

# Socio-Cultural Change in the Ummida Jogokariyan Community: A Historical-Sociological Study

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**Abstract**— The conception of the female Muslim (hereafter Muslimah) community “Ummida” under the auspices of the mosque of Jogokariyan kampung contributes to the sustainability of urban resource development. In this article, we investigate the structural changes within this Muslimah community. This research used the life-history method based on historical documentation, observation, and interviews. Following the socio-cultural approach of Max Weber and Norbert Elias, we observed changes within the Muslimah community, and in particular the ways that support from husbands and male and female religious leaders encouraged and empowered women to achieve a degree of gender equality.

**Keywords**—female community, Muslimah, socio-cultural change.

## I. INTRODUCTION

Community collective in terms of business cooperation, professional service exchange, and job coordination can be implemented through mosque, church, or temple communities. Communities based on place of worship that preserve adherent networks and socio-economic endeavors are a pattern of modern religion, which tends to believe that such communities “should not be too secular, but never escape from secularism” [1]. The social life recorded in the history of the *kampung* (village) mosque community has always been affected by Javanese community structure, particularly in urban settings. Studies of Javanese religion have shown that trade distribution activity creates a distinctive stratum apart from bureaucrats and *priyayis* [8]. In the 19th century, women did not have the capacity or choice to engage in an independent community. The opportunity to have a career was traditionally given to men only. Sex, socio-economic status, and ethnic differences yielded the discriminative, feudal-style structure that bind the Javanese women was inherited from colonial era. Darsiti Soeratman mentions that, in the social history of Java, a woman was considered a man’s partner only for marriage and having children, and girls were not considered equal to the boys [16].

The application of formal and cultural education is not provided equally to men and women, and men are more likely to receive the opportunity to make use of the formal education they receive. This may be due to the family customs that position women in domestic areas, while the application of the curriculum of formal education pushes women toward household subjects [4].

Under the Soeharto’s New Order (1966 - 1998), the state performs a variety of legitimating processes to position the existence of women as attributes of men. The operation of the Female Empowerment Program (PKK) in the New Order suggests that women are more than the subject to the activity of men [18]. Historical narratives reflect the collective memory of the position of women in a religious or ethnic community related to the social control of the state’s social control, and this is subject matter for the domain of modern community.

Inequality is a historical reality that results in structural problems that can be addressed by the role of the Muslimah community, particularly in terms of Islam proselytization. The Muslimah community unintentionally created a social organization that includes the social recognition of a religious figurehead. The concept of a figurehead for female leadership was originally pioneered among bourgeois or elite religious communities, so the content of values of equality were socialized to those communities. The Javanese people are naturally familiar with the historical narratives of Kartini or Rohana Kudus and their contribution to changing values and resistance against patriarchic culture.

In the Jogokariyan village mosque community, a Muslimah community existed for 13 years, begin in 2002. The establishment of Muslimah community is very important to a village mosque community, as it contributes to the education of children and family. The Muslimah community gives other Muslimahs coming from the local villages the opportunity to join the Muslimah forum. The Jogokariyan village Muslimah community is called *Ummi-ummi muda masjid Jogokaryan* or called Ummida, for short. The word *ummi* derives from the Arabic word meaning “mother”.

The Ummida community applied the procedure of a one-year period leadership, thus the following year they changed their leader. In the end of each leadership period, a division of the Ummida administration publishes a bulletin for female proselytizing in Islam. A forum called *majelis Muslimah* (the Female Muslim Chamber) is then held with a routine study group conducted every Sunday. This study can involve lectures and trainings with themes of husband-wife cooperation for educating children and maintaining the household. There are several religious mentors for such study, including Ustadzah Nunung Bentari, Ustadzah Rochma Yulika, and Ustadz Salim Afillah [2].

In the Ummida community, women play an important role in proselytization for Islam, particularly in collecting hadist from Sumayyah to Aisyah. The Ummida confirms that the contribution of Muslim women should reinforce proselytization among Muslim men. Among Muslimah, the community mentions Surah Ali Imran to support community movement. In the expression of everyday attitudes, the moral emphasis lies in self-respect (*iffah*) and sharing knowledge with their fellows. To the Ummida community, the enforcement of Islamic sharia is more important than continuously voicing female emancipation or the tenets of the modern feminist movement [2]. This study therefore compares the community's statement with the structural reality in the field as well as its historical track record, considering the following research questions:

- a. How have structural changes been reflected in the historical track record?
- b. What changes in the culture of interaction between women and men have occurred in the community environment?

#### A. Theoretical framework

This study is based on classical theories of religious sociology and social change through historical observation. We conduct a theoretical elaboration on Max Weber's theory, using historical reality to reveal socio-cultural change. As a sociologist, Max Weber argued that the development of modern socio-economics through a historical study of the Protestant Christian community and the role of factors that cannot be quickly identified, such as beliefs, values, motivation, and attitudes recorded only in the process of socio-cultural change [19]. According to Weber, a social organization system loses its central position and the focus of attention then shifts to the agent in terms of social action [19]. The complexity of socio-economic activity is based on the accumulation of social actions recorded in human history [19]. Cultural values, norms, and laws are inherited from the categorical beliefs and ideas as normative rules implemented by people or followers of a community. Ritzer (1975) used Weber's theory as a paradigm of social definition that reveals three basic characteristics of the targets of sociological research:

To the actor, human action contains subjective meaning that is recorded in real action

Actions are directed toward other individuals or a group

Actions are undertaken considering the behavior of others

Weber highlighted this idea as central to determination and confirmed the recognition of ideological functions as an

independent variable in social development [19]. Religious actors or elites design a community as an instrument or means of achieving their objectives. That is, there is a sense that the call for discipline and parsimony is compulsory at this stage. The spirit of entrepreneurship arises in the interaction between individuals within community, which creates the atmosphere calling for discipline and social support to achieve the community's objective. Through self-organization, the community actively pursues success as a sign of safety. Individuals compare performance and achievement. Every individual in the community begins to estimate the developing capital and calculate the investment for individual interest [19]. The community's solid and persistent social system is expected to achieve efficiency within community competition.

Weber postulated that the uncertainty of life uncertainty is the emotional precondition of faith [19]. Social action therefore becomes a way to achieve collective success in a community space. Successful performance can be measured through financial management, in which the profit obtained at a certain time can be shared or distributed; this process is called vocational action [1]. When the ethos of capital development exerts a significant effect, the structure of the relationship will change. Structures that are considered outdated will be eliminated, and the new structures are adaptations such as submission, obedience in worship, and acceptance of the existing pattern within an innovative situation [19].

Self-confidence is cultivated through the community despite competition and individual isolation [19]. The motivation for achievement becomes a precondition of economic development, it thereby appears in the historical epoch as part of the origin of significant events [19]. The surfacing of personality requires affiliation or the expression of aspirations either through public conversation or social action. According to Weber, the progress of history is linear, but Weber was not able to formulate how epistemology reaches the discipline of historical sociology because he limited his analysis to economy and society, which results in mere sociology.

One must here refer to Elias, who suggested the epistemological hierarchy of history and sociology by suggesting that the concept of "figuration" is an element providing flexibility in the tension between community and external values. Relationship networks are established between structures activating performance and simultaneously resulting in conflict. The actor therefore exists in figuration and is the agent of historical change [19]. A social structural study of socio-cultural change is conducted in a historical-sociological framework that includes status, roles, norms, social mobility, and morals [7], and the concept of social figuration originates from the explanation of four dimensions: physical, social, adaptation, and historical dynamics [5].

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

This historical-sociological study took place in the Jogokariyan Mosque area, Jogokariyan Village, Mantrijeron Sub-District, Yogyakarta. Observation and correspondence activities were conducted from May 10 to July 29, 2018. This study employed a life-history method that was applied in three stages: observation, historical source text analysis, and recording of interviews with informants [6]. Historical

data included recordings and documents containing the track record of the community that highlighted individual or group subjective action [6]. We validated the data by sorting informants into the categories of key, main, and supporting informants. This was followed by categorizing information and coding it for inclusion in a database [3]. We then crosschecked the data using the documentation critique method by tracing data credibility via substantive internal critique and external critique of the physical form of the document [9,10].

The validation process must include a check of data validity—that is, whether repeatedly observing the same group of subjects will produce similar data; this is an essential crosscheck [21]. Determining data reliability is the last stage, and involves an external observer reviewing the analysis to confirm the validity of the analysis or determine where the data input should be reexamined [21]. The operation of qualitative data collection included the following [3]:

- c. Observation notes in the format of field notes.
- d. Documentation from historical archives, including the *Bulif-Jogokariyan* magazine, published brochures, recordings of television news coverage, reports on the field practice study in UIN Sunan Kalijaga, and a poster uploaded to the official account of Jogokariyan mosque community, Yogyakarta.
- e. Recordings of interviews with key and supporting informants. The key informant was Mrs. Wasiyo, who is a 67-year-old (elder) local villager, while the main informant was Tejo Raharjo, the administrator of the Jogokariyan mosque community. The interview data were put into MP4 audio format for transcription and then coded. The key and main informants were selected based on the data from previous research reports and the testimony of local people, including the head of the neighborhood (*Ketua RW*) in Jogokariyan village.

Qualitative data analysis on the life-history method was conducted using selective coding through the identification of phenomena occurring within the community and focusing on the figure (leader) and its members. The story of the core category was conceptualized, thereby creating a storyline [3]. This selective coding is a relational system between the core category and the social facts that were retold separately but still within the setting of the discussion theme [3].

The life-history method is useful as it develops results in the form of an explanation about “the origin of the community” that constitutes part of history. The next explanation concerns the changes in the social structure that occur both recently and historically and that result in sustainable and cumulative cultural change [15]. Cultural action derives from generative inheritance and develops continuously because new skills combine with the creation of new technology [15].

### III. RESULT

The origin of the Ummida community is to be found among the wives of the Jogokariyan village mosque administrators and was supported by elders who wanted to dedicate their lives to spiritual orientation. Mrs. Salim Afillah, Mrs. Jazir, and Rochma Yulika (average age, 45

years) pioneered the operation of the Ummida community. The community has been in existence since 2000, when the key political issues included gender, feminism, and the emancipation of women. The Ummida community is functionally part of the leadership structure of the Jogokariyan village mosque and is an agent that accommodates the aspirations of the female community [17].

During the period 2010–2012, the Ummida community played an active role in empowerment activities by upholding equality in the interactions between men and women to replace the government’s role in educating Jogokariyan villagers. The power of the Muslimah community was in forming public opinion through religious and social discourse. Public opinion was channeled through various social media, including social media applications and the dissemination of bulletins. Ummida also organized a participative budget to implement activities with the theme of women in Islam. The group of the wives of religious leaders (*ustadz*) played an important role in socializing the values of Islam [13]. The group also helped establish businesses for poor villagers. Mrs. Jazir, for example, gave a loan to local villagers to create t-shirt silk screening business. Other businesses resulting from the investor network alliance included landlords and wood processing employers.

The Ummida community gave its members the opportunity and training to sell food, snacks, and beverages in the Jogokariyan Ramadhan Market. One of this community member was Siti Layinah (also called Ayin), a 28-year-old woman who began to sell risoles mayo (name of snack) and coklat lumer (name of snack) through the mentorship of her elder sisters in the Ummida community. Ayin was also supported by her peers in the village [2].

The members of the Ummida community are generally put into secretariat affairs in the wakaf movement committee managed by the *takmir* (management) of the village mosque. Nursanti Dyahapsari, a villager with a bachelor’s degree in engineering, raised and audited wakaf funds with total assets of IDR 25,268,110 in 2015 [12].

In a routine study, the Ummida community has a unique way of confronting partners. The communal action of partnering with each other in study rooms (*liqo’*) created a network of families (*usrah*). The *Murabbi* or *Ustadz* partner the members during the *liqo’*. Rizki Rahim is a son of Mr. Khamid, an employer of woodworkers (and a prominent figure in the community), married his son to a politician from PKS through a *Murabbi* intermediary. Rizki Rahim’s wife eventually joined the Ummida community and listened to the younger community members’ demands to partner them off and consulted with the *ustadz* (*murabbi*).

As it developed during the period 2013–2015, the Ummida community held a training for selling Muslimah fashion and food such as cakes and snacks. The community made an official account on for online commercial media such as Bukalapak, Instagram, and Tokopedia. The Ummida community also sold materials for herbal medicine and children’s toys promoting Islamic values, such as Al-Quran sound equipment and an encyclopedia of stories about the Islamic prophet.

Ummida community contributed to the development of the Jogokariyan mosque clinic, and operation of the health clinic was run directly by Ana Patriani, who was a medical worker and hold degree of master of health program. She and

several physicians from Yogyakarta Muhammadiyah University attempted to provide free medical service for villagers. The patients in the clinic were allowed to pay for treatment when they could afford it, and when they could not afford it, the Ummida community and the takmir were primarily responsible for covering the costs.

The study and socialization conducted provided new thoughts concerning the role of women in an era of ever-changing information technology, which solidified the position of women in Islam and created a sub-community of young mothers in the Jogokariyan mosque. Rochma Yulika, as the main mentor for this community, guided the community members in the implementation of Islamic family values. The community conducted a Muslimah study forum every second and fourth Ahads (Sunday) routinely [17].

In the Ramadhan event of 2018, the community held a collective fast-breaking for visitors to the evening market and local people. The Jogokariyan ladies organized by the community prepared about 3,000 portions for collective fast-breaking (takjil), which was covered by TV One (one of national television channel) on May 26, 2018.

The results of this study confirm the findings of previous studies that “Age rotation will never enable the women to emulate the men. Woman remains to be woman with all of her ability and obligation. The point to be changed is that woman should get better education and treatment” [12]. To ensure good treatment for men or women in daily activity, the norms suggested in this community constituted the safeguard of respect. The implementation started with covering aurat by wearing Muslimah fashion such as headgear, veil, and hijab. To the Ummida community,

wearing Muslimah fashion makes others respect women. Muslimah fashion is the physical representation of the Ummida community and also an element of proselytization and economic commodity exchange within community. The premise of aurat covering allows women to socialize within the community environment [11]. This communal action results in social meaning and indirectly represents religious piety in a mutually understood concept despite the development of individual actualization.

Community members are confident in expressing their spiritual feeling. In the presence of the Ummida community as a social institution, community institutionalization is a space for organization through the pursuit of economic independence as a sign of both success and security. Individual members of the community sometimes compare achievements in terms of households, children, and spousal status.

Attempts to improve the skills of members of the Ummida community were accomplished by upgrading the forum in the auditorium of the Jogokariyan mosque’s hotel. The Ummida community learned from the success story of Muslimah public figures such as Neno Warisman, Zaskia Mecca, and Mamah Dedeh. The Ummida community invited public figures to speak in the new forums. The Ummida community also raised the issue of hijrah from celebrities such as Oki Septiana Dewi and Ghaita (K.H. Abdullah Gymnastiar’s daughter). In this study, we presented success stories concerning marriage decisions, household management, and dealing with family challenges.

TABLE 1. STRUCTURAL CHANGES DURING THREE PERIODS

Structure	2010–2012	2013–2015	2016–2018
Status	Participation of wives and elders	Muslimah mothers association	Muslimah employers in medium-scale enterprises
Role	Supporting husbands playing an active role in the Jogokariyan village mosque	Improving self-capacity communally by continuing to support husbands	Activation of female mass community in Jogokariyan mosque event
Norm	Safeguarding self-respect	Taking care of self- and family respect	Revealing self-confidence to community and public media
Social Mobility	Housewives	Housewives establishing small enterprises and contributing actively to the community	Contribution of community to health and education sectors around Yogyakarta City village
Moral	Household intactness and Muslimah image in public opinion	Developing Ummida community for Muslimah proselytization	Muslimah household resilience in achieving perfect happiness

**IV. DISCUSSION**

A discussion of socio-cultural change in the Ummida community in the Jogokariyan mosque constituted the origin of moral values concerning religious recommendations that are distorted into consumption recommendations or merely an issue concerning the wearing and selling of Muslimah fashion. The Muslimah appear as passive subjects in actualizing spiritual needs into communal actions in the Ummida community space.

The results of our observations suggest the presence of moral reinforcement governing the relationship between men and women on a larger scale in the religious community. The Ummida community tried to govern this through education and matchmaking spaces required by the Muslim community in general. After a Muslimah marries and enters the Ummida community, she must support her husband as long as he follows the rules required by the Muslim community. Identified cultural changes resulting from the concept of social figuration are shown in Table II.

TABLE II. EXPLANATION OF SOCIAL FIGURATION IN CULTURAL CHANGE VIEWED FROM SOCIOLOGICAL-HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

<b>Social figuration dimension</b>	
<p><b>Physical dimension:</b> The presence of the community as an institution separates it from the reality of other community structures. In other words, Muslimahs experience a homogeneous process.</p>	<p><b>Community idea adaptation dimension:</b> As time goes by, the idea of community becomes more practical and responsive to reality.</p>
<p><b>Social dimension:</b> The role of older wives gives direction to newly married Muslimahs. The presence of community becomes an intermediary in the relationship between senior and junior.</p>	<p><b>Historical dimension:</b> The changes in the Muslimah community always spring from the power of the Muslim figure's leadership becoming the figure of social power The Muslim figure is recognized as having a power source based on religious knowledge, age, and managerial support to ensure prosperity in the village mosque environment.</p>

NOTE. DATA ANALYSIS, 2018.

**V. CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATION**

Socio-cultural changes in the Ummida Muslimah community built on the support from husbands and male and female religious leaders to activate and empower women to achieve gender equality. The support included motivation, spiritual advice, and opportunities to attend specialty education that improved capacity and gave religious scholarly expertise to women as the agents of religious guidelines. The implied action of the definition of the norm of "taking care of self-respect" makes Muslimahs active in fulfilling social actualization after getting married (post-procreation). The knowledge of women before getting married was limited only to those within in the social circle of a Muslim community. Because of this indirect self-limitation, the women could not learn about others beyond their community, except through information gathered via the Internet.

Giving male Muslims the opportunity to participate within a community alongside female Muslimahs will result in a work movement to create household economic independency. Capital and spiritual orientation begins

working in the Ummida community by improving capacity and mechanisms of community structure. Muslimah and Muslim figures recognized in the women's community became social symbols (figuration) as agents encouraging socio-cultural change.

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