on religious education and community strengthening, as the *Tarjih* (a section that make judgments or decisions on Islamic jurisprudential matters) of the Muhammadiyah organization sets rules for how its members should use information technology.

Kauman's Islamic identity is not merely a set of practices but a deeply ingrained way of life. Residents continuously assert their religious identity through their daily actions, maintaining adherence to Muhammadiyah teachings across various settings and circumstances. Their Islamic identity becomes part of who they are. This commitment to religious principles ensures that their Islamic identity remains integral, regardless of external influences or the expansion of tourism. Residents of Kauman Village do not feel threatened by tourism programs in their community. Instead, they see it as an opportunity to display their Islamic heritage to visitors. Through historical buildings, religious narratives, and rituals, they showcase the revival of their Islamic traditions.

The Intersection of Islamic Identity, Social Transformation, and Tourism

Kauman has long maintained a strong Islamic heritage, where Islamic values define both the identity of its residents and their daily actions. Situated in the heart of Yogyakarta, within the royal tourism area, Kauman is exposed to diverse social and cultural interactions. Over time, its residents have become

increasingly open to welcoming visitors from outside their community. The long history of social connections between Kauman residents have contributed to both physical and socio-economic developments in the village (Arifin, 2019).

Although tourism has not substantially altered Kauman's physical landscape, it has influenced cultural values and symbols (Zbarauskaitė, 2015). Mosques and other Muhammadiyah heritage sites, once dedicated solely to religious activities, now function as religious tourism attractions that have been commercialized. Despite these adaptations, the village continues to preserve its authentic history and cultural identity, utilizing digital and social media platforms to promote tourism programs and contribute to regional economic growth. The community of Kauman has undergone various modifications in response to social transformation, including building renovations, shifts in social relationships, transformations in work structures, and political realignments. Additionally, private spaces within Kauman have increasingly transitioned into public areas, which allow for greater accessibility to outsiders. However, despite these modern shifts, Kauman's religious identity remains firmly intact, as Islam continues to serve as the community's foundational belief system and guiding principle (Arifin, 2020).

Kauman residents remain deeply committed to practicing Islam while upholding the teachings of K.H. Ahmad Dahlan. Even in the face of shifting social dynamics and external influences, they continue to strengthen their Islamic identity through religious values and practices. At the core of this commitment lies the Gedhe Kauman Mosque, which serves as both a religious symbol and a center for Muhammadiyah preaching. Institutionally, this movement is reinforced by the Three Pillars (*Tiga Saka*), which provide spiritual and administrative guidance to Kauman residents. These pillars consist of the Neighborhood Associations (*Rukun Warga/RW*), representing the royal presence and the state's role in Kauman; the Mosque Management Board (*Takmir Masjid*), serving as Muhammadiyah's religious and preaching institution; and the Muhammadiyah Organization, acting as the overarching Islamic authority guiding religious and social life in Kauman (Interview with BG, October 30, 2022). According to Kauman residents, these Three Pillars integrate Muhammadiyah teachings, mosque leadership, and royal administration to create an inclusive and adaptable Islamic framework. This accepting mindset has shaped Kauman's open and merciful Islamic character, allowing it to remain a peaceful and resilient community (Interview with BG, October 30, 2022).

Tourism has also played a role in shaping new types of community organizations

in Kauman. These organizations increasingly combine religious and economic objectives which reflect a shift toward a more integrated socio-religious economy (Hettige et al., 2018). By blending Islamic principles with economic initiatives, Kauman residents continue to engage with modern tourism while preserving their religious heritage.

CONCLUSION

Kauman Village has undergone significant transformations since the arrival of Muhammadiyah, which introduced modern religious practices to the community. Over time, as Kauman transitioned into a tourist village, it adapted to global trends and expanding information flows that could no longer be ignored. The community has strategically incorporated tourism into its identity and ensuring that Islamic heritage remains central. This transformation follows Kauman's historical evolution from a Batik Village to a Santri Village, later becoming an Islamic Village (Muhammadiyah's influence), and now, a tourist destination that promotes Muhammadiyah heritage-based tourism.

Despite external influences, Kauman's residents have successfully preserved their Islamic principles while adapting to changing socio-economic landscapes. The community remains deeply committed to its religious values, even as it modernizes its methods of expression. Rather than compromising their identity, they have found ways to commercialize their Islamic heritage through tourism, marketing their Islamic and Muhammadiyah products while maintaining their religious integrity. This demonstrates their strategic ability to manage societal changes while ensuring Islamic continuity.

This research challenges common assumptions that Islam and tourism are incompatible, particularly the notion that tourism inherently aligns with Western capitalist ideals. The findings reveal that Islam—especially in Kauman, a village deeply associated with Muhammadiyah—does not hinder tourism development. Instead, the community actively supports tourism initiatives introduced by the Special Region of Yogyakarta provincial government, integrating religious and cultural heritage into tourism. To facilitate this, Kauman's residents have established *blusukan* (engagement and communication with government officials) communities and tourism awareness groups. These initiatives promote Islamic cultural heritage (Muhammadiyah Heritage) as a tourism package, overseen by the Kauman Mosque Management Board.

However, this study is not without its shortcomings. *First*, the absence of a

specific time frame limits the ability to assess long-term trends and historical depth. *Second*, the scope of the study is broad, covering multiple aspects of transformation, which may have reduced the focus on specific socio-cultural changes. Future research could benefit from a more defined temporal framework and a narrower thematic focus to allow for a deeper analysis of Kauman's ongoing transformation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Arifin, M., Abdullah, I., Triratnawati, A. (2019). Contestation Between Puritan Islam And Kejawan In The Urban Yogyakarta Of Indonesia. *Al Albab*. Volume 8 Number 2 December 2019
- Arifin, M. (2020). *Konstruksi dan Kontestasi Identitas Keagamaan: (Studi Tentang Perubahan Identitas Islam di Kampung Kauman Yogyakarta)*. Disertasi FIB UGM.
- Agustí, D.P. (2018). Characterizing the location of tourist images in cities. Differences in user-generated images (Instagram), official tourist brochures and travel guides. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 73. Pp. 103–115. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2018.09.001>
- Aryanti, T.(2015). Branding the Islamic Village: Modesty and Identity in Yogyakarta Kauman Village, Indonesia. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 184 (hal:128)
- Darban, A.A. (2010). *Sejarah Kauman: Mengungkap Identitas Kampung Muhammadiyah*, Yogyakarta: Tarawang.
- Depari, C.D.A. (2012). Transformasi Ruang Kampung Kauman Yogyakarta. *Jurnal Arsitektur KOMPOSISI*, Vol. 10, no. 1 April.hal: 11-26
- Hacıa, E. (2014). The development of tourist space in Polish port cities *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 151 (2014). Pp. 60 – 69. DOI: 10.1016/j.sbspro.2014.10.008.
- Hettige, S., Amaratungab, D., Haigh, R., Werasena, N. (2018). Mainstreaming Social Transformation in Recovery and Development Projects: Case of Sri Lanka. *Procedia Engineering*. 212. Pp. 387–394.
- Hidayah, R., & Shigemura, T. (2005). Domestic Space Arrangement of the Private Rental Housing: A Case of Urban Village Housings of Yogyakarta, Indonesia. *Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering*. 142. Pp 137-142.

- Junara, N. at.all (2019). Comparative Studies In Religious Spatial Physical Characteristics In Kampung Kauman Malang, Surakarta, And Pekalongan. *Journal of Islamic Architectur*. Vol. 5 (13) Juni.
- Kim, Bona, Seongseop Sam Kim & Brian King. (2016). The sacred and the profane: Identifying pilgrim traveler value orientations using means-end theory. *Tourism Management*. 56.Pp. 142-155. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2016.04.003>
- Kumar, Bipasha and Sanjukta Bhaduri.(2018). Disaster risk in the urban villages of Delhi. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction*. 31. Pp. 1309–1325. DOI : <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdr.2018.04.022>
- Lai, Y., & Tang, B. (2016). Institutional barriers to redevelopment of urban villages in China: A transaction cost perspective. *Land Use Policy* 58.Pp. 482–490. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2016.08.009>
- Lai, Y., & Peng, Y., Li, B., Lin, Y. (2014). Industrial land development in urban villages in China: A property rights perspective. *Habitat International*. 41. Pp. 185-194. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.habitatint.2013.08.004>
- Laukkanen, S. (2018). Holy Heritage Identity and Authenticity in a Tibetan Village. *Chinese Heritage in the Making*. Amsterdam University Press. Pp. 195-219.
- Li, Y., Xiao, L., Yu, Y., Xu W. (2016). Understanding tourist space at a historic site through space syntax analysis: The case of Gulangyu, China. *Tourism Management*. 52. Pp. 30-43. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2015.06.008>
- Nakamura, M. (1983). *Bulan Sabit Muncul dari Balik Pohon Beringin: Studi tentang Gerakan Muhammadiyah di Kota Gede Yogyakarta*, Gadjah Mada University Press, Yogyakarta.
- Newberry, J. (2008). Double spaced: abstract labour in urban Kampung. *Anthropologica*. 50 (2). Pp. 241-254. DOI: <http://hdl.handle.net/10133/3609>
- Nursalam, C. & Syahputra, E. (2023). Potensi Tradisi Grebeg Dalam Meningkatkan Kunjungan Wisatawan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta. *Gemawisata: Jurnal Ilmiah Pariwisata* Vol.19, No.1 Januari 2023
- Oktavianto, S.W. & Khoiruddin, A. (2023). Shifting Vision of Muhammadiyah Civilization: from Islamic Socialism to Religious Capitalism. *Islam in World Perspectives* Vol 2. No. 2. 2023

- Prasojo, Z.H., Arifin, M., Abdullah, I. (2020). Dislokasi Identitas Agama dan Budaya Perkotaan: Perkembangan Kampung Wisata di Kota Yogyakarta. *JSW (Jurnal Sosiologi Walisongo)* – Vol 4, No 1 (2020), 17-34
- Ponting, J. & McDonald, M.G. (2013). Performance, Agency and Change In Surfing Tourist Space. *Annals of Tourism Research*. Vol. 43. pp. 415–434. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2013.06.006>
- Sativa. (2012). Konsep Teritori Kampung Kauman Yogyakarta. *INERSIA*, Vol. VIII, No.2 Desember 2012, hal: 110-116
- Song, H., Pan, M., Chen, Y. (2016). Nightlife and public spaces in urban villages: A case study of the Pearl River Delta in China. *Habitat International*. 57. Pp. 187-204. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.habitatint.2016.07.009>
- Setiawati, N.A. (2018). Pengembangan Kawasan Kauman sebagai Living Museum. *Manajemen Sejarah Berbasis Komunitas*, Vol. 1 No. 1 April 2018. Departemen Sejarah, Fakultas Ilmu Budaya, Universitas Gadjah Mada
- Surjomihardjo, A. (2000). *Sejarah Perkembangan Sosial Kota Yogyakarta, 1880 – 1930. Yayasan Untuk Indonesia: Yogyakarta.*
- Triatmodjo, S., (2012). Dua Ragam Makna Pada “Ruang dari Masa Lalu” di Pemukiman Kauman Yogyakarta. *TSAQAFA, Jurnal Kajian Seni Budaya Islam* Vol. 1, No. 1, Juni 2012
- Wearing, S. L., & Foley, C. (2017). Understanding the tourist experience of cities. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 65. Pp. 97–107. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2017.05.007>
- Wei, L., Qian, J. (2018). Self-orientalism, joke-work and host-tourist relation. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 68. Pp. 89–99. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2017.12.003>
- Woodward, M. R., (1999). *Islam Jawa: Normatif versus Kebatinan* (alih bahasa oleh Hairus Salim HS), Penerebit: LKiS, Yogyakarta.
- WuHong, F., Xiao, Q.Z., Yuan, L, Lili. (2017). Analysis of Physics Environment in Urban Village Building. Peer-review under responsibility of the scientific committee of the 10th International Symposium on Heating, Ventilation and Air Conditioning.
- Zarro, M. Yunani, Dhita, A.N. (2020). Muhammadiyah Sebagai Gerakan Islam Dan Pendidikan. *FACTUM: Jurnal Sejarah dan Pendidikan Sejarah*, 9 (1). 2020. 61-66

Zbarauskaitė, A., Grigutytė, N., Gailienė D. (2015). Minority Ethnic Identity and Discrimination Experience in a Context of Social Transformations. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*. 165. Pp. 121 – 130. DOI : 10.1016/j.sbspro.2014.12.613